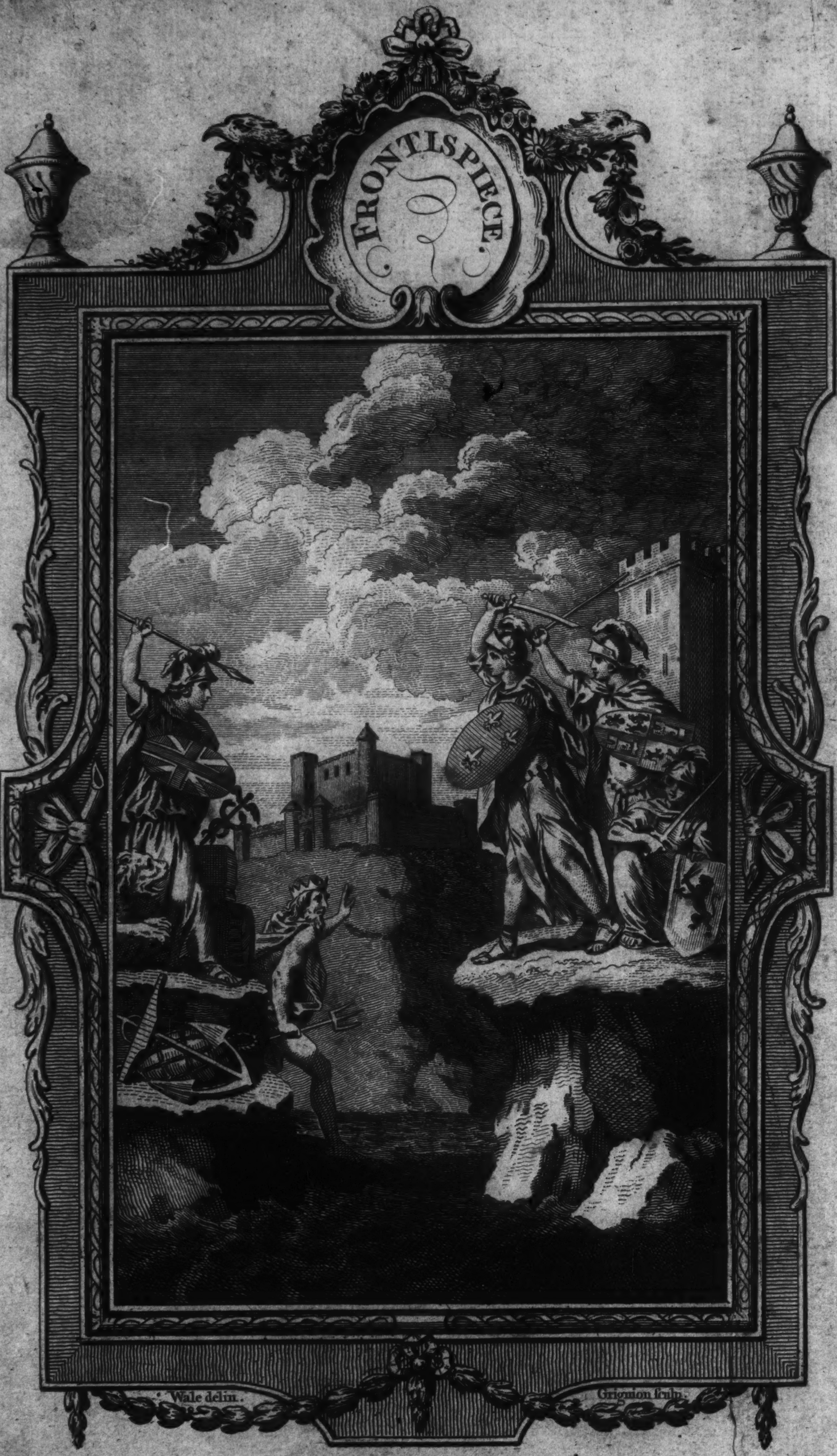

FRONTISPIECE.
Wale delin.
Grignion ſculp.

EXPLANATION

Britannia standing upon a Rock in a Defensive Attitude, on her right hand a Lion the Emblem of Courage, *on her left a Caduceus which signifies* Policy, *the Anchor and Neptune imply her* Naval Power *and Dominion of the Sea, the Cask and Bale of Goods her* Traffick, *and the Castle in the back Ground her* Internal Strength — *On the opposite Continent are the Emblems of* France, Spain, *and* Holland, *the two former in an hostile Posture as an Indication of their Natural Enmity to England, and the latter crouching down as ready to take a Commercial Advantage of all Political Disputes.*

1864 a 9

A

NEW AND AUTHENTIC

Hiſtory of England,

FROM THE MOST REMOTE PERIOD OF
GENUINE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE,
TO THE
PRESENT IMPORTANT CRISIS:
CONTAINING AN
INTERESTING CHRONICLE OF THE MONARCHS;
AN ACCURATE
CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF REMARKABLE EVENTS;
AN
ENTERTAINING RECITAL OF SINGULAR OCCURRENCES;

AND AN IMPARTIAL BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE OF THE
LIVES OF EMINENT PERSONS:
INCLUDING, IN THE WHOLE,
ALL THAT IS WORTHY OF OBSERVATION IN THE ANNALS
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE.

IN WHICH

The Civil, Ecclesiastical, Military, Naval, Commercial, and Literary Ttansactions of these Realms, are circumſtantially and candidly related; the Constitution and Political Establishments are diſtinctly traced; and an Estimate of the Customs and Manners of the Times, with the State of the Nation, are given for the Space of near Two Thousand Years.

By WILLIAM AUGUSTUS RUSSEL, Esq. K

Embelliſhed and illuſtrated with upwards of One Hundred curious COPPER PLATES, engraved (from the Drawings of the celebrated Mr. WALE, and other eminent Artiſts) by Grignion, Walker, Taylor, White, Debroche, and other capital Maſters, repreſenting the moſt remarkable public and private Tranſactions that occur in the Courſe of the Hiſtory; with Whole Length Figures of all the Monarchs, from William the Conqueror, to the preſent Time.

Read, Britons, read, how your Foreſathers thought,
And gain'd Renown, while they for Freedom fought;
Fix'd on a Rock, Religion's pureſt Flame,
And ſtudied Commerce, as they ſought for ſame;
While Heav'n at once, with Arts and Arms inſpir'd,
And Wiſdom fram'd thoſe Laws by all admir'd:
Hence Britain's Sails are in all Climes unfurl'd,
And Heroes bear her Thunder round the World.
Truth ope's her Records, and delights to tell
How worthy Monarchs roſe, and Tyrants fell;
How the King's Power, and People's Love agree,
"And 'tis each Subject's Birth-right to be FREE."

LONDON:
Printed for J. COOKE, at Shakespeare's-Head, No. 17, in Pater-noster-Row.
MDCCLXXVII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

PREFACE.

THERE is a natural deſire implanted in every human heart to know its own origin, and to trace the vital blood that flows through it to the fountain-head.

Hence individuals, willing to preſerve the memory of their progenitors tranſactions, have tranſmitted to poſterity an account of many important events; and, ſedulous for their own anceſtors, have furniſhed the world with a variety of intereſting anecdotes concerning thoſe of others.

At length, the annals of particular families were blended together, and national hiſtories formed; theſe were no ſooner known than admired, a ſenſe of their utility ſucceeded, and their real importance ſhortly procured them univerſal eſteem.

A celebrated writer juſtly obſerves, that " Wandering people muſt have been the laſt who wrote,
" having leſs means of procuring and preſerving archives, having few wants, few laws, few events;
" being occupied by nothing but the method of procuring a precarious ſubſiſtance, and being ſatisfied
" with oral tradition. A Hamlet had never any hiſtory; a wandering people ſtill leſs; and
" a ſingle city very rarely. The Hiſtory of a Nation cannot be written till very late; it is begun
" by ſome ſummary regiſters which are preſerved as far as can be in a temple or citadel. An unhappy
" war often deſtroys theſe annals; and the people muſt renew their labours twenty times;
" like ants, whoſe habitations are trampled upon. Many ages muſt elapſe before a Hiſtory any
" way circumſtantial can ſucceed to this indigeſted regiſter."

Thus originated the hiſtories of different nations, when the hand of improvement methodized the various relations, aſcertained dates by concurrent teſtimonies, compared facts with each other, and placed events in ſuch a light as to reduce the whole to a ſyſtem.

At preſent no polite people are without their national hiſtory. Societies, deficient in this reſpect, are juſtly ranked as barbarous; and thoſe individuals in poliſhed countries, who are unacquainted with their own annals, may, with equal juſtice, be deemed ſtupidly illiterate.

If the members of arbitrary governments think it inexcuſable to be ignorant of their own chronicles, how much more aſſiduous ought a Britiſh individual to be in making himſelf acquainted with the hiſtory of his country? The former but ſeeks, as a matter of curioſity, to know when, where, and how, his chains were forged, and at what period he became enſlaved; but it is incumbent on the latter, as a matter of neceſſity, to inform himſelf at what time his conſtitutional liberty was obtained; how tyrants were prevented from enſlaving this nation; and by whom our rights and franchiſes were handed down to us inviolate. The *one* amuſes himſelf in tracing how he became a *vaſſal*; the *other* may find equal entertainment in exploring how he became *free*.

The

PREFACE.

The buſineſs of an hiſtorian is to be *faithful*—*impartial*—*perſpicuous*—*inſtructive*—*amuſing*—and *exact*. Theſe relative duties we have endeavoured to perform by giving a *faithful narrative* of events; an *impartial account* of actions; a *perſpicuous detail* of occurrences; an *inſtructive diſplay* of characters; an *amuſing relation* of things; and an *exact recital* of facts. To be *faithful*, we have compared authorities; to be *impartial*, we have diveſted ourſelves of prejudice; to be *perſpicuous*, we have aimed at *conciſeneſs*; to be *inſtructive*, we have omitted nothing *eſſential*; to be *amuſing*, we have inſerted nothing *unneceſſary*; and to be *exact*, we have ſtrictly attended to *dates*. In fine, our end is improvement; our means, entertainment; and our guide, TRUTH.

When duſt ſhall eat her braſs, when time's ſtrong hand
No more ſhall ſuffer palaces to ſtand;
When ſumptuous temples, lofty towers decay,
And mould'ring pillars piece-meal fall away;
Still, ſtill ſhall live th' Hiſtorian's uſeful page,
The faithful mirror of each various age;
While Britain's annals to ſucceeding times
Shall praiſe our virtues, or reproach our crimes;
And as we pry into events of yore,
Our own tranſactions others ſhall explore.
Then o'er Britannia's head may cloudleſs ſkies,
And white-rob'd peace in brightning proſpects riſe;
That our ſucceſſors may not bluſh for ſhame,
And children mourn, their fathers were to blame.

William Auguſtus Ruſſel.

A
LIST of SUBSCRIBERS.

A

MR. Acton, Eaſt Sutton
Mr. Aſhford, Sherborne-lane
Mr. Arnold, Maidſtone
— Daniel Adcock, Crown-court
— Artis, Wigmore-ſtreet
— John Aſhton, Upper Chandler-ſtreet
— Atcheſon, Yarmouth
— Daniel Adams, Brompton, Kent

B

ALLASTON Burgh, Eſq. John-ſtreet, Bedford-row
The Rev. Mr. Brown, Black's-fields, Southwark
Mr. Blackbourne, Langley
— James Bice
— Thomas Burr, Brompton, Kent
— Richard Bunn, Hackney-road
— John Browning
— Brigg, Turnham-green
— Joſeph Biſſick, Suffolk-ſtreet
— Peter Brady, Croydon
— Samuel Brent, Rotherhithe
— Hutchinſon Barker, Tooley-ſtreet
— John Brook, Holmsfirth
— William Butler, Danfield
— Bernard Bulby, Grantham
— Buſton, of Buſton
— Thomas Brown, Witham
— Anthony Burnlye, Lewiſham
— Edward Baker, Blackwall
— Barker, Tooley-ſtreet
— James Burke, Bermondſey
— Joſeph Baldwin
— Thomas Beagley, Coxheath
— Brough Poplar
— Beetham, Piccadilly
— James Burnett, Whitechaple-road
— John Buckland, Mary-le-Bone
— Brigg, Turnham-green
— Broadhurſt, Peckham
— George Burling, Borough
— Peter Berrow, Baldwin-ſtreet
— John Bullock, Cambridge
— Bowman, Weſt Ham
— Butler, Lewkner's-lane
— Barrell, Yarmouth
— John Bunting, Hart-ſtreet
— John Brewer, Covent-garden
— Barton, Southwark
— Peter Brumburg, Rotherhithe

C

CAPTAIN John Clark, of the Royal Navy, Eaſt Moulſey, Surry
Mr. John Copland, Charles-ſtreet
— Henry Cliverton, London-bridge
— Robert Cuſtance, Corbet's-court
— Jeremiah Cooper, Carnaby-market
— James Cowley, St. James's-market
— J. Caterer
— Chapman, Kennington-lane
— Carter, Paul's-alley
— Thomas Crowley, Walworth
— Gollet, Camberwell
— John Champion, King-ſtreet
— William Chaplin, Little Newport-ſtreet
— Inman Carpenter, Briſtol
— Callet Camberwell
Mrs. Corbet, Bartlett's-buildings
— Croſs, Blackwall

D

SIR John Dicks, Kt. Wandſworth
Mr. Davey, Penzance
Mr. Deakin, Grubb-ſtreet
— Robert Death, Batterſea
— James Dennis, Blackwall
— Delves, Snow-hill
— George Doughty, Devonſhire-ſtreet
— William Davidge, Red Lion-ſtreet
— James Dyts, Whitcomb-ſtreet
— John Davies, Rotherhithe
— Eſſex Davies, Richmond-hill
— Joſeph Drake, Highgate
— Thomas Duffield, Mortimer-ſtreet
— William Day, Jun. Ewell

E

MR. Elliot, Blackwall
Mr. Elder, Strand
— Eames, Limehouſe,
— George Excall, Chatham
— Thomas Woodward, Eckington
— Edward Eleanur, Folkſtone
— Ellis, Gough-ſquare

F

MR William Fry, Thave's Inn
Mr. Fairclough, Radcliffe
Mr. Fillinham, Warder-ſtreet
— James Fiſher, Navy-office
— Fell, Walworth
— William Freeman, King-ſtreet
— Figgot, Fakenham
— William Fountain, Blackwall
— Fairbridge, Turnſtile
— Thomas Farrow, Navy-office
— Bennet Foſter, Witham
— Foſter, Fenchurch-ſtreet
— Farmer, Cow-croſs

G

MR. Bernard Glover, Croydon
Mr. Richard Green
— Gavan
— John Glyde, Minories
— Peter Goulden
— Green, Mercer's-ſtreet
— Thomas Gifford, Red Lyon-ſtreet
— Andreas Gotobed, Wallbrook
— William Graham, Moorfields
— Francis Gandot, Cornhill
— Andreas Gottliel, Walbroke
— Thomas Griffith
Miſs Goodman, Fetter-lane

H

RICHARD Halſey; Eſq.
Mr. William Head, Newington Butts
Mr. Samuel Hutchins
— Joſeph Hermſhaw, Brick-lane
— Harris, Camberwell
— Hodges
— James Harley
— Richard Halſey; Chicheſter
— R. Higgins, Radcliffe
— Thomas Hancock, Pimlico
— Richard Hart, Exeter
— S. B. Howes
— Hill, Long-acre
— Richard Hinks, Deptford-bridge
— Samuel Halfpenny, Greenwich
— Hayden, Ludgate-hill
— John Holford, Holborn
— Richard Hancock
— William Hewet, Bodmyn
— John Heath, Chippenham
— Thomas Howell, Haverford-weſt
— Haymard, Theobald's-row
— Joſeph Hubbard, Lambeth
Mrs. Grace Hucheſon, Pimlico

I

MR John Jones, Richmond
Mr. William Johnſon, Dean-ſtreet

Mr. Robert Jones, Purfleet
— Inman, Briſtol

K

MR. George Kelly, Rotherhithe

L

MR. Thomas Lambert, Tower-ſtreet
Mr. Lammas, Yarmouth
Mr. William Lewis, Chiſwell-ſtreet
— William Lowe
— Daniel Lowe, Old Bailey
— Allen Lambert, Carſhalton
— Leworthy
— Lord
— Joſeph Langton, Wandſworth
— William Langton, Ditto
— William Liſcoe, Rotherhithe
— Tho. Alex. Lewis, Jun. Spitalfields
— Littlefoot, Weſtminſter
— Miſs Betſey Louch, Chatham

M

DR. Maillard, Newport-ſtreet
Lieutenant John M'Queen, Marſham-ſtreet
Mr. James Markby, Jun. Croydon
— Marſhall, Tufton-ſtreet
— Milles, White Lyon-ſtreet
— James Melvin, Mary-le-bone-lane
— William Milnes, Aſhover
— Manton, Spital-gate
— Richard Miles, Pimlico
— Moſs, Bow
— Martindale, King-ſtreet
— Henry Michell, Jun. Penzance
— William Moore
— Moxon, Yarmouth
— Edmund Moore
— John Murray, Queen's-gardens
— William Maycock, Barnes
— James Bice Maffet, James-ſtreet
— John Maiſhall, Ogle-court

N

MR. Newberry, Brompton
Mr. Nevill, Denzell-ſtreet
— Nott, Newgate-ſtreet
— James Neale, Leather-lane
— Withers Newman, Leigh-ſtreet

O

MR. John Oliff, Mary-le-bone
Mr. Rob. Ockſhell, Brigg-ſtreet
— Ovey, Fleet-ſtreet
— James Ogbourn, Ewell
Mrs. Ogle, Fetter-lane

P

MR. Edward Pope, Chatham
Mr. Thomas Payne, Golden-lane
Mr. Parkes, Saffron-hill
— Pindar, Grantham
— John Payne, Hewell
— E. Powell, Fulwood's Rents
— James Perryman, Duke-ſtreet
— Proctor, Yarmouth
— George Page, Croydon
— Parks, Fleet-ſtreet
— Proctor, Bride-lane
— Peachey, Plumtree-ſtreet
— John Parlour
— Peyton
— Wm. Petty, Lincoln's-inn-fields
— Robert Polley, Endfield
— Pye, Ewer's-ſtreet
— Pinder, New Bond-ſtreet
— Fran. Pew, Great St. Andrew's-ſtreet
— Probin, Stanhope-ſtreet
— John Partoux
— Peat, Spurr-ſtreet
— Samuel Penſon, jun.
Miſs Potter, Rotherhithe

R

MR. Read, Beach-lane
Mr. Rolfe, Wych-ſtreet,
Mr. Rice, Wandſworth
— Chriſt. Roe, St. John-ſtreet
— Roberts, Penzance
— Joſeph Rolonſon, Bank-ſide
— James Rodwell, London
— Robert Ruſhton, Water-lane
— John Roberts Clifton
Mrs. Mary Ravenel

S

— STORER, Eſq. Portugal-ſtreet
Mr. Geo. Slater, Portland-ſtreet
Mr. Stanhope, Curzon-ſtreet
— Stevens
— Stone, Limehouſe
— John Lane Snibſon, Poplar
— Robert Sherwood, Widegate-ſtreet
— B. R. Stennett
— Joſeph Sparks, North-End
— Sims
— Thomas Scott, Seething-lane
— John Smith, Jury-ſtreet
— James Smith, Vine-ſtreet
— Spering, Little New-ſtreet
— Stubly, Gravel-lane
— John Scirlake, Taunton
— Edward Sibley, Whitecroſs-ſtreet
— Richard Saul, Blackwall
— Samuel Strickland, Rotherhithe
— Scott, Rilley
Mrs. Stroud, James-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare
— Stevens
Miſs Priſcilla Sullen, Bedfordbury
— Stacy

T

MR. Francis Taylor, Strand
Mr. Thomas Thompſon
Mr. Robert Tapſter, Barnet
— John Taylor
— Tear, St. John-ſtreet
— Tarlen, Stratford
— Thomas
— John Trueman, Pancraſs-lane
— John Taylor, Baldwin's-gardens
Mrs. Martha Thorn, jun. Richmond
— Ann Terrell, Rotherhithe

U

MR. Oneſimus Uſtonſtone, Temple-bar
Mr. William Uſticke, Penzance

V

MR. John Veare.

W.

MR. Daniel Willis
Mr. Charles Wade, Navy-office
— William Windſor, Lewiſham
— Wardle, Long Fromlington
— Waraker, Ludgate-hill
— R. W. Walmſley
— George White, Salt-petre-bank
— Jon. Wright, Red Lion-ſtreet
— Daniel Willis, Poplar
— Wells, Chiwſick
— Wood, Kenſington
— Edward Wallis, Red Lion-ſtreet
— Ed. Wyer, Halifax, in Nova Scotia
— Wright, Walworth
— Webb, Yarmouth
— Thomas Wells, Croydon
— Thomas Woodward, Eckington
— James Franklin Williams, Cripplegate

Y

MR. Young, Parliament-ſtairs

☞ The publiſher of this work hopes that no ſubſcriber will take it amiſs if he finds his name omitted in this liſt, as he has not been able to procure near one half of them, notwithſtanding he gave printed notices for that purpoſe, and delayed the publication ſeveral weeks entirely on that account. It is alſo hoped that no gentleman will be angry if he finds his name ſpelt wrong, as they are all printed exactly as they were delivered by the hawkers and others.

A NEW AND AUTHENTIC
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the earlieſt Period of Authentic Information, to the Conqueſt of Britain *by the* Romans.

IN tracing the Engliſh Annals, a vaſt field opens to the imagination, and a prodigious fund of important intelligence is procured. That curioſity, inherent in every enquiring ſoul, is gratified by a variety of objects worthy of the utmoſt attention; the moſt rational information is acquired, while the mind is agreeably entertained; we receive leſſons from the wiſeſt legiſlators; are inſtructed in the duty we owe to ourſelves and our country, by the braveſt heroes, and even learn to correct our faults by the erroneous conduct of Kings.

We are, in the courſe of our inveſtigation, led to conſider the various degrees by which a powerful nation hath been gradually poliſhed from a ſtate of profound ignorance and barbariſm, to an amazing degree of literary and political refinement. No country having undergone greater changes, none can afford more ſatisfaction to the curious; for ſince the revolutions have been many, the examples muſt be numerous; and as the occurrences were important, the leſſons they afford are, of courſe, intereſting.

This iſland was ſcarce known at the time the Roman empire was in its utmoſt ſplendor; but ſince that period it has increaſed ſo exceedingly in power and opulence, as to extend its conqueſts farther, and to acquire more territory than that ſtate could ever claim, when its poſſeſſions were the moſt extenſive. Even in the time of the emperor Auguſtus, the Britons were deemed a people detached from the reſt of mankind, and of ſuch inhoſpitable manners, that it was thought a kind of baniſhment to be ſent among them.

——" Some to far Oaxis ſhall be ſold,
" Or try the Lybian heat, or Scythian cold;
" The reſt among the BRITONS be confin'd,
" A race of men from all the world disjoin'd.
VIRGIL."

Yet the inhabitants of theſe iſlands, at ſubſequent periods, penetrated regions which the Romans had no idea could exiſt; made themſelves maſters of tracts of country which lay in climates, deemed by thoſe people, uninhabitable, and boldly explored an immenſity of ocean, though their priſtine conquerors never dared venture to loſe ſight of land.

The antients deemed Great Britain the largeſt iſland in the univerſe. Modern diſcoveries have, however, evinced the error of that idea; but if it is not the moſt extenſive, it is certainly the moſt conſiderable in every other reſpect. The excellency of its ſituation; the fertility of its ſoil; the courage and ingenuity of its inhabitants; its internal opulence, extenſive commerce and naval ſtrength, place it at the head of European ſtates, and ſeat it in the firſt rank of eſtimation in the eye of the world.

We cannot forbear here inſerting the beautiful epithets with which the inimitable Shakeſpear, one of its nobleſt ornaments, diſtinguiſhes it.

" This royal throne of kings, this ſcepter'd iſle,
" This earth of majeſty, this ſeat of Mars,
" This other Eden, demi-paradiſe,
" This fortreſs built by nature for herſelf,
" Againſt infection, and the hand of war.
" This happy breed of men, this little world,
" This precious ſtone ſet in the ſilver ſea
" Which ſerves it in the office of a wall;
" Or as a moat defenſive to a houſe
" Againſt the envy of leſs happier lands."

It has been ſuppoſed that England was firſt termed ALBION, and afterwards BRITAIN; but this opinion is erroneous, as the names are equally antient, the whole cluſter of iſlands being called Britain, and England only known by the appellation of Albion.

The antient hiſtory of all nations, and the derivation of the names peculiar to them, have been generally inveloped in obſcurity, and diſguiſed by fables. The annals of Britain, like others, met this common fate, and previous to the invaſion of Julius Cæſar, every hiſtorical occurrence is interwoven with romance; ſo that it is extremely difficult to ſeparate fact from fiction. We ſhall, however, endeavour to preſerve what is authentic; ſeclude the fabulous parts from our writings; and maintain that candour and veracity, ſo eſſential to the character of the hiſtorian.

The word Albion is derived, by the moſt judicious hiſtorians, from the Greek word ALPHON, which ſignifies white; this is countenanced from the whiteneſs of the chalky cliffs which ſurround the whole iſland, and authoriſed by the writings of the antient Britiſh bards themſelves, who call England INIS-WEN, or WHITE-ISLAND. The epithet Britain, according to the moſt authentic accounts, is derived from the word BRITH, which, in the Britiſh language, ſignifies painted, and was peculiarly characteriſtic of the natives, though ſome affirm that it originates from the Phœnician word BARTANAC, or LAND of TIN, a name which thoſe people who traded to Britain for this commodity, might naturally be ſuppoſed to beſtow upon the country itſelf. With reſpect to the modern appellative England, it is derived from an Anglo-Saxon province called Anglen, from whence our Saxon anceſtors principally came.

The iſland of Great Britain is commodiouſly ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, being bounded on the north by the Deucaledonian, or Northern Ocean; on the ſouth by the Britiſh Channel; on the weſt by the Iriſh Sea, or St. George's Channel; and on the eaſt by the German Ocean.

The aſtronomical length from north to ſouth is 540 miles; that is, accounting ſixty miles to a degree; but in Engliſh ſtatute meaſure it is exactly 622 miles, and four furlongs in length, and 285 miles in breadth in the broadeſt part, which muſt be taken from the Land's-end in Cornwall, to the ſouth Fore-land, in Kent. The form is triangular, the whole circumference, including the windings of the coaſt 1830 miles, the longitude is from 9 deg. 45 min. to 17 deg. 15 min. and the latitude from 50 to 59 deg. north.

From its peculiar ſituation, Great Britain enjoys many advantages unknown to any other country under the ſame parallel of latitude, and is indeed ſuperior in ſome circumſtances to the reſt of Europe. Being ſurrounded by ſome of the fineſt ſeas in the Univerſe, the coldneſs of winter is mitagated by the ſalt vapours; and the heat of ſummer corrected by the refreſhing breezes which proceed from them; ſo that the former is never intenſe, nor the latter intolerable. An almoſt perpetual vendure overſpreads the face of the country, and is at once the admiration, and envy of neighbouring nations. The air, though thick is not unhealthy, as the inhabitants are celebrated for their longevity. The frequent rains meliorate, and the hazy fogs fatten the earth to ſo great a degree, that the paſtures are the moſt verdant and rich, and the cattle ſome of the largeſt and fineſt in the world. Thunder, lightning, earthquakes, and hurricanes are neither ſo common in their viſits, or ſo terrible in their effects, as throughout the reſt of Europe. The ſurrounding ſeas, interſecting ſtreams, and fertile plains, furniſh Britain with all the neceſſaries that nature can crave, and moſt of the delicacies that luxury can wiſh, while every deficiency that the imagination of variety, or the calls of epicuriſm may require, is profuſely ſupplied by commercial means. Scarcity is ſo little known, that above three centuries have been unacquainted with famine, and conſtraint is ſo incompatible with the conſtitution, that the meaneſt ſubject has the ſame freedom of enjoying the fruits of his induſtry, as the moſt exalted peer can claim to revel in the produce of his poſſeſſions; well may each individual exclaim with Doctor Liſle:

" The ſlow aſcending hill, the lofty wood
" That mantles o'er its brow, the ſilver flood
" Wand'ring in mazes thro' the flow'ry mead,
" The herds that in the plenteous paſtures feed,
" And ev'ry object, every ſcene excites
" Freſh wonder in my ſoul and fills with new delights,
" Dwells chearful plenty there, and learned eaſe,
" And art with nature ſeems at ſtrife to pleaſe.
" There liberty, delightful goddeſs reigns,
" Gladdens each heart, and gilds the fertile plains;
" There firmly ſeated may ſhe ever ſmile,
" And ſhower her bleſſings on her favourite iſle."

Concerning the firſt peopling of this iſland, very little can be ſaid with certainty; all that has been written upon the ſubject is merely conjectural, and even thoſe conjectures are founded upon tradition only. The moſt early account which is deemed authentic, informs us that Teutat, king of the Celts, firſt ſent a colony of his ſubjects here, in order to extend the commerce of his own dominions. Theſe having ſucceeded in making a ſettlement, others were induced to follow their example; and thus, in proceſs of time, not only the ſea coaſts, but the interior parts of the iſland became inhabited; for many, not having a genius for commerce, quitted the maritime provinces, and ſeeking that ſatisfaction in a ſolitary, which they could not find in a buſy life, reſigned themſelves up to unreſtrained indolence, and abſolute freedom, in the woody receſſes of the in-land parts of the kingdom.

The Belgæ afterwards becoming too numerous on the continent, and conſequently impoveriſhing each other, a great number of them determined to emigrate to Britain. Theſe ſpringing originally from the ſame ſtock, uſing the ſame language, and having the ſame manners and cuſtoms as the Celts, were hoſpitably received by the deſcendants of the firſt ſettler, and incorporating together, byinter-marriages, their progeny deemed themſelves but one people. Hence the ancient inhabitants of Britain became populous and powerful, and the Phœnicians and Grecians carried on a commercial intercourſe with them long before they were known to the Romans. With reſpect to their characters, they were exquiſitely tenacious of liberty, rudely generous, and roughly brave. They reſembled their neighbours the Gauls in every thing, except being leſs poliſhed, and more ferocious. Tacitus ſays, that the vigour of their bodies, and the faculties of their minds were ſuperior; and Diodorus affirms, that they poſſeſſed much greater integrity than even the Romans. Like the principal part of the univerſe at that time, they were groſs idolators, their worſhip being as rude, as their manners were ſimple. The men were tall, ſtrong, and active; the women fair, well featured; and finely ſhaped; and both ſexes had either red, or cheſnut-coloured hair. Robuſt by conſtitution, and hardy through cuſtom, as they felt not the neceſſity, they ſcarce knew the conveniency of dreſs, or fixed dwelling places; many went intirely naked, and thoſe who were clad, wore only the ſkin of ſome animal thrown negligently over them. Their houſes were but huts built of boughs and covered with reeds, and theſe they removed at pleaſure; their towns were ſhady woods, in which they erected thoſe temporary dwellings, and their fortifications were large ditches or trees cut down, and laid acroſs the winding woody paths, to impede the paſſages to their habitations. It is ſingular that they uſed exactly the ſame expedient to render themſelves agreeable and terrible; for by ſtaining their bodies all over with Wood, they imagined that they became at once captivating to thoſe whom they wiſhed to pleaſe, and dreadful to ſuch as they wanted to terrify. That herb gave them a ſky-coloured tinge, which being conſidered as a proper ground, was overſpread by a variety of other tints, independent of which they were ornamented with many different figures artificially cut into the ſkin. The latter cuſtom is ſtill in uſe in many parts of the world, as the late diſcoveries in the South Seas evince, where the practice of tatowing, or ſcoring and cutting the ſkin by way of ornament, is almoſt general.

Far from wanting foreign aſſiſtance to furniſh out their meals, they deemed many articles of the produce of their own country ſuperfluous, and did not uſe the half of that abundance with which nature preſented them. The fleſh of animals killed in hunting, fruit, milk, and water, were all the luxuries of their frugal tables. This abſtemiouſneſs was not the effect of natural temperance alone; but in ſome meaſure took its riſe from religious principles, as they were ſtrictly forbade eating fowl, hare, gooſe, or fiſh; they bred up the three former, as domeſtic animals, but never attempted to take the latter, becauſe they imagined that the waters were the habitation of the gods, and that all which they contained was of courſe conſecrated to their uſe. It is, however, affirmed, that the Belgæ, upon their ſettlement in Britain, introduced ſome little knowledge of agriculture, ſo that bread made of rye and barley mixed became common; and upon particular ſolemnities they uſed a fermented liquor, compoſed of honey, barley, and apples, which upon thoſe occaſions only they drank to exceſs, and conſequently became intoxicated.

The inhabitants of the maritime were more civilized than thoſe of the inland parts of the kingdom on account of their intercourſe with ſtrangers. The principal commodities which they exported were hides and tin; commerce was chiefly carried on by barter, as their coin conſiſted only of iron and braſs rings, which being made to a certain weight paſt among themſelves as current. The imports were gold, ſilver, ivory, and pearl; theſe they at firſt conſidered as matters of curioſity, afterwards they became means of diſtinction, by being converted into ornaments to adorn their principal people; and finally, they grew objects of their ingenuity, for they, in proceſs of time, learned to manufacture them into chains, bits, bracelets, collars, wreaths, &c. to ſuch perfection, that they were re-exported at a conſiderable advantage. Their marine was extremely trifling, conſiſting only of boats made of light wood, cover'd with ſkins; and as they invariably obſerved a religious maxim enjoined them, never to eat upon the water, it is evident, that their voyages could not be long. It is to be obſerved, in honour of the antient Britons, that they were exceeding hoſpitable to ſtrangers, and ſcrupulouſly humane to thoſe caſt by ſtreſs of weather, or ſhip-wreck upon their coaſt, whoſe perſons and effects they deemed ſacred.——We wiſh that truth would permit us to include the modern Britons in this eulogium.

The civil government of the Britons greatly reſembled that of the Gauls; the whole country was divided into ſeveral petty ſtates; whether the ſovereigns of theſe principalities were hereditary or elective, is not at preſent known; but it is certain, that upon particular emergencies, delegates were ſent from all theſe ſtates to a full aſſembly of the nation, in order to appoint ſome reſpectable individual to the office of Generaliſſimo. The authority of this officer was temporary, as it depended on public expediency, and his power limited, ſince he was amenable to the cenſure of the general aſſembly by whom he was elected.

Of theſe petty ſtates there were ſeventeen previous to the Roman invaſion, viz.

Danmonii	Including	Cornwall Devonſhire
Durotriges		Dorſetſhire
Belgæ		Somerſetſhire Wiltſhire Hampſhire Iſle of Wight
Atrebates		Barkſhire, or Berkſhire
Regni		Surry Suſſex
Cantium		Kent
Dobuni		Glouceſterſhire Oxfordſhire
Cattieuchlani		Buckinghamſhire Bedfordſhire Hartfordſhire, or Hertfordſhire
Trinobantes		Middleſex Eſſex
Iceni	Including	Suffolk Norfolk Cambridgeſhire Huntingdonſhire
Coritani		Northamptonſhire Leiceſterſhire Rutlandſhire Lincolnſhire Nottinghamſhire Derbyſhire
Cornavii		Warwickſhire Worceſterſhire Staffordſhire Shropſhire Cheſhire
Silures		Herefordſhire Radnorſhire Brecknockſhire Monmouthſhire Glamorganſhire
Dimetæ		Carmarthenſhire Pembrokeſhire Cardiganſhire
Ordovices		Montgomeryſhire Merionethſhire Carnarvonſhire Angleſey Denbighſhire Flintſhire
Brigantes		West East North } Riding of Yorkſhire Richmondſhire in ditto Biſhoprick of Durham Lancaſhire Weſtmoreland Cumberland
Ottadini		Northumberland.

An able writer ſays, that the abovementioned practice of the antient Britons and Gauls, in electing their generals and other principal people was, "A polity "the moſt natural to mankind, in which the wiſeſt, "the braveſt, and the ſtrongeſt, being elevated by "theſe natural advantages above the reſt, challenged "the pre-eminence of conducting the people in time "of war, and governing them in peace; this was the "civil œconomy into which mankind fell of courſe, "when they found the abſolute neceſſity of having "ſome ſort of government to avoid the inconve"niencies in a ſtate of nature."

In each of theſe petty ſtates the principal power was lodged in the Druids; a body of men, who, though generally conſidered as prieſts, acted in a civil as well as eccleſiaſtical capacity. The reaſon of their becoming poſſeſſed of the ſecular as well as the clerical authority, was owing to a notion being prevalent among the people, that none ought to ſubmit to puniſhment for any crime whatever, but by divine authority; which authority was delegated to, and lodged in, the prieſthood only. Hence the Druids had an uncontrouled power over the minds and perſons of the laity; exempted from taxes, excuſed from military ſervices, arbitrators in civil concerns, judges in criminal matters, and public oracles of the community, it muſt be imagined that their ſentences were without appeal; indeed, few dared to diſpute their infallibility; but if by chance an individual had ſo much temerity, he was puniſhed by an excommunication ſo dreadful, as to be deemed more terrible than the cruelleſt death. From that moment he was looked upon as a perſon abandoned by God and men; univerſally ha ed and contemned, none would communicate with him; but he was ſuffered to drag through a miſerable exiſtence, till penury or ſorrow ſnatched him from a world, in which he could find neither pity or relief.

The Druids were under no apprehenſion that their influence could ever decline; being ſolely intruſted with the education of youth, they from infancy ſecured the reſpect of the people, and implanted that awe in their juvenile breaſts, which increaſed with their years, and at length ripened into the moſt permanent and profound veneration.

The Druids were of three claſſes, viz. Druids, properly ſo called, Bards, and Eubates, or Vates.

The firſt claſs preſided over, and regulated all public affairs, both in ſpirituals and temporals; their deciſions were final over life and effects, and a principal part of their buſineſs was to direct and adjuſt all public ſacrifices and religious ceremonies. They were under the direction of a principal elected by themſelves, and ſtiled Arch-Druid, whoſe authority extended ſo far as to call to account, and depoſe the ſecular prince whenever he thought proper.

The ſecond claſs, or Bards, were the national preceptors, having the care of educating the children of both ſexes and all ranks. It was likewiſe their buſineſs to compoſe verſes in commemoration of their heroes and other eminent people, and to furniſh ſongs upon all public occaſions, which they ſung to the ſound of harps.

The third claſs, or Eubates, were ſkilled in phyſic, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, magic, divination, augury, &c.

Hence it appears that the Druids in general poſſeſſed, not only all the power and learning, but the principal archives, and places of truſtin the nation, for they were the only prieſts, magiſtrates, preceptors, poets, muſicians, phyſicians, philoſophers, orators, aſtronomers, magicians, &c. in the kingdom. It is not therefore ſurprizing, that the principal people ſhould be ambitious to get their children and relations admitted into ſome of their claſſes; and that the vulgar ſhould regard them with as much veneration as they did their deities, whoſe immediate agents they imagined they were.

If any diſturbance ever happened among the Druids, it was upon the death of their Primate, when ſuch earneſt endeavours were made to get appointed to that honourable, and powerful office, that the freedom of election was frequently diſturbed by appeals to the ſword. Upon all other occaſions they acted with great juſtice, moderation, diſintereſtedneſs, and temperance, which at once ſecured and increaſed that reſpect the people naturally entertained for them.

Their adoration, and religious ceremonies were performed in groves, conſecrated to their deities. Theſe groves were compoſed of, ſurrounded by, and fenced in, with lofty oak trees; as they held ſacred that towering monarch of the Britiſh plains. Though the reaſon of ſuch prepoſſeſſion in favour of this tree in particular is now unknown, yet it is remarkable, that the antient ruſtic natives of this iſland ſhould adore that tree as a ſacred production of the earth, which the more refined modern inhabitants ought to revere as their principal bulwark on the main.

In moſt of their various ceremonies, the Druids took occaſion to uſe ſome of the members of this tree. Their altars were covered with its branches, their victims adorned with the ſmaller boughs, and all who were concerned in the ſacrifices, decorated themſelves with garlands made of its leaves. The miſletoe, which nature hath taught to grow on, and embrace the ſturdy oak, came in for a ſhare of their veneration. They deemed it the peculiar gift of Providence, and held its virtues univerſal in medicine. It was yearly ſought for in the ſpring, on the firſt day of a new moon, when a proper branch being ſelected, a principal Druid mounted the tree to which it clung, cut it with a pruning knife, and carefully wrapped it up in his garments, amidſt the joyous acclamations of the enraptured multitude, who deemed it the happy omen of a proſperous year.

The religious tenets which the Druids taught the people, teemed with the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions, and enjoined human ſacrifices as oblations to their deities. The firſt part they had in common with the Celts and Gauls, the latter they learned from the Phœnicians. Their deities were Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Andates, their goddeſs of victory, and others of a ſubordinate claſs; to them, after the Roman invaſion, they added Minerva, Diana, and Hercules. Their worſhip conſiſted in human and other ſacrifices, expiatory oblations, invocations and thankſgivings. They had in common, with other idolatrous people, both ancient and modern, the cuſtom of making their idols hideouſly ugly, which evinces, that idolatry in general always was, and ſtill is formed more on fear than love; as the figures which image worſhippers are univerſally pleaſed to give their deities, ſeem rather calculated to excite horror or ridicule than to inſpire reverence or reſpect. Unacquainted with the awful and amiable attributes of the true Deity, ignorant and barbarous nations, in all ages, have formed their religious opinions more on apprehenſion than admiration, and being incapable of conceiving the nature of univerſal benevolence, have ſought a remedy for their fears in the deprecation of partial wrath.

All Druidical ceremonies, and literary precepts were performed and delivered by rote, as they never ſuffered either their maxims or their ſciences to be committed to writing. This reſtriction was founded on two motives, the one, that the vulgar ſhould not become acquainted with their myſterious learning by means of any manuſcripts, which might accidentally fall into their hands; and the other, that the retentive faculties of their pupils might be invigorated by continual exerciſe.

Though the idolatry of the Druids was abominable, and their human ſacrifices execrable, yet this moral philoſophy hath been the admiration of after ages, and many of their maxims which ſtand in record have met with the eulogiums of the moſt celebrated and poliſhed writers. We are happy to have it in our power to gratify the public with ſome of their principal tenets, which we have extracted from a valuable and curious manuſcript in verſe, now in the poſſeſſion of a diſtinguiſhed nobleman, who at preſent adorns, and reflects a luſtre on the Britiſh court; and to whom we return our thanks for his obliging condeſcenſion in permitting us to tranſcribe them.

The Druids Syſtem of General and Relative Duties.

I. *Religious.*

ONE * God ſupreme the univerſe does ſway,
With rev'rence his omnipotence obey;
And know, that all we poſſibly can name,
From † heav'n itſelf originally came:
Let no mean thoughts of diſſolution fright,
Or damp your ſpirits with the dews of night:
‡ The ſoul's immortal and can never die;
Then death and all his dreadful train defy:

For

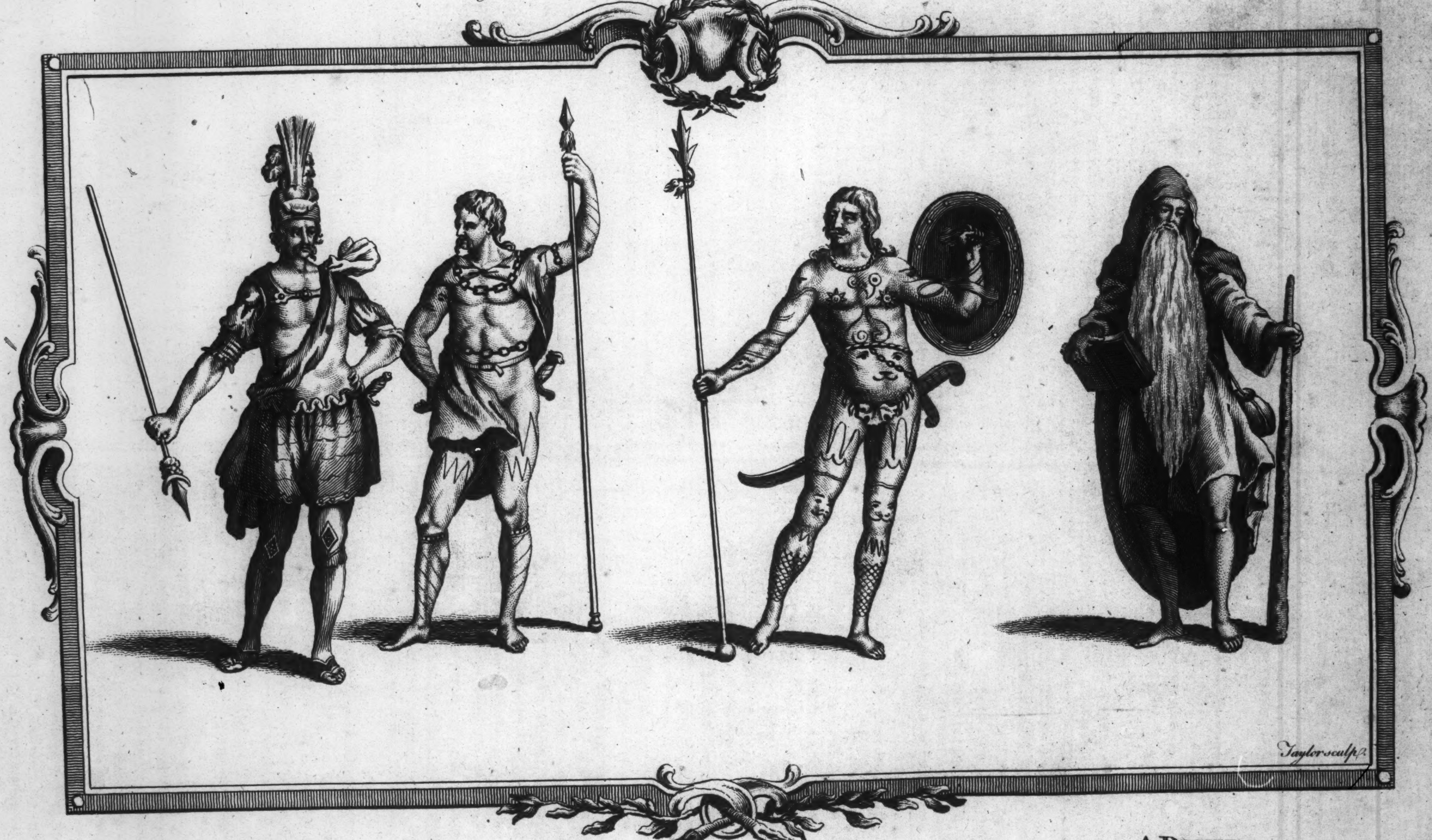
---

* It is evident that the Druids acknowledged a ſupreme godhead, but like many other nations they unhappily fell into idolatry by dividing his perfections, and making his various attributes ſo many imaginary deities.

† Theſe ſentiments evince, that the Druids had a notion of the creation, according to the Moſaical accounts.

‡ The doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul was one of the favourite druidical maxims; as being at once grateful to the human mind, and affording the Druids opportunities of inſpiring the common people with the utmoſt degree of courage, by exploding the idea of an abſolute diſſolution, and encouragingthem to expect future rewards for dying nobly in the ſervice of their country.

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.


Taylor sculp.

A ROMAN. An ANCIENT BRITON. A PICT. A DRUID.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JY 73

For frail exiſtence no vain efforts make,
Nor fear to loſe what he wants power to take.
If awful vengeance ever ſhall be hurl'd
By nature's God againſt a ſinful world;
In dreadful deluges we muſt expire,
Or elſe conſume in rapid flames of fire.
[*] In theſe tremendous elements alone,
Mankind ſhall periſh, and their ſins atone
Another world is ready to receive
Immortal ſouls, that earthly bodies leave;
To duſt the periſhable parts return,
But at the grave eternal ſpirits ſpurn.
[†] And if in virtue's paths they trod below,
In heav'nly manſions 'tis their fate to glow;
But if by vice enſlav'd, their doom's to roam
Without a heav'nly, or an earthly home.
On your young offspring ſpend your utmoſt care,
And of the early ſeeds of vice beware;
This noble taſk you can't commence too ſoon,
Expand their virtues, and their follies prune;
Their youthful minds, like melted wax impreſs,
And heav'n's fair image in their ſouls expreſs.

II. *Political.*

Children muſt from their parents be remov'd,
Tho' fondly priz'd, and tenderly belov'd;
[‡] Till fourteen times the ſun with radiant rays,
Shall round the world in annual circuit blaze;
Leſt blind partiality in youth ſhould wrong
Thoſe riſing minds that to the ſtate belong.
[§] 'Tis juſt, upon emergencies of ſtate,
To yield an individual up to fate;
Better a part ſhould periſh than the whole,
A body's forfeit cannot hurt the ſoul:
The ſacrific'd, by feeling earthly pain,
May greater bliſs in future life obtain.
Blind diſobedience to the ſtate's decree,
Shall always excommunicated be;
And interdicted thus, the wretch ſhall roam,
Secluded from ſociety and home:
Devoid of truſt in the moſt trifling cauſe,
And unprotected by the injur'd laws.
[||] When danger calls, and delegates ſhould meet,
Let not the ſenate wait for tardy feet;
For in the criſis of our country's fate,
He merits death who gives advice too late.

III. *Miſcellaneous.*

Thoſe who lend money to the wretch decay'd,
In the next life will be again repaid.
If by one newly dead you want to ſend
[**] A note, to any long departed friend:
Compoſe your letter in a ſolemn ſtile,
And ſlowly caſt it on the fun'ral pile.
Then know the ſentiments therein expreſs'd,
Will be deliver'd to the hand addreſs'd.
Each maſter of a family, we deem
In his own habitation, Lord ſupreme,
O'er life and property his pow'r extends,
If the ſtate ratifies, what he intends.
[††] Priſoners of war are doom'd by fate to die,
Then ſacrifice them to ſome deity;
Upon the altars let them ſoon expire,
Or clos'd in wicker feed the ſacred fire.
Be arts inſtill'd—be uſeful ſcience ſhewn,
And wiſdom taught in ſacred groves alone;
There, and there only, ſhall the mind improve
In needful knowledge, and in ſocial love;
But let no leſſon be in writing given,
Truſt all to memory—that great gift of heaven:
[‡‡] When ſtrong diſeaſes, the weak frame enthrall,
The moon's the ſovereign remedy of all.
Let [§§] miſletoe with reverent awe be ſought,
Since as a boon, from heav'n itſelf 'tis brought;
The ſacred oak aſcend, and then with ſkill,
Cut the wiſh'd branches with a golden bill.

The chief ſeat of the Druids was in the iſle of Angleſey, where they held an annual aſſembly of the ſtates, and had their principal ſeminary of learning, which, it muſt be admitted, was the firſt univerſity in Britain. Hither the children of the princes and nobility were ſent for education; and ſuch was the reputation of this early ſeat of the muſes, that the principal people in Gaul were placed here on the ſame account.

The Britons were of a fierce and warlike temper, and conſequently had frequent conteſts among themſelves; which want of union, as Tacitus obſerves, greatly facilitated their conqueſt by the Romans. Their arms were ſmall ſhields, and very large ſwords, which, ſays a certain author, was expreſſive of "a "more eager deſire of wounding their enemies than "defending themſelves." The ſpears, or javelins which they carried were of a moderate length, and had a braſs ball faſtened to the lower end, with which they made a rattling noiſe upon an attack, to intimidate their enemies. Their daggers were very ſhort, and their war chariots greatly reſembled thoſe uſed by the Grecian heroes during the Trojan war, as the Roman writers deſcription of the former perfectly agree with Homer's account of the latter. To the nave of the wheels, iron ſcythes were faſtened, which did great miſchief as they drove through the ranks of the enemy. In the management of their chariots they were ſingularly ſkilful, being able to drive on the ſide of a hill, or edge of a precipice at full ſpeed, ſtop ſuddenly, turn ſhort, and perform many other acts of the moſt admirable dexterity. In the commencement of an engagement they ſcoured the plains in their chariots, threw their darts with great addreſs, and began the attack with the utmoſt intrepidity. During the fight they would quit theſe machines, form themſelves into compleat bodies on foot, and do great execution with their heavy ſwords; while their chariot-drivers withdrew from the battle, and placed themſelves in order at a ſuitable diſtance, that their maſters, if weary or overpowed, might eaſily retreat to them, and remount. Thus they maintained at once the ſpeed of cavalry, and the ſteadineſs of infantry. Their horſes were ſmall, but vigorous and ſwift, and the troopers were exceeding ſkilful in the management of them. With reſpect to enduring fatigue, no troops could be more hardy and robuſt; they could, without any inconvenience, live a conſiderable time upon roots or the barks of trees only, and ſleep many nights ſucceſſively in damp bogs, and marſhes covered with water. Such were the Britons at the time of Julius Cæſar's invaſion; when, notwithſtanding their ſkill and courage, the Romans found means to ſubdue them by greater unanimity, better diſcipline, more perſevering fortitude, and ſuperior addreſs.

---

[*] Here the Moſaic account of the flood, and the promiſe that God would never again deſtroy the world by water are blended together, and referred to a future day. The idea that the world ſhall be deſtroyed by the powerful element of fire or water, and that man ſhall at the ſame time be purged from ſin, by the purifying effects of the former, and the cleanſing qualities of the latter, is extremely beautiful, and ſhews that the mythology of the Britons was in ſome reſpect ſuperior to that of the Romans.

[†] It is a great pity that ſuch ſublime principles ſhould have been diſgraced by an intermixture of idolatrous notions, and inhuman ceremonies.

[‡] This was an admirable political maxim to intruſt the education of children to perſons properly qualified, and publickly appointed till the age of fourteen years, when reaſon uſually begins to take poſſeſſion of her throne. By which means it prevented their being ſpoiled in their infancy by the indiſcrete indulgence, or abſurd partiality of their parents.

[§] The principle contained in the firſt four lines of this maxim is reaſonable in itſelf, and juſt with reſpect to ſociety; yet the words were perverted from their true ſenſe to the moſt cruel purpoſes; for on the authority of this tenet, human ſacrifices were made, and the ſentiment contained in the two ſubſequent lines, was intended as a ſalvo, both to excuſe the cruelty of the practice, and to comfort the poor victim amidſt the horrors of death.

[||] If this maxim was ſtill in force as a law, many modern ſenators would frequently be in danger.

[**] This cuſtom ſtill prevails in Georgia and Mingrelia, where, as Sir John Chardin informs us, the people ſend letters by the dead to their friends in the other world; in particular, a complimentary card from the prieſt to St. Peter is placed on the breaſt of the dufunct, to inform that ſaint that the funeral fees are paid; and intreat his permiſſion for the ſoul of the deceaſed to paſs into Paradiſe. From this maxim, we likewiſe underſtand that the Britons, like the Greeks and Romans, burnt their dead upon funeral piles.

[††] Theſe inhuman practices, the Britons, as well as many other nations, learned from the Phœnicians, who were the moſt bloody people in the univerſe, with reſpect to human ſacrifices. The mode of burning priſoners in wicker was practiſed likewiſe by the Saxons.

[‡‡] The Druids fancied that the moon had ſuch an abſolute influence on the human body, that by obſerving her aſpects, and applying remedies accordingly, they could cure any diſeaſe. This explains the meaning of the above druidical tenet.

[§§] Miſletoe was held in great eſteem by the antients for many medicinal virtues; but it hath decreaſed greatly in its reputation among modern phyſicians. Dr. Brookes ſays, it purges both upwards and downwards with uncommon violence, and is therefore improper to be taken inwardly

BOOK II.

From the Conqueſt of the Britons *by the* Romans, *to the Introduction of the* Saxons.

SECTION I.

Of Julius Cæſar's *two Expeditions into* Britain.

AT the time of Cæſar's conceiving the idea of invading Britain, the Romans were in the meridian of their military glory. They had ſubjugated the whole weſtern world, yet their deſire of conqueſt was unſatisfied. This thirſt of unbounded dominion was univerſal, and pervaded all ranks of people. Each individual, from the laurel'd hero, to the low Plebeian, ardently burned ſtill farther to enlarge the territories of the republic, and extend the Roman name. This general paſſion had already laid waſte the continent, and ſeas of blood were ſhed to gratify the Roman vanity; but wild ambition is never ſatisfied, the ocean muſt now be croſſed in the purſuit of a fallacious glory, and realms be joined by conqueſt, which were ſeperated by nature.

> " From thirſt of rule, what dire diſaſters flow,
> " How flames that guilt ambition taught to glow;
> " Wiſh gains on wiſh, deſire ſurmounts deſire;
> " Hope fans the breeze, and envy feeds the fire.
> " From crime to crime aſpires the mad'ning ſoul,
> " Nor laws, nor oaths, nor fears its rage controul;
> " 'Till heav'n at length awakes ſupremely juſt,
> " And levels all its tow'ring ſchemes in duſt.

Various have been the conjectures concerning Cæſar's motives for this invaſion. Some inſiſt that envy ſtimulated him to the enterprize; for Pompey, of whom he was perpetually jealous, having conquered a great part of Africa, and carried his arms through many Aſiatic regions, had filled the world with his renown. Hence Cæſar could not bear to remain inactive in Gaul, but glowed to do ſomething which might immortalize his own name, and eclipſe the glory of his rival. Others affirm, that avarice induced him to engage in the undertaking; and of this opinion is Suetonius, who ſays, that Cæſar was ſo captivated by the Britiſh[*] pearls, which he would frequently poize in his hands with great ſatisfaction, that he at length determined to invade the country; and Cicero inſinuates, that the ſilver mines of Britain were his ſtrongeſt motives for invading it. This ſuppoſition is, however, rejected by the generality of writers, on account of the acknowledged generoſity of Cæſar's diſpoſition; but ſuch as reaſon in this manner ſhew, that they have taken but a ſuperficial view of human nature; for the generous heart pants after riches as much as that of an avaricious caſt, with this difference; the former would poſſeſs wealth, that he may liberally diſtribute it, and the latter, that he may ſordidly conceal it. The miſer is not conſtituted by wiſhing to acquire money, but by not having ſpirit to uſe it when acquired. And finally, a third claſs of thoſe who have diſcuſſed this ſubject, make Cæſar's unbounded ambition the ſole cauſe of the Britiſh invaſion.

But without limiting our ideas, might not all theſe motives co-operate in the mind of Cæſar, together with the one which he himſelf mentions; but which theſe critical gentlemen have injudiciouſly omitted? for he tells us, that, " although the ſummer was nearly " ſpent, he reſolved to make a voyage to Britain, " becauſe he had been informed in all the wars of " Gaul, the enemies had received conſiderable ſup" plies from thence." Is it ſtrange that the active ſpirit of Cæſar ſhould undertake a difficult enterprize, when ambition, envy, intereſt, and reſentment united in urging him to it? The Romans had previouſly been concerned in many ſea engagements in ſight of land; but had never entertained the idea of undertaking a naval expedition to any country ſeparated by the ocean from the continent. This enterprize was reſerved for Cæſar, whoſe martial genius ſeemed calculated to ſurmount all difficulties.

Cæſar's firſt expedition ſeems, by his own account, to have been rather intended as a preparatory, than a deciſive one, for he ſays, (ſpeaking of himſelf in the third perſon) " Though the time of the year would " not permit him to finiſh the war, yet he thought " it would be worth his while to make an expedition " thither only to view the iſland, to learn the nature of " the inhabitants, to be acquainted with their coaſts, " their ports and creeks, which the Gauls were almoſt " ſtrangers to; for they were ſeldom viſited by any " but merchants, who were unacquainted with all the " country, except the coaſts and thoſe parts which " were oppoſite to Gaul. Accordingly, having ſummoned a council of merchants[†] from all parts, he " could neither be informed of the extent of the iſland, what nation, and how powerful the inhabitants were, how well they underſtood the art of war, what cuſtoms they were governed by, nor how conſiderable a navy their parts were capable of receiving.”

---

[*] Cæſar was groſly miſtaken in fancying thoſe pearls Britiſh, as the Britons had them by commercial means, from the Phœnician merchants.

[†] The beſt Roman writers affirm, that the merchants pretended to be much more ignorant concerning Britain than they really were, in order to deter Cæſar from his expedition, which they naturally feared would deprive them of the beneficial trade that they carried on with the Britons. And this conjecture ſeems the more probable, as they took care immediately to apprize thoſe people of their danger, that they might have time to make preparations for oppoſing the Roman forces.

Not diſcouraged by this want of proper intelligence, Cæſar diſpatched C. Voluſenus, a Tribune of his army in a galley, to reconnoitre the Britiſh coaſts, and make ſuch obſervations as might be of ſervice to the expedition, who, after a five days cruize, returned and made a report of what he had ſeen to his commander.

Some of the Britiſh ſtates being informed of Cæſar's great preparations to invade them, and dreading the inpending danger, ſent ambaſſadors to him into Gaul, offering to ſubmit to the Romans, and to give hoſtages for their fidelity. Theſe envoys were graciouſly received, hoſpitably entertained, and ſent back in company with Comius as deputy from Cæſar to the different Britiſh ſtates. Comius, a Briton by birth, but much in Cæſar's favour, was, however, imprudently ſeized upon the moment he landed, and impriſoned by his countrymen, who were exaſperated at his attachment to a foreigner and an enemy.

Cæſar having drawn together his forces, embarked his infantry in eighty, and his cavalry in eighteen tranſport ſhips, and ſet ſail from Morini, or Picardy, about one in the morning, on the 26th day of Auguſt, in the year of the world, 3947, and fifty-five years before Chriſt.

About ten o'clock the ſame morning, the ſhips, with the infantry, arrived off Dover; when Cæſar found the cliffs lined with armed Britons, who, from the nature of the place, could oppoſe his landing with advantage; he therefore ordered the ſhips to caſt anchor, called a council of war, gave proper directions to his officers, and at about four o'clock in the afternoon again weighed anchor, in order to find a more plain and eaſy ſhore; which, after having ſailed about eight miles to the northward, he diſcovered at the place now called Deal. The Britons, gueſſing his intent, diſpatched their chariots and horſemen firſt, and followed with the reſt of the army, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, in order to oppoſe the landing of the Romans; which, ſays Cæſar, “We found it very difficult to effect for many reaſons; becauſe our ſhips being tall, required a conſiderable depth of water, and our ſoldiers, while their hands were employed, and loaded with heavy armour, were at the ſame time to encounter the waves and the enemy in a place they were not acquainted with; whereas the Britons, either ſtanding upon dry land, or ſallying a little way into the water in thoſe places they knew to be ſhallow, having the free uſe of all their limbs, could boldly caſt their darts, and ſpur their horſes forward, who were inured to that kind of combat; which diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the Romans, who were ſtrangers to this way of fighting, that they did not appear ſo chearful and eager to engage the enemy as in their former conflicts on dry land. Which Cæſar perceiving, gave orders, that the gallies, (a nimble ſort of ſhipping the enemy had never ſeen,) ſhould advance a little before the reſt of the navy, and row along with their broadſides towards the ſhore, that they might more conveniently force the Britons to retire from the water-ſide by their ſlings, engines, and arrows, which did the Romans conſiderable ſervice; for the Britons, being ſurprized at the make of our gallies, the motion of our oars and engines, began to give ground. But the ſtandard bearer of the tenth legion, perceiving our men were unwilling to venture into the ſea, having firſt invoked the gods for ſucceſs, cried out aloud,—My fellow ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your eagle and ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, advance: for my part I am reſolved to perform my duty to the commonwealth, and my general. Having ſaid this, he immediately leaped overboard, and advanced the eagle toward the Britons; whereupon the ſoldiers, encouraging each other to prevent ſo ſignal a diſgrace, followed his example, which thoſe in the next ſhips perceiving, did the like and preſſed forward to the enemy. The conflict was ſharply maintained on both ſides, though the Romans not being able to keep their ranks, obtain firm footing, or follow their particular ſtandards, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, and joining the firſt enſign they met with, were in great confuſion. But the Britons, who were well acquainted with the ſhallows, where they ſaw us deſcend in ſmall numbers from our ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, ſat upon our men, incumbered and unprepared to receive them, and ſome ſurrounded us with their numbers in one place, whilſt others flanked us where we lay moſt open in another;—which Cæſar obſerving, he cauſed the long boats and ſmaller veſſels to be manned, and where occaſion required, ſent them to aſſiſt their fellows; thus our foremoſt ranks, having gained dry footing, were followed by the reſt of the army, and charging the enemy briſkly, put them to flight, but were not able to purſue, or take the iſland at that time, becauſe we had no cavalry; which was the only thing wanting to compleat Cæſar's wonted ſucceſs.

“The enemy being defeated, ſo ſoon as they had eſcaped beyond the reach of danger, ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar to deſire a peace; promiſing to deliver hoſtages for their entire ſubmiſſion, and with theſe ambaſſadors came Comius of Arras, whom Cæſar had ſent into Britain, where he was impriſoned ſo ſoon as he landed with his general's commands; but ſet at liberty again after the battle. They endeavoured to excuſe what they had done, by laying the blame upon the mob, and entreating him to forgive a fault of ignorance, but not of malice; Cæſar at firſt reprimanded them for their breach of faith, that after they had vouluntarily ſent ambaſſadors to him into Gaul to deſire a peace, and delivered hoſtages of their own accord, they ſhould, without any reaſon make war upon him; he imputed it, he ſaid, to their ignorance, and forgave them; then demanded hoſtages for their future carriage, part whereof they delivered immediately, and with the reſt who lived at ſome diſtance, they promiſed to return in a few days after. In the mean time, having diſbanded their men, and diſperſed them into their ſeveral counties, the princes from all parts came to deliver up themſelves, and their eſtates to Cæſar's diſpoſal.” *

Affairs did not long remain in this amicable ſituation, for a violent ſtorm diſperſed the eighteen tranſports, appointed to bring the Roman cavalry, and did conſiderable damage to Cæſar's fleet in the Downs; the firſt were forced back again to Gaul, and the latter rendered totally unfit for ſervice. The intelligence of theſe accidents threw the Roman army into the utmoſt conſternation, and inſpirited the Britons to revolt. The aſſembly of the ſtates exhorted the people to ſeize upon this opportunity of regaining their liberty, and by a total extermination of their enemies to deter others from the idea of invading their country. And the Druids took care to obſerve, that as the heavens intereſted themſelves in their favour, it would be impious not to join the elements in their own deliverance.

Cæſar,

---

* It is to be obſerved, that in mentioning general matters, Cæſar ſpeaks in the firſt perſon; but in relating any thing immediately reſpecting himſelf, he always modeſtly makes uſe of the third perſon.

Cæſar, in the mean time, did all that a great general, and a prudent man could effect upon ſuch an emergency. He fortified his camp with great precaution, aſſiduouſly furniſhed it with as much corn as could be procured, and induſtriouſly repaired the ſhips that had received the leaſt damage with the timber of twelve that were the moſt ſhattered.

Hoſtilities, however, ſoon commenced, for the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, was ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Britons, while the men were unſuſpicious of, and unprepared for, an attack. The conteſt was ſharp and bloody, and the Romans would have been infallibly deſtroyed, had not Cæſar came ſeaſonably to their relief, and with his whole force interpoſed to ſave them from deſtruction. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and by the difficulties to which they were ſenſible the Romans were driven, they ſurrounded Cæſar's camp, and attacked it with great impetuoſity; but after a bloody conflict were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; when Cæſar thought proper to lay waſte the country for ſeveral miles round. This induced them to ſend a third embaſſy to Cæſar again, to apologize for their conduct, and ſue for peace. Cæſar ſeverely reprimanded the deputies, and then granted their deſires, only inſiſting to have the number of hoſtages doubled, and ſent after him to Gaul, whither he returned with all his troops, on the twentieth of September. But the Britons were no ſooner freed from ſuch diſagreeable company, than moſt of them forgot their promiſes, as we find that only two ſtates thought proper to ſend the hoſtages ſtipulated for in the treaty.

Thus ended Cæſar's firſt expedition to Britain, which, though gloſſed over by the Roman ſelf-flattering hiſtorians, was inglorious to their army, and not of the leaſt ſolid advantage to the ſtate. Cæſar, however, had ſufficient addreſs to repreſent it of ſuch vaſt importance, that the re-public decreed him a triumph of twenty days upon the occaſion.

During the winter, Cæſar made vaſt preparations for a more ſucceſsful expedition in the enſuing ſummer. Every thing at length being ready, he ſet ſail from Portus Itius, now Boulogne, in the beginning of Auguſt, with a fleet of upwards of 300 ſail, and a formidable force on board. He landed without oppoſition in the ſame place he had done the preceeding ſummer, the Britons having retired up the country. Cæſar having left ten cohorts, and three hundred horſe to guard the ſhips, penetrated the ſame night twelve miles from the ſea, and diſcovered the Britons near the river Stour in Kent. An engagement enſued, when the Britons being routed by the Roman cavalry, retreated to a fortified wood, "where," (ſays Cæſar) "they were poſſeſſed of a poſt extremely well fortified both by art and nature, which had been built, in all probability, during the times of their own civil wars; all the paſſages to it being blocked up by heaps of trees cut down for that purpoſe. They never ventured out of this place but in ſmall parties, and always hindered the Romans from entering it; but the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, took the place, and drove them from the woods."

The next morning Cæſar divided his army into three parts, in order to purſue the Britons, but was diverted from this deſign by receiving the melancholy intelligence that his fleet was almoſt deſtroyed by a ſtorm. He immediately repaired to the ſea coaſt, gave orders to repair ſome of the ſhips with the wrecks of the others, wrote to Gaul for more, and then reſolved upon putting into execution one of the moſt aſtoniſhing expedients that ever entered the mind of man, which was no other than drawing his navy upon dry land, and ſurrounding it with a fortification. This was effected by incredible labour, and indefatigable induſtry. Cæſar then returned to the place where he had laſt defeated the enemy, when "he found far greater numbers of the Britons aſſembled, than he left when he went to viſit the fleet. By general conſent, the whole management of this war was committed to the care of Caſſivellaunus, whoſe territories were divided by the river Thames from the ſea coaſts, and extended fourſcore miles into the iſland; for though he had formerly made war on the reſt of his countrymen, yet upon our arrival they all united, and pitched upon him as the fitteſt perſon to direct them at ſo important a juncture."

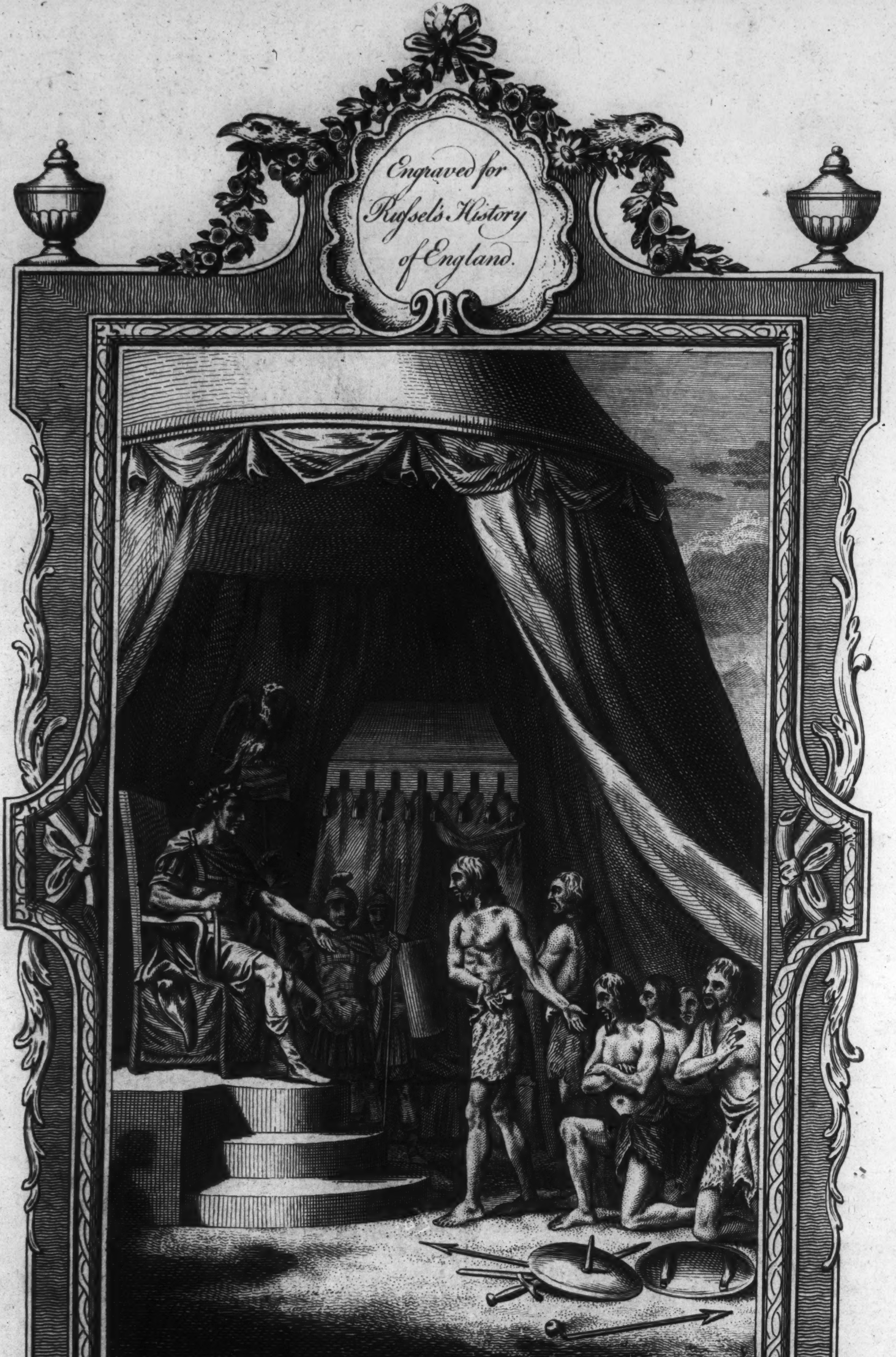
The Britons attacked the Romans in their march, a ſharp conflict enſued, and the Britons were repulſed; but they ſoon after made an attempt upon the camp, and broke through two of the beſt cohorts. Cæſar, in relating this affair, is under the neceſſity of confeſſing, that he had rather the diſadvantage. His words are, "This engagement happening in the view of the whole army, every one perceived that the legionary ſoldiers were not a fit match for ſuch an enemy, becauſe the weight of their armour would not permit them to purſue, nor durſt they go too far from their colours, neither could the cavalry encounter them; becauſe the Britons often pretended a retreat, and having drawn them from the legions, would forſake their chariots and fight on foot to a great advantage; and when they were mounted, they were equally fatal to our horſe, whether we purſued or fled. Another diſadvantage was, that the enemy never fought in a cloſe battalion, but in ſmall parties at a great diſtance from one another, each of them having their particular part allotted, from whence they received ſupplies, and the weary were relieved by the freſh."

The next day the Britons attacked three legions that were foraging, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; upon this ill ſucceſs, the auxiliaries forſook Caſſivellaunus, who was never after able to bring any formidable force into the field.

Not being able to make head againſt the Romans, the unfortunate Britiſh chief retreated to his own territories, and fortified the Thames, where fordable. The Romans, however, forced a paſſage at Coway, in Middleſex, and proceeded on their march, when they were met by deputies from the magiſtrates of the chief city of the Trinobantes, who ignobly offered ſubjection, and traiterouſly joined the Romans; at the ſame time, requeſting that Mandubrace, one of Cæſar's attendants, whoſe father was killed by Caſſivellaunus, might be permitted to rule them. Cæſar aſſented, but at the ſame time demanded forty hoſtages, and proviſions ſufficient for his whole army. Theſe conditions were complied with, and the defection of theſe people not only weakened the common cauſe, but induced ſeveral other ſtates to follow their example. Among thoſe who joined Cæſar, ſome were baſe enough to let him know what ſtrength Caſſivellaunus had ſtill remaining, and where he had retreated to. Upon this information, Cæſar immediately proceeded to the city of Verulam, now St. Alban's, and beſieged that unfortunate chief in his capital. The place was tolerably well fortified with woods and moraſſes; but the Romans took it by ſtorm, and put a prodigious number of the unhappy Britons to the ſword. Caſſivellaunus, however, eſcaped, and as his laſt reſource perſuaded four petty kings of Kent, viz. Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulas, and Segonax, to attack the Roman camp where the ſhips were ſecured, and try to deſtroy the navy. The project was put in execution, but failed of ſucceſs; for the Britons were defeated, and Cingetorix taken priſoner. This ill ſucceſs, the deſolation of his country, and the revolt of his allies, induced Caſſivellaunus at length to ſue for peace. His requeſt was granted

immediately

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


Engraved for
Ruſsel's History
of England.
Wale delin.
White ſculp

Cassivellaunus *and other British*
Princes sueing for Peace to
Julius Cæsar.

immediately by Cæſar, who pretended to have a great reſpect for Caſſivellaunus on account of his perſonal courage; but the real reaſon of his granting him conditions tolerably favourable was, his deſire to return to Gaul, where the public affairs rendered his immediate preſence neceſſary. Previous to his departure, he impoſed a yearly tribute upon the Britons, included his ally Mandubrace in the treaty, and tried to ſecure the allegiance of the different ſtates, by taking with him a great number of hoſtages. Thus concludes Cæſar's ſecond expedition, wherein Tacitus obſerves, he had rather ſhewn Britain to the Romans, than given them poſſeſſion of it, ſuppoſing it glory ſufficient to have attempted a thing at once ſo novel, ſingular, and difficult. When he returned to Rome, the Britiſh captives, from their remarkable attire and peculiarity of manners, afforded matter of admiration to the people, and Cæſar offered a breaſt plate, embroidered with pearls, found in Britain, to Venus as a trophy of the ſpoils of the ocean.

The ſubjugation of Britain was the very laſt triumph of the Romans, who had conquered ſo many nations in Europe, Aſia, and Africa, for the purpoſe of extending their territories. Cæſar himſelf placed it among the greateſt of his atchievements, boaſting that he had diſcovered and penetrated into a new world. The Romans in general were of the ſame opinion, for Ovid, in the ſucceeding reign, in deſcribing the deification of Julius Cæſar, mentions it as the firſt and principal of that Hero's actions in the following lines.

“ ————————————————
“ In his own city, Cæſar we adore,
“ Him arms and arts, alike renown'd beheld,
“ In peace conſpicuous, dreadful in the field;
“ His rapid conqueſt, and ſwift finiſh'd wars,
“ The hero juſtly fix'd among the ſtars;
“ Yet is his progeny his greateſt fame,
“ The ſon immortal makes his father's name;
“ The ſea-girt Britons, by his courage tam'd,
“ For their high rocky cliffs and fierceneſs fam'd.

SECT. II.

From the departure of Julius Cæſar, *to the conqueſt of* Britain, *by the* Emperor Claudius.

THE account we have of the affairs of Britain for near one hundred years after the departure of Julius Cæſar, is very trifling and vague. By their intercourſe with the Romans, the inhabitants grew more poliſhed, but at the ſame time were leſs regarded. The emperor Auguſtus, Cæſar's immediate ſucceſſor, greatly neglected this iſland for ſeveral years; at length he determined to make an expedition into Britain, but was diverted from his purpoſe by a revolt in Panonia. About ſeven years after he renewed his deſign; but the diſtracted ſtate of Gaul, and the arrival of ſome ambaſſadors from Britain to ſue for peace, a ſecond time cauſed him to change his reſolution. The enſuing year he again reaſſumed his intention, and was again diſappointed by commotions in other parts. Thus all his plans of making an expedition to Britain proved abortive; Tiberius ſucceeded Auguſtus, and, like his predeceſſor, paid but little regard to Britain.

On the death of Tiberius, the empire devolved to Caligula, a moſt conceited, whimſical, inconſiſtent, and cruel tyrant. In his reign Adminius, the ſon of Cunobelin, a Britiſh king, raiſed an unnatural rebellion againſt his father; but not ſucceeding according to his wiſh, he fled to Caligula, who being of a baſe diſpoſition himſelf, received the traitor with open arms. The treacherous Briton, finding the encouragement given to his crimes, and perceiving the weakneſs of the emperor, perſuaded him to invade not only his father's dominions, but thoſe of all the other Britiſh princes, repreſenting, that the conqueſt would be very important from the riches it would bring; extremely glorious from its importance; and mighty eaſy from the terrors of his name: for the Britons, ſaid he, will throw down their arms, the moment they hear you are coming in perſon againſt them.

Theſe arguments exactly ſuited the avarice, pride, and cowardice of the emperor; who thought that an opportunity to gain wealth and fame without danger, was not to be neglected. He accordingly drew together an army of two hundred thouſand men to invade Britain, and proceeded to the coaſt of Belgic Gaul. He was here informed, to his great ſurprize, that the Britons were under arms on the oppoſite ſhore, with a determined reſolution to oppoſe his intended deſcent. This he could hardly believe at firſt, but being at length convinced that his name was not ſo terrible as he imagined, his fears induced him to deſiſt, for he reſolved not to engage in any enterprize, in which there might be the leaſt perſonal hazard. But that it ſhould not be ſaid he was afraid to ſee his enemies, he embarked on board a galley, ſailed within a league of the Britiſh coaſt, took a peep at the Britons, whoſe formidable appearance he did not at all like, and then haſted back again with as much oſtentation, as if he had atchieved ſome great action. To make himſelf ſtill more ridiculous, he ordered the army to be drawn up in battle array as ſoon as he landed, and having made a curious harangue to the ſoldiers, to their utter aſtoniſhment, gave directions that they ſhould diſperſe themſelves about the ſea coaſt, to gather up all the ſhells they could find; the troops naturally thought the emperor's head was turned, but at the ſame time obeyed him. A prodigious quantity of ſhells being collected, Caligula commanded that they ſhould be carefully packed up, and to compleat the farce, ſent them with the moſt pompous parade to Rome, as the ſpoils of the Britiſh ocean; demanding, at the ſame time, that the ſenate ſhould decree him a triumph for the important ſervices he had done the empire. Abſurd as his requeſt may appear, the ſenate was civil enough to comply with it; and put themſelves to immenſe expence to render the emperor magnificently ridiculous in the face of the whole world.

Thus from the continual failure of intended expeditions, the Britons remained unſubdued by the Romans till the reign of Claudius; and then rather fell victims to their own inteſtine broils than to the power of that empire. Jealouſy did what their enemies ſwords could not effect; and while ſome ſtates had the virtue to oppoſe the Romans, others joined them, and were ſolicitous for their own deſtruction. Beric, a diſcontented Britiſh Prince, was the chief enemy to his own country, and the principal perſon who perſuaded the Emperor to undertake the expedition. Plautius, the Prætor, was placed at the head of the army, and ordered to paſs into Britain. But the troops mutinied, and declared, “ They would “ not make war out of the compaſs of the world;” for the common people thought that all places beyond the ocean were out of the limits of the world to which they belonged. At length, threats, preſents, and promiſes prevailed; harmony was reſtored; and the troops reconciled to the expedition. Plautius took advantage of this favourable diſpoſition, and embarked his whole force at three ports, that the failure of one embarkation might not prevent the ſucceſs of the enterprize. They were, however, all driven back by contrary winds, and much diſheartened; but the appearance of an aurora borealis recalled their ſpirits, for the Romans imagining this meteor to be a happy omen, again ſet ſail, and landed in Britain without oppoſition. Their not meeting with the reſiſtance they expected, was owing to the Britons having been informed by ſome merchants, that the Roman troops had mutinied, and the expedition was laid aſide. This fatal intelligence ſoothed them into ſecurity, and occaſioned them to diſband their forces, when there was more occaſion than ever to employ them.

Plautius penetrated as far as Oxfordſhire, without any oppoſition, except being a little haraſſed by ſmall ſkirmiſhing parties. He now advanced toward the principal forces that the Britons had been able to collect, which were very impolitically divided into two bodies; the one commanded by Caractacus, and the other by Togodumnus, his brother. Plautius attacked them ſeperately, and defeated both parties: this double misfortune threw the Britons into great conſternation, and at the ſame time determined Plautius to make every advantage of his ſucceſs; leaving a ſufficient body of troops to ſecure the country already conquered, he proceeded to the Iſis. As this river was not fordable, they imagined that it would have ſtopped the career of the Romans. Their miſtake was, however, ſoon evident; for Plautius ordered the German Auxiliaries to plunge into the ſtream and ſwim over, which they eaſily effected, though encumbered by their armour; for theſe people were trained from their youth to ſwim acroſs deep and rapid ſtreams, while incommoded with heavy weights. The Germans no ſooner gained the oppoſite ſhore, than, according to the order of their General, they aimed their arrows and darts at the horſes of the enemy; and by the ſlaughter of thoſe animals, rendered the chariots effectually uſeleſs. The Romans, animated by the example of the Germans, ſoon croſſed the river to their ſupport, when the Britons, unequal to the conflict, fled. The next day, however, they recovered their ſpirits, and attacked the Romans with ſuch impetuoſity, that a victory would have been the conſequence, had not Sideus Geta, after having been taken priſoner, freed himſelf, and thoſe who were with him, and charged the Britons in the rear. This unexpected attack threw them into great conſternation, and a rout enſued. Geta was deemed the cauſe of the victory, and a triumph was afterwards decreed him upon that account, though he had never paſſed the Conſular dignity.

The Britons then marched expeditiouſly along the banks of the Thames, and forded it at places with which they were well acquainted; while the Romans, who followed them were frequently bemired in bogs and marſhes. At length diſcovering a ford, the latter paſſed over, and again defeated the former; when many Britons, among whom was Prince Togodumnus, were ſlain.

Plautius found that his own army was conſiderably diminiſhed by theſe repeated engagements; and that the Britons, not diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſſes, were ſtill determined to ſtruggle for their liberties. Dubious of his own ſecurity, he ſent to the continent for reinforcements, and ſtrongly ſolicited the Emperor to come in perſon in order to complete the conqueſt.

Claudius accordingly landed in Britain in the month of Auguſt, A. D. 43, with a powerful army, and immediately marched to join Plautius, whoſe troops were encamped on the ſouth ſide of the Thames. The forces by their junction formed a more conſiderable army than the Romans had ever before brought into the iſland. Claudius took the ſole command upon himſelf, marched expeditiouſly up to the Britons, and before they had time to reflect, brought them to a general engagement; in which the Britons received a total overthrow. This laſt fatal defeat, and the powerful army of the Romans, quite diſpirited the Britons, who thought more of making their peace than retrieving their affairs, and determined to court the confidence inſtead of oppoſing the progreſs of the conqueror. They accordingly, in general, threw down their arms; and deputies from the different ſtates flocked daily to the Roman camp to make their ſubmiſſion. It is therefore at this period that we ought properly to date the reduction of the Britons by the Romans, for the previous expeditions tended rather to diſturb than ſubjugate the country. Claudius then took Camulodunum, now Malden, in Eſſex, which he made a military colony; a great part of the country was reduced to a Roman province, and having conciliated the affections of the Britons by his moderation, he returned to the continent. At Rome he was received by the people with the moſt rapturous demonſtrations of joy; a triumph was decreed him, and Britanicus was added to his name. Plautius, who was left to manage the new conqueſt, after the departure of the Emperor, found that a diſcontent, and a deſire of liberty ſtill prevailed among the Britons, which obliged him frequently to detach Flavius Veſpaſian, on a variety of expeditions, according as exigencies required, or the commotions grew dangerous. In his ſeveral excurſions, Veſpaſian fought thirty battles with the revolted and remote Britons; took twenty towns; ſubdued the Iſle of Wight, and even added the Orkney iſlands to the imperial territories. As a reward for which, he afterwards obtained a triumph, two ſacerdotal dignities, and a conſulſhip. Plautius being honorably recalled from Britain, and cordially received by the Emperor, P. Oſtorius Scapula was appointed to ſucceed him as Proprætor.

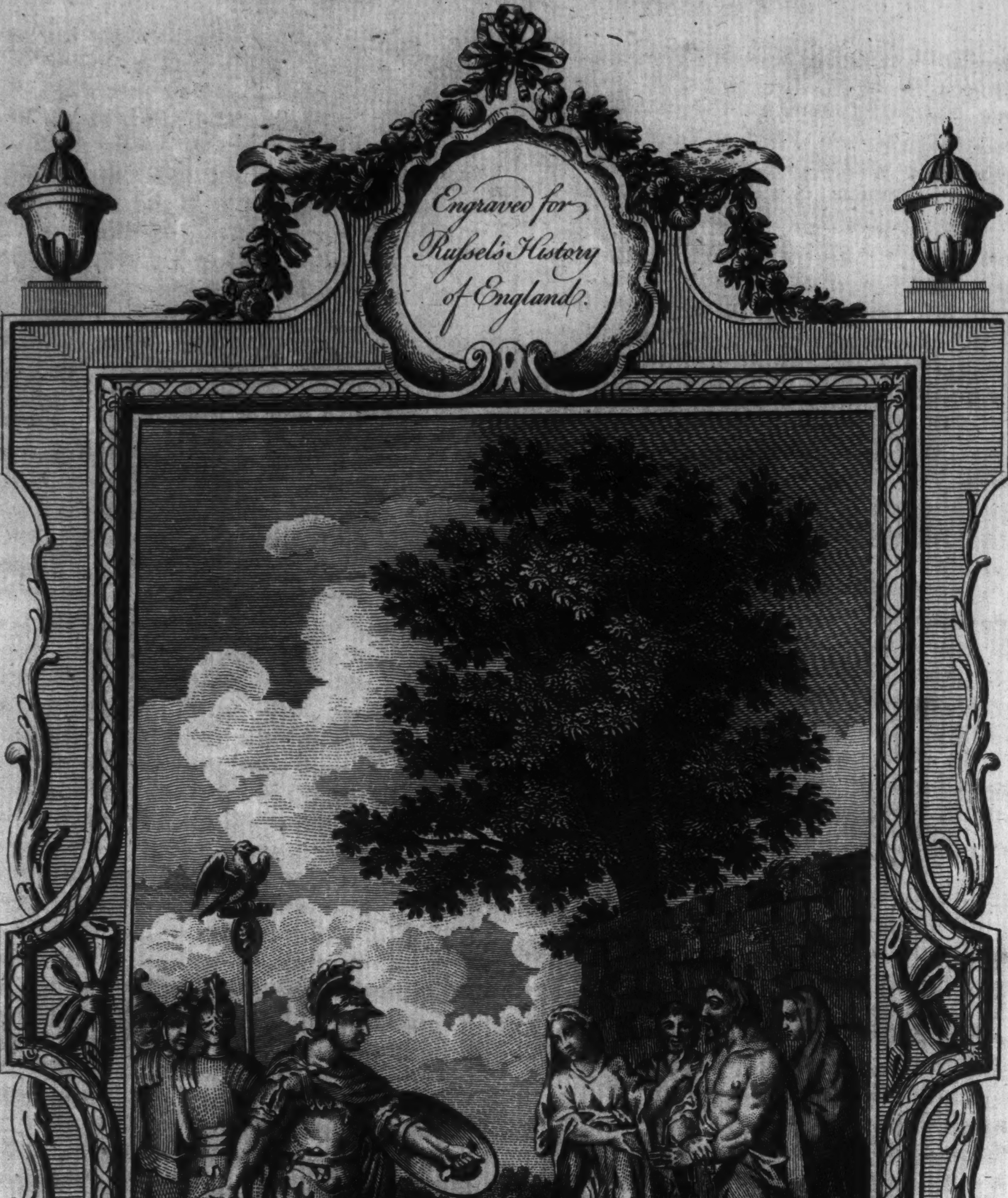
SECT. III.

From the Proprætorſhip *of* P. Oſtorius Scapula, *to the Evacuation of* Britain *by the* Romans.

THE Britons took advantage of the interval between the departure of Plautius, and the arrival of Oſtorius, to aſſemble under the command of Caractacus; ſo that Oſtorius found the public affairs of Britain in a much worſe ſituation than he had expected. As he did not land till the latter end of October, the Britons ſuppoſed that he would not attempt to attack them till the enſuing ſpring. But Oſtorius, ſenſible of the danger of ſuch a delay, determined to begin his operations immediately. He accordingly took the field, defeated ſeveral parties who ventured to oppoſe him, diſarmed the Britons wherever he came, and erected a chain of forts along the banks of the Avon and the Severn, which effectually ſubjugated the ſouthern parts of the iſland. He then added to the fortifications of Malden, in Eſſex, and built London; or at leaſt augmented its buildings ſo much, that from a poor village, it became a mart of trade. As Oſtorius determined to penetrate farther into the kingdom, he thought it prudent to leave no enemy behind. Cogidnmnis, king of the Dobuni, was therefore made a Denizen of Rome; and beſides his own dominions, had ſome other provinces guaranteed to him to ſecure him in the Roman intereſt; this policy prevailed, for he was ever after a powerful and faithful ally, and proved of great ſervice to the Romans upon a variety of occaſions. Oſtorius then marched againſt the Iceni, whom he defeated: this ſtroke induced others, who had then remained undetermined, to ſubmit to the conqueror. The Roman general afterwards proceeded to reduce the Cangi, and his endeavours, after a brave oppoſition proved ſucceſsful; waſting the country as he went, he reached the Iriſh Sea, but was recalled by an inſurrection of the Brigantes, againſt whom he immediately turned his arms. Theſe were no ſooner ſubdued, but the Silures prepared to oppoſe him; and being not only numerous and brave, but under the conduct of Caractacus, their endeavours appeared more formidable to Oſtorius than any of the former. Caractacus politically removed the ſeat of war from the country

of

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for
Ruſsel's History
of England.

Wale delin.

Taylor sculp.

CARACTACUS
betrayed into the Hands of the Romans
By CARTISMANDUA.

of the Silures, or South Wales, to the country of the Ordovices, or North Wales; as he knew the craggy rocks and high mountains there would prove natural fortifications, and enable him to annoy the enemy with great advantage to himſelf. On the approach of the Romans, Caractacus addreſſed his troops in a ſpirited manner, and told them the impending engagement would eſtabliſh their ineſtimable liberty, or confirm their perpetual ſervitude; that they ought to remember the courage of their anceſtors, who had driven Julius Cæſar from Britain, and by whoſe valour they were happily delivered from oppreſſion and tyranny.---The Britons, animated by this ſpeech, gave a ſhout of general joy, and declared, that they would ſeek life in Liberty; or in Death, court eternal Freedom. The nature of the country, and the reſolute behaviour of the enemy, in ſome meaſure ſtaggered Oſtorius; he, however, determined to rely on the courage and diſcipline of the Roman legions, and not to deſpair of the continuance of fortune's ſmiles to a people whom ſhe had ſo long favoured. The Romans attacked the intrenchments with great ſpirit; the Britons defended them with the utmoſt intrepidity. The conflict was long and bloody; fortune ſeemed at firſt to incline to the Britons; but at length the legionary diſcipline prevailed, and the Romans routed their enemies with great ſlaughter. The wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken priſoners; his brothers ſoon after ſurrendered themſelves up; and that unhappy General took the fatal reſolution of flying to Cartiſmandua, Queen of the Brigantes, though he knew ſhe was his enemy. Hence we may perceive, that common prudence frequently forſakes the greateſt ſouls in the hour of diſtreſs, and indiſcretion finiſhes what accident began.

Cartiſmandua was not only well affected to the Romans, but bore an inveterate hatred to Caractacus, for ſiding with her huſband Venutius, with whom ſhe had been a long time at variance. Happy, therefore, to have the object of her malice in her power, and to be able at once to oblige the Romans, and gratify her own revenge, ſhe loaded that brave general with chains, and ſent him to the conquerors.

The name of Caractacus had long been terrible to the Romans; he had for nine years bravely ſupported that formidable confederacy, begun by Caſſivellaunus, and was deemed the moſt experienced of the Britiſh leaders. It is not, therefore, ſurpriſing that his defeat ſhould be conſidered at Rome in an important light, and that his captivity filled the people with joy. It was the univerſal wiſh, to ſee a general of the Barbarians (as the Romans were pleaſed to term the Britons) who had rendered himſelf ſo conſpicuous, and whoſe military talents were at once dreaded and admired. All the captives were therefore ſent to Rome, to become a pubic ſpectacle. On the day appointed for gratifying the general curioſity, the emperor and empreſs prepared to receive the unhappy captives in great ſtate, each being ſeated on a magnificent throne, and adorned with the moſt ſuperb military trophies. The grandees ſurrounded the monarch, the imperial guards were drawn up in order, and all the eyes of Rome were intent on the proceſſion. The vaſſals and dependants of Caractacus came firſt, the warlike ſpoils ſucceeded, that brave general's family followed, and himſelf brought up the rear. In the preſence of the emperor, the behaviour of Caracticus was collected and firm, and advancing to the imperial throne, he boldly addreſſed himſelf to Claudius, in the following words, as they are particularly recorded by Tacitus, the celebrated Roman hiſtorian.

“Had my moderation in proſperity been adequate to my noble birth and ample fortune, I ſhould not this day have appeared as a captive, but as a powerful ally of Rome; nor wouldeſt thou, O Cæſar! have diſdained the alliance of a prince, deſcended of illuſtrious progenitors, and the commander of many nations. My preſent fortune is to me low, and diſhonourable; but to you glorious and triumphant—I once poſſeſſed horſes, and arms, warriors, and chariots of war; power and riches—Is it ſurpriſing then that I ſhould be ſo ſollicitous to keep, and arduous to defend them—If fate hath decreed univerſal empire to Rome, our ſubjection was inevitable; but had I tamely ſubmitted without oppoſition, neither my fame nor your glory would have been conſpicuous, and oblivion muſt have followed my ſhame—Deprive me of exiſtence, the ſenſe of my loſſes will die with me—Reſtore me to my family, and raiſe a perpetual monument to your own clemency.”

Claudius, who was naturally humane, could not hear this manly addreſs without being ſenſibly affected. He ſympathized with the captive hero, and melting into generoſity, gave liberty to him and his family. It is difficult to determine, whether the greater merit belongs to the imperial Roman, or ſpirited Briton, but both have certainly a claim to the admiration of poſterity.

This victory was placed among the moſt ſhining occurrences that formed the Roman glory; and Oſtorius, though abſent, was honoured with a triumph. But as his reputation grew ſplendid, his proſperity declined; lulled into ſecurity by ſucceſs, the Romans became indolent and careleſs, while the Britons, taught by dear-bought experience, grew more expert in the art of war, and ſtudied with care that diſcipline, their enemies knowledge of which had coſt them ſo much blood—Stimulated to revenge, by their own wrongs and the captivity of their beloved hero; cautious from former failures; and better trained, by being fatally ſenſible, that regularity was the ſoul of military enterprize, they appeared to the Romans more formidable than ever. Their cautious intrepidity was ſucceſsful, for ſurpriſing the legionary cohorts, who were left to erect forts in the country of the Silures, they defeated them. The principal officer of this detachment, eight captains, and a great number of private men were ſlain, nor would any have eſcaped, had not ſpeedy aſſiſtance been ſent from the neighbouring garriſons. Soon after they routed the Roman foragers, and by their ſucceſſes, greatly diſpirited the imperial troops. Oſtorius, fearing that the ſplendor of his triumph would be ſullied by theſe ſubſequent misfortunes, fell a martyr to the anxiety of his mind, and died through grief for not being able gloriouſly to terminate a war ſo proſperouſly began. The demiſe of this able general gave the Britons new ſpirits, and determined them to hazard a general battle with their enemies. Manlius Valens took the command of the Roman army, till the arrival of Aulus Didius, who was appointed by the emperor to ſucceed Oſtorius. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Romans were defeated, and the Britons ſo fluſhed with ſucceſs that they penetrated into the Roman provinces, included under the name of Britannia Prima, while the legionary troops were greatly diſpirited, and their auxiliaries in the utmoſt conſternation.

Didius, on his firſt arrival, found affairs in a much worſe condition than he had expected, and perceived abundant cauſe, ſeverely to reprehend the conduct of Manlius. This fine opportunity, however, of recovering their liberty, was loſt by the Britons, through their own inteſtine broils, and diſcord gave what their enemies could not take. The difference between Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, and her huſband Venutius was now come to an open rupture. This infamous queen, relying upon the protection of the Romans, not only rejected her huſband, and occaſioned his brother and kinſman to be put to death; but took a menial ſervant for whom ſhe had long entertained a criminal paſſion to ſhare her throne and bed.

Theſe things rendered her extremely odious, and rouſed the neighbouring ſtates againſt her. Thus were the Britons plunged into a civil war, by a wicked woman, at the very period that ſeemed favourable to their deliverance. For while their own ſucceſs gave them confidence and hope, the Romans were diſpirited, the emperor Claudius died, and was ſucceed by Nero, an effeminate, baſe minded prince; and Didius found that he ſhould have ſufficient employment in defending the Roman military provinces, without being able to make any additional conqueſt. Thus were affairs ſituated, when the legionary troops fought an obſtinate battle in the defence of Cartiſmandua, whom they had great difficulty to ſave from falling into the hands of her huſband—Venutius, however, ſeized upon her dominions; and being exaſperated at the protection given her by the Romans, joined the Britiſh Confederacy, and determined, if poſſible, either to expel, or exterminate thoſe abhorred intruders. Didius, who was very old and infirm, quitted this life about the ſame time, and was ſucceeded by Varanius, who boaſted much, and did nothing, as death overtook him before he could carry any of his projects into execution. The celebrated Paulinus Suetonius was then nominated to the government of Britain; from whoſe military talents the Romans had the moſt flattering expectations; nor were they deceived, as he ſoon reduced the brave Ordovices, and turbulent Silures, and then turned his attention to the conqueſt of the iſle of Angleſey, the chief ſeat of the Britiſh Druids, and the common retreat for fugitives who were enemies to Rome. Hence it became not only populous, but formidable, on which account Suetonius thought it a ſubduction abſolutely neceſſary. As this iſland is ſeparated from the land only by a very narrow channel which flows from the ſea, the cavalry eaſily forded it, and the infantry paſſed over in flat bottomed boats. The Romans on their landing, found the people drawn up in order of battle, near the ſhore; the women running up and down the ranks with diſhevelled hair, torches in their hands, and making diſmal lamentations; while the Druids lifted up their hands to heaven, and made the air reſound with the moſt dreadful imprecations. This unuſual ſight, and the hideous yellings with which it was accompanied, ſtruck the Roman troops with ſurpriſe and horror; and during their conſternation, a flight of arrows from the enemy did great execution. At length, animated by their general, and abaſhed at being thrown into confuſion by women and prieſts, they impetuouſly attacked, and ſpeedily routed the Britons. After the defeat, Suetonius found a great number of fires in the conſecrated groves; being informed that they were intended for the ſacrifice of the Roman priſoners who ſhould be taken in the battle (for the Druids had aſſured the people of victory) he was ſo exaſperated at the deſigned cruelty of thoſe prieſts, that he ordered all the Druids that could be ſeized, to be thrown into the fires they had prepared, that they might ſuffer the death they intended for others. He then overturned their altars, demoliſhed their magical woods, deſtroyed their myſterious groves, and put an effectual ſtop to Druidiſm. After this ordered forts to be erected, and appointed a force ſufficient to ſecure this new conqueſt.

While Suetonius was thus ſucceſsful in the remoter parts of the kingdom, an affair of the utmoſt importance called him to the interior provinces. A general revolt ſeemed impending, to which the Britons, beſides their natural love of liberty, had been excited by various reaſons, of which the following are the moſt material: Praſutagus, the rich king of the Iceni, on his demiſe, made Nero coheir with his two daughters, thinking by that means to ſecure a powerful protection to his family; but the avaritious diſpoſition of Nero prevailed over juſtice, gratitude, and humanity. Not content with the ſhare ſo generouſly bequeathed him, his officers ſeized the whole kingdom, pillaged the palace, ordered the defunct monarch's conſort, Boadicea, to be ſhamefully ſcourged, and baſely commanded the common ſoldiers to violate the chaſtity of his daughters.

Calus, the Procurator, renewed the confiſcation of goods, which before was remitted by the moderation of Claudius.

Seneca, one of Nero's counſellors, having obliged the Britons to borrow money upon loan, previous to the ſpecified time of re-payment, ſuddenly recalled the ſums he had lent with the moſt exorbitant intereſt; the impoſſibility of complying with his demands gave him a pretence to ſeize and diſtrain their poſſeſſions.

The colony at Camulodunum, either diſpoſſeſſed the Britiſh inhabitants of that place of their houſes, or treated them as their ſlaves, by obliging them to perform their menial drudgery; and the prieſts of Claudius, under pretence of demanding their religious dues, made the moſt grievous exactions on the people.

Theſe, and many other cruel and flagrant acts of injuſtice, ſtired up a general ſpirit of reſentment in the breaſts of the Britons. An inſurrection immediately took place among the Iceni and Trinobantes, at the head of whom Boadicea appeared, and blending her own private with the public wrongs, inſpired the people with ſentiments of revenge.

The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea and Venutius, began their operations by an attack upon the Roman colony at Camulodunum. This place was taken by ſtorm, the garriſon put to the ſword, and a dreadful ſlaughter throughout the whole province enſued. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, they ſoon after attacked the Ninth Legion, under the command of Petelius Cerealis. After an obſtinate conflict, the Roman infantry was cut to pieces, and the horſe only eſcaped. Suetonius, who was informed of all theſe proceedings, made the greateſt expedition to reach London; which, though not a Roman colony, was much frequented by merchants, and generally ſtocked with proviſions. In a council of war, London not being tenable, he withdrew to the Surry ſide, while the Britons entered London, and deſtroyed both town and inhabitants with fire and ſword. The city of Verulam met the ſame fate: in fine, the Britons, with the moſt ſavage cruelty, put to death above 80,000 perſons, ſparing neither age, ſex, or condition.

To put a ſtop to theſe depredations, Suetonius determined to hazard a general battle. His army conſiſted of only ten thouſand men; but their being veterans, and admirably diſciplined, ſeemed to make up for their inferiority in point of numbers. He choſe an advantageous ſituation, with a narrow entrance leading to an open plain in his front, and a wood for the defence of his rear. The Britons now appeared in ſuch numbers as to aſtoniſh the Romans, and at the ſame time ſeemed ſo confident of victory, that they had brought their wives with them, and placed them in carts at the extremity of the plain, that they might be witneſs of their triumph over the general army.

Boadicea, previous to the engagement, addreſſed herſelf to the army with all the powers of female eloquence, and informed them, "That it had been uſual "for the Britons to fight under the conduct of women,---but ſhe now appeared in a capacity different from her anceſtors, being not to fight for a "kingdom, but as a perſon rob'd and diſgrac'd, to "revenge the injuries ſhe and her family had received. On which account ſhe was determined to "obtain either Liberty or Death."

Suetonius, who was deemed the beſt general then living, did not fail to exhort his troops to act with their uſual intrepidity, and without conſidering the numbers of the enemy, to depend, that as ſoon as their firſt ranks were broken, the rout would become general, as the reſt were only a confuſed rabble without order or diſcipline.

The engagement was begun by the Britons with a furious diſcharge of darts, which were no ſooner ſpent than the Romans ſallied from the defile, and charged the enemy in the open plain with ſuch impetuoſity, that their ranks were ſoon broken, and the Britons put to the rout with incredible ſlaughter, as above 80,000 of them were ſlain. The Romans had not above 400 killed, and as many wounded; but it is to be conſidered, that the carnage of the Britons was more general by their having ſurrounded the field with a chain of carriages, which, after the defeat, impeded their flight, and ſo fatally retarded their retreat, that many were ſacrificed to the reſentment of the Romans, who might have otherwiſe made their eſcape. The unfortunate Boadicea finding her hopes fruſtrated, and her revenge diſappointed, deſtroyed herſelf and her daughters by poiſon, that neither ſhould fall into the hands of the conqueror.

Suetonius took every advantage of his ſucceſs, and deſtroyed the countries of thoſe who had appeared as enemies with fire and ſword. He deprived the Britons of their cattle wherever he came; and unfortunately for themſelves they had no corn; for Boadicea, in order to render her army more formidable, had perſuaded them, that it was unneceſſary to ſave any, as the Roman granaries would ſoon be in their poſſeſſion. Improvidently confident of ſucceſs, they had neglected the duties of agriculture, and thus by their own remiſſneſs, the horrors of famine ſucceeded thoſe of war.

Theſe accumulated diſtreſſes were encreaſed by the ſeverities of Suetonius, whoſe rigour prevented the Britons from laying down their arms. This occaſioned the procurator Julius Claſſicianus, to write to Rome for his recall, as the only method of terminating the war. Polycletus was accordingly ſent to enquire into the ſtate of affairs in Britain. His report was greatly in favour of Suetonius, nevertheleſs, as that general had rendered himſelf particularly obnoxious to the Britons, on account of his deſtroying the Druids, it was deemed politically prudent to recall him.

Petronius Turpilianius, the ſucceſſor of Suetonius, arrived in Britain at the beginning of the year ſixty-two, and by moderation accompliſhed what the military ſeverities of his predeceſſor could not effect; though ſome of the Roman writers have affirmed, that his affable behaviour was founded on indolence, and that a kind of apathy, natural to his diſpoſition, prevented his being either cruel or rapacious. But whatever envy might promulge to his diſadvantage, it is certain, that he gave eſſential ſatisfaction, both to the Britons and the court of Rome; by which he had triumphal honours decreed him. Returning home in the year 65, he was ſucceeded by Trebellius Maximus, who wanted both experience and courage, two things eſſentially neceſſary in the character of a governor and a general. Avarice being joined to the above deficiencies, his ruin was the conſequence, for the legions revolted, gave the command to Roſcius Cælius, and obliged Trebellius to fly the kingdom.

About this time, that monſter of nature, Nero, put an end to his own deteſted life; and during the reigns of the two ſucceeding emperors, Galba and Otho, Briton continued in tranquillity. Vetellius, coming to the empire, deputed Vectius Bolanus to the government of Britain. This officer was negligent and inactive, but affable and obliging; ſo that he gained the affections of the troops, without preſerving the authority of the general.

On the demiſe of Vitellius, his ſucceſſor Veſpaſian reinforced the army in Britain, and ſent Petelius Cerealis to command it. This brave general conquered the Brigantes; and Julius Frontinus, who ſucceeded him, ſubdued the Silures. But Julius Agricola being appointed governor of Britain, towards the latter end of Veſpaſian's reign, by far ſurpaſſed the fame of any of his predeceſſors. The tranſactions of this general are ſuccinctly related by his ſon-in-law, Tacitus, one of the moſt elegant writers, and without exception the beſt hiſtorian that any age or nation ever produced. His authority, therefore, we ſhall follow, as it is ſuperior to all others.

A ſhort time, previous to the arrival of Agricola, the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, had cut off ſome of the Romans, and began another revolt. This general marched with the utmoſt expedition to ſuppreſs an inſurrection, which portended ſuch dangerous conſequences. Their rocks and mountains were of no effectual uſe againſt a commander of ſuch conſummate abilities; he routed them on plains, drove them from precipices, and purſued them through places hitherto deemed inacceſſible. Finding that neither the obſtructions raiſed by art, or perſonal courage, could avail againſt the ſuperior ſkill of the Roman commander, they ſubmitted themſelves to his clemency, and embraced the conditions held out by his humanity.

The Ordovices being ſubjugated, Agricola determined to compleat the conqueſt of the iſle of Angleſey, which had before been prevented by the ſudden recall of Suetonius. This he effected with great reputation to himſelf, and then returning to the ſouthern provinces, employed the winter in conciliating the affections of the Britons. Prudent by the errors of his predeceſſors, he made it his chief ſtudy to avoid the rocks on which they had ſeverally ſplit. He was moderate without relaxing in the diſtribution of Juſtice, liberal without profuſion, and though affable to all, his dignity was never loſt to any; ſenſible that to extirpate the idea of revolt, it was neceſſary to render the people perfectly eaſy, he determined on a thorough reform throughout the kingdom. To give no offence, he began with the regulation of his own family, then proceeded to enquire into the abuſes which had crept into the army, and concluded by new modelling the adminiſtration of public affairs in ſuch a manner, as to give the leaſt diſſatisfaction to the people in general. This equitable procedure rendered him beloved, both by Britons and Romans, and made him the favourite object of all parties; ſo that on the demiſe of the emperor Veſpaſian, which happened, A. D. 81. his ſon Titus who ſucceeded him, confirmed Agricola in the government of Britain.

During the enſuing campaign, this able commander proceeded to ſubjugate the remaining unſubdued provinces, by the political mode of extending the ſword with one hand, and the olive branch with the other; at once menacing the Britons with all the horrors of war, and courting them to partake of the bleſſings of peace. This conduct, equally prudent and artful, could not fail of ſucceſs; and when the ſhutting in of the winter put an end to military operations, Agricola was ſtill unremitting in his endeavours to rivet by gentle means thoſe fetters which he had put on with ſo much cunning. To effect this he introduced a taſte for architecture, erected public academies for the inſtruction of the Britons in the liberal arts, and promoted the ſtudy of the Roman language. Stately edifices aſſumed the places of huts, ſimplicity gave way to ſtudied refinements, and frankneſs of ſpeech was ſacrificed to the elegancies of diction. The deluded Britons were civilized into ſubjection; their rough ideas of freedom were poliſhed into abject ſubmiſſion;

and the laſt ſpark of liberty was extinguiſhed by the luxurious graces.

In the third year of his adminiſtration, Agricola, having ſettled every thing to his ſatisfaction in South Britain, reſolved to enter upon new diſcoveries, and to explore the northern parts of the iſland. In conſequence of which determination, he this campaign penetrated to the Frith of the river Tay in Scotland, conquering all the countries as he went, and building forts to ſecure his conqueſts. The fourth year of his government he ſpent in reviewing and ſecuring his new acquiſitions, to which end he erected a chain of fortreſſes on the neck of land, between the friths of Glota, and Bodotia, now Dunbritton, and Edinburgh.

The emperor Titus dying, was ſucceeded by his brother Domitian, who confirmed Agricola in his government. In his fifth expedition, this great commander extended his conqueſts ſtill farther north; erected forts, placed garriſons in the weſtern iſles, and built a powerful fleet to aſſiſt the operations of the army. The Caledonians, ſurpriſed at theſe proceedings, took up arms in deſpair, and determined to ſacrifice their lives for the recovery of their freedom. Agricola, underſtanding that they intended to haraſs him in ſeparate parties, divided his army into three battalions, in order to fruſtrate their deſigns. This new diſpoſition induced the Caledonians to change their original intention; they accordingly united their whole force into one body, attacked the ninth legion, while detached from the reſt of the army, and even broke into the camp with great ſlaughter. Agricola being informed of the tranſaction came to the aſſiſtance of his troops juſt time enough to ſave them from deſtruction. The Caledonians were routed with much carnage, and purſued to their woods and bogs by the horſe and light armed infantry.

The Romans had hitherto imagined that Britain was an iſland. Julius Cæſar by conjecture expreſly calls it ſo; yet it was not till about this time that the fact was really aſcertained. But the following occurrence put the matter beyond a doubt: a cohort of Germans having ſlain a centurion and other Roman officers in a mutiny, fled on board three light gallies with a deſign to eſcape the puniſhment due to their demerits. In order to ſupport themſelves they frequently landed for plunder, and in this piratical manner ſailed entirely round Britain. At length, being driven by a ſtorm on the coaſt of Frieſland, they were ſeized on and made ſlaves. Being frequently bought and ſold, in the courſe of their traffic, they at laſt returned into the hands of their old maſters, to whom they confirmed the general opinion of Britain's being entirely ſurrounded by the ocean, and received a free pardon on account of their diſcoveries, adventures, and ſufferings.

Agricola, determined to penetrate to the extremity of the iſland, took the field early in the ſpring. The fleet ſeconded the operations of the army, by alarming the coaſts; and the troops on board frequently landed, in order to divide the attention and diſtract the councils of the enemy. The Caledonians, in the mean time, formed a powerful union, and aſſembled near the Grampian mountains to the number of 30,000 effective men, under the command of Galgacus, a perſon of elevated rank, eminent abilities, and diſtinguiſhed perſonal bravery. On being informed that the Roman forces were near him, he addreſſed his troops in theſe words. "When I conſider the cauſe of this war, and the preſent criſis, I have reaſon to preſume that the future happineſs and freedom of the whole iſland will date their birth from this important day—for we are the moſt valiant remains of the Britons, ſeated in the remoteſt regions beyond the ken of thoſe nations enſlaved by the enemy, ſo that our eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny; and this ſecret receſs, unknown to fame, has hitherto preſerved us in all the bleſſings of liberty — Beyond us is no nation, nothing but waves and rocks, and on that ſide, nothing but the bondage and ſlavery which is to be expected from the Romans, a people, inſatiable in their luſts, and unbounded in their ambition. Thoſe robbers of the world, and ravagers of the univerſe, now the exhauſted continent can no more furniſh their rapines, endeavour to rifle the wide ſeas and ocean. Where they meet with opulent enemies, their cruelty proceeds from avarice, when with poor it riſes from ambition. The eaſt and weſt, vaſt as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious minds—They, and they alone with equal greedineſs, graſp at the riches and poverty of all nations; devaſtations, murders, and extirpations paſs with them, under the falſe names of empire and government; and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing peace in thoſe provinces they have rendered deſolate—Our goods are their tribute, our corn their proviſions, and our bodies their tools for all kinds of drudgery; and if the modeſty of our wives and daughters has preſerved them from open violence when they were enemies, it cannot ſecure them from their laſcivious friendſhips now they are gueſts. Other ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have deſtined to ſervitude, are nouriſhed by their maſters; but the Britons alone purchaſe their own bondage, and maintain and ſupport their oppreſſors. Were our enemies courage in war equal to their debaucheries in peace, we might juſtly dread their arms, but their glory is all owing to our diſſenſions. Our union will diſperſe their forces that are gathered out of many nations, ſo that one miſcarriage of theirs will diſſolve their whole power—In fine, there you ſee tribute and ſlavery, here death, or liberty. Therefore let us conſider the glory of our anceſtors, and the fate of our poſterity."

This ſpeech animated Galgacus's army to a degree of enthuſiaſm, nor did Agricola forget to inſpirit his troops with all the energetic powers of Roman eloquence.

Both ſides being eager to engage, the battle began with great fury, and was obſtinately maintained for ſome time with dubious ſucceſs. At length the Roman diſcipline prevailed, and the Caledonians were defeated with a dreadful ſlaughter, 10,000 being ſlain in the fight and purſuit, while only 340 Romans loſt their lives. The diſtreſs of the unhappy fugitives is ſcarce conceivable; driven by deſpair to the moſt ſanguinary phrenzy, they butchered their wives and children that they might not fall into the hands of the Romans; then burning their habitations, and deſolating the country in their retreat, they hid themſelves in ſolitary cliffs, and diſmal caves, and in thoſe unſocial receſſes bewailed their accumulated calamities.

Thus was Britain and the circumjacent iſles entirely reduced to a Roman province. But the ſucceſs of Agricola proved as fatal to himſelf as to the North Britons; for the tyrant Domitian, being jealous of his great reputation, firſt recalled him from Britain, and afterwards diſpatched him by poiſon. From this period to the arrival of the emperor Adrian, a profound ſilence is obſerved by hiſtorians, reſpecting the affairs of Britain—At leaſt the ſupine acquieſcence of the Britons in ſlavery, rendered the occurrences of the times ſo ſcarce and trifling, that the Roman writers have not thought them deſerving of mention.

The expedition of the emperor Adrian was occaſioned by a revolt of the Caledonians.—That monarch, on his arrival, marched into Scotland, drove the people up into the highlands or northern mountains, and to prevent their future incurſions, in the year A. D. 121, erected a prodigious wall with wood and earth, which extended from the mouth of the

Tyne, to the Solway Frith, running eighty miles from eaſt to weſt. Then returning to Rome, his flattering courtiers and ſycophants, complimented him with the title of reſtorer of Britain, which was added to the names of his other dignities, and ſtamped upon his coins.

In the late inſurrection, the Caledonians had ſhewn no more mercy to the Britons of the Southern provinces, than to the Romans themſelves, but treated both with indiſcriminate cruelty. This impolitic barbarity hurt the public cauſe; as the South Britons, inſtead of uniting with the North Britons, in a general ſtruggle for the recovery of their liberties, found themſelves under the neceſſity of purſuing coercive meaſures againſt the latter for their own perſonal ſafety: and at length not only conſented to conform themſelves to the Roman laws, both civil and military, but alſo requeſted to be taught the diſcipline of the legionary troops, which requeſt was complied with by Priſcus Licinius the Pro-prætor.

Antoninus Pius ſucceeded the emperor Adrian, when Lollius Urbicus, his lieutenant in Britain, defeated the Brigantes, and afterwards built another wall in Scotland, from the Frith of Dunbritton, to that of Edinburgh.

From this period nothing material occured till the reign of the emperor Commodus, when the North Britons became more formidable than ever. Hearing that the emperor was a puſillanimous coward, and the Roman army ſunk in indolence and luxury, they judged it an admirable opportunity to undertake ſome capital enterprize. Having aſſembled a conſiderable force, they broke through the laſt made wall, attacked the neareſt fortreſs, put the Roman garriſon to the ſword, and carried deſolation wherever they went. Terrified at the intelligence of this, the emperor, with all poſſible expedition, ſent over Ulpius Marcellus to command in Britain. This experienced and active commander began his operations with ſucceſs, and finiſhed them with judgment. He puniſhed the revolters, reduced affairs to their former channel, and revived the diſcipline of the Roman army. The prudent adminiſtration of Marcellus, and the applauſe which it procured him, excited the envy, and raiſed the jealouſy of the emperor. Poſſeſſing no virtues himſelf, he could not bear them in others, as they ſeemed tacit reflections on his own vices. His ingratitude therefore prompted him to a deſign upon his general's life, in return for the ſervices he had rendered him; but being perſuaded that ſuch a ſtep would prove prejudicial to himſelf, he conſented at length only to deprive him of his government.

On the departure of Marcellus, a mutiny broke out among the Roman troops, who openly renounced their allegiance to Commodus. To quell this dangerous commotion, the emperor imprudently ſent his favorite Perennes to Britain, who, inſtead of appeaſing, purſued the very methods moſt likely to increaſe the general diſcontent. He began his adminiſtration by removing the veteran officers, placing his own creatures in their ſtead, and treating the whole army with the moſt unexampled ſeverity. Theſe proceedings diverted the reſentment of the troops from the emperor to himſelf, and induced them unanimouſly to accuſe him of high treaſon. Commodus believed, or pretended to believe the allegation; and happy to find the ſtorm turned another way, delivered his favorite up to the diſcretion of the enraged ſoldiery, who immediately ſacrificed him to their revenge.

Pertinax being appointed to the government of Britain, with great difficulty, and at the hazard of his life, put an end to the ſeditions of the troops. Being recalled at his own deſire, he was ſucceeded by Clodius Albinus, who, upon a falſe report of the Emperor's death, declared himſelf for the ſenatorial, in preference to the imperial, power. Theſe ſentiments ſo unpleaſing to a deſpotic court being known, he was haſtily recalled, and Junius Severus appointed in his room. The tyrant Commodus was murdered A. D. 193, when Pertinax ſucceeded to the imperial dignity. Albinus was re-appointed to the government of Britain, in which office he continued during the ſhort reigns of Pertinax and Julian his ſucceſſor, and had ſo far gained upon the affections of the troops, that on the death of the latter, they offered him the imperial crown. Septimus Severus, however, pretended to the ſame dignity, and received the ſanction of the ſenate. Albinus, therefore, paſſed over with his legion into Gaul, that they might in the field confirm to him the title with which they had complimented him. He was, however, diſappointed in his aim, for engaging Severus near the city of Lyons, his troops were defeated, and himſelf ſlain.

Severus being ſecurely ſeated on the throne, determined to alter the adminiſtration of public affairs in Britain, by dividing that government into two parts: the ſouthern department he committed to Heraclitus, and the northern to Virius Lupus. The latter, however, was ſo haraſſed by the Caledonians, that he at laſt determined to purchaſe his repoſe with money, and ſacrifice his purſe to his peace. This reſolve was extremely impolitic, as the conſequence proved; for the Caledonians finding that they could be well paid not to be troubleſome, took the reſolution to be more troubleſome than ever, that they might be the oftner bribed. Lupus now too late perceived, that he had thrown out a bait for inſurrections; and that a payment to deſiſt from hoſtilities was but earneſt money to engage them to repeated attacks.

The emperor being informed of theſe things, reſolved on an expedition into Britain, though he was then above ſixty years of age, and ſorely afflicted with the gout.—Severus accordingly arrived in Britain A. D. 208. attended by his two ſons Caracalla and Geta. The North-Britons, terrified at this intelligence, ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace: theſe Severus detained under various pretexts, till he was ready for the expedition, and then diſmiſſed them with an equivocal anſwer. Leaving his ſon Geta in the ſouthern parts, he proceeded northwards, accompanied by Caracalla. In Scotland, by hewing down woods, draining bogs, and building bridges, by ambuſcades, ſkirmiſhes, ſickneſs, &c. &c. he loſt more than 50,000 men. But perſevering to the laſt, he overcame all difficulties, obliged the North Britons to ſubmiſſion, and made them reſign moſt of their country, and all their arms. Then, to ſecure their obedience, he built a new, or rather repaired the old, wall erected by Adrian, making it twelve feet high, and eight feet thick. On which account he took upon him the title of Britannicus Maximus, which was afterwards ſtamped upon his own and ſons coins. Leaving the command of the army to Caracalla, the emperor retired to Eboricum, or York, to enjoy a little reſt. His ſon in the mean time permitting the ſoldiers to commit great outrages, the Caledonians again flew to arms. The emperor being informed of the inſurrection, but not of the cauſe, was ſo exaſperated, that he ordered a general maſſacre, when great numbers of both ſexes, and all ages, indiſcriminately fell victims to the weakneſs of an infirm ſuperannuated prince, and the miſrepreſentations of intereſted ſycophants. Soon after the emperor, depreſſed by diſeaſe and age, died at York; ſaying, juſt before he expired, "I have been all that man "can be, but that is uſeleſs to me now."

Severus left the empire to his two ſons; but Caracalla's ambition prompted him to procure his brother's aſſaſſination, when he aſcended the throne alone, in A. D. 211; from which period we have no account of the affairs of Britain, till the reign of the emperor Diocleſian.

Diocleſian began his reign, A. D. 284, and immediately made Carauſius admiral of a fleet, with orders to prevent the piracies of the Franks and Saxons on the coaſts of Britain and Gaul.---But this commander, converting whatever he could poſſeſs himſelf of to his own uſe, the emperor deſigned to puniſh him for his avarice and perfidy with death. Being apprized of this, he ſeized upon Britain, bribed the army, got himſelf proclaimed Emperor, and augmented his fleet. Maximinian was ordered to march againſt him; but not being able to encounter ſo formidable a foe, he was glad to enter into a negociation; in which it was concluded, that Carauſius ſhould remain governor of Britain, in ſubordination to the emperor. This dignity Carauſius held during ſeven years, when he was treacherouſly ſlain by Alectus, his prime miniſter, and pretended boſom friend, who immediately took the reins of government upon himſelf. Conſtantius being diſpatched from Rome againſt him, Alectus was defeated and ſlain, when the mercenary Franks, and other barbarians, whom he had employed in his army, fled to London, and plundered it, thinking to get away to ſea, with their booty.---But being met by a part of the Roman fleet, they loſt all their plunder, and many of them their lives. Soon after Diocleſian reſigned the imperial diadem; when the government of the weſtern provinces, including Britain, fell to [*] Conſtantius, who, in A. D. 307 died at York, univerſally regretted, and left all his poſſeſſions and dignities to his ſon, who afterwards became celebrated in hiſtory by the title of Conſtantine the Great.

This monarch, who received the appellation of Great, not from having deſolated many provinces, or ſpilt oceans of blood, but for his ſingular humanity, and exemplary juſtice, made a new partition of the Roman Empire: namely, he divided the whole into four great military governments, viz. Italy, Gaul, Illyria, and the Eaſt. Theſe were called Præfectures, and the officers who governed them Præfects. Each of theſe was ſubdivided into fourteen provinces, ſo that Britain was one of the provinces belonging to the Prefect of Gaul, who governed it by deputy. Conſtantine died A. D. 345, and left the empire to his three ſons. Britain, with France and Spain, fell to the eldeſt, named Conſtantine, who, not contented with what was aſſigned him, invaded his brother Conſtans's territories, but was ſlain, after having reigned about three years. Conſtans now ſeized the whole of the weſtern empire, kept poſſeſſion of it nine years, and then fell by the treaſon of Magnentius. Conſtantius, the ſurviving brother, who reigned in the Eaſt, directed his whole force againſt Magnentius, and by giving him a total defeat in A. D. 340, became ſole poſſeſſor of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires [†].

Martinus was now ſent into Britain as deputy Prefect. On his arrival he was highly incenſed at the conduct of Paulus Catena, the Notary, whoſe cruelties and extortions had greatly oppreſſed the people. This perſon being employed to ſequeſter the eſtates and effects of thoſe who had favoured the treaſon of Magnentius, took that opportunity to enrich himſelf by confiſcating the fortunes of many innocent people. Martinus not having it in his power to diſplace Paulus, who was protected by the emperor, thought it neceſſary to expoſtulate with him. This excited Paulus to accuſe the deputy Prefect of high treaſon, who was ſo much exaſperated at his audacity that he attempted to kill Paulus, but miſſing his aim he ſlew himſelf. From the death of Conſtantius to the reign of Valentinian the firſt, nothing ſtands on record relative to Britain that is worth preſervation. But during that emperor's reign the Britons were in a deplorable ſituation, invaded from abroad by the Franks and Saxons, and ravaged at home by the Scots and Picts; the ſea-coaſts and interior parts of the country were equally diſtreſſed. The emperor having in vain diſpatched Severus and Jovinus at once to ſuppreſs the inſurgents and repel the invaders, he at length ſent over Theodoſius, father to the firſt emperor of that name. This able commander, at the head of a body of ſelect troops, reinforced by ſeveral Herulian and Batavian bands, ſoon put a ſtop to the diſorders complained of. He routed both foreign and domeſtic enemies, retook the plunder and priſoners, reſtored their effects to the ſeveral owners, reſerving only a ſmall proportionate part to reward his troops, and then entered London in triumph, in the year 366. To ſettle affairs upon the moſt amicable foundation, he afterwards publiſhed a general amneſty, which induced many to ſubmit.

Commotions, however, ſtill ſubſiſted in the north, which cauſed Theodoſius to ſend for Dulcitius and Civilis, the former celebrated for his great military talents, and the latter for his prudence and integrity. Being both arrived, he made the firſt duke of Britain and guardian of the ſea coaſts, and the laſt vicar of the iſland. By this prudent arrangement, foreign invaſions and domeſtic inſurrections were prevented, the fortreſſes rebuilt, the garriſons better regulated, and the Roman boundaries to the northward enlarged. The country newly taken in, he called [‡] Valentia in honour of the emperor, and the city of London he ordered to be called Auguſta. At length, Theodoſius returned to Rome, beloved by the Britons, applauded by the Romans, admired by neutral nations, and even revered by his enemies.

At the death of Valentinian, the empire of the weſt fell to his eldeſt ſon Gratian, who choſe Theodoſius the younger to be his aſſociate. This preference ſo greatly exaſperated Maximus the governor of Britain, who himſelf aſpired to that honour, that he aſſumed the purple, and having corrupted the troops, was ſaluted emperor. To compleat his ambitious views, he drew the Roman forces from Britain, and beſides theſe engaged the flower of the Britiſh youths to join his army and paſs with him to the continent. The iſland being thus left defenceleſs, the Scots and Picts did not fail to take an advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity, but entered the Roman provinces with fire and ſword, plundering wherever they came, and committing the moſt horrid depredations. In the mean time, Maximus defeated Gratian, and then advanced towards Theodoſius, who was marching to the aſſiſtance of the emperor. But his good fortune now forſook him, for he was routed and put to death by Theodoſius. The Britons, who accompanied him to Gaul, did not return to their own country, but retreated to Armorica, now Bretagne in France; and the inhabitants of that province, from theſe and ſome others of their countrymen, who ſince ſettled there, are to this day called Britons.

This formidable revolt being thus ſuppreſſed, Chryſanthus, the ſon of Marcian, biſhop of Conſtantinople, was made vicar of Britain, by Theodoſius, who now reigned as emperor. This officer diſcharged his duty with great reputation to himſelf, and, in a principal meaſure, ſuppreſſed the northern inſurrections.

---

[*] Some hiſtorians affirm, that the emperor Conſtantius, who came to Britain in 289, married Helena daughter to Coilus, duke of Colcheſter and ſoon after that ſhe bore him a ſon, afterwards Conſtantine the Great, who was born in London, which city that empreſs firſt walled round.

[†] Britain itſelf was divided by this emperor into three parts, viz. 1. Britannia Prima, or all the country on the ſouth ſide of the Thames. 2. Britannia Secunda, or all the country weſt of the Severn to the Iriſh Sea, and, 3. Maxima Cæſarienſis, or all the country eaſt of the Severn, and north of the Thames.

[‡] It is to be obſerved that Britain now conſiſted of five diſtinct Roman provinces, viz. Britannia Prima, to the ſouth. Britannia Secunda, to the weſt. Flavia Cæſarienſis, to the eaſt. Maxima Cæſarienſis, to the north. Valentia, beyond the wall of Severus.

In 393 Theodoſius died, and the empire was divided between his two ſons. The weſtern department was governed by Stilicho, during the minority of the young emperor Honorius; and Victorius, a man of a tyrannic, but enterpriſing ſpirit, was made vicar of Britain.

We now come to the period, when the Roman empire began rapidly to decline, by the prodigious irruptions of the Vandals into Spain, the Alans into Portugal, and the Goths into Italy. The Roman forces being recalled from the remoter provinces to defend the center of the empire, Britain was again left defenceleſs, and their northern neighbours, as uſual, took the advantage of ſuch a favourable criſis, by making inroads into the ſouthern provinces. This they could do with impunity, as the Britons had been for ſome time ſunk into luxury and ſloth, drained of the flower of thoſe who were able to bear arms to reinforce the Roman army, and loſt to the noble ſpirit of liberty, by long ſervitude. The Britons dreaded their barbarous neighbours more than their late maſters the Romans, and therefore implored the latter to ſend them ſome aſſiſtance in their diſtreſs. A legion was accordingly ſent to their relief, A. D. 420, and another in 421, when the Romans having driven the Scots and Picts, as uſual, into the highlands of Scotland, their commander Gallio informed the Britons that he could now only recommend them to the protection of providence, as he was obliged to withdraw the troops from Britain, to defend Rome itſelf againſt the vaſt inundations of northern barbarians that threatened that miſtreſs of the world with deſtruction. Having exhorted them to act with unanimity, and defend their lives and properties with ſpirit, he paſſed over to Gaul with all his forces. And thus was Britain evacuated, and totally abandoned by the Romans, in the year 447, about 463 years from their firſt invading it under the conduct of Julius Cæſar, 367 after they got poſſeſſion of it under Claudius, and 326 after the full conqueſt of it by Agricola, in the reign of Domitian.

SECT. IV.

The State of Britain *under the* Romans.

FROM the Notitia of the Roman empire, which was publiſhed about the year 410, the following particulars are obtained.

Britain, one of the dioceſes appertaining to the diſtrict of the Præfectus Prætoria of Gaul, was under the juriſdiction of a governor, or vicar. The enſigns of this officer were a book of mandates, ſhut, covered with green, and marked on the back with five caſtles, repreſenting the five Britiſh provinces, with their names ſeverally inſcribed.

According to the number of provinces, he had five magiſtrates under his command, two being conſulars, and three preſidents. The conſulars, as officers ſubordinate to the vicar or governor general, ruled Valentia and Maxima Cæſarienſis, and the preſidents preſided over Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Cæſarienſis. Subordinate to theſe five great officers were many of inferior rank, to aſſiſt them in the adminiſtration of the civil government.

The military government of Britain was under the ſuperintendance of three principal officers, the Comes Britanniarum, the Comes Littoris Saxonici, and the Dux Britanniarum. The firſt had the command of the troops and garriſons in the interior parts of the iſland, and the two latter of the eaſtern and northern coaſts. The chief of the three was the Comes or Count of Britain, who had under his command 3000 foot and 600 horſe; the Comes or Count of the Saxon ſhore acted as admiral of the coaſt, and had nine maritime garriſons under his command, which together formed a body of 2200 foot, and 200 horſe. The Dux or Duke of Britain commanded in the north, and had fourteen garriſons to ſuperintend, which contained a body of 6000 foot, 300 horſe, and 23 military ſtations on the Picts wall, man'd by 8000 foot, and 600 horſe; ſo that the eſtabliſhed military force of the Romans in Britain was 19200 infantry, and 1700 cavalry.

All the forces in Britain were either diſpoſed of in garriſons on the ſea coaſts, or northern frontiers, as above mentioned, or encamped in the interior parts of the kingdoms, at Gogmagog Hills in Cambrigeſhire, and other places.

To facilitate the communication of the troops in the different parts of the kingdom, and render the intercourſe of the people more eaſy and agreeable, the ſoldiers were employed in peaceable times in forming public highways. Theſe were extenſive and grand, as well as uſeful, and their remains are ſtill the ſubject of admiration to the curious. By the Romans they were called the conſular, prætorian, regal and military ways; and afterwards by the Saxons, ſtradas, or ſtreets. They were many in number, but the four principal ones had the names of Via Vetelingiana, or Watling Street, Via Icenorium, or Ikenield Street, Erming Street, and Foſs-way. Two of theſe extended the whole length of the kingdom, and the other two the breadth from ſea to ſea. Theſe grand ways had various privileges and conveniencies appertaining to them, ſuch as places of refuge from arreſts and other dangers, manſions of reſt for the repoſe of the weary, inns for the entertainment of travellers, and ſtationary houſes for the change of horſes and travelling chariots. Beſides the above, the Romans had erected twenty-eight noble cities, and a great number of caſtles, forts, towers, walls, locks, &c.

That chriſtianity was introduced into Britain in the time of the Romans is indiſputable, but the preciſe time has not been ſatisfactorily aſcertained. Not to enter into a ſcrutiny of the fabulous tales and ridiculous legends of the monkiſh writers, we can only ſay that their abſurd accounts have been juſtly exploded. Though the introducer and time of introduction are dubious, certain it is that chriſtianity had been ſucceſsfully propagated in Britain, previous to the reign of Dioceleſian, as the Britiſh chriſtians were included in the perſecutions ſet on foot by that emperor, and many of them ſuffered martyrdom upon that account, the principal of whom was St. Alban.

In 314 three Britiſh biſhops attended the council of Arles in France.---In 325 the ſame number attended the council of Nice, and in 359 three more attended the council of Ariminium. The ſtory of the converſion of king Lucius is replete with ſo many monkiſh abſurdities, that very little credit can be given to any part of it, and the whole has been doubted by the beſt hiſtorians, and moſt learned divines. We can, however affirm, that chriſtianity was very early planted in this iſland, and that the chriſtian church in Britain was originally independent of the church of Rome.

BOOK III.

From the Introduction of the Saxons, *to the Firſt Foundation of the* Engliſh Monarchy.

SECTION I.

From the Arrival of the Saxons *in* Britain, *to the Eſtabliſhment of the* Heptarchy.

THE ſouthern parts of Britain being in the weak and defenceleſs ſtate already deſcribed, the northern barbarians attacked the wall, A. D. 447, and met but little oppoſition from the few troops who were appointed to defend it. Theſe having been depreſſed by ſervitude, and now loſing the laſt gleam of hope in the moſt pungent ſorrow for their lamentable ſituation, ſuffered their ſpirits to ſink within them, and in the hour of exigence gave that time to deſpondency which ſhould have been employed in defence. A breach was made, the Barbarians entered, the Britons fled, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. The fugitives made the beſt of their way ſouthward, while the Picts and Scots followed, and ſpread deſolation around as they went, marking their paths with blood, and leaving every where behind them veſtiges of the moſt dreadful devaſtations.

This inundation of ſavage enemies was not the only thing that diſtreſſed the Britons---a famine raged and added to their accumulated miſeries. The horrors of inſatiate hunger kept pace with the dreadful ravages of war, and both contributed to render their ſorrows as excruciating as they were unavailing. The fugitive Britons plunged in deſpair, and preſſed by the calls of hunger, attempted to take by force from the inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces, what their own neceſſities, occaſioned by the prevailing dearth, rendered them unwilling to give; equally unſocial from the experience of want, and dread of want, they became enemies to each other, and the moſt horrid domeſtic broils enſued at the time there was the greateſt call for mutual harmony. Inſtead of uniting to repel the invaders, they aſſailed each other, and ſpent that ſpirit in revenge, which might have been uſeful in their defence.

At length ſome of the Britons, wiſer than the reſt, perſuaded many of their countrymen to ſuffer quarrels to ſubſide for the benefit of the community, and prevailed upon a great number to conciliate their minds for the public ſafety. Though policy more than affection might cement their friendſhip upon this occaſion, yet their union was eſſentially ſerviceable, which evinces that unanimity is the guardian angel of ſtates as well as private families. The confederated Britons were concealed by the woods from their enemies, and made excurſions as opportunity offered. The Picts and Scots being greatly haraſſed by theſe ſallies at a time they little expected them, thought proper to retreat again to the north, and for ſome time did not chuſe to make any depredations upon the Britons, except near the borders.

During theſe troubles in the ſtate, ſome dangerous diviſions happened in the church. Theſe were occaſioned by Agricola, a diſciple of Pelagius, who induſtriouſly propagated the errors of Pelagianiſm; but Germanicus, biſhop of Auxerre, and Lupus, biſhop of Triers, in Gaul, being called in, a diſputation was held at Verulam, now St. Albans, and the pernicious doctrines of that monk being pointed out, the people were convinced of their folly, in giving ear to him, and returned again to the doctrines of the Britiſh church.

The Britons, being freed from their enemies, applied themſelves to the cultivation of the land, till famine fled before induſtry, and agriculture repleniſhed the exhauſted granaries; bleſſed by the bounties of returning plenty, and cheared by the ſmiles of long loſt freedom, the Britons had now the faireſt opportunity of becoming at once happy and formidable; but emerging from the moſt abject ſtate of miſery, they were not capable of bearing proſperity with temper. The public good was ſacrificed to private gratifications, and the intemperance of individuals proved eſſentially injurious to the ſtate. In proportion as they loſt their fears, the people grew fond of pleaſures, and becoming the ſlaves of luxury, were incapacitated from every noble exertion. Their vices were in proportion to their diſſipation, till, ſays Gildas, “evil was called good, and good evil. To be lewd, was honourable; to be virtuous, diſgraceful; being blind themſelves, they became haters of the light, and the meaſures of their actions were what was moſt pleaſing to their inclinations. All things were tranſacted directly contrary to the public welfare and ſafety, not only of the laity, but alſo the clergy, and thoſe who ſhould have been examples of virtue, often proved the ringleaders of vice.” After enumerating many of their vices, he continues, “Thus wretchedly qualified, both prieſts and people reſolved to chuſe ſeveral kings of their own; but kings were anointed, not according to divine approbation, but by the voices and ſuffrages of ſuch as were more cruel than others, and again, as ſuddenly depoſed and murdered by their electors, in order to ſet up others more fierce and tyrannical; but if any of their princes appeared milder, and more inclinable to good council, the hatred of all men was levelled againſt him, as the ſubverter of his country.”

During theſe domeſtic diſtractions, Pelagianiſm again revived; the aſſiſtance of Germanicus was once more ſolicited, who, coming into Britain, reſtored tranquillity as before, and was inſtrumental in repreſſing many vices that were too prevalent, to the great detriment of ſociety. But this worthy prelate was no ſooner departed than the Britons relapſed again into their immoralities, and became as notoriouſly vicious as ever.

The country had been greatly thinned by the ſword and famine, but now another calamity threatened its total depopulation. This was a dreadful plague, which raged ſo furiouſly, and ſwept away ſuch multitudes, that the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead. The peſtilence had no ſooner ſubſided, than the Scots and Picts, gueſſing at the weakneſs of the nation from the reports they had received of the ravages, occaſioned by the diſorder, made an irruption into South Britain, and penetrated as far as Stamford, in Lincolnſhire.

At this time the Britons thought proper to place the command ſolely in the hands of one of their princes, when Vortigern, king of Devonſhire and Cornwall, being the moſt potent, was choſen generaliſſimo. This prince had neither wiſdom in council, nor experience in war; he was haughty, inſolent, and a perfect ſlave to his paſſions; in ſuch an improper perſon did the unhappy Britons put their confidence, at a time when the moſt conſummate wiſdom, and intrepid conduct were neceſſary to ſave them from deſtruction. Vortigern, not having ſpirit ſufficient to march againſt the foe with the confederated forces under his command, made the propoſal in a convention of the Britiſh princes, to invite the Saxons to their aſſiſtance. This fatal propoſition was ſeconded by the creatures of Vortigern, aſſented to by the delegates of the people, and at length generally embraced. Solicitous for their own ruin, the infatuated Britons ſent am embaſſy to the Saxons, and gave a friendly invitation to the very people who were deſtined to drive them from their habitations, and poſſeſs themſelves of the moſt deſirable parts of this devoted land.

The [*] Saxons gladly accepted this invitation, and about 1500 of their troops being ſelected by lot, ſet ſail under the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſa, two brothers, and ſoon arrived in the iſle of Thanet, in Kent. This iſland, which is about ten miles long, and ſeven broad, was aſſigned them for their habitation by Vortigern, and conſequently was the firſt piece of land the Saxons ever poſſeſſed in Britain. Vortigern met them there, when it was ſtipulated, that they ſhould defend the Britons from the incurſions of their enemies, for which, beſides the portion of land aſſigned, they were to be bountifully fed, and liberally paid. Thus did the deluded Britons, in the year 449, introduce into, and entail part of, their country upon a number of warlike ſtrangers.

With his own forces and theſe new auxiliaries, Vortigern marched againſt the invaders, who were defeated in repeated engagements, by the valour and diſcipline of the Saxons. Theſe frequent checks ſo diſpirited the Scots and Picts, that they dreaded the very name of the Saxons, and by the year 452 were entirely expelled from South Britain, and even driven up to the mountains in the northern boundaries of Scotland.

But the Saxons becoming pretty well acquainted with the country from their expeditions to its different parts, and their various marches through it, they beheld its beauty, verdure and fertility, with an eye of deſire; and obſerving at the ſame time, that the Britons were enervated by luxury, ſunk in vice, and loſt to thoſe noble ſentiments which alone can inſpire courage, their ambition was awakened to the idea of ruling thoſe they came to defend, and enſlaving a people they had been employed to protect.

Fraught with theſe views, Hengiſt artfully perſuaded the weak and infatuated Vortigern to make a more general invitation to his countrymen, that the land might be better cultivated. To give the greater force to this propoſition, he pretended that the Saxons were particularly ſkilled in huſbandry, and, conſequently, that the ſoil would be conſiderably improved, and the Britons initiated in a ſuperior kind of agriculture at the ſame time. The king conſented to every thing that was deſired; a ſecond invitation was ſent to Saxony, and a fleet of ſeventeen ſail brought over a prodigious number of Saxons, Jutes, and Angles. And with theſe came Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, a lady of incomparable beauty, who was afterwards eſſentially ſerviceable to the Saxons in their political deſigns.

The crafty leader of the Saxons now invited Vortigern to a ſumptuous entertainment, at which he took care that his daughter ſhould wait upon the king. Vortigern no ſooner beheld the luſtre of her charms, than he became the ſlave of their attractions, and though he already had a conſort, demanded her in marriage. Hengiſt artfully pretended to confeſs the inferiority of his daughter, and to decline ſo great an honour. The king, inflamed by a repulſe, became frantic with deſire, and appeared willing to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of his paſſions. Hengiſt, taking advantage of this diſpoſition, ſtipulated that the whole county of Kent ſhould be ceded to him, and that the king ſhould divorce his queen, and make Rowena his ſole conſort. The infatuated Vortigern conſented to all that was demanded, Kent was given up without heſitation, his princeſs was cruelly divorced, though ſhe had borne him many children, and he attached himſelf entirely to his new conſort, who ſoon gained ſuch an aſcendency over him, that he could refuſe her nothing.

Having ſucceeded thus far, Hengiſt eaſily perceived, that by his daughter's influence, he could make Vortigern his tool whenever he thought proper. Determined, therefore, to ſtrike his ultimate ſtroke of policy, he propoſed that another body of his countrymen ſhould be ſent for, who by inhabiting Northumberland, and the adjacent parts, would be a local defence to the northern borders. To this Vortigern, as uſual, conſented, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble to reflect on the conſequences. A third embarkation took place; forty ſail of ſhips ſoon appeared on the Britiſh coaſts, and the northern countries began to ſwarm with ſtrangers, as the ſouthern parts had for ſome time already done.

The Saxons now thought proper to throw off the maſk, and avow their intentions. They began by the demand of a larger ſum of money, and a greater quantity of proviſions than what they were entitled to by the original ſtipulations, that thoſe who came recently might be as well provided for as their brethren who firſt landed. This unreaſonable requeſt was of courſe refuſed by the Britons in general. The refuſal was what the Saxons expected, and indeed wiſhed for, as it gave them the ſhadow of a pretence to commence hoſtilities, by pretending to pay themſelves, and take by force what they affirmed was unjuſtly withheld from them.

The unhappy Britons now clearly perceived their own folly, and the deſigns of the Saxons, and determined, when it was too late, to take up arms in their defence; a convention was accordingly ſummoned, and the conduct of Vortigern ſeverely reprehended. The infatuated monarch, not being deemed capable of truſt, was made only the nominal commander, while his ſon Vortimer, under the ſanction of an aſſociate, received the inveſtiture of the ſole power. Many engagements were fought with various ſucceſs, but the times when, the places where, and the event of each, are ſo differently related, and intermixed with ſo many dubious and fabulous articles, that we ſhall omit a circumſtantial detail of ſuch uncertain occurrences. In this, however, all authors agree, that the Saxons were in general ſucceſsful, and affairs at length terminated in their favour, by the total ſubjugation of that part of Britain, now called England, which they divided into ſeven kingdoms.—A diviſion mentioned by all writers under the name of the SAXON HEPTARCHY.

SECT.

---

[*] The Saxons were a fierce, barbarous people, who pouring down from the north, under the direction of a famous leader, named Woden, had poſſeſſed themſelves of the principal countries on the borders of the Baltic. They employed themſelves principally at firſt, in committing piracies on the ſea coaſts of Germany, between the Rhine and the Elbe, and on the coaſts of the Cimbrian Cherſoneſa, now Denmark; but at length extending their plan, they carried their depredations to the coaſts of Gaul, Britain, &c. The name of Saxons they received from the Gothic word SEAX, a word that implies a ſhort, crooked, or hooked ſword, which they wore as their principal weapon, and for the dexterous uſe of which they were celebrated.

SECTION II.

The Saxon Heptarchy.

THE Saxons having over-run all that part of the iſland called South Britain, formed themſelves into ſeven diſtinct kingdoms at different periods, the Britons being either driven up into the mountains of Wales, obliged to fly to the continent, or compelled to ſubmit to the conquerors. The following table will ſhew at one view the ſeveral kingdoms of the Heptarchy, when and by whom founded, and what parts of the country they included.

No.	Kingdoms names.	When founded.	By whom founded.	The Counties they included.
		A. D.		
1	Kent	457	Hengiſt	Kent
2	South Saxons	491	Ella	Suſſex Surry
3	Weſt Saxons	519	Cerdic	Cornwall Devonſhire Dorſetſhire Somerſetſhire Wiltſhire Hampſhire Barkſhire, or Berkſhire
4	Eaſt Saxons	527	Erkenwin	Eſſex Middleſex Part of Hertfordſhire
5	Northumberland	547	Ida	Lancaſhire Yorkſhire Durham Cumberland Weſtmoreland Northumberland Part of Scotland as far as the Frith of Edinburgh
6	Eaſt Angles	575	Uffa	Norfolk Suffolk Cambridgeſhire And the Iſle of Ely
7	Mercia	582	Cridda	Glouceſterſhire Herefordſhire Worceſterſhire Warwickſhire Rutlandſhire Northamptonſhire Lincolnſhire Huntingdonſhire Bedfordſhire The other part of Hertfordſhire Buckinghamſhire Oxfordſhire Staffordſhire Derbyſhire Shropſhire Nottinghamſhire Cheſhire.

1. The

1. The Kingdom of KENT.

THE Britons made various attempts to drive the Saxons from Kent, and at length, in the year 457, came to a deciſive engagement at Crecanford. The battle was bloody, and obſtinately fought, but victory declared againſt the Britons, who were totally defeated with the loſs of 4000 men. From the date of this victory, hiſtorians conſider Kent as a kingdom, Hengiſt being prompted by his ſucceſs to aſſume the title of king. This occurrence took place eight years after his arrival in the iſland, and he reigned thirty-one years ſubſequent to his aſſumption of the regal authority. Hengiſt now determined, if poſſible, to poſſeſs himſelf of the perſon of Vortigern, which deſign he effected by the following ſtratagem. Ambaſſadors were ſent by the treacherous Saxons to negotiate a peace, and make propoſals for the renewal of the former amity, which ſubſiſted between them and the Britons. Theſe ſpecious advances were cordially received by Vortigern, who readily agreed to compromiſe matters at a public entertainment,* to which he was weak enough to go with his nobility unarmed, and conſequently unprepared againſt any danger which might occur. The Saxons had concealed their weapons beneath their garments, and at a certain ſignal, ſuddenly fell upon the unarmed Britons, maſſacred three hundred of them, and took Vortigern priſoner. To purchaſe the releaſe of the unhappy monarch, the Britons were obliged to give up Eſſex, Middleſex, and Suſſex. This acceſſion of territory rendered Hengiſt extremely formidable, confirmed him in his new kingdom of Kent, and gave the Saxons ſuch a firm eſtabliſhment in the iſland, that the Britons were never after able to expel them.

After the death of Hengiſt, the kingdom of Kent declined under his three immediate ſucceſſors, Eſk, Otta, and Immeric; but Ethelbert coming to the crown, reſtored its ſplendor and encreaſed its extent.

† Ethelbert was on his acceſſion to the the throne, informed that Ceaulin, king of the Weſt Saxons pretended to a regal ſuperiority, and affected to claim the honour of being the principal monarch in England; this dignity, as it originally belonged to Kent, he determined to diſpute with the Weſt Saxon king by force of arms. To effect his purpoſe, he had art enough to perſuade the other Saxon kings to join in a league againſt Ceaulin, by inſinuating that he aimed at univerſal monarchy. Being made general of the confederacy, he attacked Ceaulin, when that monarch was defeated and ſlain. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, he did not attempt to diſguiſe his ſentiments, but gave the confederate kings to underſtand, that his own views were preciſely the ſame as thoſe with which he had taxed the deceaſed Weſt Saxon monarch. To ſtrengthen his intereſt, he made an alliance with the king of Paris, married his daughter Bertha, and then ſeized on all the provinces north of the Humber, Northumbria excepted; he was the firſt Engliſh king who framed a regular body of laws, and having reigned fifty-two years, he died in 616, when the crown devolved to his ſon Eadbald.

This prince was a profligate at the commencement, a tyrant in the courſe, and a penitent at the concluſion of his reign. He died A. D. 640, and was ſucceeded by Ercombert, who mounted the throne to the excluſion of his elder brother. On his death, which happened four years after his eldeſt ſon, Egbert ſucceeded him. This prince put to death all his male couſins, leſt they ſhould claim the crown, and then gave their ſiſter an eſtate in the iſle of Thanet, that ſhe might erect a monaſtery thereon, where prayers were to be continually ſaid for the repoſe of her brothers ſouls, and for the expiation of their murderer's crime. But as he had excluded his uncle's children from their right, his own, on his deceaſe, ſuffered the ſame injuſtice from their uncle; for his brother Lothaire ſeized the crown in prejudice to the iſſue of Egbert, to whom he had been left guardian.

Lothaire began his reign, A. D. 673, and thought to entail the ſucceſſion on his own family, by aſſociating his ſon Richard in the government with himſelf. Edric his nephew, however, took refuge among the South Saxons, and perſuaded their monarch to aſſiſt him againſt the uſurper. In conſequence of which Lothaire was defeated and ſlain, and Edric mounted the throne; but dying two years afterwards without iſſue, his brother Withred ſucceeded him. This prince made Swabert, (the head of a faction againſt him) copartner with him in the throne, by which prudent method he converted a foe into a friend, and put an end to a dangerous inſurrection without bloodſhed. Swabert ruled in conjunction with Withred for the ſpace of four years, when dying, the ſole authority again devolved on the latter, who governed the kingdom twelve years after, with great reputation to himſelf. On his demiſe, which happened A. D. 725, he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Edbert, who reigned in tranquillity twenty years. Ethelbert, and his ſon Ardulph followed; and Aldric, who ſucceeded, was the laſt prince lineally deſcended from Hengiſt the firſt founder of the monarchy. The kingdom of Kent now became tributary to the kings of Mercia, and ſo remained till it was conquered by Egbert the Great.

---

* This entertainment was held on Saliſbury Plain, and that pile of ſtones, called Stonehenge, is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been erected by Aurelius Ambroſius, in commemoration of that tranſaction.

† Ethelbert built the old cathedral church of St. Paul, London, on a ſpot where a temple dedicated to Diana once ſtood, and Melitus was its firſt biſhop.

2. The Kingdom of the SOUTH SAXONS.

THIS kingdom was the leaſt conſiderable of any of the Heptarchy; the city of Chicheſter, built by Ciſſa, was the only place of any importance in it. Ella, who founded this kingdom in A. D. 491, reigned twenty three years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ciſſa, who was remarkable only for his great age, reigning 76 years, and being 116 when he died. But not leaving any children behind him the kingdom was ſeized by Ceaulin king of the Weſt Saxons.

3. The Kingdom of the WEST SAXONS.

THIS kingdom was founded by Cerdic, who arrived in England in the year 495. Cerdic was certainly a man of conſiderable abilities, and a very able warrior. The brave Britiſh king Arthur oppoſed him in vain, he ſurmounted all oppoſition, and eſtabliſhed the kingdom of the South Saxons in 519. After the death of Arthur, he reigned in tranquillity till the year 534, when he died and was ſucceeded by his ſon Cynric, who reigned only four years. The crown then devolved to Ceaulin, the ſon of Cynric, who was defeated and ſlain by Ethelbert, king of Kent. The conqueror placed Ceolric, the nephew of Ceaulin, upon the throne, whoſe reign was only remarkable for his paſſive acquieſcence in all the meaſures of Ethelbert. He died in 598, when his couſin Ceolwulf mounted the throne. This martial monarch defeated the South Saxons who had revolted, gave a check to the Picts and Scots, and ſupported his dignity with great glory till his death, which happened A. D. 611. His nephew Cinigils, who ſucceeded him, divided the kingdom with his brother Quincelm, and gave a great overthrow to the Britons in A. D. 614. Quincelm departed this life eight years before his brother, who died in the year 643, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Cenwall. This prince was exceeding vicious, and ſo unſteady in his temper, that he changed his religion, and repudiated his queen without the leaſt cauſe, and afterwards again embraced the former, and took back the latter through the meer inſtability of his diſpoſition. After having been expelled his kingdom, and again reſtored to it by the Mercian monarch, he died A. D. 672, and left the crown to his queen. Concerning this lady the relations of hiſtorians are very uncertain, ſo that it is impoſſible to aſcertain where or when ſhe died, or whether ſhe was expelled the kingdom by her ſubjects. A revolution, however, happened about this time, which laſted for ten years, and ended in a partition of the kingdom between three noblemen, viz. Cenſus, Eſcwin and Centwin. The latter reigned alone after the deceaſe of the two former, and on his demiſe the kingdom was ſeized by Ceadwalla. This prince, who was a man of a very enterprizing genius, defeated the South Saxons, plundered the kingdom of Kent, and conquered the iſland of Angleſea. Then making a journey to Rome in order to be chriſtened by the Pontiff himſelf, he was accordingly baptized by Pope Sergius II, and received the name of Peter. On his death he was ſucceeded by his kinſman Ina, a prince of the greateſt abilities, and moſt amiable character imaginable. In the firſt year of his reign the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles becoming vacant, thoſe people voluntarily offered him the crown, and ſolicited him to rule over them; an inconteſtible proof of the general eſteem in which his character was held. Being firmly eſtabliſhed in his extenſive dominions, he turned his whole attention to the formation of a code of ſalutary laws, which appear as ſupplementary to thoſe of Ethelbert, and the groundwork of thoſe afterwards inſtituted by Alfred the Great. He then defeated the Britons, ſubdued the Mercians, and made a conqueſt of the country of the South Saxons. Having arrived to the ſummit of glory, his queen and himſelf both determined to quit a ſplendid for a recluſe life. Accordingly, A. D. 727, he quitted his crown for a cloiſter, by turning monk, and his royal conſort retired to the monaſtery of Barking, where ſhe ended her days. It was Ina that eſtabliſhed the celebrated tax known by the name of Peter's Pence. This ſubſidy was originally intended as a fund of charity to maintain Engliſh ſtudents at Rome; but in proceſs of time the Popes thought proper to demand it as a matter of right for the enrichment of their own coffers.

After the abdication of Ina, the crown was placed on the head of his kinſman Ethelhard, on whoſe death A. D. 743, Cuthred ſucceeded to the regal authority. This prince was victorious over the Mercians, and annexed part of Cornwall to his dominions. His death happened A. D. 754, when his nephew Sigebert mounted the throne. This monarch was depoſed by Kenewulf, and afterwards ſlain by a ſwine herd. But Cunehard, the brother of the depoſed monarch, way-laid and ſlew the uſurper near Merton in Surry, where he uſed to viſit a lady privately. But the friends of Kenewulf revenged his death by diſpatching the murderer and all his accomplices.

Brithric, the ſon of Kenewulf, A. D. 754, was elected to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people. This monarch was extremely jealous of Egbert, a prince of the blood royal, whoſe abilities and popularity filled him with continual apprehenſions; while on the other hand Egbert, not thinking himſelf ſafe in the dominions of a profeſſed enemy, withdrew to France, where he firſt projected the grand deſign which he afterwards ſucceſsfully executed, viz. the uniting the kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one monarchy.

In 787 the Danes made their firſt deſcent upon the coaſt of Britain, landing a body of men from three ſhips at Portland, but they were defeated with great ſlaughter by the country people, and obliged to retreat to their veſſels with the utmoſt precipitation. Brithric reigned in peace till A. D. 799, when he was poiſoned by his queen Edburga, who fled to France, whither the judgement of Heaven purſued her, as ſhe wandered about in diſtreſs, and afterwards periſhed through mere want.

4. The Kingdom of the EAST SAXONS.

ERKENWIN, who traced his deſcent from Woden, founded this kingdom in A. D. 527. It is ſingular, that though this prince reigned above ſixty years, yet nothing remarkable occured in his reign. The reign of his ſon Sledda, who ſucceeded him in A. D. 587, was equally barren of events. *Sebert mounted the throne after the death of his father Sledda, A. D. 596, and embraced the chriſtian religion

---

* This prince was the firſt founder of the Cathedral Church, of St. Peter's Weſtminſter, which he erected on a ſpot where a temple dedicated to Apollo once ſtood.

gion ſoon after at the inſtigation of his uncle Ethelbert. On his deceaſe his three ſons, Saxred, Siward, and Sigebert, reigned in conjunction. They renounced chriſtianity, and were all three ſlain in a battle againſt the Weſt Saxons. Sigebert the Little reigned after them, and was himſelf ſucceeded by Sigebert the Good, who again reſtored the chriſtian religion throughout his dominions. He was, however, murdered in A. D. 622.

Nothing remarkable occurred in this kingdom during the reigns of the few ſucceeding princes, till it was ſeized by Egbert the Great, which happened in the reign of its laſt king Swithred.

5. The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

IDA founded this kingdom A. D. 547, and his two ſons Adda and Alla divided it between them after his death, the former reigning over that part called Bernicia, and the latter over that which went by the name of Deira. Of the five kings who ſucceſſively mounted the throne after Adda and Alla, nothing remarkable is recorded. At length Ethelfrid, a man of an enterprizing genius, uſurped the throne. He was ſucceſsful in many engagements againſt the Picts and Scots, but rather unfortunate in an expedition he undertook againſt the Britons, and at length was defeated and ſlain by the Eaſt Angles.

Edwin who ſucceeded to the throne, obliged the Britons to pay a tribute to him, and afterwards aimed at univerſal monarchy by attempting the diſſolution of the Heptarchy. This ambitious deſign rouzed the jealouſy of the other kings, who formed a powerful confederacy againſt him, and were even joined by the Britons. Edwin engaged their united forces at Hatfield in the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, but was defeated and ſlain on the 12th of October, A. D. 633. The Northumbrians made ſome brave attempts to free themſelves from the cruelty and oppreſſion of the conquerors, without ſucceſs; at length they were repelled in 634 by Oſwald the ſon of Ethelfrid, who thereupon aſſumed the regal authority. But in 642 Oſwald was defeated and ſlain by the Mercians. And from this time the kingdom of Northumberland was in continual anarchy and confuſion, till Egbert the Great reduced it with the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

6. The Kingdom of the EAST ANGLES.

THE Angles, who came to England under the conduct of twelve leaders, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeſhire, with the iſle of Ely, at length formed themſelves into a diſtinct kingdom in 575; and Uffa took upon himſelf the regal title and authority. But dying three years after his ſon Tityſt ſucceeded him. On the demiſe of Tityſt the kingdom devolved to Redwald king of Northumberland. Erpwald his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom of Eaſt Anglia only; but being a very weak and wicked prince, he was deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and reigned only as a kind of ſubſtitute to Edwin, king of Northumberland. Erpwald embracing the chriſtian religion, was aſſaſſinated by Rubbert, a furious pagan zealot, who uſurped the throne, and during his ſhort reign of three years extirpated chriſtianity from the kingdom; but his ſucceſſor Sigebert, who began his reign in 636, reſtored it again, and by the aſſiſtance of Furceus an Iriſh Monk, and Felix a prieſt of Burgundy propagated it to the utmoſt extent of his power. Having made eccleſiaſtical appointments, erected public ſchools, and eſtabliſhed tranquillity throughout his dominions, he with great humility reſigned his crown to Egric his kinſman, and entered into a monaſtery, in order to paſs the remainder of his days in religious retirement. Penda, king of the Mercians, attacking the territories of the Eaſt Angles, Sigebert was ſtrongly ſolicited to emerge from the convent, in order to take upon him the command of the army. He yielded to the preſſing inſtances of his ſubjects with reluctance, and left his peaceful ſolitude with regret. Putting himſelf at the head of the troops he engaged the Mercians, but after an obſtinate conteſt was defeated and ſlain, together with his kinſman Egric.

Annas, a prince of the blood royal, who ſucceeded Egric, received a great overthrow, and loſt his life in another battle with the Mercians.

Ethelbert, the brother to the laſt monarch, mounted the throne, A. D. 654, and being a very weak and timid prince, made a ſcandalous alliance with the bloody enemy of his country, Penda, king of Mercia. Joining his forces with thoſe of Penda, they agreed in conjunction to invade the kingdom of Northumberland, but they were both defeated and ſlain by the Northumbrians.

No particulars worthy of recital are mentioned by hiſtorians, concerning the reigns of the ſucceeding kings of the Eaſt Angles, except of Ethelbert, the laſt monarch of this country. They were named Ethelwald, Eardulph, Ealphwald, Bearna, Ethelred, and Ethelbert. The latter began this reign in 749, and gained the reſpect and love of his ſubjects, by his piety, learning, and juſtice. He was, however, treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by Offa, king of the Mercians, who annexed the dominions of the murdered monarch to his own.

7. The Kingdom of the MERCIANS.

CRidda, who likewiſe could trace his deſcent from Woden, founded this kingdom A. D. 582, but died in the ſecond year of his reign, when Ethelbert, king of Kent, ſeized it in the right of conſanguinity, and placed Webba, the ſon of Cridda upon the throne as his vaſſal. Webba reigned nineteen years, and bequeathed the crown to his ſon Penda; but Ethelbert thought proper to prevent him from mounting the throne, by ſeating his own couſin Cheorl upon it A. D. 614. At the expiration of ten years Cheorl died, and

Penda was at length ſuffered peaceably to aſſume the reins of government. He was an inveterate enemy to the chriſtians, but loſing his life in a battle againſt the Northumbrians A. D. 655, his ſon Peada, who was a chriſtian in his heart, ſucceeded to ſome of his dominions; for Oſwy, the conquering monarch of Northumberland, had ſeized a part, and on the death of Peada, in 657, took poſſeſſion of the whole.

Wulpha, the ſon of Penda, however, drove the uſurper from his dominions, and aſſumed the reins of government. This prince poſſeſſed great abilities, but being of a reſtleſs and ambitious temper, was perpetually quarrelling with his neighbours. Dying A. D. 675, his ſon Kenred ſucceeded him, but was ſoon after depoſed by Ethelred his uncle. The latter in A. D. 676 made war upon the king of Kent with ſucceſs; but in 679 was defeated by the Northumbrians.

In A. D. 697 the kingdom of Mercia was divided into five provinces, viz. Hereford, Leiceſter, Lindſay, Litchfield, and Worceſter, and the ſame year the queen was murdered by a faction, of which execrable deed Ethelred took ſo little notice, that he was univerſally deemed the principal in that bloody tranſaction.

In the year 704, Ethelred being ſeized with ſome qualms of conſcience, turned Monk, and having firſt reſtored the kingdom to his nephew Kenred, from whom he had unjuſtly taken it, retired to a monaſtery in order to have ſufficient leiſure to atone by a life of penitence for the crimes of uſurpation and murder.

Kendred, after having been depoſed by one uncle, was ſo little qualified for a public, and ſo enamoured of a private life, that in a ſhort time he voluntarily reſigned his crown to another uncle named Ceolred. This prince was the very contraſt of his nephew, and being of an active and enterprizing ſpirit, he maintained a bloody but undeciſive war, againſt the Weſt Saxons. But A. D. 716, he fell a ſacrifice to the malice of ſome Monks, who took him off by poiſon, for having always been an inveterate enemy to their order.

Ethelbald, who ſucceeded him, ſpent his whole life in contriving to quarrel with his neighbours: he was ſeverely puniſhed for his unſocial diſpoſition, firſt in ſuffering a defeat by Cuthred king of Weſſex; and finally in being murdered A. D. 755, by his own rebellious ſubjects.

Beornred, the principal inſurgent, mounted the throne, but the nobles ſoon deprived him of his ill acquired dignity, and ſeated the celebrated Offa, nephew to the murdered monarch in his place. This prince poſſeſſed an inſatiable thirſt for conqueſt, and centered all his happineſs in the glories which reſult from military atchievements. Stimulated by this diſpoſition, he ravaged the kingdom of Kent; ſlew its monarch with his own hand; ſubdued a people called the Haſtings; over-run the territories of the Weſt Saxon king, and rendered the Northumbrians tributary to him. By the interpoſition of Charlemagne, who had been ſolicited for that purpoſe, he made peace with the other Saxon kings; but to avoid inactivity, turned his arms againſt the Britons, and ſeized upon all the countries between the Severn and the Wye; then, as a check upon the Britons, he built the celebrated wall or fence, known by the name of Offa's Dyke.*

Offa now made his ſon Egfrid coadjutor with him in the government, gave his daughter Ethburga in marriage to the Weſt Saxon king Brithric, and repulſed the Danes who had invaded the kingdom with great ſlaughter. But though the ſplendor of his actions gave him a reputation ſuperior to what any of the kings of the Heptarchy had ever acquired, yet the murder of Ethelbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, eclipſed all the glories of his reign, and will ever brand his name with infamy. This crime hung ſo heavy upon his conſcience, that, agreeable to the ſuperſtition of the times, he made a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to get abſolution of the Pope. Here he again merited the reprobation of his people, for beſides confirming the payment of Peter's Pence, by changing it from a donation to a tribute, he agreed to an annual ſubſidy of 365 maricuſes, or rather a tax of a maricuſe a day, which amounted to 136l. 17s. 6d. the maricuſe being valued at 37 Saxon pence, or three half crowns of our preſent money.

Returning home, he founded the church and monaſtery of St. Alban, and having juſt compleated it, died at Offly, A. D. 796, having reigned thirty-nine years.

Egfrid ſucceeded for a ſhort ſpace as ſole monarch, but dying, was ſucceeded by Kenulph, who annexed the kingdom of Kent to his own dominions, and barbarouſly put out the eyes of Egbert Pren, the king of that country, whom he took priſoner. Kenulph was killed in a commotion raiſed by the Eaſt Angles A. D. 819, when the crown devolved to Kenelm, who was then only ſeven years of age. The royal infant was ſoon after murdered by his ambitious ſiſter Quendrida, who mounted the throne in his ſtead. This unnatural wretch was, however, depoſed by her own uncle Ceolwulf, who ſeized the reins of government into his own hands. Being driven from the throne by a faction, he was ſucceſſively ſucceeded by Beornulph, Ludican and Wiglaff, who reigned two years each, and were reſpectively defeated by Egbert, king of the Eaſt Angles, who afterwards obtained the name of Egbert the Great, and who, in A. D. 829, annexed it to his own dominions, as he had moſt of the other kingdoms, in purſuance of his plan, which was to reduce all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy under one ſole monarchy. This grand deſign put an end to any hopes which the Welch might conceive of, again breathing the air of freedom in the plains they antiently poſſeſſed. The diſſenſion of the Saxon kings, and their perpetual wars with each other, had long flattered their expectations, that the happy criſis would one day arrive, when they ſhould be able to extirpate the Saxon race, and regain their antient liberty; but Egbert's plan of a general union of the Saxons, baniſhed thoſe pleaſing ideas from their minds, and left them only the bitter reflection, that to their vices, they owed their miſeries; for as a learned and eminent divine juſtly ſays, in their misfortunes "may be obſerved the miſeries and deſolations brought by Divine Providence on a vile, and degenerate nation, driven, when nothing elſe could reform them, out of a fair and rich country, into a mountainous, and barren corner by ſtrangers and Pagans, ſo much more tolerable is downright infidelity in the eye of heaven, than the diſhonouring the chriſtian faith by ſuch unchriſtian works."

SECT. III.

The Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Hiſtory of the Saxons *during the* Heptarchy.

THE religion of the Saxons, previous to their converſion to chriſtianity, was the groſſeſt idolatry, and many of their notions were extravagantly abſurd. They had a great opinion of the preſcience to be obtained by caſting lots, were fond of augury and divination, and extremely addicted to judicial aſtrology in general. When they were on the eve of a war, they would order a captive of the nation with which they were at variance, if ſuch could be procured, to engage in ſingle combat with a champion of their own, and from the deciſion of the combat, pretended to predict the ſucceſs of the war itſelf. The very neighing of horſes furniſhed their ſuperſtition with matter to prognoſticate by, and many of thoſe noble animals were kept at the public expence as prophetical aſſiſtants to the prieſthood. But it is to obſerved, that the preſaging quadrupede was always of a white colour; for they imagined that black and ſorrel did not poſſeſs the powers of prediction.

---

* This Dyke, called by the Welch Claud Offa, was an intrenchment beginning at Bleachy, over againſt Auſt Paſſage, on the Severn, and extending ninety miles from the mouth of the Wye, to the mouth of the Dee. Harold made a law, that if any Welchman paſſed this Dyke, the king's officers ſhould cut off his right hand.

The Saxons had a variety of idols, the principal of which were the following:

1. The idol of the ſun, which was repreſented like a man half naked, holding a burning wheel cloſe to his breaſt with both his hands. The face reſembled the ſun. This image was placed in a temple, ſolemnly adored, publickly ſacrificed to, and had Sunday dedicated to it.

2. The idol of the moon, to which Moonday, or Monday was dedicated, had a ſingular appearance, being, though called a goddeſs, dreſſed like a man with a ſhort ſkirted coat, a moon in her hand, and a cloſe cap with long ears on her head.

3. Tuiſco, to which Tuiſ-day, or Tueſday as we now call it was dedicated, had a venerable beard, and was clad in ſkins, agreeable to the ancient ſimplicity.

4. Woden, was an idol inſtituted in honor of a valiant Saxon prince, and was looked upon as the god of victory. When the Saxons were ſucceſsful in fight, they ſacrificed the priſoners they took to this idol, and our Wedneſday is derived from him, being anciently called Wodenſ-day.

5. Thor, the ſon of Woden and Friga, was placed in a large hall, ſitting on a kind of couch, and covered with a magnificent canopy. A crown ſurrounded by twelve ſtars adorned his head, and in his right hand he held a ſcepter. He was deemed the god of the elements, and to him Thurſday, anciently called Thorſ-day, was dedicated.

6. Friga held a drawn ſword in the right hand, and a bow in the left; ſhe was the goddeſs of peace, plenty, love, and amity, and to her Friday, Frigaſday, or Frigedeag was dedicated. — This idol was uſually repreſented as a goddeſs, though ſome have made it an hermaphroditical divinity, by aſcribing to it the properties of both ſexes.

7. Seater, or Crado, was repreſented as ſtanding on the prickly back of a perch.---He had long hair, a long beard, was thin viſag'd, and had no covering on his head or feet. In his right hand he carried a pail of water, containing fruit and flowers, and a wheel in his left. His robe was tied by a girdle, which flew open both ways, to denote the abſolute freedom of the Saxons: his ſtanding with ſuch eaſe on the prickly back of the perch, implied that his worſhippers ſhould paſs through all perils and dangers unhurt; and his pail of water, containing flowers and fruit, ſignified that he would repleniſh the earth with rain, and occaſion the greateſt fertility. To him Saturday, anciently called Seater's-day, was dedicated.

It is ſuppoſed that Tuiſco, Thor and Friga were equivalent to the Mars, Jupiter and Venus of the Romans. But it muſt be confeſſed, that Tuiſco reſembles Mars leſs than he does Mercury, and Friga has a greater ſimilitude to Diana than to Venus.—The Saxons had likewiſe a goddeſs whom they called Eoſter, and who, as ſhe preſided over the month of April, it is probable gave name to the feſtival of Eaſter. But their greateſt favourite was Hertha, by whom they meant the earth. She was ſeated in a moveable temple, covered with ſacred veſtments, and had her reſidence for the chief part of the year in conſecrated groves. At certain times, however, ſhe was drawn by cows, and attended by prieſts through various parts of the kingdom;---wherever ſhe came feſtivity appeared, and when ſhe returned to the grove, her chariot was waſhed in the waters of a lake appropriated to that purpoſe.

Chriſtianity was firſt introduced among the Saxons in the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent. That prince himſelf was no enemy to the perſuaſion, being married to Bertha, a chriſtian princeſs. About the ſame time St. Gregory was advanced to the papal chair, and having long conceived the deſign of converting the Engliſh Saxons to chriſtianity, he deputed Auguſtine, a Monk, afterwards known by the name of St. Auſtin, to conduct this great work. Auguſtine was attended by ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics, who ſet off from Rome in great ſpirits, but being ſoon diſcouraged by the fatigues of the journey, and ſome reports of the barbarities of thoſe whom they were going to convert, they unanimouſly agreed to halt, and diſpatched Auguſtine back again to Rome, in order to get excuſed from the undertaking. But the Pope, inſtead of abſolving them from their miſſion, ſent the moſt earneſt exhortations to them to proceed; intreating them not to be diſcouraged by real difficulties, or the report of dangers, but to perſevere in a work which could not fail to end in their own eternal glory; and concluded with adjuring them by all means to obey St. Auſtin, whom he had appointed their Abbot.

Confirmed by the Pope's exhortations, or aſhamed any more to recede from what they had ſo ſtrenuouſly undertaken, the monks proceeded, and under the conduct of their leader, landed in the iſle of Thanet, in Kent. The miſſion conſiſted of about forty eccleſiaſtics, and ſeveral interpreters from France. On their arrival, Auſtin ſent a meſſage to king Ethelbert, importing, "That he came from Rome to bring the promiſe of eternal felicity to all that would receive it:" The king returned a polite anſwer, and ordered them to be ſupplied with all kinds of neceſſaries, but deſired they would remain in the place at which they landed, where he would ſpeedily pay them a viſit.

The king, with his queen and courtiers repaired to the iſle of Thanet, agreeable to his promiſe. Auſtin and his monks appeared before him, * and were received with great cordiality. After ſeeing divine ſervice performed, and hearing a pathetic ſermon, the king addreſſed the monks in the following memorable words, "The doctrines and promiſes you bring, are " indeed ſpecious and inviting; but being new and " uncertain, I cannot ſuddenly conſent to quit the re" ligion of my anceſtors; but becauſe you are ſtran" gers, and come from far countries, purely to com" municate ſuch things as you believe to be moſt va" luable, you ſhall receive all protection and neceſ" ſary accommodations, nor will I prohibit you from " gaining what perſons you can to the belief of your " religion." He then appointed that they ſhould reſide in the royal city of Canterbury, gave them liberty to preach throughout his dominions, and amply provided for their maintenance. To the honour of theſe monks, their lives did not diſgrace their doctrines; they conducted themſelves with an apoſtolic purity of manners, and ſeemed to emulate the primitive chriſtians in the ſimplicity of their converſation. The Saxons found the tenets they attempted to inculcate replete with univerſal philanthropy and benevolence,

---

* It is remarkable that Ethelbert met Auſtin in an open field at this firſt conference, from a ſuperſtitious notion, that if he was a ſorcerer his charms could have no power in the open air, but beneath a roof they might be dangerous.

volence, and calculated to benefit and bleſs mankind. † Great numbers daily flocked to them to be baptized, and the king, at length, was won by their ſanctity, and the purity of the precepts they taught, to become a chriſtian.

In the year 598, Auſtin went to France, where he was ordained archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation, by Eutherius, archbiſhop of Arles. Returning to Britain, he ſent two of his aſſociates, viz. Laurentius and Peter to Rome, to give the Pope an account of his ſucceſs, and obtain directions for his future conduct. He then rebuilt a temple, formerly erected by the Romans at Canterbury, eſtabliſhed it as a ſee for himſelf, and called it Chriſt-church. Eaſt of the city, he erected a monaſtery, and perſuaded the king to build the church of St. Peter and St. Paul for the interment of the kings of Kent, and archbiſhops of Canterbury. Afterwards informing Pope Gregory, that there was a deficiency of preachers in the iſland, that pontiff ſent over Mellitus, Juſtus, Paulinus and Rufinian, who brought with them an archiepiſcopal pall, ſacerdotal veſtments, altar cloths, ſeveral books, and a great number of relicks. The Pope likewiſe delegated to Auſtin, the power to ordain an archbiſhop of York and twelve ſuffragan biſhops. Mellitus being one of the biſhops, converted the Eaſt Saxons and their king Sebert, in honour of whoſe converſion Ethelbert built the cathedral church of St. Paul, London; and Juſtus, another of Auſtin's biſhops, built the cathedral church at Rocheſter, and dedicated it to St. Andrew.

Having been thus ſucceſsful in the converſion of the Pagans, Auſtin determined, if poſſible, to bring the Britiſh clergy to acknowledge the papal ſupremacy. He accordingly ſummoned the Welch clergy to meet him on the borders of Worceſterſhire, at a place which, in the time of the venerable Bede, went by the name of St. Auſtin's Oak.

Before the Britiſh clergy repaired to the place appointed, they enquired of one who led an anchoret's life, how they ſhould know if Auſtin was a man from God—he replied, "If ye find him meek and humble, ye ſhall earneſtly hearken to him, as having the trueſt marks of Chriſt's diſciple; but if he carries himſelf with pride and haughtineſs, regard him not, for he cannot then be a man from God."

Coming to the ſpecified place of rendezvous, they found Auſtin diametrically oppoſite to the tokens by which they were to judge of his miſſion, for proſperity and advancement had been his ruin; the paſtor was loſt in the prelate, and the meekneſs which had originally procured him ſucceſs, was ſunk in archiepiſcopal arrogance. The Britiſh biſhops, therefore, abſolutely refuſed to ſubſcribe to any of the articles that he thought proper to propoſe, which chiefly tended to ſubject them to the ſee of Rome, and Dinooth, biſhop of Bangor, in the name of the reſt, addreſſed him in theſe words, "as to the ſubjection you require, be aſſured that in the bond of love and charity we are all ſubjects and ſervants to the church of God, to the pope of Rome, and every good chriſtian, by word and deed to help them forward in the way of life; but other obedience than this we do not know to be due to him whom you term the Pope, yet this obedience we are always ready to pay him and every chriſtian; beſides we are governed under God by the biſhop of Caerleon, whoſe duty it is to overſee us in all ſpiritual matters." Auſtin, highly exaſperated at theſe expreſſions, pronounced the following denunciation againſt the Britons; "Since ye refuſe to accept of peace from your brethren, you ſhall have war from your enemies; and ſince ye will not preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye ſhall meet with death." In order to have the prediction fulfilled, Auſtin perſuaded the king of Northumberland to make war upon the Britons, but did not live to be a witneſs of their depredations, as he died in the enſuing year 605, and was ſucceeded in the archbiſhoprick by Laurentius.

Soon after the death of Auſtin, king Ethelbert ſummoned a mycel-ſynod, or grand council, in which, by the approbation of the nobles and repreſentatives of the people, all the grants to the different chriſtian churches in his dominions were confirmed. In 608 Laurentius brought the Scots to ſome conformity with him, particularly with reſpect to the obſervation of Eaſter. But Ethelbert dying, his ſon Eadbald, being a pagan, took the utmoſt pains to undo all that his father had done, and the nation relapſed again into paganiſm. Laurentius, archbiſhop of Canterbury, however, found means to convert the king to chriſtianity, and knowing that the generality of the ſubjects would follow the example of the monarch, he did not deſpair of recalling the people back to the precepts of the goſpel. Having in a great meaſure ſucceeded, Laurentius died A. D. 618, after which Mellitus held the ſee of Canterbury ſix years, and then was ſucceeded in 624 by Juſtus, biſhop of Rocheſter. About this time, Paulinus baptized the king of Northumberland and his ſubjects, and many Mercians. Berinus in 634 was equally ſucceſsful among the Weſt Saxons, and the South Saxons were converted A. D. 686 by Wilfred, biſhop of York.

Ferocious as the Saxons were, they had ſufficient prudence to enact many excellent laws for the general welfare of the people, and the regulation of political and domeſtic happineſs. The principal legiſlators were Ethelbert, Ina, and Offa. As the Codes of the two former have been handed down to us entire, and are in themſelves extremely curious, we ſhall here inſert them for the entertainment of the reader.

The laws made by Ethelbert, and engroſſed in the Anglo Saxon language are theſe:

Let ſacrilege be compenſated twelve-fold, the theft of the goods of a biſhop eleven-fold, the goods of a prieſt nine-fold, of thoſe of a deacon ſix-fold, of thoſe of a clerk three-fold, the violation of the peace of a church two-fold, and that of a monaſtery two-fold.

If the king call an aſſembly of his people, and any damage be done to them there, let it be repaid two-fold, and fifty ſhillings be paid to the king.

If the king is at an entertainment at any one's houſe, and any damage be done there, let it be compenſated two fold.

If a freeman ſteal any thing from the king, let him compenſate at nine-fold.

Let him that killeth a man in the king's own city be fined fifty ſhillings.

Let him that killeth a freeman pay fifty ſhillings to the king for the loſs of a ſubject.

If any one kill the ſervants of the king's maſter-ſmith, or butler, let him pay the ordinary mulct.

Let the violation of the king's patronage be compenſated with fifty ſhillings.

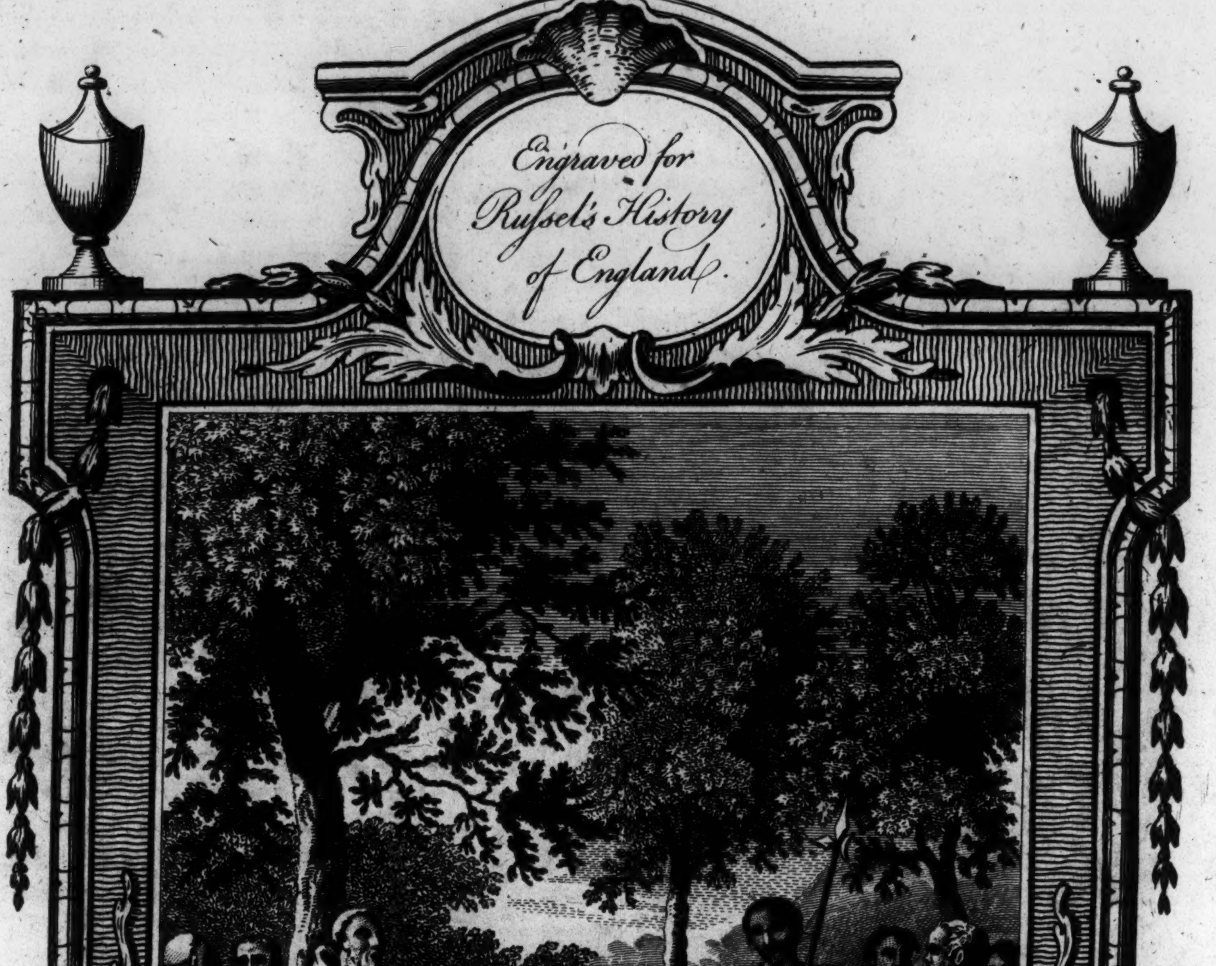
If a freeman ſteal any thing from a freeman, let him repay it three-fold, let a mulct be impoſed, and all his goods confiſcated to the king.

If a man lie with the king's maid-ſervant, being a virgin, let him compenſate her virginity with fifty ſhillings.

If ſhe be a grinding maid, let the compenſation be twenty-five ſhillings, if of the third rank twelve ſhillings.

---

† The doctrine preached by St. Auſtin and his monks, was agreeable to the purity of primitive chriſtianity, and untainted by thoſe errors and ſuperſtitions, which afterwards crept in to the great injury of religion and ſcandal of its profeſſors.


Engraved for Rußel's History of England.

St. AUSTIN *preaching under an Oak in the Isle of Thanet to the Saxon King* ETHELBERT *and his Queen* BERTHA

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

Let the violation of the chaſtity of the king's victualling maid be compenſated with twenty ſhillings.

Let him that killeth a man in the city of an earl be fined twelve ſhillings.

If a man lie with a maid that is an earl's cupbearer, let him compenſate her virginity with twelve ſhillings.

Let the violation of the patronage of a yeoman be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

Let the violation of the chaſtity of a maid that is a yeoman's cupbearer be compenſated with ſix ſhillings, that of a yeoman's other maid ſervants with fifty ſcættas, and thoſe of the third rank thirty ſcættas.

Let him that firſt breaketh into another man's houſe be amerced ſix ſhillings, the ſecond three ſhillings, and the reſt one each.

If any one lend another arms where there is a quarrel, though no harm be done thereby, let him be amerced in ſix ſhillings.

If robbery be committed let it be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

But if a man be killed, let the murderer compenſate his death with twenty ſhillings.

If a man kill another, be the ordinary mulct of an hundred ſhillings impoſed upon him.

If a man kill another at an open grave, let him compenſate his death with twenty ſhillings, beſides the ordinary mulct which he muſt pay in forty days.

If the homicide fly his country, let his relations pay half the ordinary mulct.

Let him that bindeth a freeman pay twenty ſhillings.

Let the murderer of a yeoman's gueſt compenſate his death with ſix ſhillings.

But if the landlord killeth his chief gueſt, it ſhall be eighty ſhillings.

If he kills the ſecond ſixty ſhillings, if the third forty ſhillings.

If a freeman cut down a hedge, he ſhall pay ſix ſhillings.

If a man take away a thing kept within the houſe, he ſhall pay it three-fold.

If a freeman break over an hedge, let him compenſate with four ſhillings.

Let him that killeth a man make compenſation according to the true valuation in current money.

If a freeman lie with a freeman's wife let him make amends by buying another wife for the injured party.

If a man prick another in the right thigh, let him compenſate the ſame.

If he catch him by the hair let him pay fifty ſcættas.

If the bone appear let him pay three ſhillings.

If the bone be hurt let him pay four ſhillings.

If the bone be broken let him pay ten ſhillings.

If both be done let him pay twenty ſhillings.

If the ſhoulder be lamed be it compenſated with twenty ſhillings.

If he is made deaf of an ear let it be compenſated with twenty-five ſhillings.

If the ear be cut off let it be compenſated with twelve ſhillings.

If the ear be bored through, let it be compenſated with three ſhillings.

If clipped off, with ſix ſhillings.

If the eye be ſtruck out let fifty ſhillings compenſate it.

If the mouth or eye be injured, let twelve ſhillings make a compenſation.

If the noſe be bored through, let nine ſhillings be the compenſation.

If but one membrane be bored, be three ſhillings the compenſation.

If both, ſix ſhillings.

If both noſtrils be ſlit, let each be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

If bored, by ſix ſhillings.

Let him that cutteth off the chin-bone, pay twenty ſhillings.

Let each of the four fore-teeth be compenſated with ſix ſhillings; for the one that ſtands next, four ſhillings; for the next, three ſhillings; for each of the reſt, one ſhilling. If it be an impediment to his ſpeech, twelve ſhillings; if the jaw-bone be broke, ſix ſhillings.

Be the bruiſery of a man's arm compenſated with ſix ſhillings; and the breaking it, with ſix ſhillings.

If the thumb be cut off, let it be compenſated with twenty ſhillings; the nail of the thumb, with three ſhillings; the fore finger, with eight ſhillings; the middle-finger, with four ſhillings; the ring finger, with ſix ſhillings; the little finger, with eleven ſhillings.

For each nail, a ſhilling.

For the leaſt blemiſh, three ſhillings; for greater ones, ſix ſhillings.

A blow on the noſe with the fiſt, three ſhillings.

If the noſe be wounded, a ſhilling.

If the ſtroke be black without the cloaths, let it be compenſated with thirty ſcættas; if within the cloaths, with twenty.

If the midriff be wounded, let it be compenſated by twelve ſhillings; if bored, by twenty ſhillings.

If one is made to halt, let it be compenſated with thirty ſhillings.

If one wound the calves, let thirty ſhillings be the recompence.

If a man's thigh be broke, let twelve ſhillings be the recompence; if it is lamed, let the friends judge.

If a rib be broke, let it be compenſated with three ſhillings.

If the thigh be pricked, for every prick be paid ſix ſhillings; if it be an inch deep, one ſhilling; if two inches, two ſhillings; if above three, three ſhillings.

If a vertebra be wounded, let it be compenſated with three ſhillings.

If the foot be cut off, with fifty ſhillings.

If the great toe be cut off, with ten ſhillings.

For each of the other toes, half the price, as for the fingers.

For the nail of the great toe thirty ſcættas, and ten for each of the reſt.

If a free woman, wearing her hair, do any thing that is diſhonourable, let her pay thirty ſhillings.

Let the compenſation of a virgin be the ſame as that of a freeman.

Let the violation of the patronage of the chief widow of a noble family be compenſated by fifty ſhillings, of the next by twenty ſhillings, of the third with twelve ſhillings, of the fourth with ſix ſhillings.

If a man marry a widow that is not at her own diſpoſal, let him compenſate the violated patronage.

If a man buy a maid with his money, let her ſtand for bought, if there is no fraud in the bargain; but if there be, let her be returned home, and the purchaſer's money reſtored to him.

If ſhe bring forth any live iſſue, let her have the man's goods, if he die firſt.

If ſhe has a mind to depart with her children, let her have the half of his eſtate.

If ſhe have no iſſue, let her relations have the goods and the dowry.

If a man take a maid by force, let him pay fifty ſhillings to her firſt maſter, and afterwards redeem her according to his pleaſure.

If ſhe be before betrothed to another, let him compenſate with twenty ſhillings.

If ſhe be with child, let him pay thirty-five ſhillings, and fifteen ſhillings to the king.

If a man lie with the wife of a ſervant while her huſband is alive, let him make double recompence.

If a ſlave kill another ſlave, being innocent, let him compenſate his death with all his ſubſtance.

If a ſervant's eye or foot be ſtruck off, let it be compenſated.

If a man bind another's ſervant, let it be compenſated with ſix ſhillings.

Let the robbery of a ſervant be compenſated with three ſhillings.

If a ſervant ſteal any thing, let him compenſate the ſame two-fold.

The laws enacted by Ina in a Saxon parliament are as follow:

"Ina, by the grace of God, king of the Weſt Saxons, by the counſel and advice of Centred my father, and Edde and Erkenwald my biſhops, with all my eoldermen and ſage antients of my people, as alſo in an aſſembly of the ſervants of God, have religiouſly endeavoured, both for the health of our ſoul and the common preſervation of our kingdom, that right laws and true judgments be founded and eſtabliſhed throughout our whole dominions; and it ſhall not be lawful, for the time to come, for any eoldermen, or other ſubject whatever, to tranſgreſs theſe our conſtitutions."

1. If a ſervant do any work on a Sunday by command of his maſter, he ſhall be free, and his maſter ſhall be amerced thirty ſhillings; but if he went about the work without his maſter's privity, he ſhall be beaten, or redeem the penalty: but a freeman, if he work on that day without the command of his maſter, ſhall loſe his freedom, or pay ſixty ſhillings: if he be a prieſt, his penalty ſhall be double.

2. The portion or dues of the church ſhall be brought in by the feaſt of St. Martin: he that payeth them not by that time, ſhall be amerced forty ſhillings, and, beſides, pay twelve times their value.

3. If any, guilty of a capital crime, ſhall take refuge in a church, he ſhall ſave his life, and yet make recompence according to juſtice and equity: if one deſerving ſtripes run to a church, the ſtripes ſhall be forgiven him.

4. If any one fight within the king's houſe or palace, he ſhall forfeit all his goods; and it ſhall be at the pleaſure of the king, whether he ſhall have his life or not. He that fights in a church, ſhall pay one hundred and twenty ſhillings; in the houſe of an eolderman, or other ſage nobleman, ſixty ſhillings. Whoever ſhall fight in a villager's houſe, paying ſcot, ſhall be puniſhed thirty ſhillings, and ſhall give the villager ſix ſhillings; and, if any one fight in the open field, he ſhall pay one hundred and twenty ſhillings.

5. He that, on his own private account, ſhall revenge an injury done to him, before he hath demanded public juſtice, ſhall reſtore what he took away, and, beſides, forfeit thirty ſhillings.

6. If a robber be taken, he ſhall loſe his life, or redeem it according to the eſtimation of his head. We call robbers to the number of ſeven or eight men; from that number thirty-five, a band; all above, an army.

7. If a country boor, having been often accuſed of theft, be at laſt taken, he ſhall have his hand or foot cut off.

8. If any one kill another's godfather or godſon, the ſatisfaction ſhall be according to his quality and circumſtances: let the compenſation due to the relations, and that due to the lord for the loſs of his man, be both alike, and let the one encreaſe according to the circumſtances of the perſon juſt as the other doth; but if he be the king's godſon, let him make ſatisfaction to the king as well as the relations; but if his life was taken away by a relation, then let the money due to the godfather be diminiſhed as it uſeth to be when money is paid to the maſter for the death of his ſervant: if a biſhop's ſon be killed, let the penalty be half ſo much.

9. If any Engliſhman, who has loſt his freedom, do afterwards ſteal, he ſhall be hanged on the gallows, and no recompence made to his lord: if any one kill ſuch a man, he ſhall make no recompence on that account to his friends, unleſs they redeem him within a twelvemonth.

The different kingdoms of the Heptarchy were limited monarchies, the ſovereigns being accountable to the general aſſemblies of the ſtates. The crown was elective as well as hereditary, for the people, or rather their repreſentatives, would often oppoſe the lineal ſucceſſion, and fill the throne with a perſon approved by the voice of election.

The ſervices performed by the nobility were honorary, civil and military; honorary in attending his perſon, military in coming armed at the head of their vaſſals and tenants into the field, and civil in trying cauſes in his name within their diſtricts.

The trials were then as now, by jury, and equity was ſo far regarded, that in trials between the Britons and Saxons, one half conſiſted of Engliſh and the other of Welchmen.

Learning, during this period, was at a very low ebb, few but the nobility and clergy knew how to read, the former of whom never, and the latter very ſeldom, were acquainted with any but their native tongue. A prieſt, who could tranſlate latin into the Saxon language, was deemed a miracle of erudition, and a ſquire who could write his own name, was thought a prodigy of literature.

It is obſerveable, that our Saxon anceſtors always repaired to the aſſemblies of the ſtates compleatly armed. A prieſt preſided upon theſe occaſions, and poſſeſſed ſuch authority, that it was a capital crime to interrupt him after he had called ſilence, or to ſpeak without his permiſſion.

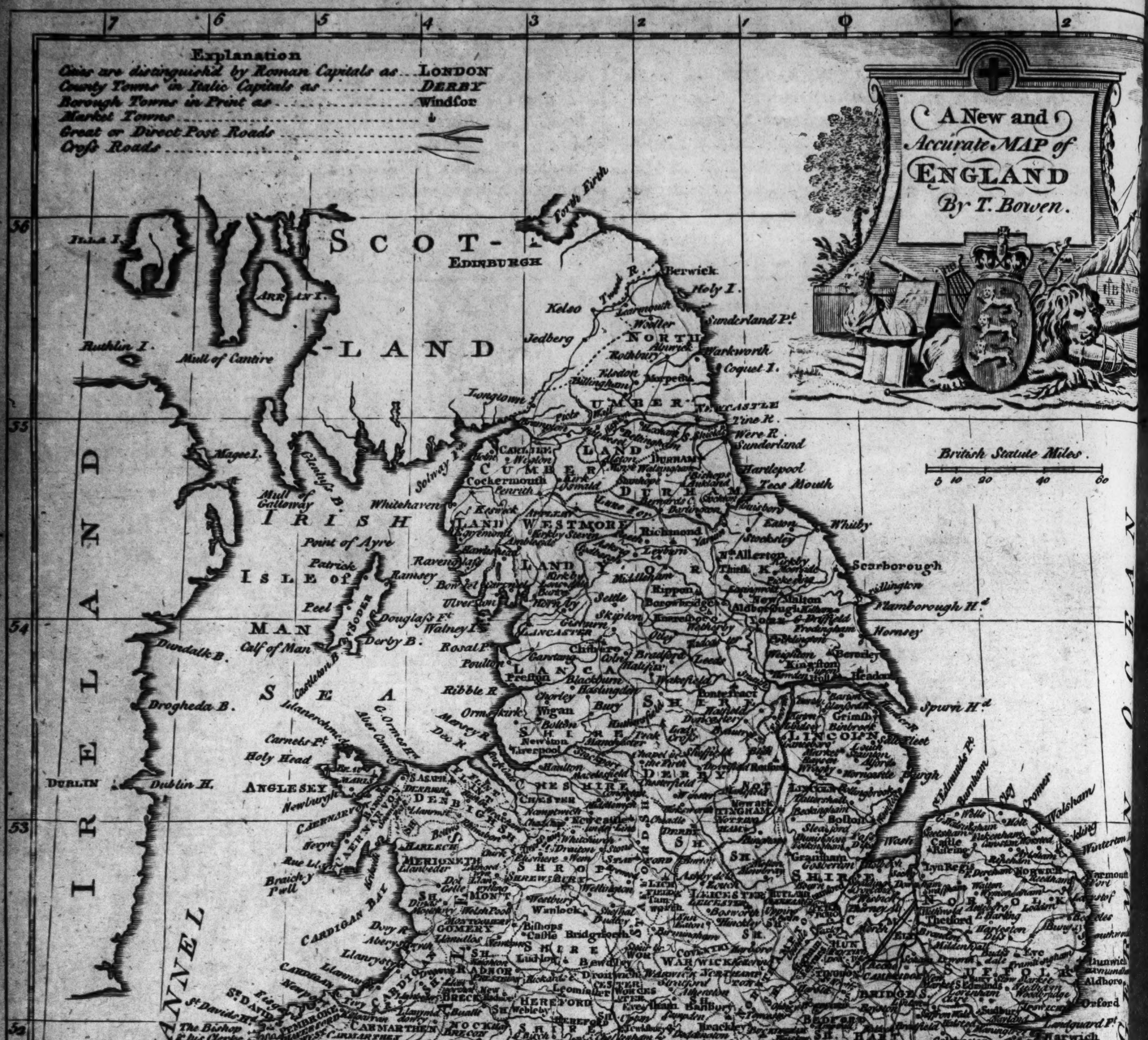
None were allowed to wear armour, or what was equivalent to repreſent the people, but ſuch as were approved of by the grand council of the nation. Hence knighthood originated, and repreſentatives were afterwards called knights of the ſhire.

Huſbands did not receive dowries with, but ſettled money on, their wives. If a woman proved falſe to the marriage bed, the huſband might, if he thought proper, ſtrip her naked, cut off her hair, and turn her out of doors in that condition; if this did not gratify his revenge, he had a right to have her ſeverely whipped through the town, and then turned totally adrift.

Rents were more frequently paid in kind than caſh, that is, in corn, cattle, cloaths, &c. than current coin, and the lord of the Glebe had a right to preſcribe the particular quantity which the tenant was obliged to pay annually; free tenures called bocland or bookland, that is, ſuch as were grantable by deed, were alienable by will, but the land held by feoſage, was an abſolute inheritance for all the ſons, to whom it deſcended equally. The people were divided into three claſſes, viz. nobles, freemen, and ſlaves, and degradation was the conſequence of marrying out of any particular claſs. The Saxons in general were great drinkers, and did not deem drunkenneſs diſgraceful. Malt liquor was their common, and indeed favourite beverage, as it is a preſent; nor were they greater drunkards than gameſters, for many, after having gamed away their property, and even wives and children, would ſtake their own freedom, and run the chance of becoming the ſlave of their antagoniſt to gratify this pernicious paſſion. And here we cannot help obſerving, that though the modern Engliſh have refined away moſt of the virtues of their anceſtors, they ſtill retain the two beforementioned vices, and practice them with as much avidity as ever. They were as much addicted to ſudden ſtarts of paſſion,

and

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


A New and Accurate MAP of ENGLAND By T. Bowen.
Explanation
Cities are distinguished by Roman Capitals as .... LONDON
County Towns in Italic Capitals as .... DERBY
Borough Towns in Print as .... Windsor
Market Towns
Great or Direct Post Roads
Cross Roads
British Statute Miles
SCOT-LAND
IRELAND
IRISH SEA
ISLE of MAN
St. GEORGES CHANNEL
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
GERMAN OCEAN
FRANCE
EDINBURGH
DUBLIN
Guernsey I.
Jersey I.
Sark
WIGHT I.
Longit. from London

and as ſudden fits of generoſity, and from the ſallies of anger would make haſty tranſitions to the meltings of humanity; and indeed this humorous diſpoſition is ſtill a marking characteriſtic of the Engliſh nation. They had no pompous funerals, yet, as now, inſcribed the tombs of the defunct with an eulogium of their actions when living. For capital crimes, hanging and drowning were the conſequential puniſhments; but ſmaller offences were atoned for by fines. In ſhort, conſidering the rudeneſs of the times, many of the laws were ſalutary and equitable, and ſome of their political inſtitutions would have done honour to more poliſhed ages.

BOOK IV.

From the Eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Monarchy *under one Sovereign, to the* Norman Conqueſt.

SECTION I.

EGBERT THE GREAT.

THE clouds of adverſity for many years obſcured this ſun which was doomed to break forth in meridian luſtre, and by the union of the ſeveral kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one great monarchy, to eclipſe the fame of his moſt renowed anceſtors.

This young hero having fled to the court of Charlemagne, then the politeſt in Europe, in order to delude the malice of Brithric, king of the Weſt Saxons, there formed his ideas to future greatneſs, and ſketched out the noble plan of an univerſal Engliſh monarchy.

His fortune began to take a favorable turn A. D. 800, on the death of Brithric, when the Weſt Saxons unanimouſly ſent a deputation to invite his acceptance of a crown to which he had a lineal claim. On his firſt acceſſion to the throne of the Weſt Saxon kingdom, he carefully concealed his grand deſign, and diſguiſed the ſentiments of ambition behind the veil of diſintereſtedneſs.-----Inſtead of ſeeming to aſpire to conqueſt, he appeared the candid mediator between the other kings, and became ſo reſpected for his prudent deciſions, that they appealed to his award upon all occaſions. By thus obtaining their confidence he gradually roſe to an aſcendency which he did not ſeem to aim at, and from an adviſer became a dictator, before his royal cotemporaries were ſenſible of his encreaſing authority over them.

The perpetual inveteracy of the Britons againſt the Saxons in general, and their peculiar prejudice in diſfavour of himſelf in particular, furniſhed Egbert with an opportunity of commencing his military exploits. Accordingly, in 808, he marched againſt the Corniſh Britons, the moſt hardy, and courageous tribe of thoſe people, and the moſt furiouſly tenacious of their independency; the conflicts were frequent and bloody, and the war carried on with great ſpirit on both ſides, till the genius of Egbert prevailing, the Corniſh Britons were vanquiſhed, and Cornwall was added to the dominions of the conqueror.

During this conteſt the Welch had afforded great aſſiſtance to the Corniſh Britons, which ſo irritated Egbert, that he entered Wales with fire and ſword, laid the whole country waſte, wreſted from them the province of Gwyneth, and made a law, which enacted, that if any Welchman preſumed to paſs Offa's Dyke, the offence ſhould be capital.

The ſucceſs of Egbert's arms now awakened the attention and excited the jealouſy of the other Saxon kings. The king of Mercia, as the moſt powerful, determined to ſtem this rapid tide of conqueſt before it ſhould overwhelm or ingulph his own dominions. And the dread of Egbert's military talents had ſuch an effect as even to reconcile antipathies; for the Mercian Saxons and Britons, who had hitherto cordially hated each other, now entered into an alliance offenſive and defenſive, and formed a confederacy to cruſh the aggrandizing power of this formidable warrior.

The firſt operations of the confederates were to invade Devon and Cornwall, in order to wreſt from the conqueror his new acquired territories.---But they failed in the execution of their plan by the ſuperior ſkill of Egbert, who totally routed the Britons in a battle fought A. D. 824, and ſoon after defeated the Mercians near Wilton.

Egbert then turned his arms againſt the kingdom of Kent, when Baldred, the puſillanimous king of that diſtrict baſely deſerted his dominions, without the leaſt endeavours to oppoſe the invader, who annexed them to his own territories. This rapid ſucceſs ſo much intimidated the South-Saxons and Eaſt-Saxons, that they thought proper to acknowledge the conqueror, who encreaſed his own dominions by the addition of theirs. The Eaſt Angles being tributary to the Mercians, Egbert ſpirited them up to a revolt, and ſupplied them with every thing neceſſary to render it formidable. Beornulph, king of Mercia, marched at the head of his forces to bring back the inſurgents to a ſenſe of their duty, but engaging them he was ſlain in the action. Ludican, who ſucceeded him, was aſſaſſinated ſoon after, when Wiglaff being elected by the people in his room, found himſelf unable to make head againſt Egbert, who ſeized upon the kingdoms of the Mercians and Eaſt Angles, A. D. 825; but at the interceſſion of the pious abbot of Croyland, he made the conquered king his deputy, and ſuffered him to rule his dominions in the character of Viceroy.

The only kingdom of the Heptarchy which now remained unconquered was Northumberland, and this unhappy ſtate had been long diſtracted by inteſtine broils. Ealdred, the then reigning king, from the bad ſituation of his private affairs, and the little dependence he had upon the fidelity of his ſubjects, did not think proper to oppoſe a prince of Egbert's power and military genius, at the head of a formidable army inured to conqueſt; he, therefore, with more prudence than magnanimity reſigned his kingdom to the fortunate conqueror, only ſtipulating to govern in future as a deputy, that which he had heretofore ruled as a king.

Egbert having thus ſucceſsfully arrived at the ultimate purpoſe of his ambition, convened a general aſſembly of all the ſtates of the kingdom to meet at Wincheſter, when, by the unanimous conſent of both clergy and laity, he was ſolemnly crowned king of England, A. D. 829. At the ſame time it was enacted, that all that part of the iſland, to the ſouth of the river Tweed, known hitherto by the name of South Britain, ſhould be called England. This appellation included Wales, which having been conquered by Egbert, was deemed a ſubordinate province of England. And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that the name of England had been uſed in common converſation ever ſince the days of Ina, but was never authorized by a public inſtrument till on the preſent occaſion.

Egbert was now in the zenith of his glory, when his repoſe was diſturbed by an invaſion of the Danes, who, A. D. 831, landed in the iſle of Sheepy, in Kent, and committed vaſt devaſtations wherever they came; having made a conſiderable booty they returned home. The enſuing year they came back again with a more formidable force, and landed in Dorſetſhire. Finding no oppoſition, they determined to penetrate into the country for pillage.

Egbert collected together a ſmall force to oppoſe the invaders, but in ſo doing ſhewed more ſpirit than prudence, and committed the greateſt error in generalſhip, of which he had been ever guilty. For unhappily contemning the enemy without being acquainted with their numbers, or ſenſible of their diſcipline, he truſted an affair of the utmoſt importance to a handful of men not equal to the enterprize. Hence he met with a defeat, in which two noblemen, named Oſmond and Duddle, the biſhops Herefrith and Wigferth, and many of his troops were ſlain.

Two years after, A. D. 835, the Danes reviſited England, and were joined by the Corniſh Britons, who thought this an excellent opportunity of throwing off the Engliſh yoke. But Egbert, who now acted with more circumſpection, came ſuddenly upon the confederate armies of the Danes and Britons, and defeated them with great ſlaughter, which freed England for ſome years from their diſagreeable viſits. At length, after reigning twenty-ſeven years as principal king of the Heptarchy, and ten ſubſequent years as ſole monarch of England, he paid the debt of nature A. D. 836, and having reſigned his glories to the grave, left the crown to his eldeſt ſon Ethelwolf.

SECT. II.

ETHELWOLF.

EGBERT, on his death-bed, warned his ſon Ethelwolf not to become a ſlave to that indolence which ſeemed to predominate in his temper. For this prince having been educated in a monaſtery, previous to the death of his elder brother, had contracted the ſloth ſo incident to a monaſtic life, which naturally preſented to the preſcience of the father, an idea of the ſubſequent impolitic apathy of the ſon.

The Danes, encouraged by the indolent diſpoſition of the king, made ſeveral deſcents in England. Some landed at Southampton, and were defeated; others made a deſcent at Portſmouth, and were more ſucceſsful in their enterprize and depredations. At Mereſwar they were again ſucceſsful, and the following year entered Lindſay, Eaſt England, and Kent, and penetrated as far as London itſelf. The next year, with thirty fine large ſhips, they landed again, encountered the forces of Ethelwolf in the ſame place where they had defeated his father, and again proved ſucceſsful. But landing a ſubſequent time in the ninth year of his reign, they were defeated by earl Earnulf, which gave a reſpite of ſix years to the nation from their intruſions. About the ſame time, this inactive monarch diſmembered the kingdom which his father had taken ſuch pains to cement, by giving to his ſon Athelſtan the provinces of the Eaſt Saxons, the South Saxons, and Kent, in order to eaſe himſelf as much as poſſible of the cares of government; and ſtill to put the regal authority more out of his own power, he made his tutor Swithen biſhop of Wincheſter, and joining with him Alſtan, biſhop of Sherborne, he committed to their mutual care the adminiſtration of all public affairs.

In the year 851, the Danes again invaded the kingdom, but were conquered by land both in Devonſhire and Kent; and at ſea, Athelſtan defeated their fleet, and took nine of their ſhips. A. D. 852, however, they returned again, ſailed up the Thames, and committed great depredations, till they were defeated by the Engliſh forces at Oakley, in Surry.

A. D. 853. The Welch took up arms, but were ſoon reduced to obedience; and the ſame year the Danes renewed their depredations by attacking the coaſts of Kent and Surry, when the reſpective governors of thoſe counties were defeated, and the invaders had leiſure to compleat a ſettlement they had already began in the iſle of Thanet.

Biſhop Alſtan, who was a man of abilities, and had really the good of his country at heart, told Ethelwolf that his kingdom would never be ſafe, or his perſon ſecure, unleſs he acted with more vigilance, paid greater attention to public affairs, and kept a proper force on foot to oppoſe the Daniſh invaders. But biſhop Swithen, who was a worldly intereſted prelate, and a moſt artful ſycophant, perſuaded the weak monarch that there was no manner of occaſion to let national affairs interrupt his beloved repoſe, that he ſhould truſt all to the prayers of the clergy, and that if he would but give largely to the church, there was no manner of occaſion to be at the expence of keeping an army. The infatuated prince believed all theſe abſurdities, and being reſolved to truſt more to the beads of his monks than the ſwords of his troops, he called a great council of ſtate at Wincheſter, and gave to the church a tythe of the profits of all lands in the kingdom, free from every kind of deduction; this famous tythe tax, ſigned by the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, abbeſſes, and deputed ſeculars of England, hath been known ever ſince by the name of THE GRANT OF KING ETHELWOLF.

About this time the king ſent his ſon Alfred, a child of five years of age to Rome, where he was confirmed and anointed by pope Leo IV. On the return of the prince, Ethelwolf very imprudently determined to make a journey himſelf to Rome. Taking the young prince with him, he indiſcreetly put his deſign into execution A. D. 855, without ſettling any of the affairs of his kingdom, or even appointing a regency. Benedict XIII. who had been lately made pope, received him very courteouſly, and at the ſame time took advantage of his extreme weakneſs, by perſuading him to extend the tax of Peter's-pence throughout the whole of his dominions, and to put the tax for the ſupport of lights in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul under better regulations.

Having waſted the ſpace of a whole year at Rome, he ſet off on his return to England; but paſſing through France, he unfortunately fell in love with Judith, the beautiful daughter of the emperor Charles the Bald, and giving way to his dotage he married her, and imprudently conferred on her the title of queen, which was entirely contrary to a popular Weſt Saxon law, enacted on account of Brithric's being poiſoned by his wicked queen Ethelburga. This indiſcreet ſtep inflamed the diſcontents of his people, and added to the diſguſt they had long conceived againſt him on account of his impotent adminiſtration.

At length ſome of the nobility and prelates entered into a confederacy to depoſe him, and place his ſon Ethelbald upon the throne; but others of a more cool and diſpaſſionate diſpoſition, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood, brought about an accommodation, when the old king conſented to be ſatisfied with Kent, Eſſex, and Surry, and to reſign the reſt of the kingdom to his ſon. This partition re-eſtabliſhed the peace of the nation, and Ethelwolf at length enjoyed repoſe till his death, which happened January 13, A. D. 857. Previous to his demiſe, he bequeathed his paternal patrimony to all his children, and his regal domains to his two eldeſt ſons, with this diſtinction; that Ethelbald ſhould ſtill enjoy the territories already aſſigned him, and Ethelbert thoſe which had been retained by Ethelwolf himſelf. If one died the ſurvivor was to ſucceed to the whole, and in caſe of the death of both, the third ſon to be the next heir.

SECT. III.

Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert *conjunctively*.

THE two brothers now began their reign over their reſpective departments, but Ethelbald held the ſuperior rank. The reign of this prince was remarkable only for an atrocious crime which he committed, and his ſubſequent penitence; for growing enamoured of the beauty of his ſtep-mother Judith, he married that princeſs; but being convinced of his inceſtuous crime, by biſhop Swithen, he repudiated her, and paſſed the remainder of his life in contrition for his fault. He died in 860, and was firſt buried at Sherborne in Dorſetſhire, but afterwards removed to Saliſbury.

SECT. IV.

Ethelbert *ſingly*.

ETHELBERT now ſucceeded to the whole monarchy of England, and was beloved for his equity and moderation. The Danes again invaded England, and landing at Southampton, proceeded as far as the city of Wincheſter, which they burnt; but the king's troops coming up, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, and purſued them to their ſhips. They were afterwards expelled by the inhabitants of Kent from their lurking places in that country. This prince reigned only ſix years, and died A. D. 866, to the great regret of his ſubjects, by whom he was univerſally eſteemed.

SECT. V.

ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, the third ſon of Ethelwolf, ſucceeded to the throne agreeable to the will of that monarch, though Ethelbert had left behind him two ſons named Ealdelhelm and Ethelwold.

In the commencement of this monarch's reign, the Danes began a more formidable invaſion of England than ever. Prompted by their own avarice, and invited by a treacherous Engliſh nobleman, named Bruern Brocard, they landed in Eaſt Anglia, made a truce with the inhabitants, and contracted for a number of horſes to mount their men and bear their baggage. In the beginning of the enſuing ſpring, they penetrated as far as York, and defeated the two governors, or tributary princes of Northumberland, named Oſbert and Ella. In 868, they purſued their courſe towards Nottingham, took the place, and there wintered. This ſo terrified Burhed, the prince of that country, that he repreſented his caſe in the moſt pathetic terms to Ethelred, and implored his ſpeedy aſſiſtance. Ethelred determined to loſe no time in freeing the nation from ſuch mercileſs invaders; and therefore, having aſſembled what forces he could get together, and being joined by Edmund, the tributary king of the Eaſt Angles, he, with his brother Alfred, marched in order to form a junction with the Mercians. This being effected, Ethelred laid ſiege to Nottingham; but not being able to force it, he conſented to a truce, and ſuffered the Danes to depart in ſafety, when they retired accordingly to their cantonments in Yorkſhire.

A. D. 870. Theſe barbarians broke the truce, paſſed the Humber, ravaged Bardney, Peterborough and Ely, and deſtroyed all the monaſteries as they went. But here the memorable conduct of Æbba, abbeſs of Coldingham, ought not to be forgot, who, to prevent herſelf and the nuns of her abbey from becoming ſacrifices to Daniſh violation, perſuaded them to cut off their noſes and upper lips, and by her own example induced them to perform the dreadful operation. The Danes beholding their ſhocking appearance, were ſo exaſperated as to ſet the monaſtery on fire, when all thoſe virtuous ladies periſhed together in the flames. Theſe inhuman ravagers then turned their arms againſt the Eaſt Angles, and having defeated them at Thetford, moſt barbarouſly murdered their king Edmund, by tying him to a tree as a butt or mark, and then ſhooting him to death with arrows; from the burial of whom, the town of St. Edmund's-bury takes its name. Proceeding towards Reading, they were oppoſed by Ethelred and Alfred, and at length coming to a deciſive action on Aſhdown in Berkſhire, the Engliſh obtained a memorable victory, principally through the intrepidity of young Alfred. The Danes, beſides many common ſoldiers, loſt five earls and a king.

Fourteen days after this battle, another was fought, in which the Engliſh had rather the diſadvantage. Two months ſubſequent to this action, the armies again engaged, but the chronicles of thoſe times are rather dark, with reſpect to the prevailing party. They however inſinuate, that the Danes loſt the greateſt number of men in the conflict, but that the Engliſh met with the greateſt misfortune in the death of Ethelred, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, and did not long ſurvive, as he died April 23, A. D. 871, and left the kingdom to his only ſurviving brother.

SECT. VI.

ALFRED *the* GREAT.

HIſtorians have very juſtly conſidered this prince as the the moſt perfect and amiable character recorded in profane hiſtory, and the Engliſh are more obliged to him than to any other monarch who ever ſat upon the throne of Britain. To him we owe the reſtoration of the luſtre of the Engliſh church and ſtate. He was at once the fountain of true juſtice, the father of his people, and the encourager of literature. He was an admirable grammarian, a perſuaſive orator, an accurate hiſtorian, an excellent mathematician, an elegant architect, and the beſt Saxon poet then living. His learned labours were held in the higheſt eſtimation, he tranſlated many valuable works from the Greek and Latin languages. In particular, he tranſlated into the Anglo Saxon tongue, "Bœtius de conſolatione, Bede's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and Gregory's paſtoral." His original compoſitions were remarkable for the profoundeſt erudition, and moſt elevated marks of genius; and while they tended to public utility, diſplayed the claſſical purity of language; * nor was his diſpoſition inferior ſerior to his abilities. His fiery temper, which rendered him extremely intrepid in dangers, was temper'd by the ſofteſt milk of humanity; he was generous with judgement, abſtemious without the leaſt tincture of parſimony, affable with dignity, and the ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition yielded to nothing but the equity of his ſoul, which ſuffered no conſideration whatever to impede the ſtrict courſe of juſtice.

---

* The following anecdote concerning Alfred hath been handed down to us: At twelve years of age he was unable to read, but obtained that qualification by the following accident. He was one day expreſſing his admiration of a beautiful book, which was elegantly bound, and the letters finely emboſſed with gold and various colours. The queen his mother being preſent, told Alfred and one of his brothers, that the book ſhould be the prize of him who could firſt ſay it by rote.—Fired with emulation, Alfred applied

This excellent prince at the early age of twenty two years mounted a throne, * ſurrounded by difficulties, and began to ſway the ſcepter of a kingdom exhauſted of treaſures, deſolated by the repeated depredations of robbers, while many of its moſt fertile parts were in the poſſeſſion of a ſet of powerful but lawleſs barbarians.---Such a ſituation would have ſtaggered the fortitude of a ſoul leſs intrepid and enterprizing than Alfred's; but ſtimulated to a greater degree of aſſiduity by ſurrounding dangers, he determined to relieve his country or periſh in the attempt.

Alfred had ſcarcely been a month on the throne, when he found himſelf compelled to oppoſe the whole power of the Danes before he had time to collect together a proper army.----He therefore, through unavoidable neceſſity was obliged to engage their forces with only a handful of men whom he had haſtily aſſembled.----In the commencement of the action the Engliſh had the advantage, and obliged the Danes to quit their ground; but the latter finding by the purſuit the inferiority of their enemies in point of numbers, rallied, and charging the Engliſh again, overpowered them merely by being more numerous. This engagement, however, ſo fully convinced the Danes of the ſuperior generalſhip of Alfred, and the ſpirit with which the Engliſh troops would always behave under ſuch a commander, that they gladly conſented to a truce, and agreed to quit the kingdom. But returning the enſuing year, they marched to London, and having entered into a kind of treaty with the Mercians, there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 874. They proceeded northward, and wintered at Torkſey, in Lincolnſhire, ſubduing all the places wherever they came, and ſpreading devaſtations around whatever ſpot they choſe for their head quarters.

Alfred now conſidered that the expulſion alone of theſe invaders would be only a temporary benefit to his kingdom, as they would ſoon inevitably return; but to prevent their invaſions by oppoſing their armaments at ſea, could be the only method of rendering the nation an eſſential ſervice. Warmed by theſe reflections, he was the firſt Engliſh monarch who conceived the truly patriotic and noble deſign of building an Engliſh Navy, and employing the natural ſtrength of this kingdom in its defence. This laudable reſolution he immediately put into practice by the conſtruction and equipment of a number of gallies, which drew but little water, but were admirably calculated to protect the coaſts. This naval armament, A. D. 876, met with, and defeated a fleet belonging to the enemy, which ſo terrified the Danes who were poſſeſſed of many places in the kingdom, that thoſe in Exeter agreed to evacuate the weſtern parts of England. They were, however, long in the performance of their promiſes, and probably would have broken through the ſolemnity of the treaty, had not king Alfred's gallies defeated another of their fleets, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty ſail of ſhips near Sanwic, in Dorſetſhire. This blow determined them to keep their word, and they accordingly marched into Mercia. By this junction of forces, the Danes were exceedingly numerous and powerful in the midland, and northern parts of the kingdom, which encouraged them to think they ſhould be able ſhortly to drive Alfred from thoſe parts of his dominions which he yet poſſeſſed, and at length totally to extirpate the Engliſh.

Fraught with theſe ſentiments, and knowing that Alfred's forces were extremely weak, they reſolved to diſtract his operations by obliging him either to a diſunion of what few troops he had, or to leave ſome important parts defenceleſs.

Purſuant to this plan, the Daniſh general Haldane, A. D. 878, invited over more of his countrymen, ſent two fleets to make ſeperate deſcents upon the weſtern parts of England, while himſelf at the head of an army penetrated as far as Chippenham. This deluge of barbarians bore down all oppoſition, and ſo greatly terrified the people, that Alfred found it impoſſible to aſſemble a ſufficient force to give them any check. Many of the Engliſh fled to the continent, or to Wales, numbers were murdered, and the reſt thought fit to ſubmit, or rather to revolt to the pagan ravagers.—In theſe deſperate circumſtances, and thus univerſally deſerted, Alfred was compelled to ſeek his perſonal ſafety in privacy; and to enchange his regal habitation for an obſcure receſs. Having diſpoſed of his family to perſons on whoſe circumſpection and fidelity he could rely, he wandered about the ſwampy parts of Somerſetſhire in diſguiſe, and at length took ſhelter in the hut of a cowherd in the iſle of Athelney, * where, to conceal the dignity of the monarch, he ſubmitted to become the domeſtic of a clown.

---

applied to his learning with ſuch avidity and diligence, that he could ſoon not only read the book, but repeat it, and ever after retained ſuch a reliſh for learning as in time rendered him a bleſſing to this nation, and the greateſt ornament of the age in which he lived. The example of the king gave encouragement to others, ſo that in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries the following learned men flouriſhed in England. 1. Alcuin, or Albinus, abbot of St. Auguſtine's monaſtery, in Canterbury, who going ambaſſador to France, taught Charles the Great logic and the mathematics during his reſidence in that country, and likewiſe perſuaded him to found the univerſity of Paris. 2. Swithen, biſhop of Wincheſter, commonly called St. Swithin. 3. Hubert, biſhop of Eaſt Anglia, who was murdered by the Danes. 4. Johannes Scotus Erigena, who taught Alfred the liberal arts. 5. Grimbald, abbot of Wincheſter. 6. Aſſerius, biſhop of St. David's in Wales, who wrote the life of Alfred. 7. Werefred, biſhop of Worceſter. 8. Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in Alfred's time. 9. Dimulf, a herdſman, whoſe great abilities recommended him to the notice of Alfred. 10. John, the monk of St. David's. 11. Wulfsig, biſhop of London. 12. Neotus, or St. Neots. 13. Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the time of Edward the Elder. 14. St. Dunſtan, ſucceſſor to Odo. 15. Alfric, archbiſhop of York, who tranſlated the Saxon Homilies. 16. Edmund, biſhop of Durham. 17. Ethelwald. 18. Oſwald. 19. Wulfſtan, &c.

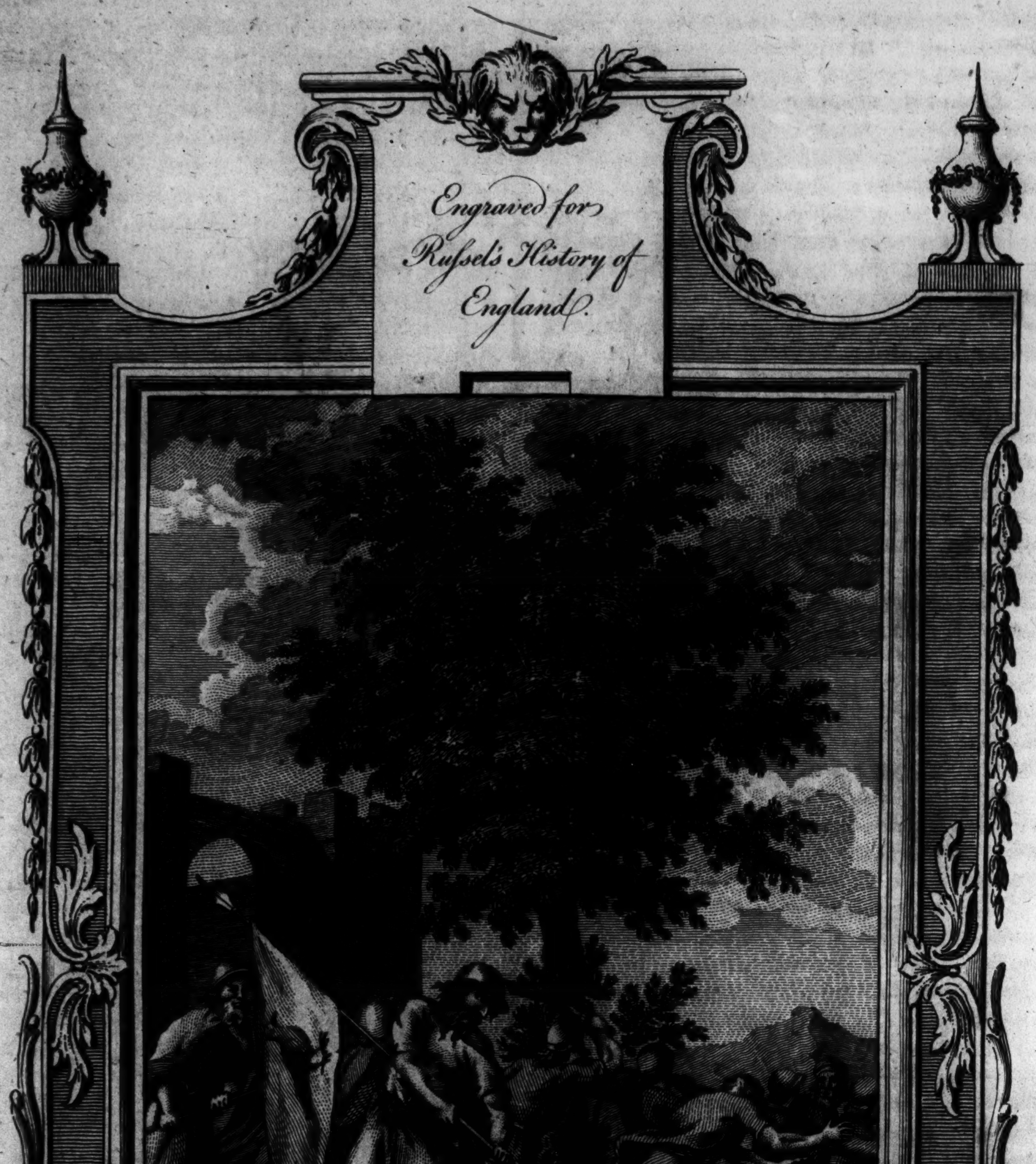
† He was the firſt who was anointed king of England, which ceremony was performed at Wincheſter.

* Athelney is a ſmall iſland, or rather Peninſula, formed by the conflux of the rivers Thone and Parret, and ſituated near Taunton in Somerſetſhire. It does not contain above two acres of ſolid ground, and in Alfred's time was covered with trees, briers, thorns, &c. So that the cowherd's cottage had but one narrow winding path leading to it, and that was hid by the circumjacent woods in ſuch a manner as to be very obſcure. Alfred found himſelf under a neceſſity of letting the cowherd know who he was, but the man's wife was kept in total ignorance of the quality of her royal gueſt, which gave riſe to the following whimſical occurrence. Looking upon the king in the light of a common domeſtic, ſhe one day ordered him to mind ſome cakes which ſhe had placed before the fire: Alfred being buſied in doing ſomething to his bow and other weapons, happened to let the cakes burn, which ſo enraged the good woman that ſhe rung an unmerciful peal in his ears, and among other expreſſions told him that he was ready enough to eat the cakes when baked, though he would not take care of them while baking.——This gave riſe to a Latin monkiſh diſtich, which may be thus rendered into Engliſh.

> Sirrah, what cou'dnt you give the cakes a turn,
> But like a blockhead ſuffer them to burn;
> Was ever woman ſerv'd at ſuch a rate,
> I've a great mind to break your ſcurvy pate:
> Tho' you can't mind the cakes for half an hour,
> Yet when they're done, you're ready to devour.

While the king was in exile here he had occaſion not only to experience the fidelity, but likewiſe to obſerve the genius of the cowherd, whoſe natural abilities were ſo great, that as ſoon as the king regained his dominions, he drew him from obſcurity, and placed

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

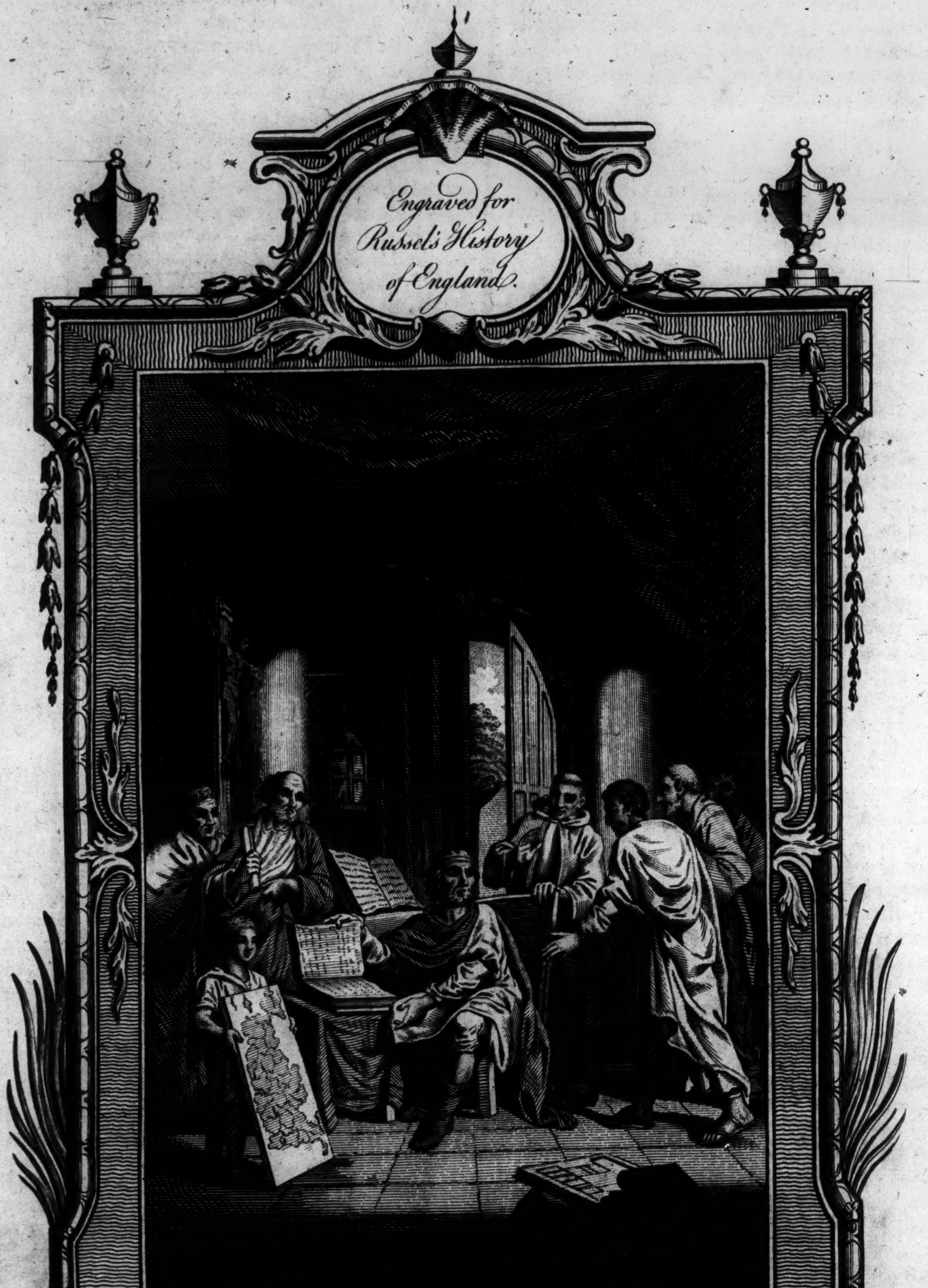


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. Taylor ſculp.

Odun, Earl of Devon, taking the **DANISH REAFIN**, or Great Military Standard.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Russel's History of England.

ALFRED the Great, forming a Code of LAWS, and planning the Division of England into COUNTIES.

Wale delin. White sculp.

The only conſiderable perſon whom he confidentially entruſted with the place of his retreat was Odun, earl of Devon, of whoſe fidelity he had received various and unqueſtionable proofs. This nobleman had gained ſome advantages over the enemy, and had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by having taken from them their reafin, or royal ſtandard. Alfred at length determined to emerge from the place of his retreat; but firſt he ſent for all his nobles whom he thought proper to truſt, and having conſulted upon the moſt probable means of checking the power of the Danes, it was agreed to collect together what forces they could, and aſſemble with all poſſible expedition at a place called Buxton in Selwood Foreſt, Wiltſhire.

Before he would determine to venture a general engagement, he reſolved to undertake a private expedition, in order to inform himſelf of the real ſtrength and ſituation of the Daniſh camp. This enterprize he undertook in the diſguiſe of a harper, attended by only one perſon. In this itinerant character he ſo much delighted the Danes by his ſinging and playing, that he was introduced to their king's tent, by which he had an opportunity of making all the obſervations he deſired. On returning to his people, he repreſented the continual drunkenneſs and remiſſneſs of the Danes, and the unguarded ſtate of the camp, and propoſed to attack them on one of their feſtivals, when it was probable, from their ſuppoſed ſecurity, that they would all be in a ſtate of intoxication. This plan was approved and unanimouſly agreed to by all the Engliſh nobles, who immediately prepared to execute it with vigour.

Accordingly, A. D. 879, Alfred proceeded with the greateſt ſecrecy to the Daniſh camp at Yattenden, on the borders of Hampſhire, which he impetuouſly aſſaulted, and forced the lines with a great ſlaughter of the enemy. The fugitives who had eſcaped the ſword, fled to a fortified caſtle at ſome diſtance, where they were near periſhing by famine; for Alfred, to make the moſt of his victory, cloſely purſued them, inveſted the fortreſs, and cut off every ſupply of proviſions. This obliged them to capitulate, which they did upon the following conditions: that they ſhould either quit the kingdom immediately, or turn chriſtians. In conſequence of this determination many of them quitted the kingdom; and to make up for their ill ſucceſs in England, plundered the coaſts of France and Flanders with their uſual rapacity and cruelty. The reſt, with their leader Gutheren, were baptized, king Alfred himſelf ſtanding godfather to the latter, and giving him the name of Athelſtan. Eſſex and Eaſt Anglia were allotted by Alfred for the reſidence of theſe new converts, which their chief was to hold of him as a feudatory, and to govern by a code of laws, written purpoſely by Alfred himſelf on the occaſion. In 881, however, a large body of Danes ſailed up the river and landed at Fulham. But finding that their countrymen, who were become chriſtians, did not chuſe to join them, and that Alfred was in full march towards them, they haſted to their ſhips, and made a precipitate retreat.

A. D. 882. Four Daniſh piratical veſſels infeſting the coaſt, Alfred took the command of his fleet in perſon, and defeated them; two of the ſhips eſcaped, but the other two being taken, the crews were condemned and put to death as pirates. From this time the Danes gave Alfred a reſpite till A. D. 885, when they landed in Kent, and laid ſiege to Rocheſter; but the vigilant Alfred collected his forces in great haſte, marched to the relief of Rocheſter, compelled the pagans to raiſe the ſiege, and obliged them to retire to their ſhips. Finding that theſe invaders ſtill infeſted the coaſt, and that the chriſtian Danes of Eaſt Anglia, contrary to the ſolemn treaty made between them, began to aſſiſt their countrymen in a clandeſtine manner. Alfred augmented his navy, and engaged a fleet of ſixteen Daniſh ſhips near Harwich, when he took or deſtroyed them all.

Alfred being enraged at the treachery of the Daniſh converts, and ſenſible that he never could be ſecure from invaſions, while London remained in their hands, determined, as they had already broken the treaty, to deprive them of that important place. Accordingly, A. D, 886, he made himſelf maſter of that city, and appointed Ethelred, earl of Mercia, his ſon-in-law, to the government thereof.

Having thus far ſucceeded in expelling his enemies, ſecuring his dominions, and eſtabliſhing his authority, this glorious monarch turned his attention to the enacting of wiſe laws, and promoting ſalutary regulations for the benefit of his ſubjects in general. Among other things he ordained that the aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould be held in London, by which that city firſt became the metropolis of the kingdom; and at the ſame time, to render it worthy of this diſtinction, he embelliſhed it with ſeveral magnificent public edifices.

The next great object of concern was the literature of the kingdom, which he found at a very low ebb indeed, for very few of his ſubjects could read Engliſh, ſcarce a prieſt underſtood Latin, as we find from the king's own words in an epiſtle which he wrote upon the ſubject to Wulfſig, biſhop of London, which, as it is deemed a great curioſity, we ſhall inſert entire for the ſatisfaction of the reader.

King Alfred to Wulfſig, biſhop of London.

"Alfred, king, wiſheth greeting to Wulfſig, biſhop, his beloved and friend-like, and thee to know I wiſh, that to me it cometh very often in mind what manner of wiſe men long ago were throughout the Engliſh nation, both of the ſpiritual degree and of the temporal; and how happy the times then were among all the Engliſh, and how the kings, which then the government had of the people, God and his written will obeyed; how well they behaved themſelves both in war and peace, and in their home-government; how their nobleneſs was ſpread abroad, and how they proſpered in knowledge and in wiſdom: alſo the divine orders how earneſt they were, as well about preaching as about learning, and about all the ſervices they ſhould do to God; and how men from abroad, wiſdom and doctrine here in this land ſought; and how we the ſame now muſt get abroad if we would have them, ſo clean has learning fallen among the Engliſh nation, as that there have been very few on this ſide Humber that were able to underſtand the Engliſh of their ſervice, or turn an Epiſtle from Latin into Engliſh; and I wot there were not many beyond Humber that could it: there were ſo few, as that I cannot bethink me of one of the ſouth ſide of the Thames, when I firſt came to reign. God Almighty be thanked, we have ever a teacher in pulpit now; therefore I pray thee that thou do, as alſo I believe thou wilt, that wiſdom, that God has given thee, beſtow all about on them thou canſt beſtow it: think what puniſhment ſhall for this world befall us, when as neither we ourſelves have loved wiſdom, nor left it to others; we only loved the names that we were Chriſtians, and very few of us the duties. When I minded all this, methought that I ſaw, before all was

---

placed him under the care of proper tutors. When this adult pupil made ſuch a rapid progreſs in literature, that ſome years after Alfred made him biſhop of Wincheſter. And to commemorate his own retirement, built a monaſtery in Athelney, the foundations of which were diſcovered in 1674 by ſome labourers. The word Athelney is only a corruption of Athelingey, or the *Iſle of Nobles*, an epithet given to the place, on account of Alfred's citing a council of his principal nobility there after he had made a diſcovery to the Engliſh of his retreat, and juſt previous to the propitious moment in which his good genius again began to prevail.

ſpoiled and burnt, how all the churches throughout the Engliſh nation ſtood filled with books and ornaments, and a great multitude of God's ſervants; and at that time they wiſt very little fruit of their books, becauſe they could underſtand nothing of them, for that they were not written in their own language; ſo they told us, that our anceſtors, that before us held thoſe places, loved wiſdom, and through the ſame got wealth, and left it us. A man may yet here ſee their ſwath, but we cannot enquire after it, becauſe we have let go both wealth and wiſdom, for that we would not ſtoop with our minds to the ſeeking of it. When I thought of all this, then wondered I greatly that their godly wiſe men, that were every where throughout the Engliſh nation, and had fully learned all thoſe books, would turn no part of them into their own language: but I then again quickly anſwered myſelf, and ſaid, they weened not that ever men ſhould become ſo rechleſs, nor that this learning would ſo decay; therefore they willingly let it alone, and wot that here would be the more wiſdom in the land the more languages that we underſtood. Then I called to mind, how that the law was firſt found written in the Hebrew ſpeech; and after that the Greeks had learned it, then turned they it into their own ſpeech wholly, and alſo all other books: and then the Latin people, a little after they had learned it, they tranſlated all, through wiſe interpreters, into their own language: and all other Chriſtian people have turned ſome part thereof into their own tongue. Therefore, me thinketh it better, if you ſo think, that we alſo ſome books, that be deemed moſt needful for all men to underſtand, into that language turn that we all know; and that we bring to paſs, as we eaſily may, with God's help, if we have quietneſs, that all the youth of free-born Engliſhmen, ſuch as have wealth that they may maintain them, be committed to learning; that while they no other note, can they firſt learn well to read Engliſh writing; afterward let men farther teach in the Latin tongue thoſe that they will farther teach, and have to a higher degree. When I minded how this learning of the Latin tongue heretofore was fallen through the Engliſh nation, though many could ſkill to read Engliſh writing, then began I, among divers and manifold buſineſſes of this kingdom, to turn into Engliſh this book, which in Latin is named Paſtoralis, and in Engliſh The Herdſman's Book, ſome time word for word, ſome time underſtanding for underſtanding, even as I learned them of Plegmond my archbiſhop, of Aſſer my biſhop, and Grimbald my maſs-prieſt, and John my maſs-prieſt: after that I had learned of them how I might beſt underſtand them, I turned them into Engliſh, and will ſend one to each biſhop's ſee in my kingdom; and upon each there is a ſtyle that is of fifty marks: and I command, on God's name, that no man the ſtyle from the books, nor the books from the miniſter, take; ſeeing we know not how long there ſhall be ſo learned biſhops as now, God be thanked, every where there are. Therefore, I would they ſhould always remain in their places, except the biſhop will have them with him, or that they be lent ſome whither, until that ſome other be written out."

To remedy this evil, Alfred founded the Univerſity of Oxford, A. D. 886, by erecting three Colleges, the firſt for grammarians, the next for philoſophers, and the third for theologians, or divines, and that this ſeminary might not be deficient with reſpect to proper maſters, he invited Grimbald and John the monks from France, and the learned Aſſer from Wales. He then put himſelf to great expences to procure books from various parts, in order to furniſh a ſuitable library; thus was every thing effected for the advancement of learning, which wiſdom could dictate, and prudence execute.

Theſe were not the only great works which employed his attention, for this truly patriotic monarch formed a code of ſalutary laws, gave the ineſtimable bleſſings of trials by jury, fortified the principal places in his dominions, erected various caſtles and churches, built ſeveral new towns, and to promote commerce, furniſhed many of his ſubjects with ſhips and money to trade to foreign parts. He likewiſe encouraged foreign manufactures and artificers of all kinds to come and ſettle in his dominions, eſtabliſhed a national militia, divided the kingdom into * counties, tythings, hundreds, &c. and, in fine, changed the whole of the conſtitution for the better, and gave a new face to the nation. Theſe wiſe regulations were productive of ſuch admirable effects throughout the nation, that probity became general, and the integrity of the people was ſuch as gave cauſe to the writers of that age to affirm, that if a perſon had dropped a purſe of gold in the highway, it would remain untouched till the real owner came to ſeek it.

The kingdom had now been happy within itſelf, and free from foreign invaſion for the ſpace of eight years. But A. D. 893, the Danes paid another viſit to England on the following occaſion: The emperor Arnwolf having gained ſeveral advantages over them in France, obliged them to retire to Boulogne, from whence a great part of them embarked in two hundred and fifty ſhips, and ſailing for England, landed near Rye, in Suſſex, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of the fort of Appledore, while another party, who came in eighty ſhips, ſailed up the Thames, landed and built a fortreſs for their ſecurity at Milton.

Alfred, who was in Eaſt Anglia, no ſooner received intelligence of this formidable invaſion, than he prudently exacted an oath of allegiance from the chriſtian Danes whom he deemed his ſubjects, and took hoſtages for their fidelity upon the preſent emergency. Having taken this diſcreet ſtep, he aſſembled his forces, and ſo diſpoſed them as to prevent the junction of the two parties of the enemy.

The invaders not being joined immediately on their arrival as they expected, by the Danes reſident in England, ſent their ſhips to the iſle of Merſey, and then fancying themſelves ſecure in the ſuperiority of the numbers, which far exceeded the Engliſh, they determined to ravage the country by force of arms as uſual, and afterwards to ſecure themſelves for the winter.

Early in the ſpring, A. D. 894, king Alfred attacked the largeſt body of the Danes at Farnham in Surry, put them to flight and took all their baggage. The fugitives retired to their ſhips, and ſailing up the Colne, they landed at a place called Brickleſey in Eſſex, where they ſtrongly intrenched themſelves. In the mean time, Alfred was informed that Haſtings, the leader of the other party, had left Milton and proceeded to Beamfleet, where he had ſtrongly fortified himſelf; and that the Northumbrian Danes, having broken their oaths of allegiance, had revolted, and with a fleet of an hundred and forty ſhips, were ravaging the northern and ſouthern coaſts of the weſt of England.

This alarming intelligence induced the king to leave a body of troops for the protection of London and the neighbouring parts, and with the reſt to proceed weſtward to the relief of Exeter, which he now received advice was cloſely inveſted by a party of the revolters. On the appearance of Alfred, the inſurgents raiſed the ſiege

---

* Alfred's book containing the civil diviſions of the kingdom gave riſe to, and was the ground work of William the Conqueror's famous book of a ſimilar nature called Doom's-day Book.

ſiege of Exeter, and fled with precipitation to their ſhips, when making the beſt of their way to Beamfleet, they joined Haſtings. This Dane, aſſuming the chief command, proceeded to ravage the Mercian counties, but the garriſon of London taking the advantage of his abſence, ſallied out of that city, attacked Beamfleet and carried it by aſſault. Here, beſides the garriſon, they took the wife and children of Haſtings, and ſent them priſoners to Alfred. This worthy monarch no ſooner underſtood who theſe captives were, than he generouſly returned them to Haſtings with this noble meſſage. "I am determined, at the hazard of my life to oppoſe the foreign and domeſtic foes of my country; but women and children ſhould be ſacred from the horrors of war—I therefore return your wife and children, as none ought to be detained in captivity, but ſuch as are capable of committing hoſtilities." As Alfred was upon his return from the weſt of England, Haſtings thought proper to ſue for peace and ſolicit his clemency. His requeſt was granted by the amiable monarch, with a more ready condeſcenſion than ſtrict policy might perhaps allow. But Alfred's humanity always ſuperceded his reſentment, his firſt maxim being the preſervation of his country, and his next to prevent the effuſion of human blood.

But the faithleſs Dane deemed a breach of promiſe abſolutely neceſſary where it coincided with his intereſt, and looked upon an oath itſelf as only a temporary tie, which might be broken with impunity when an elegible occaſion preſented. Poſſeſſed with theſe infernal ſentiments, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſought another opportunity of coming to a rupture with Alfred, that he might reimburſe himſelf for his recent loſſes with a little beloved plunder. Having ſtrongly fortified Shoebury, in the hundreds of Eſſex, and being conſiderably reinforced by the gradual influx of the fugitive Danes from the other parts of the kingdom, he determined to throw off the maſk, and begin his depredations without delay. Proceeding northwards, he made a junction with the Northumbrian Danes, and then turning towards the weſt, he penetrated to the Severn, and ſtrongly intrenched himſelf at Badington, in Montgomeryſhire. Alfred ſent an army againſt the ravagers, commanded by three general officers, who being joined by a body of Welch, blocked them up in their camp. The Danes, at length reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine, ſallied out of their lines in a fit of deſperation, with a deſign to cut their way through the beſiegers. In this attempt many periſhed in the conflict, ſeveral others in the purſuit, and ſome eſcaped into the covert of the woods. Theſe, however, found means to elude the purſuit of the king's forces, and being joined by ſome more of their countrymen from Eaſt Anglia and Northumberland, they together proceeded to Cheſter, intrenched themſelves again, and paſſed the winter in that manner. In the ſpring of A. D. 896, they retreated through Northumbria and Eaſt Anglia, ſeized on the iſle of Merſey, and proceeding with their ſhips up the river Lea, fixed their ſtation at Hertford.

The citizens of London were exceeding uneaſy to have an army of ſuch inhuman ruffians ſo near them, and more particularly as it was about the time of harveſt, fearing that they ſhould be deprived of the fine crops that adorned the country for many miles round. King Alfred, to be a check upon the Danes, and calm the fears of his ſubjects, immediately marched towards Hertford, and encamped near that town; in which ſituation he could obſerve the motions of the enemy, and protect the reapers from inſult.

Affairs were in this poſition, when Alfred conceived a deſign of deſtroying the Daniſh fleet, by the following ſingular ſtratagem. He ordered ſeveral large trenches to be cut from the river to the low grounds, then drawing off the main ſtream, he turned it into the leſſer channels, and by this ingenious device, the ſhips of the enemy were left a-ground. Aſtoniſhed at ſuch an expedient, and dreading the enterprizing genious of Alfred, the Danes fled with the utmoſt precipitation; the Engliſh then got off what ſhips they could and burnt the reſt. Alfred purſued the advantage the conſternation of the Danes had given him, and followed them to the Severn, from whence they continued their retreat to Northumberland. Reflecting on the military talents of Alfred, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, while a man of his abilities poſſeſſed the throne, they determined to quit the kingdom, and make up for their loſſes in England, by plundering ſome other nation. Being ſupplied by their Northumbrian friends with ſhips, they accordingly ſet ſail for Normandy A. D. 896, after having been greatly diminiſhed in their numbers, diſappointed in their proſpects of plunder, and obliged to carry away with them leſs property than they brought. Subſequent to the departure of theſe unwelcome gueſts, Alfred found no difficulty in puniſhing for their revolt, and reducing to obedience, the Danes of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia.

Having now ſome leiſure time, this excellent monarch turned his whole attention to put the navy of England upon ſuch a footing, as to render the future deſigns of invaders abortive. In conſequence of this reſolution, he ordered ſeveral veſſels to be built upon a larger conſtruction than thoſe of the Danes, yet they were ſo contrived, that the bulk did not impede their ſwiftneſs. He had ſcarce finiſhed theſe, when he had an immediate call to uſe them, for a ſquadron of Daniſh ſhips appearing off the coaſt of Dorſetſhire, A. D. 897, he ordered out nine of his new conſtructed gallies againſt them. A ſharp engagement enſued, in which the Danes were defeated, and many of them taken priſoners. Alfred, in order as much as poſſible to deter theſe invaders from infeſting the Engliſh coaſt, commanded that the priſoners ſhould be proceeded againſt as pirates, and after condemnation hung up in Terrorem on the ſea ſhore.

Alfred, after this, enjoyed three years of repoſe, which he employed in the moſt laudable manner, and dying October the 25th, A. D. 900, was buried at Wincheſter. He left behind him five children, Edward, who ſucceeded him, Ethelwald bred to literature; Ethelfleda, who was married to the earl of Mercia; Ethelgiva, abbeſs of the monaſtery founded in the iſle of Athelney; and Elfrida married to Baldwin, Earl of Flanders.

From the concurrent teſtimonies of the moſt eminent writers, and Alfred's actions themſelves, it is evident that he was the able general in the camp, the intrepid ſoldier in the field, the profound ſcholar in the univerſity, the eloquent ſpeaker in the ſenate, the ſage politician in the council, the polite gentleman at court, and the worthy man upon all occaſions. Hence from what we at firſt premiſed concerning Alfred, from his ſubſequent tranſactions, and from our eulogium at the cloſe of our account, we ſhall wind up the whole by corroborating our former aſſertion, * viz.

"That

---

* Spelman thus exclaims concerning Alfred—"O Alfred, the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all ages; if we reflect upon his piety and religion, it would ſeem that he had never gone out of a monaſtery; if on his warlike exploits, that he had lived no where but in a camp; if on his writings and ſtudies, that he had ſpent his whole life in an univerſity; and laſtly, if we regard his adminiſtration of the affairs of his kingdom and ſubjects, one would think that his whole time had been employed in nothing elſe but enacting laws, and promoting juſtice in his tribunals, courts, &c."

“ That he is the moſt perfect and amiable character “ recorded in profane hiſtory ;” for as no one ever diſcharged the offices of king, chriſtian, general and politician with equal propriety, none can be ſet in competition with him in this reſpect. Before we quit the reign of Alfred, it may not be improper to obſerve, that he not only ordered all cauſes to be tried by a jury of twelve men, commanded that culprits who could not find ſureties for their good behaviour ſhould be committed to priſon, inſtituted fairs, reſtrained the power of the nobles over their vaſſals and tenants, erected tything courts, put the wittena-gemots or parliaments upon a better footing, &c. but formed an excellent code of laws, containing forty articles. The following we give as an abſtract of his *principal* judicial maxims.

The Iſt requires, as moſt neceſſary to all his ſubjects, that each keep his oath or pledge, his promiſe to obſerve the laws, and keep the peace. And if any ſhould be compelled to ſwear, or depoſite a pledge, whereby he may be bound to betray his lord, or unjuſtly to aſſiſt any perſon, he ought to break his promiſe rather than perform it; but in caſe he hath engaged to perform any thing which might juſtly be done, and doth it not, his arms and all his perſonal eſtate ſhall be put into the hands of his friends, and he himſelf kept in the king's priſon for forty days, till he undergo that penance which the biſhops ſhall enjoin him, and alſo his friends and relations require of him: but if he hath not wherewith to ſuſtain himſelf in the mean while, if his kindred are not able to provide him victuals, the king's officers ſhall do it. But if he reſiſt, and be taken by force, he ſhall forfeit both his arms and his perſonal eſtate; and if he be killed, nothing ſhall be paid as the value of his head. And in caſe he eſcape before his time, (viz. of forty days) be out, and be retaken, he ſhall be returned back again to priſon for other forty days; if he eſcape, he ſhall have no benefit of the laws, but be excommunicated from all Chriſt's churches: and if any man have been ſecurity in his behalf, he ſhall make ſatiſfaction for it according to right, and do penance till he make ſuch ſatiſfaction as his prieſt ſhall appoint.

The IId bears the title of The Immunity of the Church.

The IIId is concerning the breach of the king's ſuretyſhip, by the payment of a mulct of five pounds of Mercian larger money; but the violation of ſuretyſhip, or the peace, made to an archbiſhop, by a fine of three pounds; and if any one break or forfeit the king's pledge, or recognizance, he ſhall make amends, according to right and the breach of the ſuretyſhip, to a biſhop or eolderman, by two pounds.

The IVth law is concerning the death of the king, or any other lord. If any one that either by himſelf alone, or by any other perſon, ſhall attempt againſt the king's life, he ſhall loſe his life and goods; but if he will purge himſelf, let him do it according to the valuation of the king's head. The ſame is alſo ordained in all judgments concerning other men, whether noble or ignoble.—Whoever conſpires againſt his lord, ſhall loſe both his life and eſtate, or elſe pay the valuation of his lord's head.

The VIIth law is againſt fighters in the king's palace. If a man ſhall fight, or draw a weapon in his houſe, his life ſhall lie at the king's mercy whether he will pardon him or not: but if the offender flee, and he be taken, he ſhall redeem his life with the price of his head, or be fined according to his offenſe.

The IXth law ordains what mulct a man ſhall pay that kills a woman with-child, which was to be according to the value of her head; and he was alſo to pay for the child in her womb half as much as for a living one, according to the quality of its father.

The Xth ordains what fines or amends every man ſhall pay to a huſband for committing adultery with his wife, which was to be increaſed according to the eſtate or quality of him againſt whom the offence was committed.

The XIth, what mulct a man ſhall pay that wantonly handles the breaſts of a countryman's wife, or offers her any violence, as by flinging her down, &c. though he does not lie with her.

The XXVIth law appoints what mulcts ſhall be paid by thoſe who kill in troops or companies; and alſo to whom theſe mulcts were to be paid. If the ſlain innocent party were an ordinary perſon, that is, one whoſe head was valued but at two hundred ſhillings, he that ſlew him muſt pay the value of his head, and a fine beſides to his kindred; alſo every one that was in the company muſt pay thirty ſhillings: which penalty was ſtill to be increaſed according to the value of the eſtate of the party ſlain, ſo that as to the penalty for the death of a man valued at twelve hundred ſhillings, every one that was preſent muſt pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings, and the manſlayer himſelf the price of his head; and a fine beſides: but in caſe the whole company ſhall deny that he gave the mortal wound, all of them are to be impeached together, and to pay both the value and the fine beſides.

The XXVIIth appoints what ſhare of the mulct or ſatisfaction a man's kindred on the mother's ſide ſhall receive, in caſe he has no kindred on his father's ſide; and what ſhare thoſe of his guild or fraternity ſhall pay, in caſe he have committed man-ſlaughter in a quarrel, viz. the former ſhall pay a third part, and the latter, one half, of the price of the head of the party ſlain.

The XXVIIIth law was made againſt public defamers, or ſpreaders of falſe news; whereby is meant ſpreaders of falſe news againſt the government: and commands that ſuch a one, being convicted, ſhould ſuffer no leſs puniſhment than the cutting out of his tongue, except he redeem it by paying of the value of his head, and even then, he was afterwards to be eſteemed of no credit.

The XXXth ordains, that merchants, when they land, ſhall bring ſuch as come on ſhore with them before the king's officers in folcmote (or county-court,) and there declare their number, that they may be ready to produce them, to anſwer any thing that may be demanded of them in the ſaid folcmote: and that if they happen to bring many ſtrangers on ſhore, that they alſo certify this to the king's officer in that ſaid aſſembly, ſo that they may be forth coming.

The XXXIſt inflicts upon him that ſhall put a ceorle's man, that is, an ordinary countryman, without any fault into bonds, a mulct of ten ſhillings; upon him that beats ſuch a one, twenty ſhillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty ſhillings; if he cut off his hair to expoſe him like a fool, ten ſhillings; if he ſhave his head like a prieſt, yet bind him not, thirty ſhillings; and in caſe he only cut off his beard, twenty ſhillings; but if he bind him and ſhave his hair like a prieſt, then ſixty ſhillings.

The XXXIVth law impoſes upon him that ſhall ſtrike or fight in open court, before the king's eolderman, both the value of his own head and ſuch a fine beſides as ſhall be thought fit; and alſo an hundred and twenty ſhillings, to be paid to the eolderman by him that by thus drawing his weapon ſhall make any diſturbance in the folcmote: if the eolderman was not preſent, but the fact was done before his ſubſtitute. or the king's prieſt, then a fine or amerciament of thirty ſhillings.

The XXXVth ordains what ſatisfaction ſhall be made for breach of the peace in any other place: as, for example, he that fights in the home-ſtall of a countryman, ſhall pay the ſaid countryman ſix ſhillings; if he drew his own ſword but ſtruck not, half as much: which penalty alſo was to be increaſed according

cording to the eſtate or quality of him upon whoſe ground the aſſault was made ; ſo that if he fought in the houſe of one that was worth ſix hundred ſhillings, he was to pay three times as much ; if one worth twelve hundred ſhillings, then the amends was to be twice as much as the former.

The XXXVIth law, of burhbice, or breach of the peace in a town, confirms that part of king Ina's laws concerning that matter, in impoſing upon the offender for the breach of the peace in the king's town or city, by ſetting the mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings: but if it be done in the archbiſhop's town, then ninety ſhillings; in that of a biſhop, or eolderman, ſixty ſhillings; in the town of a man valued at twelve hundred ſhillings eſtate, thirty ſhillings; but half as much if done in a village of one worth but half the ſum.

The XXXVIIth is that law concerning beland, by virtue whereof he that holds lands left him by his anceſtors, was forbid to alienate it from his kindred to others, in caſe it could be proved, by writing or teſtimony, before the king or the biſhop, his kindred being preſent, that the man who firſt granted them forbid him all alienation, and laid on him this condition.----This law is now altered, for entails can be cut off by fine and recovery ; and we have too many inſtances of the caprices of imbecility, and the moroſeneſs of peeviſh old age, diſinheriting youth, for the very vices and follies which they themſelves were addicted to in their younger days.

The XXXVIIIth law, concerning quarrels or deadly feuds, which ſince it gives a ſtrange licence for men to take ſatisfaction on their enemies, even without the preſence of any officer, I ſhall likewiſe ſet down. Firſt, it forbids any man to attack his enemy if he find him in his own houſe, except he firſt demand of him ſatisfaction ; but, if he have force enough, he may beſiege the houſe for ſeven days, yet he ſhall not aſſault him if he ſtay within ; but if he will then ſurrender himſelf and his arms into the defendant's hands, he may keep him thirty days without hurt ; but then ſhall leave him ſo to his kindred and friends. In caſe he fly to a church, the honour of the church is to be preſerved. But if the defendant have not ſtrength enough to beſiege him in his houſe, he may deſire the aſſiſtance of the eolderman ; which, if he cannot obtain, he muſt appeal to the king before he can aſſault him. If any one by chance light upon his adverſary, not knowing that he keeps himſelf at home, and he will deliver up his arms to him, he ſhall keep him ſafe thirty days, and then deliver him to his friends; but in caſe he will not deliver up his arms, then he may fight him : but if he be willing to deliver up himſelf and his arms to his enemy, and any other man ſets upon him, ſuch a man ſhall pay the value of his head if he kills him ; or give ſatisfaction for the wounds, if any be given him, according to the fact, beſides which he ſhall be fined and loſe all that may fall to him by reaſon of kindred.

The XLth ſets a certain valuation upon every limb and member, as well as upon every perſon from a king to a bond-ſlave: of this ſee more at large in the laws of his ſucceſſor Athelſtan.

SECT. VII.

EDWARD THE ELDER.

EDWARD inherited all his father's virtues, but not his abilities, and he was called the Elder from being the firſt of that name who ever wore the Engliſh crown.

His firſt uneaſineſs after aſcending the throne was of a domeſtic nature, for Ethelwald his couſin pretended to the crown, as the ſon of Alfred's elder brother Ethelbert. This prince raiſed ſome forces to maintain his claim, though Edward, beſides having been appointed his heir by Alfred himſelf, and anointed king by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, had undergone the formality of an election by the people.

Ethelwald having got together ſome adherents and troops, ſeized upon the towns of Winborn and Tweoneham, or Chriſt-Church in Hampſhire, and boaſted that he would maintain his claim at the hazard of his life ; but he no ſooner heard of the approach of Edward with an army, than he deſerted his friends, and even his wife, and fled to the Northumbrian Danes. As theſe inſiduous ſubjects were very ready to embrace any opportunity of throwing off the Saxon yoke, they of courſe received Ethelwald with open arms, acknowledged him as king of England, and induced their countrymen of Eaſt Anglia to join them in revolting.

Edward, however, no ſooner marched againſt them, than their ſpirits began to fail, and in order to avert the impending chaſtiſement, they obliged Ethelwald to depart their country.—But this pretended loyalty, the effect of fear, did not ſatisfy Edward, who ſeized upon their principal fortreſſes as the moſt eligible method of ſecuring their allegiance. The Danes did not ſubmit without ſome reſiſtance, which gave riſe to the following remarkable occurrence : The king's ſiſter Elfleda, the wife of the earl of Mercia, being a woman of exceeding great courage, threw off the weakneſs peculiar to her ſex, and took upon herſelf the command of a body of troops in perſon, at the head of whom ſhe ſignalized herſelf on various occaſions, and was at once admired by the ſoldiers, and reſpected by the officers. Nor was this lady leſs celebrated for her wiſdom and benevolence than her intrepidity ; for her counſel was often as uſeful to her brother as her courage; and the many charitable foundations ſhe erected ſufficiently evinced her humanity. Indeed it was by her courage, principally, Ethelwald was driven out of the kingdom, and compelled to take refuge in Normandy.

Ethelwald, however, returned in 905, accompanied by a body of foreign troops, and having induced the Danes of Eaſt Anglia to join him, he began to commit the moſt cruel ravages, and penetrated as far as Badinſtoke in Wiltſhire, whither the king followed him. Ethelwald took the advantage of the Kentiſh men's having imprudently ſeperated themſelves from the reſt of the army in ſearch of plunder, to attack them with great impetuoſity. — A bloody conflict enſued, in which, on the ſide of the Engliſh, fell the earls Sigulf and Sigelm, the abbot Earnwolf, and the king's thane Eadwald. Of the enemy, Eric, a Daniſh prince, and Ethelwald himſelf were ſlain. The Kentiſh men were overpowered by numbers, but the Danes had ſo little cauſe to rejoice at the victory, that they immediately after thought proper to ſue for peace, which Edward concluded with them at a place named Ickford in Buckinghamſhire.

The Danes were not now more ſincere than formerly, and conſequently the peace was no longer permanent than their own conveniencies admitted. An inſurrection accordingly enſued in the north, which ſo much exaſperated the king that he ordered an army to march into Northumberland, and to put to death all of thoſe perpetual diſturbers who ſhould be found under arms. This bloody mandate was obeyed by the troops with the moſt ſcrupulous punctuality, and great numbers of the refractory inſurgents fell victims to the reſentment of an incenſed king.

Theſe ſeverities, however, did not alter the diſpoſitions of the Danes, for thoſe reſtleſs intruders hearing that Edward was buſy in Kent, in manning a fleet of above an hundred ſail of ſhipping, injudiciouſly concluded that he had diſpoſed of the greateſt part of his army on board the veſſels, and that not having any land forces to impede their progreſs, they might plunder with impunity. A reſolution to ravage was no ſooner adopted, than put into execution by theſe unthinking deſperadoes; they began their depredations as uſual, penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, and obtained a very conſiderable booty. But as they were retiring with the ſpoils, the Engliſh army overtook them at Tetnal in Staffordſhire, defeated them with great ſlaughter, and deprived them of all their plunder.

A. D. 913. Elfleda became a widow by the death of her huſband Ethelred, earl of Mercia. After having paid the proper reſpect to the memory of her conſort, ſhe took a ſurvey of her extenſive poſſeſſions, improved and fortified all the old cities and towns, and laid the foundations of ſome new ones. The Welch having made ſome incurſions into her territories, ſhe determined to chaſtiſe them, and collected her forces together accordingly. The Welch affected to ridicule an army commanded by a woman, but they had ſoon reaſon to repent of their ill-timed mirth, for that lady defeated them with great ſlaughter, obliged their king to fly to the mountains, took his queen and thirty-four of his nobles priſoners, and ſeized upon the town of Brecknock. Returning to England, and finding that the Danes had poſſeſſed themſelves of Derby, ſhe laid ſeige to that place and took it by ſtorm. During the aſſault, her life was in imminent danger, and ſhe had four of her beſt officers killed by her ſide.

A. D. 914. King Edward rebuilt and fortified the city of Hereford; and A. D. 915 he did the ſame by Witham, in Eſſex. The two enſuing years, being at peace, he employed his leiſure time in a variety of public works, particularly in the reſtoration of Cambridge, which was greatly decayed; but Edward greatly embelliſhed, and erected it into an univerſity upon inſtitutions ſimilar to thoſe of his father at Oxford.

A. D. 917. The Danes began another inſurrection, but were defeated with great ſlaughter. Their incurſions, however, made Edward perceive the neceſſity of fortifying Bedford, Buckingham and Towceſter. Subſequent to this, earl Thurketyll, the Daniſh leader, conſented to quit the kingdom, and accordingly departed to France with all who choſe to follow him.

A ſwarm of Danes from the continent invaded England again A. D. 918, under the command of Otar and Rohault. Sailing into the Severn they frequently landed, and committed many ravages upon the adjacent coaſts, * till they were defeated by the militia of Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire. Rohault, and Otar's brother were ſlain in the engagement; and the fugitives fled into a wood, which was immediately inveſted by the conquerors. In this emergency the Danes, as uſual, promiſed to depart the kingdom, and to give hoſtages for their performance of the agreement. Being ſuffered to retire to their veſſels, they treacherouſly landed again in the night, and attempted to penetrate into the country. Being diſcovered in the morning, by the troops, whom the king had judiciouſly ſtationed to guard the coaſt, the greateſt part of them were cut off, and the few who eſcaped went and ſettled in Ireland. Though this ſucceſs was pleaſing to Edward, he met with a great affliction this year in the loſs of his ſiſter Elfleda, who died at Tamworth, in Staffordſhire, to the unſpeakable regret of the whole nation.

A. D. 920. The Danes landed in Wales, and proceeded as far as Cheſter, and the Welch revolted at the ſame time; but both parties were defeated by Edward's forces, and the two chiefs, viz. Leofred the Dane, and Griffith ap Madoc, the Welch prince, were beheaded, and their heads placed upon the tower of Cheſter.

The king continued to improve the old, and erect new fortifications in many parts of the kingdom; when the Danes, while he was thus buſied, made an attack upon Towceſter, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and being purſued were totally defeated. Soon after, between Bernwood and Aileſbury, they attempted to follow the example of the king, by building a ſtrong fortreſs at Tamesford, in Bedfordſhire. Edward, however, laid ſiege to it, took it by ſtorm, and put all who were in it to the ſword. Shortly after this, he ſeized Colcheſter, which was in the poſſeſſion of the Danes, and ſlew all who were found in arms. This ſeverity occaſioned a general revolt of the Danes, in conſequence of which they met with a total defeat, and this obliged them again to a general ſubmiſſion.

A. D. 921. The Northumbrian Danes revolted again, and incited the king of Scotland to aſſiſt them, who deputed his ſon with a conſiderable army, to accompany them in their ravages. Theſe confederates were, however, defeated by prince Athelſtan, the gallant ſon of king Edward.

A. D. 923. The Engliſh monarch took Stamford and Lincoln, and fortified both thoſe places; during the courſe of the ſame year, all the Daniſh chiefs ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to him; this was followed by the ſubmiſſion of the Welch princes and nobility, and even the king of Scotland conſented to hold his crown as a vaſſal to Edward. Thus Edward poſſeſſed a more extenſive and unlimited power in the iſland, than any of his predeceſſors had done, and ſpent the remainder of his glorious reign in ſecuring and regulating the poſſeſſions he had gained. He died A. D. 925, and was buried by his father, at Wincheſter. In virtue and courage he was equal to Alfred, but inferior with reſpect to genius and learning. Alfred embelliſhed, and Edward fortified, the kingdom: the former introduced literature, and built a royal navy; the latter added to and improved both; ſo that the Engliſh have infinite obligations both to father and ſon. The laws he made were few, and rather comments on thoſe of his predeceſſors than new ones. He, however, made ſome regulations reſpecting commerce, that were ſuitable to the complexion of the times in which he lived. He was exceeding affable and benevolent, and remarkable for the humility of his temper, of which the following anecdote is a ſingular inſtance. "When Edward the Elder "came to Auſtelen, Lewellyn, prince of North "Wales, came to Betheſtly to treat about a peace; "but refuſed firſt to croſs the Severn, which, when "king Edward heard, he took a boat, and rowed to-"wards him. But the prince, who was then by the "water-ſide, when he ſaw and knew who he was, caſt "off the rich robe he then had on, and which he had "prepared purpoſely for the meeting, and entering "the river breaſt high, and taking hold of the end "of the boat, ſubmiſſively ſaid, Moſt ſage king, "thy humility hath overcome my inſolence, and thy "wiſdom triumphed over my folly—Come, pray Sir, "get upon this neck, which I, like a fool as I am, "have lifted againſt thee, and thus enter that land, "which thy benign clemency hath this day made "thine own; ſo taking the king upon his ſhoulders, "and

---

* In one of their excurſions, they took priſoner Cumeleac, biſhop of Erchenfield in Herefordſhire, who was afterwards ranſomed by the king for forty pounds.

“and ſetting him on ſhore, he made him to ſit down upon his own royal robe, and putting his own hands between the king's, he there did him homage.”

Edward, by his firſt wife Egwynnea had three children, two ſons, viz. Alfred, who died before him, and Athelſtan, who ſucceeded him; and a daughter named Edgytha. His iſſue by his ſecond wife Elfleda were Ethelwald, Edwin, and ſix daughters, four of whom were married, and two died ſingle. The huſbands of the married ones were the emperor Otho, Charles the Simple, and Hugh Capet, kings of France, and a French duke. His third wife Edgiva brought him Edmund and Edred, both of whom afterwards reigned, and two daughters one of the latter retired to a cloiſter, and the other was married to a French prince.

SECT. VIII.

ATHELSTAN.

ATHELSTAN ſucceeded his father in the year 925, and was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames. A conſpiracy was formed againſt him, (on account of the illegitimacy of his birth) ſoon after his acceſſion by a perſon named Alfred, who laid a plan to ſeize the king at Wincheſter and put out his eyes. But his deſign tranſpiring, he was apprehended and carried before the king, to whom he denied ever having had ſuch an intention. As there was no poſitive evidence to prove him guilty, the king, according to the abſurd cuſtom of the times, ſent him to Rome to purge himſelf from the imputation before the Pope. He, however, loſt his life before he had an opportunity of going through his purgation; for walking up towards the altar of St. Peter, he ſuddenly dropped down in a fit, and being carried to the Engliſh College, expired three days after. The Pope deeming his ſudden death a providential proof of his guilt, refuſed his body chriſtian burial, till the pleaſure of Athelſtan ſhould be known, who gave permiſſion that he ſhould be buried; but ſeized upon his eſtates, and ſettled them upon the monaſtery of Malmeſbury.

This conſpiracy was ſucceeded by an attempt which the Danes made to regain their independency. They were headed by two chiefs called Sithric and Ingwald, who were pleaſed to dignify themſelves with the title of kings. Athelſtan no ſooner heard of this inſurrection than he marched againſt the rebels with a conſiderable force, when Sithric thought proper to ſubmit and implore his clemency. The king, who was good-natured and generous, even to weakneſs, not only pardoned him on condition of his being baptized, but gave him his ſiſter in marriage, which he imagined would conduce to conciliate his fidelity. Sithric died ſoon after, when Athelſtan took his poſſeſſions under his own immediate adminiſtration, without admitting of any ſubordinate ruler. This exaſperated Guthric, the ſon of Sithric, who raiſed a conſiderable force to regain what he deemed his patrimony. But Athelſtan no ſooner advanced towards him at the head of an army, than he fled into Scotland, and ſought the protection of Conſtantine the king of that country. Athelſtan ſent a meſſage to the Scotch monarch to deliver up Guthric as a rebel and traitor, which the latter abſolutely refuſed, and a war between the two nations ſeemed inevitable. At length, by means of ſome of the nobility, an accommodation was brought about, and a conference agreed upon between the two kings. This occaſioned Guthric to return into Northumberland, where, having privately gathered together ſome troops, he made an unſucceſsful attempt upon York, in which he was taken priſoner, and finding means to eſcape, he went to ſea, and paſſed the reſt of his days as a pirate.

Anlaff, the brother of Guthric, having by the force of arms obtained conſiderable poſſeſſions in Ireland, was called the Iriſh king. This petty monarch, impelled by the inveterate hatred he had conceived againſt Athelſtan, perſuaded Conſtantine, king of Scotland, to declare war againſt him, and promiſed to join him with a conſiderable body of forces from Ireland. At the ſame time Howel, king of Wales, agreed to make a diverſion in favor of the confederates. Athelſtan being apprized of the impending danger, collected an army together with great diligence, and marching into Wales, he defeated the Welch; and, in order to puniſh them for their temerity, ordered them to pay a much heavier tribute than they had hitherto done. Athelſtan then marched towards Scotland, when Conſtantine, not having been joined by Anlaff as he expected, thought proper to ſubmit, and implore the clemency of the Engliſh monarch, who not only forgave him, but with his uſual good-nature reſtored all the places his troops had taken. But the gratitude of the Scotch monarch was not equal to the generoſity of Athelſtan, for in the year 938 he formed another powerful confederacy with Anlaff, and the Cumbrian Britons. Their united forces embarked on board two hundred and ſixteen ſhips, and landing at the mouth of the Humber, penetrated to Bromſbury in Northumberland. Here Athelſtan brought a great force againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent a fleet to deſtroy their ſhipping. The two armies kept from an engagement for ſeveral days, watching the opportunity of gaining ſome peculiar advantage; during which interval Anlaff laid a ſcheme to ſeize upon, or aſſaſſinate Athelſtan in the midſt of his army. To effect this, he put in practice a ſimilar ſtratagem to that formerly employed by Alfred in exploring the Daniſh camp. Diſguiſed like a harper he ſecurely entered the Engliſh lines, and was even introduced to play before the king, who handſomely rewarded him for the amuſement he had received. A ſoldier in Athelſtan's army, however, recognized the features of Anlaff, and after his departure informed the king who he was. Athelſtan blamed him for not having given more timely notice that he might have been apprehended in the camp; when the ſoldier nobly replied, “My liege, I firſt gave my military oath to Anlaff; if I had therefore betrayed him, your majeſty might juſtly have ſuſpected the like treachery to yourſelf. But to evince my loyalty, I entreat your majeſty to remove your tent, as I have no doubt but a deſign upon your perſon will be the conſequence of Anlaff's obſervations.” The king, after rewarding the ſoldier for his fidelity, took his prudent advice, and gave orders for the immediate removal of his tent. This precaution, in the ſequel, appeared exceeding neceſſary; for a biſhop coming into the camp ſoon after the removal of the king's tent, and pitching his own in the vacant place, was the firſt who fell a victim to the furious attack made upon the Engliſh by Anlaff in the night. The alarm becoming general, Anlaff was repulſed, but the next morning the engagement was renewed. The Engliſh forces were commanded by the king in perſon, Edmund his brother, and Turketyl his prime miniſter. On the ſide of the enemy, king Conſtantine commanded the Scots, Anlaff the Iriſh, Froda the Danes, and Owen the Cumbrian Britons. Athelſtan, with a body of Weſt Saxons, made a furious attack upon the Iriſh, already fatigued by their nocturnal attempt, and eaſily put them to the rout. Turketyl, with the London militia, pierced the ranks of the Scotch, obliged them to retreat, and a deciſive victory was at length obtained by the Engliſh. Five Daniſh princes, ſeven general officers, and a great number of private men were ſlain in the field; and the king of Scotland, Anlaff and Owen eſcaped with great difficulty to their ſhips. The Engliſh on their ſide loſt Edwin and Ethelwin, Athelſtan's ſtan's two couſins, ſeveral good officers and many excellent ſoldiers. In fine, the hiſtorians of that age repreſent it as the moſt bloody engagement that had ever been fought in Britain. The ſucceſs of the Engliſh fleet was equal to that of the land forces, and the deſtruction of both the army and navy of his enemies, gave to Athelſtan a compleat triumph.

Athelſtan now thought proper to chaſtiſe the Welch for having aſſiſted his enemies. This he did and then effectually, ordered their king Ludeval, and all the Welch nobles to attend him at Hereford, in order to do homage, ſwear allegiance, and pay a tribute. Theſe humiliating conditions the Welch were obliged to comply with, and the tribute paid in conſequence thereof conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand head of black cattle, twenty pounds weight of gold, three hundred pounds weight of ſilver, and a great many hawks and hounds. Athelſtan's next concern was to puniſh the Corniſh Britons for the part they had taken in the late inſurrections, after which he took poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Scilly, and having annexed them to his dominions, ſat down to enjoy the fruits of his various triumphs in the tranquil arms of peace.

The greatneſs of Athelſtan's power, and the ſplendor of his fame, incited the principal princes of Chriſtendom to court his alliance and ſolicit his friendſhip. Three of his ſiſters were ſeverally requeſted in marriage; the firſt by the emperor Henry for his ſon Otho; the ſecond by Hugh, king of France, for his ſon; and the third by the prince of Aquitain for himſelf. The reſpective ambaſſadors from thoſe princes, brought ſuch a profuſion of rich preſents as had never before been ſeen in this nation, particularly a veſſel of onyx, admirably carved; a gold crown curiouſly ſet with diamonds; the banner and ſword of Conſtantine the Great, the hilt of the latter being overlaid with plates of gold, a variety of rich gems, coſtly perfumes, fine horſes with elegant capariſons, &c. &c.

This great prince died at Glouceſter, A. D. 941, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and ſixteenth of his reign; and left behind him a character inferior to none of the Engliſh monarchs, Alfred excepted. Hiſtorians agree, that he was learned without being pedantic, polite without being frivolous, magnificent without profuſion, generous without oſtentation, and pious without ſuperſtition; he was an able general, a brave ſoldier, a conſummate politician, a ſedulous encourager of commerce, a ſincere friend, a forgiving enemy, and an indulgent maſter. His diſpoſition was ſo amiable, that he won the affections in peace of thoſe whom he conquered in war, and was equally formidable in the field and cabinet. He was not greater in his military and political, than in his legiſlative capacity, being conſidered as the beſt civilian, and moſt elegant Saxon writer of the age; as his laws are equally ſalutary and curious, we ſhall preſent our readers with the following abſtract of them.

The Iſt law requires, that if one conceals a thief, he ſhall pay the value of the thief's head, and the thief himſelf ſhall not be ſpared, who, if he contumaciouſly make reſiſtance, or fly for it, ſhall find no favour. A thief caſt into priſon ſhall ſtay there forty days, and then, after the payment of an hundred and twenty ſhillings, be diſcharged; but his kindred muſt give ſecurity for his future good behaviour: after which, if he ſteal again, they muſt either pay the value of his head, or bring him back to priſon. And in caſe any one reſiſt, he ſhall pay to the king, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own head; and if any ſtand by him (defend him) he ſhall pay to the king one hundred and twenty ſhillings.

The VIth law is againſt witchcrafts, enchantments, and ſuch like deeds that procure death: that if any one by them be made away, and the thing cannot be denied, ſuch practicers ſhall be put to death: but if they endeavour to purge themſelves, and be caſt by three fold ordeal, they ſhall lie in priſon an hundred and twenty days; which ended, then their kindred may redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the king: and farther, pay to the kindred of the ſlain the full valuation of the party's head; and then the criminals ſhall alſo procure ſureties for their good behaviour for the time to come. The ſame puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on incendiaries, and ſuch as reſcue thieves: nay, ſuch as endeavour to reſcue them, though no man be wounded in the attempt, ſhall pay an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the king.—As for enchantments mentioned in this law, the Saxon word is Liblacum, which ſignifies the art of conjuration, or witchcraft; not all in general, but that ſort of it called properly faſcination or enchantment, uſed by certain ligatures, faſciæ, or bands.

The VIIth ordains concerning ſimple ordeal; that if one, accuſed ſeveral times of theft, be caſt by it, and have nobody to be ſurety for him, he ſhall be ſent to priſon, and thence freed by his kindred, as before ſaid.

The IXth forbids any commutation of goods, unleſs in the preſence of the king's reeve, the prieſt of the town, or the lord of the ſoil, or ſome other creditable perſon, under the penalty of thirty ſhillings, and the forfeiture of the things charged, to the lord of the ſoil: and if any ſhall bear witneſs, he ſhall be infamous, and no credit given to him ever after, and alſo ſhall forfeit thirty ſhillings.

The XIIth confirms the firſt part of the laws of king Edward the Elder, decreeing that no man buy any thing out of a town, which exceeds the value of twenty pence; and within the town, unleſs in the preſence of the port-reeve or ſome other creditable perſon, or elſe in the preſence of the king's ſheriff or juſtice, in folcmote.

The XIVth appoints, through all the king's dominions, that one and the ſame money be current: and that it ſhall not be coined out of ſome town; and if any minter or coiner ſhall debaſe the coin, he ſhall loſe his hand, which, being cut off, ſhall be affixed to the workhouſe: if any be accuſed of adulterating money, and will purge himſelf, he ſhall by the ordeal of hot iron cleanſe his hands of ſuch wickedneſs; but if by ordeal he be caſt, then he ſhall puniſhed as now was ſaid. Then follow the places appointed for public mints, viz. at Canterbury there ſhall be ſeven minters or coiners; whereof four for the king, two for the biſhop, and one for the abbot: at Rocheſter there ſhall be three; whereof two for the king, and the third for the biſhop: at London, eight, at Wincheſter ſix, at Lewes two, at Haſtings one, at Chicheſter one, at Hampton two, at Werham two, at Exceſter two, at Saliſbury as many, and in every other great town one.

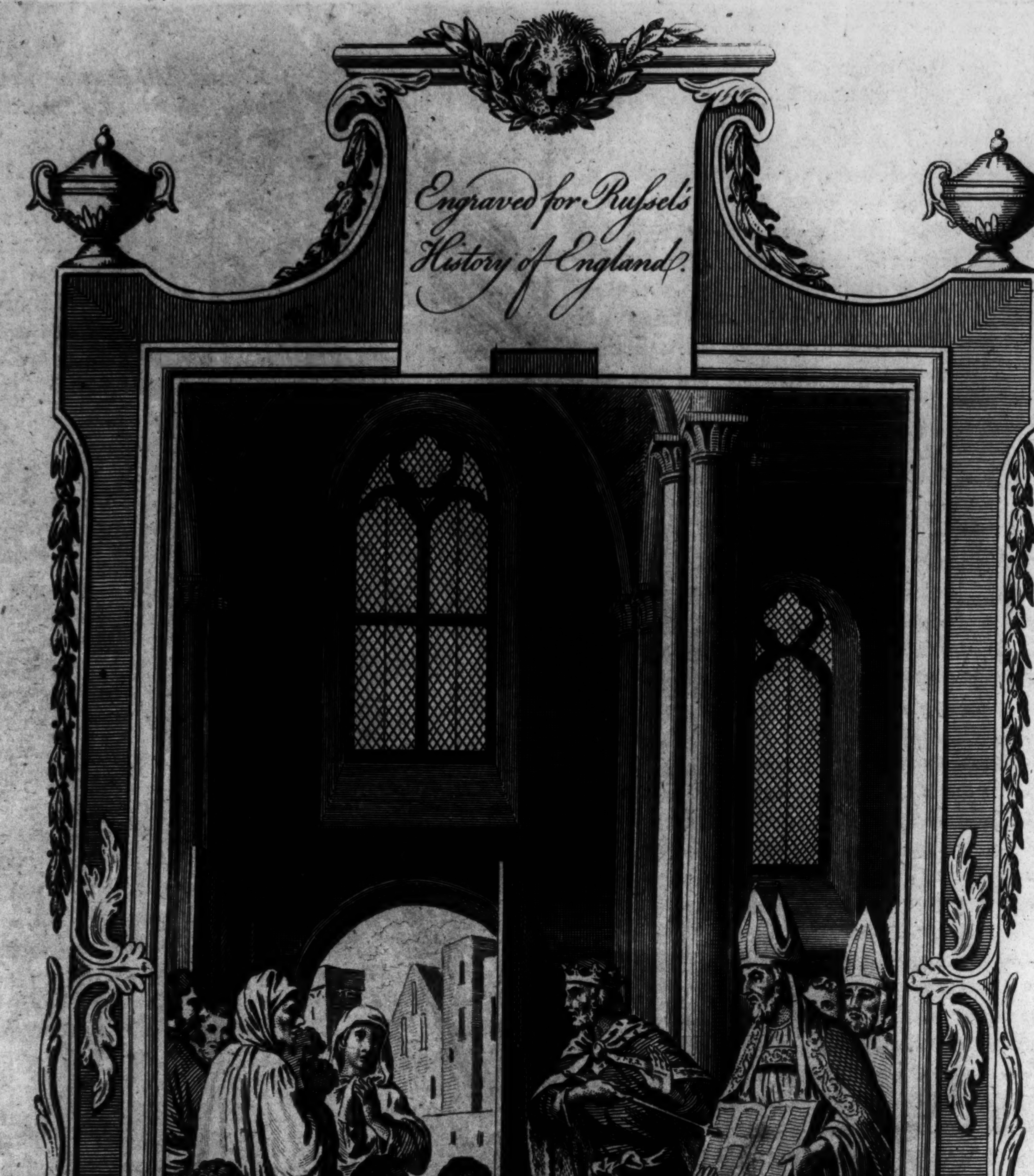
That which follows commands, that for every plough a man ſhall keep two well-furniſhed horſemen.

The XVIIIth forbids horſes to be tranſported, except ſuch as are ſent abroad as free gifts or preſents.

The XXth law enacts, that if any one abſents himſelf from folcmote thrice, he ſhall be puniſhed as contumacious againſt the king, if ſo be that the holding of the aſſembly was declared a ſevennight before; in ſuch caſe, if he refuſe to do right, and pays not mulct to the king, the ancient men of the country are to go and ſeize upon all that he hath, and take ſecurity for his appearance.

The XXIId, in confirmation of a former law, requires that no perſon receive another man's man (as this law words it) into his family without leave firſt obtained of his maſter; he that doth otherwiſe ſhall reſtore the man, and pay the mulct of contumacy

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Wale delin.
Grignion sculp.

ATHELSTAN ordering the BIBLE to be translated into the Saxon Language.

againſt the king. And no man is to put away his men, accuſed of any crime, till they have firſt made ſatisfaction.

The XXIVth is concerning traffic, and, in confirmation of former laws, ordains, that if a man buy any thing with witneſs, which another man challenges for his own, the ſeller ſhall make it good and ſecure the bargain, whether he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day no market ſhall be held, under penalty or for feiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty ſhillings beſides.

In the year 928 he held the Synod of Greatly: The canons inſtituted were nine in number. The ſubſequent is the ſubſtance of the chief of them, with their remarkable introduction.

"I Athelſtan, king, by the advice of Wulfhelm my archbiſhop, and other my biſhops, command all my reeves, in the name of the Lord and his ſaints, that they do in the firſt place give tythes of all my eſtate, both of the living ſtock and of the fruits of the earth; and that all the biſhops do the ſame of all that belongs to them; and alſo my aldermen and reeves: and my will is, that my biſhops, and aldermen, and reeves give this in charge to all that are ſubject to them, and that they do it effectually by the time that we here fixed, that is, the Beheading of St. John Baptiſt. I Athelſtan, king, declare to all my reeves, with advice of archbiſhop, biſhops, and ſervants of God, that it is my will, that, for the forgiveneſs of my ſins, ye always feed one poor Engliſhman; and give him, from two of my farms, every month an amber of meal and a gammon of bacon, or one ram worth four-pence; and one ſhroud every year, for the twelve months' wear: and that ye ſet at liberty one that has, for his crimes, been condemned to ſlavery; for the mercies of Chriſt and for my love, with the teſtimony of the biſhop in whoſe diſtrict it is: and if the reeve withhold it, let him pay thirty ſhillings as a ſatisfaction; and let the money be diſtributed to the poor who dwell in the town where this omiſſion was made, under the teſtimony of the biſhop."

The IId article commands the magiſtrates to put the laws in execution againſt ſuch as were convicted by all the circumſtances of a trial by ordeal.

The IIId is againſt witchcraft, and robbers infeſting the highways.

The IVth regulates the number of mints.

The Vth preſcribes the circumſtances and ceremonies of the ordeal trial, by which a perſon may be known to be guilty or not. In this canon the prieſts are ſpoken of, as having fixed and ſettled places; and the accuſed perſon is permitted to have the conſecrated bread.

The VIIIth orders the biſhops to aſſiſt the judges in the execution of the laws, and to ſit upon the bench with them.

The IXth and laſt canon inflicts a fine upon ſuch magiſtrates as ſhould be found remiſs in their duty; which fine was to be paid to the biſhop of the dioceſe in which ſuch magiſtrate dwelt.

Annexed to the laws of king Athelſtan is the valuation of mens' heads, which was then conſidered according to the following eſtimate:

The king's	Head	30,000	Thrimſas, or pieces of ſilver of about three ſhillings value.
An archbiſhop, or earl's		15,000	
A biſhop or alderman's		8,000	
A general's, knight marſhal, or field marſhal's		4,000	
A maſs-thane, or ſecural thane's		2,000	
A peaſant's		267	

The one half of theſe fines went to the kindred of the deceaſed, and the other half to the public treaſury. This king likewiſe ordered the bible to be tranſlated into the Anglo-Saxon tongue for the benefit of the common people.

Before we quit the reign of Athelſtan, it is neceſſary to take notice of the only imputation with which his character has been ſtained, viz. The murder of his brother Edwin. This, ſome writers tell us, was occaſioned by Athelſtan's jealouſy of the virtues and perſonal accompliſhments of Edwin, as well as his unqueſtionable legitimacy of birth; ſeveral writers ſay, that he was drowned by order of the king; others, that being expoſed in a rotten bark, without ſail, oars, or proviſions, and with only one ſervant, he was ſtimulated by deſpair to jump into the ſea, where he periſhed. But the moſt authentic hiſtorians affirm, that the accuſation is a falſehood, and William of Malmeſbury poſitively aſſerts, that the whole tale took its riſe from an old ballad.*

SECT. IX.

EDMUND THE FIRST.

As Athelſtan died without iſſue, he was ſucceeded by his brother Edmund, who, A. D. 941, was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames. Being only eighteen years of age at his acceſſion, the Danes deemed his nonage a fair opportunity to make another attempt for independency. In conſequence of theſe ſentiments, they invited to their aſſiſtance Anlaff the Iriſh king, and Olaus, the ſovereign of Norway, when both thoſe princes uniting their forces, landed in Northumberland, and being joined by the Engliſh-Danes, Anlaff took upon himſelf the ſupreme command. The confederates having over-run Northumberland, purſued their rout into Yorkſhire, took the city of York, and then penetrated into Mercia.

The young king, having been informed of their rapid progreſs, aſſembled what forces he could, and marched expeditiouſly towards the north. Having retaken many places from the enemy, and properly ſecured them with Engliſh garriſons, he proceeded to Weſt Cheſter, where he came up with the main body of the confederate army, and immediately prepared for battle. A bloody engagement enſued, which was fought till night parted the combatants with equal ſucceſs on both ſides; when Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, brought about a moſt ſhameful accommodation, for a peace was concluded on the following terms; that Edmund ſhould have all that part of the kingdom to the ſouth of † Watling Street, and Anlaff all the reſidue to the northward of the ſame. The artful Anlaff, by bribes, and a promiſe of becoming a chriſtian, won the venal archbiſhops to his intereſt; and they in return, perſuaded the young king to ſubſcribe to articles derogatory of his honour, and repugnant to his intereſt. Anlaff and Reginald were ſoon after baptized, and Edmund was obliged to be content with a diſmembered part of his own native kingdom.

---

* Antient writers have been fond of imputing the death of princes of the blood to the jealouſy of reigning princes; in ſome inſtances they have occaſion; in others they have only ſubſtituted their ſuggeſtions for facts, as we believe hath been the caſe with reſpect to Athelſtan. But the moſt ſingular circumſtance is, that the Scotch hiſtorians, through a mean national partiality, are not content to accuſe Athelſtan with the death of Edwin only, but charge him likewiſe with the murder of his brother Edred, though that prince not only lived after him, but reigned as king of England, ſubſequent to his death.

† Watling-ſtreet led from Dover to the coaſt over againſt the iſland of Angleſey and paſſed through London, Dunſtable, Towceſter, Allerſton, &c. and croſſed the Severn near the Wreakin, in Shropſhire.

The young monarch, however, was ſoon ſenſible how infamouſly he had been impoſed on, for A. D. 944 he raiſed a powerful army, expelled both Anlaff and Reginald from Northumbria, and ſubjected the whole country to his own controul.

The petty prince of Cumberland having aſſiſted the Northumbrians in their revolt, Edmund deprived him of his territories, and gave them to Malcolm, king of Scotland, ſubject to this condition; that he ſhould aſſiſt the Engliſh upon all emergencies, and join his own with their forces, both by ſea and land, to repel all foreign invaders.

After this, king Edmund reigned in peace, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours, till the hand of a ruffian deprived the nation of a moſt worthy and promiſing prince, his death being compaſſed in the following manner:

On the 6th of May, A. D. 946, the king and principal nobility repaired to Prickle-church, in Glouceſterſhire, in order to keep the feaſt of St. Auguſtin in the moſt ſolemn manner. During the entertainment, the king obſerved at the end of the table, one Leof, a notorious criminal, who had been baniſhed a few years before for his mal-practices. Being naturally of a raſh diſpoſition, he flew at the fellow in order to give him manual chaſtiſement for his preſumption in appearing there. Leof, thinking his death inevitable, and determined to ſell his life as dear as poſſible, drew out a ſhort dagger and gave the king a mortal wound, of which he preſently expired. The nobles aſſaulted the murderer, who defended himſelf with the moſt undaunted fury, till being overpowered by numbers, he was cut to pieces. At the time of this fatal event, the king was only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and ſeventh of his reign. His body was buried at Glaſtonbury, St. Dunſtan being then abbot; and the town where he was killed was confiſcated, and given to the monaſtery in which he was interred, that a certain number of maſſes might be ſung for his ſoul.

SECT. X.

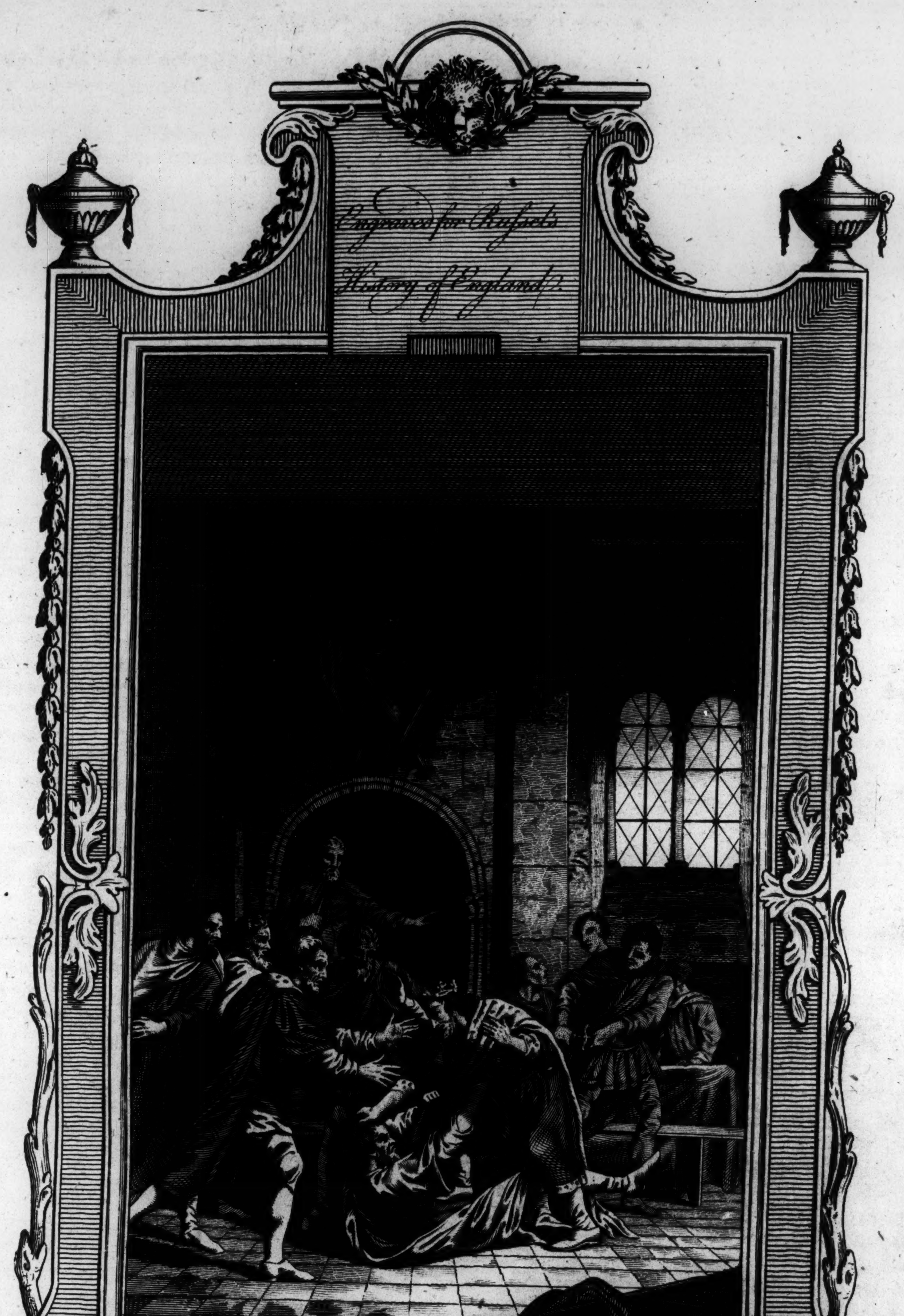
EDRED.

EDRED, the brother of the late king, was elected to the throne, as that monarch's two ſons, Edwy and Edgar, were then infants, the eldeſt being only four years of age. Edred was therefore crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, aſſumed the reins of government accordingly, and was the firſt ſovereign of this country, who, in his public writings, ſtiled himſelf king of Great Britain, or Monarch of all England.

The Northumbrians, whom neither gratitude could bind, or oaths reſtrain, no ſooner heard of the death of Edmund than they openly revolted. By pretending to aim at freedom, they ſought every opportunity of ſhaking off all obedience to regal government, and with the claim of independency diſguiſed their propenſity to commit all manner of depredations. Edred, on being apprized of their motions, raiſed an army and marched towards the north with great alacrity; but being a prince of a moſt humane diſpoſition, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood, he was willing to try the moſt lenient before he proceeded to coercive meaſures. To effect, if poſſible, an amicable accommodation, he deputed the celebrated Turketyl to receive their oaths of allegiance in his name. The king's benevolent purpoſe ſucceeded, that able ſtateſman prevailed upon the chief Northumbrians to return to their duty, and the king of Scotland, who had inſidiouſly ſpirited on the revolters, thought proper to ſubmit, and take an oath of fealty, in order to avert the impending vengeance of the juſtly incenſed Edred. Peace being thus to all appearance reſtored in the north, the king began to march ſouthward with his forces. But he was no ſooner gone than the faithleſs Northumbrians broke the oaths they had ſo lately taken, invited Anlaff again from Ireland, and A. D. 949, once more appeared in open rebellion. Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, treacherouſly joined this confederacy, which at length became ſo conſiderable as to threaten a dangerous revolution. Anlaff was for ſome time the commander of the combined forces, but his haughty, and tyrannical diſpoſition ſoon diſpleaſed the Northumbrians, and co-operating with their own natural inconſtancy, induced them to depoſe him from the chief command, which they beſtowed on Eric a Dane.

Edred having raiſed a conſiderable army, marched towards Northumberland, and on his approach, Edric, in a daſtardly manner, fled into Scotland. The Northumbrians finding themſelves thus deſerted by a man whom they had ſo highly favoured, and even dignified with the title of king, made the moſt abject ſubmiſſions to Edred, profeſſed the profoundeſt penitence for their treachery, and promiſed the moſt inviolable fidelity for the future. The king imprudently believed them ſincere, received them again into favor, and with a degree of weakneſs, politically unpardonable, reſtored Eric to the dignity from which he had fled. Thinking their fealty fixed by the infinite obligations they owed him, and meaſuring their gratitude by his own beneficence, Edred thought himſelf in perfect ſecurity, and began his march back again in a very incautious manner. Eric obſerving the want of ſuſpicion, and total relaxation of diſcipline in the Engliſh army, determined to avail himſelf of a negligence ſo invitingly convenient. Impelled therefore by the blackeſt treachery, he ſallied from York and aſſaulted the rear of Edred's forces at a place called Caſterford. The Engliſh, however, collected themſelves with great expedition, formed a compact body, and being animated by the intrepidity of Edred, repulſed their enemies with conſiderable ſlaughter. The injured monarch, exaſperated at this ingratitude, determined to lay waſte the country with fire and ſword. But the wily Northumbrians dreading his vengeance, and wiſhing to appeaſe his wrath, accuſed Wulſtan, archbiſhop of York, and Eric, their prince, with being the ſole cauſe of the late treacherous proceedings. To evince their ſincerity, they ſacrificed the latter to their own ſecurity by murdering him, and ſeizing the former gave him up to the power of the king. Upon theſe conceſſions, the eaſy monarch forgave theſe inſidious people, but prudently deprived them of all fortified places. Wulſtan was committed cloſe priſoner for ſome time, but at length releaſed through the clemency of Edred; and peace being reſtored throughout the nation, this prince diſbanded his forces.

Edred ſoon after fell into a languiſhing diſtemper that terminated in his death, which happened on the 23d of November, A. D. 955. This prince mingled the greateſt clemency with the moſt intrepid valour, and felt more pleaſure in forgiving than conquering. He had many accompliſhments, and few faults. Hiſtorians indeed inform us, that in ſome particulars he was ſuperſtitiouſly weak, and imprudently ſubmiſſive to Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury. To this haughty prelate he committed all his affairs, both ſpiritual and temporal, and even intruſted him with conſiderable ſums of the national treaſure. On his death bed the king ſent for Dunſtan, in order to give him directions



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. White sculp.

EDMUND I.
the Saxon King Murder'd by
Leolf the Robber.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

for the diſpoſal of the money; but the prelate, that he might have an opportunity of keeping it to himſelf, procraſtinated his attendance till the monarch expired; by which embezzlement, he was afterwards enabled to outvie the principal nobility in luxurious living.

Though Edred had two ſons, viz. Bertfrid, and Elfrid, yet Edwy, the ſon of his brother Edmund was placed upon the throne, having been only previouſly excluded on account of nonage, and now being deemed fit to reign.

SECT. XI.

E D W Y.

EDWY was only fourteen years of age when he aſcended the throne, but the majeſty of his mein, the beauty of his features, and graces of his perſon beggared all deſcription. Indeed his exterior form was ſo univerſally admired, that he was called Puncalus, or Peculiarly Fair. But the mind of Edwy did not correſpond with his perſon, he had the ſuſceptibility of a woman, rather than the fortitude of a ſovereign, and being of a licentious diſpoſition thought little of ſacrificing his dignity to his pleaſure. His weakneſs degenerated into vice, and his vices, as is uſually the caſe, became the inſtruments of his deſtruction.

On the day of his coronation he gave a very imprudent ſpecimen of his diſpoſition, by ſtealing from his nobles in the midſt of their feſtivity to indulge his paſſions with the lady Ethelgiva and her mother. Theſe ladies, it appears, were equally remarkable for their attractions, the daughter diſplaying thoſe charms in bloom, which in the mother were ripened into the maturity of beauty. The heart of the young monarch was forcibly impreſſed with the captivating images of both, and the ladies were ſo politically diſcreet as to wiſh rather to manage his affections between them, than to loſe him totally by a profeſſed rivalſhip. The behaviour of the king was conſidered by his nobles as an unpardonable ſlight, yet none choſe to undertake the office of repreſenting to him the abſurdity of his conduct, till the abbot Dunſtan, exaſperated by his levity, offered to bring him back again to the hall of entertainment. Penetrating to the place of his ſecluſion he drew him reluctantly, and by force from the ſcene of dalliance. The ladies were exceedingly nettled at ſuch apparent inſolence, and the nobles were aſtoniſhed at this cavalier treatment of a crowned head, while the young king bluſhed reſentment againſt the prelate.

The conſequence of this ſingular occurrence was an inveterate hatred which Edwy conceived againſt the monks in general, and Dunſtan in particular. Indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that if the behaviour of the king was unprincely and impolite, that of the prelate was audacious and over-bearing. The firſt may find an excuſe in the indiſcretion of youth, but the motives of the latter can only be imputed to the imperious dictates of arrogance. Edwy being urged by his favorite ladies, and ſtimulated by his own deſire of revenge, cited Dunſtan to give an account of the treaſures entruſted to him by the late king, which he not being able to do was baniſhed to Flanders.

The eccleſiaſtics in general were alarmed at the king's proceedings, and Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, thinking the young monarch only a tool to his paſſions, determined to ſacrifice the ladies to his reſentment, on a pretence of their having made the king their inſtrument. As this prelate was exceeding powerful, and the king had been ſo careleſs as not to provide proper guards for his own perſonal ſecurity, Odo found it an eaſy matter to ſeize Ethelgiva in the palace. Edwy not having either ſufficient authority, or force to protect her, ſhe was dragged to the houſe of the prelate, who, equally inſenſible to her charms and ſupplications, ordered her beautiful face to be branded with hot irons, and not contented with this ſavage aſperity, he condemned her to be baniſhed to Ireland. What became of the mother, hiſtory does not inform us; but from the diſpoſition of Odo, it may naturally be inferred, that ſhe partook in ſome meaſure of the rigour extended towards her daughter.

The king ſaw with extreme vexation that Odo was too powerful for him to attempt to puniſh him for his audacity. However, to give ſome vent to his reſentment, he wreaked his vengeance upon the monks, whom he expelled his territories. Thus the inconſiderate monarch and haughty prelate continued to mortify each other, till the latter ſpirited up prince Edgar to an open rebellion againſt his brother.

Edgar was a prince of an enterprizing genius, and an ambitious ſpirit. The archbiſhop, therefore, found but little difficulty in perſuading him to revolt. His own aggrandizement, and the approbation of the clergy overbalanced fraternal bonds and natural allegiance; and the ſanction of the Northumbrian and Mercian forces confirmed him in the deſign of dethroning his brother Edwy. In A. D. 957, the rebellion became too powerful to be eaſily ſuppreſſed, and the weak monarch, inſtead of exerting a ſuitable ſpirit, fled to Glouceſter, and immured himſelf within its walls in a fit of deſpair. Edgar took advantage of this irreſolution, and ſummoned together the principal nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal. As the nation in general was prepoſſeſſed in his favour, he was unanimouſly elected to the ſovereign authority, and his brother declared incapable of any longer reigning. The unfortunate Edwy ſurvived this popular injuſtice about two years, and then dying of a broken heart A. D. 959, his body was interred at Wincheſter, in the new monaſtery.

SECT. XII.

EDGAR.

EDGAR, during the life of his brother, winked at his remaining poſſeſſed of a trifling part of his patrimony, and on the death of Edwy became the ſole monarch of the kingdom.

Edgar dreading the diſfavor of the clergy, the fatal rock on which his brother had ſplit, did all he could to conciliate their affections, and as a prelude to his future favors, recalled Dunſtan, and loaded him with obligations, making him firſt biſhop of Wincheſter, then advancing him to the ſee of London, and afterwards promoting him to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. He then turned his whole thoughts to the moſt laudable thing which can poſſibly engroſs the attention of an Engliſh monarch; that is, the improvement of his navy, the only abſolute bulwark, and real ſtrength of this kingdom. A fleet of 3800 ſhips was accordingly fitted out by his command, to cruize round the whole iſland, and ſecure it by a formidable floating fortification. This truly patriotic work, and the favor of the monks, have ſecured his reputation from, or at leaſt counterpoized the innumerable ſtains which would have otherwiſe been thrown upon it.

Having, with ſuch prudence, ſecured his dominions from foreign invaſion, he determined, as much as poſſible, to prevent domeſtic inſurrections. The principal objects of his jealouſy were the ever reſtleſs Northumbrians, whoſe ſtrong holds he garriſoned with troops on whom he could depend. It is true, theſe people aſſiſted him in depoſing his brother; but this very reaſon rendered him ſuſpicious of what deſigns their natural inconſtancy might induce them to entertain againſt himſelf. So juſt is the old proverb, that thoſe who love the treaſon, hate the traitor; and ſuch in all ages hath been the reward of treachery.

In order to ſecure Kennith, the third king of Scotland in his intereſt, he allowed him to do homage for, and hold in vaſſalage, the country of Lothian, and city of Edinburgh. This induced Maccuſe, king of the Iſles, the chief, or Galloway and Dinnal, and the petty princes of Wales to ſubmit to his ſovereign authority, and ſue for his protection. Thus was Edgar conſidered in ſtrength, riches and policy, as one of the moſt conſiderable monarchs in Europe; many princes ſought his alliance, all commercial ſtates courted his friendſhip, and were happy to trade under his auſpices; his cruizers cleared the northern parts of the world from pirates, his prodigious fleet rendered him the moſt formidable naval power in the univerſe, and it was now that England was firſt conſidered as Miſtreſs of the Ocean.

The powerful Edgar at length thought proper to ſummon his vaſſal princes to do him homage; in conſequence of which order they all repaired to Cheſter, being eight in number, viz. Kennith, king of Scotland, Malcolm, king of Cumberland, Maccuſe, king of the Iſles, with Duſwal, Griffith, Huwald, Jacob, and Judehill, petty kings of Wales. Having received the uſual homage, Edgar went into a royal barge, and was rowed up the river Dee by theſe eight tributary kings, another barge containing the principal nobility, attending the triumph; in this manner he proceeded to the monaſtery of St. John the Baptiſt, where, having heard a complimentary oration, he returned with the ſame oſtentation to his palace.

England and Wales being greatly infeſted with wolves, Edgar, in the year 961, conceived the laudable and patriotic deſign of entirely freeing this country from thoſe dangerous and deſtructive animals. To effect this, he changed the tribute paid annually by the Welch in money, and cattle, to the payment of three hundred wolves heads yearly; which expedient proved ſo ſucceſsful, that in a few years, the whole breed was extirpated, and this iſland totally cleared from thoſe voracious creatures.

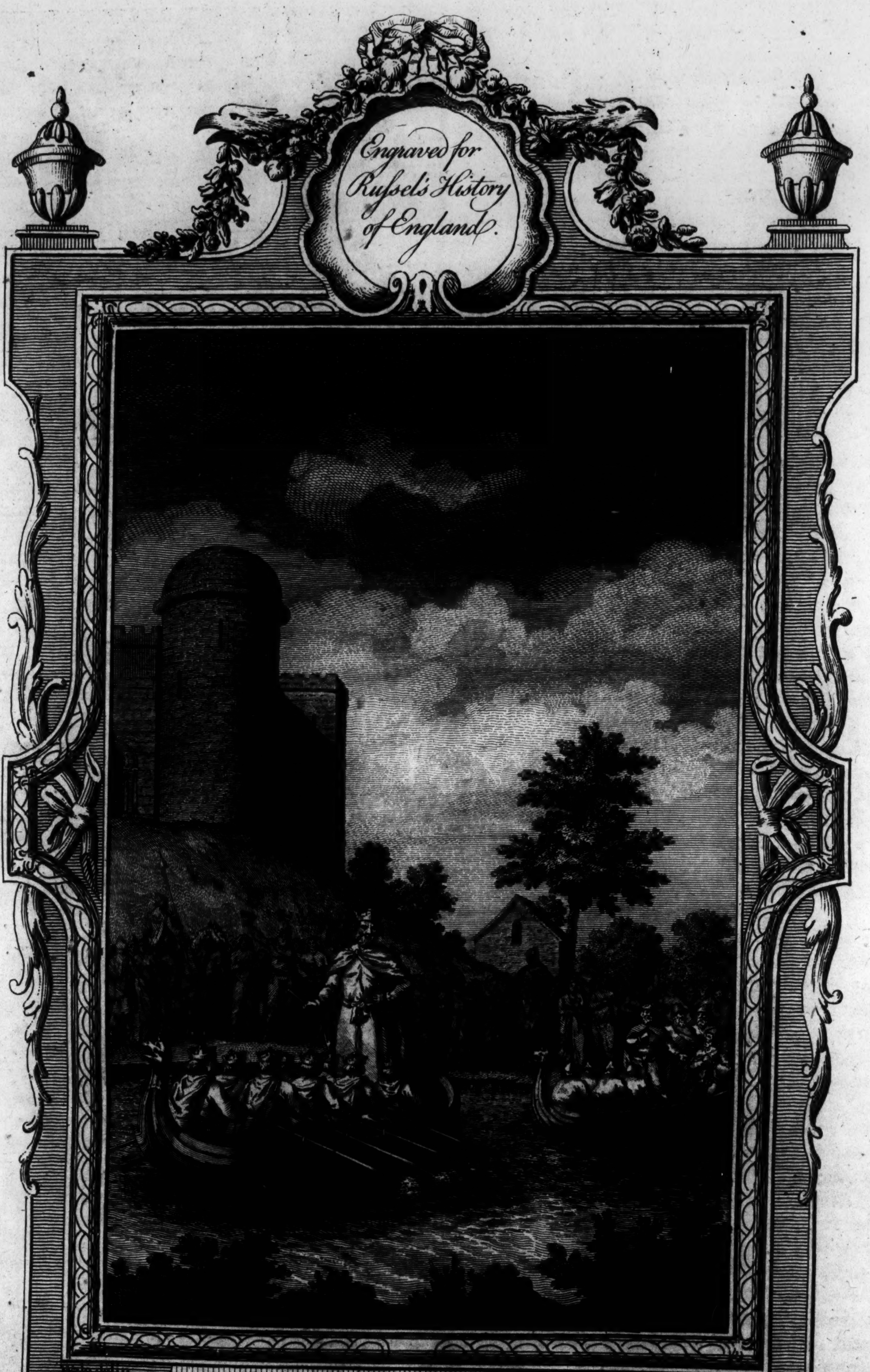
Impartiality now obliges us to relate ſome things which eclipſe the glories of this great monarch's reign, and appear as foils to the ſhining parts of his character. The poet may draw characters as he pleaſes, but the candid hiſtorian is obliged to take things as he finds them, and to dreſs them in the colours of truth, though the object ſhould be rendered leſs favorable to the ſight.

The principal accuſation againſt him is the rape of Wilfrida. This beautiful lady his inordinate deſires led him to purſue into a cloiſter, from whence he took her by force, and compelled her to become his concubine. For this offence the archbiſhop Dunſtan enjoyned him a ſeven years penance. At another time coming to Andover, he was informed of a young lady of ſingular beauty who reſided in that place. The mere deſcription of her charms inflamed him to deſire poſſeſſion; the admonitions of the archbiſhop, and late preſcribed penance, were forgotten.—He therefore ſent to inform her mother that he intended to pay the young lady a viſit; the virtuous matron, unable to contend with ſo much power, and unwilling to be acceſſary to her daughter's proſtitution, determined to deceive the amorous monarch by a ſtratagem: to effect this, inſtead of her daughter ſhe introduced her maid ſervant to the king's bed in the dark, as darkneſs was a ſtipulation in favor of the ſuppoſed young lady's modeſty. In the morning before the dawn could permit him to diſcover the deception, the girl attempted to ſteal from him as ſhe had been previouſly commanded by her miſtreſs. The king overhearing her, demanded why ſhe meant to leave him ſo ſoon, when the girl innocently replied, that ſhe was obliged to go and do the work her miſtreſs had ordered her. The king, from this expreſſion, immediately perceived the impoſture, and at firſt was tranſported with rage; when the girl fell upon her knees, and entreated the monarch to free her from the cruel tyranny of her lady, as a recompence for having ſacrificed her virtue to him. At length, recollecting himſelf, he thought the affair beneath his reſentment, turned the whole into a jeſt, and being highly pleaſed with the girl herſelf, he took her to court with him, and attached himſelf to her with a degree of conſtancy, little to be expected from one of his fickle diſpoſition, as we find he kept to her only till his marriage with the beautiful Elfrida broke off the connection. The circumſtances preceding the marriage was likewiſe too ſingular to be omitted, as they coincide with the above examples in conferring the character which is univerſally given of this monarch. Elfrida, the daughter of Ordgar, earl of Devonſhire, was ſo exceedingly beautiful, that it was impoſſible to behold without loving her. Her father, ſenſible of the danger to which her captivating charms would expoſe her, had educated her in a moſt recluſe manner. His precaution, however, could not prevent Edgar from being apprized of her attraction; his emiſſaries were laviſh in their applauſe of her perſon, features, and accompliſhments. The king's paſſions were inflamed, and intereſted by the deſcription, he therefore ſent his favorite Athelwald on a viſit to the earl of Devonſhire, that he might have an opportunity of ſeeing the lady, and informing him if ſhe merited the encomiums paſſed upon her.

Athelwald no ſooner beheld the lovely Elfrida, than he became the captive of her charms, and inſtantly determined to ſacrifice the fidelity he owed to the king to the paſſion he had conceived for the lady. Fraught with theſe ſentiments, he deceived the amorous monarch by repreſenting Elfrida as totally unworthy of his regard, and ſo far from being a beauty, that ſhe could ſcarce be deemed tolerable. The paſſions of the king, which was founded only on the inflammatory eulogiums of his courtiers, vaniſhed with the forbidding deſcription of his favorite. This tranquil appearance Athelwald determined to improve to his own advantage, by inſinuating in the moſt artful manner that the lady, though unworthy of the notice of a great monarch, was on account of her immenſe poſſeſſions, a deſirable object for a ſubject; and at length craved the king's permiſſion to marry, in order to improve his own fortune by the addition of her wealth and eſtate. Edgar not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the perfidy of his favorite, freely gave his conſent, when Athelwald found no difficulty in gaining the lady, as her father approved of the match, on account of the reputed power of the bridegroom with the king.

Edgar was ſoon apprized of the whole affair, when, being determined to puniſh the breach of confidence in his favorite, it occured to him to diſſemble as Athelwald had done; in conſequence of which he one day informed Athelwald that he intended to take the pleaſure of hunting upon his eſtate, and to repoſe himſelf at leaſt one night at his houſe. Athelwald was greatly alarmed at this intimation, but knew of no feaſible excuſe to prevent the intended viſit, and therefore turned his whole attention to elude the king's reſentment.—Informing his wife of the affair, he entreated her to diſguiſe herſelf ſo as to conceal her beauty, and render her charms leſs conſpicuous. The lady, now firſt ſenſible of the affront put upon her attractions, and not conſidering that love was the occaſion, came to a reſolution of ſacrificing her huſband to her ambition. Regardleſs of her conjugal vows, and forgetting her duty, inſtead of diſguiſing her charms ſhe ſet them off with all the blandiſhments that art could beſtow, and decorated her perſon with every elegancy that taſte could invent. The king no

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.



Wale delin.

Walker sculp.

KING EDGAR *rowed down the River Dee by Eight Tributary* **KINGS** *attended by his principal Nobility*

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

ſooner ſaw her than he became a victim to a thouſand irreſiſtable graces, ſhe triumphed in his heart, and her huſband's ruin, which he had before ſurmized, was now fully reſolved on. The king, however, ſtill diſſembled his purpoſe, in order to be the more ſecure of his revenge; and taking Athelwald with him to hunt in Harewood Foreſt, he there gratified his reſentment by running a lance through his body.---A natural ſon of Athelwald's happened to paſs by at the ſame time, to whom the king ſternly ſaid, "How do you like this game?" To this demand the daſtardly ſycophant unnaturally replied, "What pleaſes your majeſty ought not to diſpleaſe me." Finding the obſequiouſneſs of the youth, Edgar placed him about his own perſon, and conferred on him many favors. Agreeable to the abſurd ſuperſtition of the times, Edgar, to make the widow amends for the loſs of her huſband, married her himſelf, gratifying thus his own libidinous paſſion, under the ſanction of an act of juſtice; and ſhe, with an equal affectation of piety, built a nunnery on the ſpot where her huſband was murdered, in order to expiate her ſhare of the horrid crime. With ſuch ridiculous retaliations did the ignorance of thoſe fallacious times abound.

The king, though in ſome particulars thus licentious himſelf, did all in his power to prevent intemperance in others. He took great pains to reſtrain drunkenneſs, which was then a reigning vice; and for this laudable purpoſe ordered that ſilver pins ſhould be fixed to the ſides of the cups and pots at certain diſtances, beyond which it was unlawful to drink at one draught. His next care was to make a reform in the manners of the clergy, whoſe lives were ſo exceeding ſcandalous as to give great offence to the people in general; this great work he entruſted to the conduct of Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Ethelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter.

Edgar had filled the throne fifteen years before he was crowned, which was owing to his continual debaucheries; for by a law then in being, the uſe of the ſacred unction to perſons under eccleſiaſtical cenſure was abſolutely forbidden, and Edgar was ſo perpetually committing offences, and doing penance for them, that no previous opportunity could be found; however, the ceremony was at length performed at Bath, on Whitſunday, A. D. 973, by the archbiſhop Dunſtan. In a ſhort time after, an inſurrection happened in Wales, where Jago, a Welch prince, having depoſed his brother, the ſon of the latter drove the uſurper from the throne, and reſtored his father. Jago applied to Edgar for aſſiſtance, who interpoſing in the affair, the diſpute was at length compromiſed, and the country divided between the two brothers.

Edgar died in the prime of life, only two years after his coronation, on the 8th of July, A. D. 975, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and only the thirty-third year of his age.

The reign of this monarch was the moſt ſplendid of any, previous to the conqueſt, and his life a ſtrange mixture of virtues and vices. He was brave, magnificent and generous, an excellent ſcholar, profound politician, and admirable legiſlator; but at the ſame time, he was oſtentatious, vain, laſcivious, and revengeful. His ſtature was low, and his make ſlender, but he poſſeſſed great ſtrength, ſpirits, and activity. The following anecdote, reſpecting his perſonal courage, deſerves mention. Kennith, king of Scotland, who was of a gigantic ſtature, made uſe of ſome ſarcaſtic expreſſions concerning Edgar's diminutiveneſs. The Engliſh monarch, being apprized of this, one day walked out with Kennith, and drew him to a private place, when pulling out two ſwords, which he had concealed beneath his garments, he preſented one of them to the Scotch king, telling him at the ſame time, that having heard of the improper freedoms he had taken with reſpect to his perſon, he thought proper to convince him, that a great ſoul might reſide in a ſmall body, and that a gigantic ſtature ought to be no protection for inſolence. Kennith was both aſtoniſhed and aſhamed at this addreſs and challenge, and being daunted at Edgar's greatneſs of ſoul, begged pardon for his indiſcreet expreſſions, and made ſuch an apology as appeaſed Edgar, who, upon his ſubmiſſion, eaſily forgave him.

We have no doubt but Edgar's character would have been painted in much darker colours by the monks, (the only hiſtorians of thoſe times) had he not been ſo great a friend to their order: For, in a convention of the clergy, he addreſſed himſelf to the monks in general, and the archbiſhop Dunſtan in particular, in an oration that at once evinced his eloquence, and his reſpect for the regular clergy of the church; which, as it is a curioſity, we ſhall here preſent to our readers:

"Since God hath pleaſed, moſt reverend father, to ſhew his goodneſs to us in a remarkable manner, it is moſt reaſonable that we ſhould exert our endeavours to make a ſuitable return; and ſince he has given us ſo large a command, it is our duty to employ our authority to his honour, and bring our ſubjects to the obſervance of his laws. Now as it is my office to inſpect the conduct of the laity, to take care that there be no ſtop upon juſtice, to puniſh the ſacrilegious, to correct the ungovernable, to protect the weak againſt the mighty, and to deliver the poor from him that is too ſtrong for him; ſo I am likewiſe concerned to promote the intereſt of the church, to enquire into the behaviour of the clergy and religious, to ſee that they manage themſelves ſuitably to their character; whether they are careful in the adminiſtration of their office, and conſtant in their inſtructions; whether they are moderate in their refreſhments, regular in their habit, prudent and equitable in deciding the cauſes that come before them.

"And, under favour, reverend father, if you had looked thoroughly into theſe matters, we had never had the diſſatisfaction of receiving ſo ſcandalous a charge againſt the clergy: and here not to mention their failings in the ſhape of the tonſure, not to mention this, I ſay, what effeminacy do they diſcover in their habit, what haughtineſs in their geſture and motion, what licence in their diſcourſe and converſation: and are not theſe all ſigns that things are terribly out of order within? Then as to the buſineſs of their function, with what negligence is the divine ſervice performed: they will ſcarce vouchſafe their company at the holy vigils; and when they enter upon the moſt ſolemn parts of religion, they appear with a foreign air, and fall ſhort of the gravity of the occaſion. I am ſorry to ſay how exceſſive they are in their entertainments, how much they are governed by an intemperate appetite, and what lengths they have taken in libertine practice; thus the encouragements of religion are perverted, and the bounty of princes abuſed. Had our anceſtors foreſeen their liberality would have been ſquandered away thus profuſely, and ſpent upon luxury and diſorder, they would certainly have held their hand. And if all this miſbehaviour had been private and unobſerved, the caſe had been more tolerable; but, alas! the crimes break out into public notice, and the ſcandal grows notorious; and yet, methinks, the liberty is ſtrangely connived at and overlooked by the prelacy: would not the ſword of Levi, would not the zeal of Simeon, be ſeaſonably drawn and exerted upon this occaſion? Where is the ſpirit of Moſes, who puniſhed the idolatry of the golden calf in his own blood and relations? Where is Phineas's lance, to purſue debauchery and execute juſtice without delay? And yet we ſee this ſeverity of zeal, this ſudden revenge, was acceptable to God

Almighty. What is become of St. Peter's indignation and cenſure againſt ſimony and covetouſneſs? You that are the prieſts of the moſt high God, ought to copy the proceedings, and be governed by the precedents, of him you repreſent. It is high time to appear againſt thoſe who have broke through the rules of duty and religion. I have Conſtantine's, and you have St. Peter's ſword; let us join our force, and unite our reſpective authorities, that by employing the ſpiritual and civil power in the ſame cauſe, and being thus aſſiſtant to each other, the lepers may be diſcharged the camp, the holy ſanctuary may be cleaned, and the ſons of Levi put into the temple miniſtrations: of Levi, I ſay, who was governed by no partialities to his relations; who ſaid unto his father and his mother, I have not ſeen him, neither did he acknowledge his brethren. Awaken your diſcipline, therefore, I beſeech you, that we may not repent our bounty, nor be ſorry for our kindneſs to the church; let the diſreſpect ſhewn to the relicts of the ſaints, let the prophaning the altars with unſuitable approaches, provoke you to animadverſion, and do not ſuffer the piety of our anceſtors to be defeated any longer. You know how much my father, grandfather, great grandfather, &c. have leſſened their royal revenues, and exhauſted their exchequer, in religious benefactions.

"Moſt reverend father Dunſtan, I deſire you would raiſe your imagination upon this occaſion: pray look up to heaven a little; fancy you ſee my father in his ſtation of glory, glittering among the ſtars, and ready to launch himſelf from the ſky; imagine you hear him deliver himſelf to you in this language of expoſtulation and complaint: "O venerable father Dunſtan, you uſed to ſuggeſt ſerviceable advice to me about the building of churches and monaſteries; you prompted my piety upon all opportunities, and aſſiſted in the execution of the project; I pitched upon you particularly for my paſtor and ſpiritual father, for the guardian of my ſoul and the inſpector of my behaviour; and did I not always comply with whatever you ſuggeſted? Did I not always prefer your advice to patrimony and treaſure? How frankly have I laid out my fortune on your propoſals; my diſtributions of charity were always ready, when you called for them. If land or privilege was deſired for the church, it was done as ſoon as mentioned; if you complained the monks or clergy were ſhort in their conveniencies, they were immediately ſupplied by the court. You uſed to tell me, that the beſt uſe of money was to ſpend it upon the church and poor; that ſuch liberalities would prove immortal in the benefit, help towards an atonement for our failings, and prove the greateſt charities to the giver. And is it not an intolerable miſapplication, that this holy revenue ſhould be expended upon women, and miſemployed for the ſupport of vanity and unneceſſary figure? What can you anſwer to ſuch a charge as this?"

"I am convinced (ſays king Edgar) moſt holy father, that this is none of your fault: when you ſaw a thief, you conſented not unto him, neither have you been partaker with the adulterers. No, you have entreated and menaced, but all to no purpoſe: and ſince words ſignify nothing, it is time to riſe in your diſcipline, and come to blows. For this purpoſe you ſhall be ſure not to want the countenance of royal authority: you have likewiſe Ethelwald and Oſwald, the right reverend fathers of Wincheſter and Worceſter, ready to aſſiſt you. I give you three a joint commiſſion for this purpoſe, and refer the management wholly to you; it is your part, therefore, to exert the epiſcopal authority in conjunction with that of the crown, to expel the diſorderly clergy from the monaſteries, and put in ſuch as live regularly in their place."

Edgar enacted ſome ſalutary laws, both eccleſiaſtical and civil.

Of the Eccleſiaſtical.

The Iſt is concerning the immunities of the church, and about paying tythes out of the lands of the thanes, as well as of thoſe of ceorles, or countrymen.

The IId is concerning the payment of tythes and firſt-fruits, as well where a thane had a church with a burying place, as alſo where he had not.

The IIId appoints the times the tythes ſhould be paid at; and what remedy was to be had, in caſe they were not paid at the time when they were due.

The IVth ordains at what time of the year Peterpence ſhould be paid, and the penalty that ſhould be incurred by thoſe that ſhould neglect to pay them in accordingly.

The laſt ordains every Sunday to be kept holy, and to begin at three o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, and to end at break of day on Monday, upon the penalty appointed by the Judiciary Book.

The ſecular laws were as follow:

The Iſt enjoins, that every man, poor or rich, enjoy the benefit of the law, and have equal juſtice done him. And for puniſhments, he would have them ſo moderate, that being accommodated to the divine clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto men.

The IId forbids appeals to the king in ſuits, except juſtice cannot be otherwiſe obtained: and if a man be oppreſſed, he may betake himſelf to the king for relief. And in caſe a pecuniary mulct be inflicted for a fault, it muſt not exceed the value of the man's head.

The IIId impoſes a mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the king, upon a judge that paſſes an unjuſt ſentence againſt any man, except ſuch judge will take his oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only from unſkilfulneſs and miſtake in judgment; and in ſuch caſe he is to be removed from his place, unleſs he can obtain favour of the king longer to retain it: and then the biſhop of the dioceſe is to ſend the mulct impoſed upon him, to the king's treaſure.

The IVth commands, that whoſoever maliciouſly ſhall defame another man, whereby he receives any damage, either in body or eſtate, ſo that the defamed party can clear himſelf in thoſe reports and prove them falſe, then the defamer's tongue ſhall be cut out, or he ſhall redeem it with the value of his head.

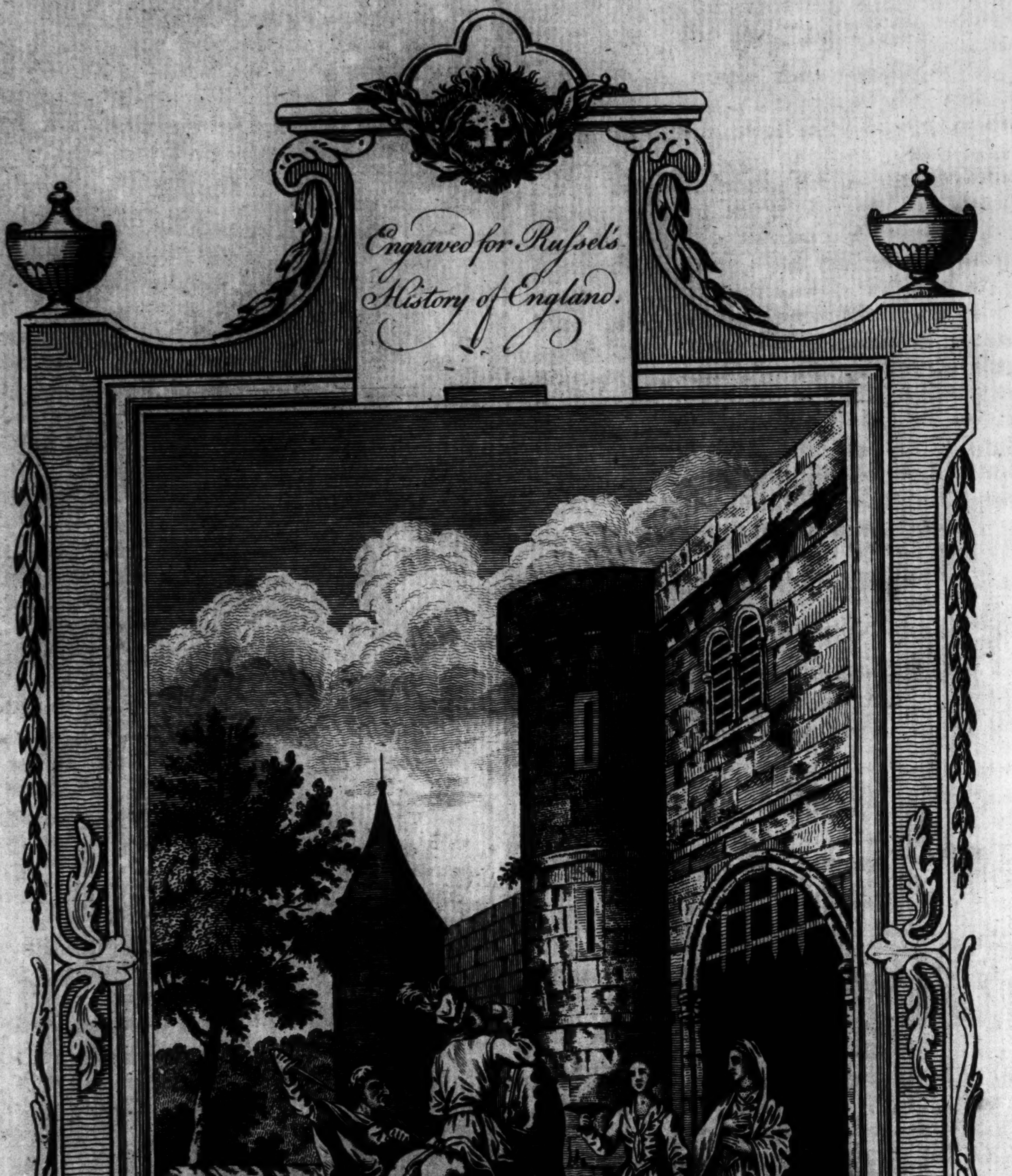
The Vth is to the ſame effect as in another law we have formerly cited, commanding every one to be preſent at the witena-gemote, or aſſembly of the hundred: and farther ordains, that the burghmotes, or aſſemblies of the great towns or cities, be held thrice a year; and the ſhiregemotes, or the general meetings of the whole county, twice; whereat were to be preſent the biſhop and the alderman, the one to teach the people God's laws, and the other man's.

The VIth requires that every man find ſureties for his good behaviour; and in caſe any man commit a crime and fly for it, the ſureties ſhould undergo what ſhould be laid upon him. If he ſtole any thing, and be taken within a twelvemonth, he ſhould be brought to juſtice, and then the ſureties ſhould receive back what they had paid on his account.

The VIIth ordains, that when any one of evil report is again accuſed of a crime, and abſents himſelf from the witena-gemotes or public meetings, ſome of the court ſhall go where he dwells, and take ſureties for his appearance, if they may be had; but if they cannot get them, then they ſhould take him alive or dead, and ſeize on all his eſtate, whereof the complaining

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

Engraved for Ruſsel's
History of England.


Wale delin.
White ſculp.

EDWARD the MARTYR
Aſsaſsinated.

party having received ſuch a ſhare as ſhould ſatisfy him, the one half of the remainder ſhould go to the lord of the ſoil, and the other half to the hundred. And if any of that court, being either akin to the party, or a ſtranger to his blood, refuſe to go to put this in execution, he ſhall forfeit an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the king. And further, that ſuch as are taken in the very act of ſtealing, or betraying their maſters, ſhould not be pardoned during life.

The VIIIth and laſt ordains, that one and the ſame money ſhould be current throughout the king's dominions, which no man muſt refuſe: and that the meaſure of Wincheſter ſhould be the ſtandard; and that a weight of wool ſhould be ſold for half a pound of money, and no more. The former of theſe is the firſt law whereby the private mints to the archbiſhops and ſeveral abbots being forbid, the king's coin was only to paſs.

Edgar had iſſue by his firſt wife Elfleda, Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and his ſecond wife Elfrida bore him two ſons, viz. Ethelred, who afterwards became king of England, and Edmund, who died when he was only four years of age. He had likewiſe a natural daughter by Wilfrida, the lady whom he ſtole out of a nunnery. This child, whoſe name was Editha, was afterwards a nun in the ſame cloiſter from whence her mother had been taken, and became equally celebrated for the graces of her perſon, as for the piety of her ſoul.

SECT. XIII.

Edward *the* Younger, *commonly called* Edward *the* Martyr.

ON the demiſe of Edgar, two powerful parties were formed, the one in favor of Edward, and the other of Ethelred. Dunſtan was at the head of the former, and the queen Dowager Elfrida of the latter; but the archbiſhop and the monkiſh party prevailed. In conſequence of which Edward was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, being then but little more than fourteen years of age. And Elfrida with her ſon Ethelred retired in diſguſt to Corfe-Caſtle, in Dorſetſhire.

This reign was not remarkable for any thing but the feuds between the monks, and ſecular clergy, the appearance of ſeveral comets, a malignant diſorder which deſtroyed a great number of cattle, and a dreadful famine that greatly diſtreſſed the land. As ſo many diſagreeable circumſtances immediately forerun, it was uſually ſurmiſed that they were ſupernatural portents of the untimely death of the king, and the ſubſequent miſeries in which this nation was involved.

The young king being one day hunting near the caſtle, to which the queen Dowager had retired, grew fatigued with the chace, and determined to call on his ſtep-mother Elfrida, to whom he had always borne the greateſt affection, and ſhewn the utmoſt reſpect. On his arrival at Corfe-Caſtle, ſhe preſſed him to enter, in order to repoſe himſelf; but the king unwilling to alarm his attendants, whom he had dropped in the chace, replied, that he would not at that time alight, but only juſt refreſh himſelf with a cup of wine, as he was exceeding thirſty. The wine was brought, and the cruel Dowager not being able to entice him into the caſtle, gave private orders to a ruffian to aſſaſſinate him while he was drinking. The villain too effectually performed his commiſſion, by giving the king a mortal ſtab juſt as he was liſting the goblet to his head. The unfortunate monarch finding himſelf wounded, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and rode away at full ſpeed. The loſs of blood, however, ſoon rendered him ſo weak that he fell, and his foot catching in the ſtirrup, he was dragged a conſiderable way, and expired in that miſerable condition. His horſe at length ſtopped of itſelf, and the king's corpſe much bruiſed and defaced, was found by ſome of Elfrida's domeſtics, who had traced it by the blood, and interred privately at Wareham, in Dorſetſhire. But Duke Elfer, who had been privy to the murder, ſtimulated by the horrors of his conſcience, afterwards had it taken up, and royally interred at Shafteſbury, in the monaſtery founded by Alfred. This fatal cataſtrophe beſel the young monarch A. D. 979, in the eighteenth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. All that we know of this prince's character is, that he was of a humane, and meek diſpoſition, had always behaved with the moſt profound reſpect to Elfrida, and ſhewed the greateſt affection for her ſon Ethelred, but he placed himſelf entirely under the direction of the monks, whom he implicitly obeyed upon all occaſions. In fine, ſo harmleſs was his life, and ſuch his affection for his murdereſs and her offspring, that her guilt appears greatly aggravated from his innocence, and the ſimplicity of his conduct.

Duke Elfer not only felt the poinant ſtings of conſcience with the extremeſt ſeverity, but ſoon after fell a martyr to a moſt loathſome diſeaſe, being eaten up by ſuch a profuſion of vermin as neither a continual change of garments could eradicate, or the power of medicines deſtroy. And Elfrida, the principal in this black affair, ſoon beholding her guilt in all its horrors, founded two * monaſteries, into one of which ſhe retired, and paſſed the remainder of her days in all the miſeries of corroding reflection, and corporal mortifications.

SECT. XIV.

ETHELRED II.

AFTER the fatal cataſtrophe which beſel the unfortunate Edward, young Ethelred aſcended the throne. He was at firſt oppoſed by Dunſtan, but at length that prelate thought proper to acquieſce, and to crown him, which ceremony he performed on the 14th day of April, A. D. 979. This young monarch, who had not reached his twelfth year at the time of his coronation, was remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, and weakneſs of his mind.

The Danes, who had not diſturbed England for ſeveral years paſt, thought the preſent an excellent opportunity to renew their depredations. They were well informed that the king was young, inexperienced, weak, and ill beloved by the generality of the people, on account of the crimes of his mother. Add to theſe motives, the Welch had revolted, and there was an univerſal depravity, and an imprudent ſupineneſs throughout the nation. The combination of theſe circumſtances appeared to their piratical imaginations in too favorable a light to be neglected, and this land of plenty was once more doomed to be the ſcene of the moſt horrid barbarities.

In the year 982, the Danes began their invaſion in ſeven large ſhips, by ravaging the coaſt of Dorſetſhire,

---

* One of theſe monaſteries was at Ambreſbury, and the other at Wherwell, near Andover, in Hampſhire. To the latter of theſe it was that Elfrida retired.

and plundering the iſle of Portland. Another party committed ſimilar depredations at Southampton, and then proceeding to the coaſt of Cornwall, they landed at ſeveral places, but were equally barbarous and rapacious every where. To encreaſe the miſeries brought on the nation by theſe inhuman foreigners, ſome domeſtic misfortunes happened at the ſame time; in particular the city of London was burnt to the ground; and the king having a difference with the biſhop of Rocheſter, inſtead of turning his arms againſt the Danes, laid ſiege to the prelate in his own city.

Dunſtan ſiding with the biſhop, denounced vengeance againſt the king, unleſs he drew off his forces immediately, which Ethelred refuſed, without an hundred pounds were ſent him to reimburſe him for his expences and trouble. This was a very capital ſum in thoſe days; Dunſtan, however, thought proper to ſend it, but at the ſame time it was accompanied by this menace: "Since you have reſpected money more than God "and religion, the calamities formerly denounced "ſhall ſpeedily arrive, though not till after my own "death." With reſpect to the impending calamities, it did not require either a prophetic ſpirit, or great penetration to foreſee them, for any perſon of common underſtanding, who knew the ſtate of the nation, the poſture of public affairs, the diſtractions in the council, the diviſions of the people, the diſaffection of many of the nobles, and all the clergy, and the incapacity of the rulers, might very naturally expect the fatal conſequences which enſued.

The Danes burnt Watchet, in Somerſetſhire, A. D. 988, and the enſuing year were unſucceſsfully oppoſed by the brave Goda, earl of Devon, who was unfortunately ſlain in an engagement with them. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated Dunſtan, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Ethelwald, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Oſwald, archbiſhop of York, died ſoon after, when the demiſe of theſe three finally terminated the conteſts between the regular clergy and the ſeculars.

A. D. 991. The Danes again appeared upon the coaſt of this devoted iſland, after having given the natives a reſpite of two years, and under the conduct of their leaders Juſtin and Guthermond, burnt the town of Ipſwich, in Suffolk. Brithnot, duke of Eaſt Anglia marched againſt them with what forces he could collect upon ſuch an emergency, but being defeated, and ſlain, the country lay open to the mercileſs invaders. In the mean time Ethelred ſupinely neglected every means of defence, and inſtead of having recourſe to courage and conduct, ſought his ſafety in the moſt infamous and abſurd expedient that could enter the mind of a king; for Dunſtan's ſucceſſor, the archbiſhop Sericius, in conjunction with the dukes Alfrith and Ethelward, having adviſed the weak monarch to bribe thoſe with gold, whom he could not beat with iron, he unfortunately took their temporizing advice, and inſtead of bravely oppoſing them by the ſword, he baſely paid them ten thouſand pounds to quit the kingdom. This ill judged bribe was extremely pleaſing to the Danes, as it at once allured them to the expectation of future loans, and furniſhed them with the means of encreaſing their naval armaments.

Thoſe who thro' indiſcretion bribe a foe,
Court their own ruin, and invite their woe.

Being incited by this ſucceſs, the Danes appeared again on the Engliſh coaſt in 993, with an augmented force. The king, fully convinced of his former error, ſought to repair it by getting together a formidable fleet with all imaginable diſpatch, which was deſtined to block up and deſtroy the Daniſh navy in any port where they might take ſhelter. This deſign was laudable in itſelf, yet it in a great meaſure miſcarried thro' the indiſcretion of the infatuated monarch, who, in repenting of one error, committed another equally pernicious. Having fitted out a fine navy, he unfortunately gave the chief command of it to Alfrith, duke of Mercia, whom he had ſome time before baniſhed, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices, and lately recalled without being convinced of his innocence. This nobleman was of an implacable temper, and ſecretly bearing a mortal hatred to the king, he determined, on the preſent occaſion, to ſacrifice the public good to his private pique, and to gratify his own reſentment by the ruin of Ethelred. Replete with theſe infamous ſentiments, he informed the Danes of all the king's deſigns; when alarmed by the intelligence of this traitor, they collected together their ſhips, and ſtood out to ſea to avoid the impending danger.

Alfrith, to keep up appearances, affected to purſue them, but as ſoon as an engagement ſeemed inevitable, he baſely revolted to the enemy, by which the deſtruction of their whole fleet was prevented. The reſt of the officers in general were exaſperated at this treachery, but the commanders of the London and Eaſt Anglian ſquadrons in particular, were ſtill determined, if poſſible, to ſtrike ſome important blow. They accordingly bore down upon the Daniſh fleet, when a bloody engagement enſued, in which a great number of Danes loſt their lives, one of their ſhips was taken and the treacherous Alfrith very narrowly eſcaped being made a priſoner.

Swein, king of Denmark, having collected together a formidable fleet, joined his powers to thoſe of Anlaff king of Norway, and they in conjunction invaded England, A. D. 993, and committed great ravages in the northern parts of the kingdom.

The king having aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, with his uſual infatuation which was truly aſtoniſhing, gave the command of them to Frithegiſta, Godoin, and Frena, three noblemen, who were all of Daniſh extraction, and well wiſhers to the invaders; and theſe, as might be naturally expected, betrayed their troops to the enemy, by whom many of them were cut to pieces and the reſt put to flight. Swein and Anlaff then ſailed up the Thames in conjunction, and landing near London, they inveſted that city, which was then ſcarce recovered from the effects of the dreadful conflagration which had ſo recently deſtroyed it. But the citizens behaved gallantly, and bravely repulſed the beſiegers, which ſo irritated the Danes, that they vented their barbarous fury on the adjacent parts, committing great outrages in Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, and part of Hampſhire. Having during their depredations collected together a great number of horſes, they mounted the whole of their combined forces, and threatened in that manner to traverſe, and lay waſte the whole kingdom.

In this criſis, Ethelred ſummoned a council, when it was again imprudently determined to make uſe of the ſame expedient, which had already proved ſo fatal, and 16,000l. together with an annual tribute, was offered the enemy to quit the country. Theſe terms being ſuch as they wiſhed for, and all they wanted, the invaders gladly embraced them, and retired to their ſhips which were at Southampton, till they could be fulfilled. During the interim, Anlaff paid a viſit to Ethelred, who perſuaded him to become a chriſtian. Immediately after his converſion he ſwore never more to invade England, and it is but juſtice to his memory, to ſay he moſt religiouſly kept his oath.

The money being paid, the invaders left England; but A. D. 997, Swein returned again with a conſiderable force, and landing in the weſt of England, ravaged the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and afterwards entering South Wales, proceeded in the ſame rapacious and cruel manner. Then turning ſouthward, they penetrated into Kent, when Ethelred, being rouſed from his lethargy by the approaching danger, met them at Rocheſter, at the head of a body of forces, and gave them battle. The Engliſh being inferior both in numbers and diſcipline, were defeated, and the barbarous Danes revenged themſelves for this oppoſition on the people of Kent, who had acted with conſiderable ſpirit upon the occaſion. The Engliſh fleet, during this important criſis, lay inactive through the diſſenſions of the principal commanders; and thus innumerable circumſtances, foreign and domeſtic, ſeemed to be in a conſpiracy to ruin the kingdom, when it was providentially relieved by an unforeſeen occurrence. This was a difference that happened between the king of France and Richard II. duke of Normandy, the former having threatened the latter to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions, which menace occaſioned him to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Danes, who were in England. And theſe barbarians, happy to fiſh in troubled waters any where, paſſed over into Normandy, in order to augment the plunder which they had ſeized in England.

After the departure of theſe intruders, a council was held, when it was unanimouſly agreed to enter upon coercive meaſures, and oppoſe the future operations of the Danes with ſpirit. An army was accordingly raiſed, but the fleet which ought to have been the principal object, ſeems to have been too much neglected, and the king ſuddenly affecting a fondneſs for military parade, paid all his attention to the land forces, and appeared to have but little regard for his navy, the moſt natural and only eſſential ſecurity of this iſland.

Ethelred, inſtead of ſecuring the ſea coaſts in a proper manner, entered into a frivolous quarrel with Malcolm, who ruled Cumberland as a dependent on Greme king of Scotland; accuſing him of having favoured the Danes in their late incurſions. Having ravaged a part of Cumberland, the affair was compromiſed, a truce concluded, and matters at length amicably adjuſted.

Ethelred then ordered all the ſhips which could be collected together to ſail to Weſt Cheſter, whither he intended to proceed with his army; and by the junction of the ſea and land forces to enter upon ſome important enterprize. His deſigns, however, were rendered abortive by the inclemency of the weather, the generality of his ſhips being wind bound; and all that he could effect was to ravage the iſle of Angleſey, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the Danes.

The Danes having finiſhed their buſineſs in Normandy, returned to England A. D. 1001, and denounced vengeance againſt the Engliſh for what their countrymen had ſuffered, while they were abſent. Their threats they fulfilled with the moſt barbarous punctuality, and practiſed the moſt ſhocking cruelties to a mercileſs exceſs. At length, Ethelward, high ſheriff of Hampſhire, raiſed the militia of that county, and engaged the Danes at Alton; but, through the inferiority of numbers, his army was defeated, and himſelf ſlain.

The invaders then embarked on board their ſhips, and ſailed to Exeter, where treachery again aſſiſted them, and defeated the national expectation of a deliverance. For Paleg, being ſent with an Engliſh ſquadron under his command, inſtead of oppoſing, moſt baſely joined his force to the enemy. They then laid ſiege to Exeter, but being repulſed, began as uſual to ravage the adjacent country.

Provoked by their depredations, the inhabitants of Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire took up arms againſt them, but were defeated at Penne in the laſt mentioned county. The conquerors then burnt Penne, Clifton, and many other towns and villages, and murdered ſo many people, that they ſeemed to threaten the extermination of the Engliſh race.

The Danes had now over-run all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, and the northern parts were inhabited either by Danes, or perſons of Daniſh extraction; ſo the Engliſh, who were penned up in the midland countries, were between two deſperate fires, and, at the ſame time, had many domeſtic traitors to fear, whoſe ſecret treaſons were as pernicious as the others open devaſtations.

During all theſe tranſactions, Ethelred ſhewed not the leaſt ſpirit, either to defend his own dignity or protect the lives and properties of his ſubjects; but ſinking into a daſtardly indolence, his deſpondency led him once more to try his former imprudent expedient of bribery, and to purchaſe future calamities, as he had already done thoſe that were paſt. After ſome negotiation, it was agreed, that in conſideration of the ſum of 24,000l. the Danes ſhould ceaſe all hoſtilities, and never more moleſt the Engliſh.

This enormous ſum, for ſuch it muſt be deemed, conſidering the value of money at that period, was levied by means of a tax, called Dane-gelt, or Dane's-money, and this tax was the firſt land-tax known in England. It was raiſed by the owners of land being obliged to pay twelve-pence per hide, the hide being as much as could annually occupy one plough and maintain one family. On receiving this money, ſome of the Daniſh forces withdrew, and others thought proper to remain in England, and ſettle among the Danes, and perſons of Daniſh extraction, who were already ſettled here; but although theſe did not commit open hoſtilities, yet they continued to act with the moſt over-bearing inſolence, treating their Engliſh neighbours with great aſperity, obliging them to labour for their ſupport in idleneſs, and abuſing their wives and daughters at their pleaſure. Hence they were called Lordains, or Lord Danes, a term of reproach ſtill ſubſiſting in ſome countries to expreſs a proud, lazy, inſolent fellow.

Ethelred, inſtead of taking the opportunity of rendering the nation formidable, by animating his diſpirited people, and being arduous to diſcipline them ſo as to be capable of defending themſelves, ſought to acquire additional ſtrength by means of a foreign alliance. With this view he contracted a marriage with Emma,[*] the beautiful daughter of Richard the ſecond, duke of Normandy, with whom he had for ſome time been at variance; but the pope interpoſing, their differences were amicably adjuſted, and this nuptial treaty confirmed the reconciliation. But all the advantages he expected to derive from this alliance were fruſtrated by a ſcheme that he adopted, which was imprudently cruel in itſelf and injurious to the nation.

This ſcheme was no other than a general maſſacre of all the Danes in England. The principal promoters of the bloody plan were Huna, Ethelred's general, a man of a vindictive and revengeful diſpoſition; and Edric, duke of Mercia, whoſe whole life was conſiſtent only in continual acts of treachery. Theſe, with one Leoffig, of whom we know little, but that he bore an infamous character, ſpirited up the king to a deed which was to entail miſery on his country, for Ethelred himſelf was too weak and irreſolute to form any regular plan, or to perſevere ſufficiently to put it into execution.

Theſe counſellors having brought the king to their purpoſe, he, with great privacy, wrote circular letters

---

[*] This lady's mother was named Gunnor, and her extraction being Daniſh, Ethelred imagined it would induce the Danes to be more reaſonable as well as faithful By his marriage with the Duke of Normandy's daughter, he likewiſe fancied that the ports of Normandy would be in future ſhut againſt the Daniſh fleets, to whom they had hitherto afforded protection and an aſylum in their invaſions of England.

to his ſubjects in the various parts of the kingdom, and enjoined them to be revenged of their oppreſſive enemies, by murdering every Dane, without diſtinction of ſex or age, on the feaſt of St. Brice, November the 13th, A. D. 1002, the Danes of Northumberland and Eaſt Anglia excepted, theſe being deemed too numerous to be overcome by the few Engliſh in thoſe parts.

The maſſacre was tranſacted with a rigorous punctuality; men, women and children fell the indiſcriminate victims of the bloody mandate.—To implore mercy was vain, to ſeek for ſafety by flying to the churches as ſanctuaries was equally fruitleſs, the devoted objects were either dragged from thence and murdered, or ſlain at the altars.

Some Daniſh young men having eſcaped from the carnage ſeized upon a veſſel, and ſetting ſail, ſoon reached Denmark, where they informed king Swein of theſe bloody proceedings, and particularly that his ſiſter Gunildes, or Gunilda was among the ſlain.*

The Daniſh monarch being exaſperated to a degree of phrenzy by this diſagreeable intelligence, bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow to wreak his vengeance on the Engliſh nation. He naturally hated the Engliſh, a trifle would have induced him to make an infraction of the late treaty, but this was too provoking a circumſtance not to call down all his reſentment.

Having fitted out a very powerful armament, Swein landed in England in the beginning of the year 1003. Cornwall was the firſt place where he began his depredations, in which he proceeded with ſuch a ſavage degree of barbarity, as to evince that his thirſt of revenge was inſatiable and boundleſs. Penetrating into Devonſhire, and carrying terror all the way, he ſoon appeared before Exeter, which city was betrayed to him by a traitor called Hugh the Norman, whom queen Emma had procured to be made its governor, and who was ſuppoſed to have carried on a treaſonable correſpondence with the Dane previous to his landing. Exeter having been plundered, and its fortifications razed to the ground, Swein proceeded into Hampſhire, deſigning to penetrate eaſtward, and deſtroy whatever oppoſed him. Ethelred, however, had by this time ſo far ſhaken off his lethargic indolence, as to aſſemble an army in order to ſtop the invader's progreſs; but ſuch was the fatal infatuation of this unfortunate monarch, that he not only forgave Edric, duke of Mercia, his former treacheries, but indiſcreetly entruſted him with the command of this army.

This imprudent meaſure was attended with the conſequences which might naturally be ſuppoſed to reſult from it: For the arch-traitor Edric no ſooner came within ſight of Swein's army, than he pretended to be ſeized with a ſudden indiſpoſition, and feigning that he was unable to lead on his forces at that time to engage, he commanded a retreat; but the orders were deſignedly ſo ill concerted, and every direction he gave, purpoſely, ſo confuſed, as to throw the Engliſh troops into the greateſt diſorder. Swein did not fail to take advantage of this confuſion, for attacking their rear, a total rout, inſtead of a retreat, enſued. This victory, gained with ſuch facility, was followed by the deſtruction of the towns of Wilton and Old Sarum, both of which the Danes ſacked and burnt; when winter coming on a-pace, Swein returned to his fleet, embarked, and ſet ſail for Denmark. The enſuing ſpring, however, A. D. 1004, he again landed with an augmented force, burnt the city of Norwich, and prepared to continue his ravages, when Ulf-ketel, governor of Eaſt Anglia, to ſave the other towns of his diſtrict from conflagration, inſtead of raiſing the militia, and attempting to oppoſe the babarians, had recourſe to that pernicious expedient of bribery, the ill effects of which Ethelred himſelf had ſo fatally experienced. The Danes had no ſooner got the money than, totally diſregarding their promiſe, they burnt the town of Thetford, a place at that time of great importance.

Ulf-ketel, enraged at theſe inſidious proceedings, now began to think of doing what he ought to have done before; that is, of oppoſing by force thoſe whoſe faith could not be in any thing depended on.

Having haſtily collected together ſome troops, he ordered one party to attempt the burning of the Daniſh ſhips, while he with the reſt made an attack upon them, before they could have any notion that he intended to take ſuch a ſtep. Unhappily thoſe who were entruſted with the charge of deſtroying the fleet failed in executing the governor's orders, but Ulf-ketel himſelf behaved with great ſpirit, for making an impetuous attack upon the Danes, a moſt bloody conteſt enſued, till the remarkable bravery of the Engliſh was compelled to yield to the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy; and the Danes obtained a dear-bought victory. The valour of the Engliſh upon this occaſion rendered the pirates exceedingly circumſpect in their future conduct, they in a great meaſure deſiſted from their depredations; and at the cloſe of the year returned home without having done any very material miſchief ſubſequent to the above engagement.

The enſuing year, A. D. 1005, a dreadful famine afflicted this unhappy land, and ſwept away multitudes of the inhabitants. As ſoon as this calamity ceaſed, the Danes again appeared, that the miſeries of the people might be unremitting. Ethelred had now put himſelf at the head of an army; the knowledge of which, joined to the recollection of the ſpirit with which the Engliſh behaved in their laſt engagement, induced the Danes to act with greater precaution than ever. They ſailed round the coaſt in order to harraſs the Engliſh troops, and whenever they thought Ethelred's army at too great a diſtance to come upon them ſuddenly, they made a deſcent, and acted with their uſual rapacious cruelty. Thus were the Engliſh troops fatigued by continual marches and countermarches, without being once able to come up with, or bring the enemy to an engagement.

Winter coming on a-pace, and the Danes having retired to the Iſle of Wight, Ethelred thought proper to quit the field. His army, which conſiſted wholly of volunteers, diſbanded of themſelves, nor indeed were they to be kept together any longer than while the danger was impending.

The politic enemy having got intelligence of the diſperſion of the Engliſh forces, made a ſudden irruption

---

* A judicious writer in ſpeaking of this tranſaction ſays, no age or ſex eſcaped, the women were butchered as well as the men, and the brains of children daſhed againſt the walls. At London, in the time of this execution, great numbers fled to churches, but thoſe ſacred places were no ſecurity, for they were all without pity ſlain as they ſtood embracing the altars. And when the multitude found themſelves maſters, they proceeded to new barbarities, digged holes in the ground, put Daniſh women in them up to the waiſt, and then ſet fierce maſtives upon them, which cruelly tore off their breaſts. A popular fury, when backed by authority, knows no bounds, nor authority itſelf, when it has broken public juſtice. There were ſeveral Danes of the higheſt quality in the land, received upon the public faith as hoſtages to ratify the late peace; among whom was king Swein's ſiſter Gunildes, wife to count Paleng, who ſeveral years before had come into England with her family, where ſhe had received the chriſtian faith; and being a woman of great prudence and temper, had often interpoſed to make peace between the two nations, and had now lately given up herſelf, her huſband and her ſon as hoſtages to king Ethelred. This princeſs had firſt her huſband and ſon ſlain before her face, and was then ordered to be beheaded herſelf, which ſentence ſhe took with an unconcerned bravery and courage, and at her death foretold, "That her "blood would coſt England dear, and would not be long unre"venged."

tion into Hampſhire, at a time when ſuch a thing was leaſt expected, viz. about Chriſtmas, A. D. 1006, when they ravaged that and the neighbouring counties, and not meeting with any oppoſition, penetrated as far as Reading in Berkſhire, having burnt all the towns and villages as they paſſed; and then returned towards their fleet by another route, continuing to act in a ſimilar manner as they proceeded. An army was raiſed in Wiltſhire to cut off their retreat, but thoſe parts being under the juriſdiction of the traitor Edric, he gave timely notice to the Danes to avoid the impending danger, who from this intelligence took ſuch meaſures as to eſcape. They, however, ſtill continued to harraſs the coaſt, which induced the weak Ethelred again to bribe them, in order to gain a temporary reſpite, with the ſum of 36,000l. for they always roſe in their demands, well knowing the king was better able to pay the money, than willing to oppoſe their arms.

The barbarous foes having once more taken their leave, Ethelred ſeriouſly ſet about building a formidable fleet to ſecure the kingdom from future invaſions; accordingly, every three hundred and ten hides of land were taxed to furniſh one ſhip. This was ſo ſalutary a meaſure, that the people chearfully acquieſced therein, and willingly contributed to ſuch an eſſential national defence. The years 1007 and 1008 were conſumed in preparing the navy, and the whole being finiſhed in the beginning of A. D. 1009, the largeſt Engliſh fleet hitherto known rendezvouſed at Sandwich.

This powerful fleet being properly manned, there only wanted a commander in chief, when the unhappy Ethelred, ſtill bent on his own ruin, with a degree of facination not to be accounted for, inſtead of appointing as admiral a man of courage, abilities, and integrity, gave the command to Brightric, brother by blood to the faithleſs Edric, and like him, artful, ambitious, and treacherous.

Brightric, not to have any ſpy upon his actions, or the leaſt controul on his power, accuſed Wulfnoth (a diſtinguiſhed and brave officer) of treaſonable practices to the king, in hopes of getting him removed from his command, and put to death.

Wulfnoth was conſcious of his own innocence, but at the ſame time knew it would not protect him from the malice of ſuch powerful villains as Brightric and Edric. Yielding therefore at once to the dictates of ſelf-preſervation and reſentment, he ſought his ſafety in flight, and at the ſame time induced twenty of the Engliſh captains to accompany him with their reſpective ſhips.

Being at the head of this ſquadron, Wulfnoth turned pirate, and by ravaging the coaſts, he became as obnoxious as the Danes. Brightric was univerſally accuſed as being the occaſion of this misfortune, and the diſmemberment of the fleet. Thinking in ſome meaſure to repair the misfortune he had cauſed, or at leaſt to turn the popular voice in his favor, he ſailed in queſt of Wulfnoth with eighty large ſhips under his command; when a ſtorm ariſing, his fleet was diſperſed, and Wulfnoth, before they could re-unite, found an opportunity to take, ſink, or burn moſt of them. Thus were the largeſt, beſt, and moſt capital ſhips of this formidable armament rendered uſeleſs to thoſe at whoſe expence they had been fitted out, either by deſertion, or deſtruction; and thoſe mighty preparations became of no avail through the chief command having been given to an over-bearing traitor.

The Danes being informed of the diſaſters which had attended the Engliſh fleet, immediately put to ſea with a powerful armament, and appeared on the coaſt of England in the ſummer of A. D. 1009. One ſquadron under Turkul, proceeded to Sandwich, where the troops diſembarked, while another commanded by Anlaff and Haming made a deſcent upon the iſle of Thanet. The forces uniting, they began to burn and plunder, as uſual, throughout the county of Kent, and the city of Canterbury itſelf would have ſuffered conflagration, had not the inhabitants redeemed it with a very conſiderable ſum of money.

Alarmed by theſe proceedings, Ethelred drew together an army, and was juſt upon the point of attacking the plunderers as they were retiring to their ſhips with a very conſiderable booty; when the traitor Edric, ever ſolicitous to injure his country, perſuaded him that it was much more prudent to let them paſs unmoleſted than to hazard a battle; and, aſtoniſhing to recite! the unhappy monarch took this advice, and ſuffered them tamely to paſs, laden with the ſpoils of his ſubjects. The Danes having thus reached their ſhips in ſafety, took up their winter quarters in the iſle of Thanet, from whence they made frequent excurſions, did conſiderable miſchief, and even attempted ſeveral times to plunder London, but from thence the citizens always bravely repulſed them.

A. D. 1010. The Danes made a deſcent at Ipſwich, where Ulf-ketel lay encamped with a ſmall army. Subordinate in command to this brave general was Thurketyl Myranheafod, (or the Ant-headed) a faithleſs coward, who, as ſoon as the Danes began their attack, precipitately took to flight. This ſhameful retreat of the ſecond in command ſtruck the men with ſuch a panic, that a general confuſion enſued. In vain did the gallant general Ulf-ketel, and ſeveral brave officers attempt to rally them; the rout became general, when Ethelſtan, the king's ſon, Ulf-ketel, ſeveral officers, and many private men, were ſlain.

The country now lying entirely open, and the Danes having ſeized a great number of horſes, they mounted their troops, in order to extend their incurſions with the greater facility and expedition; when they ravaged Eſſex, Huntingdonſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Hertfordſhire, Northamptonſhire, &c. pillaging, burning and deſtroying a great number of cities, towns, villages, &c. Among theſe were the city and univerſity of Oxford, on which account all ſtudies ceaſed at the latter, till the year 1133. Then turning their arms towards the weſt of England, they ſignalized themſelves by ſimilar devaſtations.

A. D. 1011. The Danes renewed their ravages at pleaſure, while Ethelred, without attempting in the leaſt to oppoſe them, kept himſelf ſhut up in London. At length they determined to lay ſiege to Canterbury, when throwing in a number of red hot balls, ſeveral houſes took fire, and while the inhabitants were buſied in extinguiſhing the flames, a treacherous monk, named Almere, or Æalmar, who was ſaid to be archdeacon of the place, betrayed it into the hands of the enemy, who, as uſual, exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties, and afterwards burnt the city.

In ſpeaking of the Danes laying ſiege to Canterbury, the antient chronicles ſay, "that in twenty days they took it by the treachery of Almere the archdeacon. Here they committed unheard of barbarities by way of ſport and diverſion: they ſlew ſome by the ſword, threw others over the wall, others into the fire, infants torn from their mothers breaſts were either toſt on ſpears, or had carts drawn over them, matrons and virgins were dragged about by the hair and raviſhed; Alſage the archbiſhop was taken, wounded, and impriſoned in a noiſom place; Chriſt-church was burnt, monks, men, women and children were decimated, whereof nine were killed, and the tenth reſerved to a life worſe than death: ſo that of the whole multitude there remained only four monks, and eight hundred men. They kept the archbiſhop priſoner for ſeven months, during which time theſe barbarous miſcreants were viſited with a plague in their bowels, of which two thouſand periſhed miſerably; and thoſe who ſurvived being grievouſly tormented, the chriſtians took occaſion to urge the delivery of the archbiſhop, but they ſtill deferred it."

At this dreadful criſis, Ethelred ſummoned a council of the principal nobility, which was held at London, A. D. 1012, when no better expedient could be found, than the former pernicious and ineffectual one of bribing them to deſiſt awhile from their depredations. Thus did they ſtill imprudently attempt to allay the flame of avarice, by pouring on it the oil of bribery, which tended to feed, inſtead of extinguiſhing it. The Danes, as uſual, roſe in their demands, and the tribute was now fixed at 48,000l. which being paid, ſome of them returned home, but Turkul himſelf, with forty five ſhips remained at London, promiſing ſubmiſſion to Ethelred, and engaging to defend him from all enemies foreign and domeſtic, on the condition of only receiving ſubſiſtence and apparel; when the king was ſo imprudent as to conſent to theſe propoſals, and to retain the profeſſed enemies of his country in his immediate ſervice.

A. D. 1013. Swein landed again at Gainſborough, when the Northumbrians, who were chiefly Danes, or of Daniſh extraction, made a voluntary ſubmiſſion. Having procured a ſufficient number of horſes to mount all his men, he proceeded ſouthward without oppoſition, the people all the way ſubmitting to him, and arriving at Wincheſter, the gates were thrown open at his approach, and he was received into the city with apparent ſatisfaction.

This uninterrupted ſucceſs induced Swein to think that he ſhould make an eaſy conqueſt of the whole kingdom; he therefore determined to ſtrike his ultimate ſtroke, by getting the city of London into his poſſeſſion, which, as the principal and moſt important place, he imagined would facilitate the ſubjugation of the other parts of the nation. Fraught with this idea, he bent his march towards London, but now his good fortune did not ſeem to attend him ſo cloſely as before, for he loſt a great number of men in the Thames, and he was afterwards repulſed by the citizens of London with great loſs; in one of the ſallies he was near being made priſoner, and at length was compelled to retire to Bath with the remnant of his army. Enraged at their defeat, the troops wreaked their vengeance on the ſeveral defenceleſs towns as they paſſed, and ſpread terror wherever they came. The Weſt Saxon nobility, and Ethelmar, earl of Cornwall, fearing to become the next objects of their cruelties, repaired to Bath, and ſubmitted to Swein, inſtead of endeavouring to cruſh a flying army of barbarians.

The whole kingdom had now made ſubmiſſion to the Dane, London excepted, and that city he was determined at all events to force. Having augmented his forces by procuring freſh recruits, and being joined by many of the Engliſh who had ſubmitted, he aſſumed the title of King of England, and prepared to lay ſiege to London.

The Londoners, deeming it the height of abſurdity to think of reſiſting ſo formidable a power, when not the leaſt ſhadow of expecting any ſucceſs remained, and after all the reſt of the kingdom had revolted, thought the moſt prudent ſtep they could take, was to ſend deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, and procure favorable terms before they had irritated the conqueror too far, or rendered it impoſſible to grant them elegible conditions.

In the interim, the unfortunate Ethelred went on board a ſhip, ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, and diſpatched his queen Emma, with his two ſons, Edward and Alfred, into Normandy, to know if the duke her brother would give him a favorable reception, if he ſhould find it convenient entirely to quit his kingdom. Emma ſucceeded in her embaſſy; Richard was a prince of an intrepid and magnanimous temper, and ſympathizing with the weak and unhappy monarch, he not only promiſed him a ſecure aſylum, and perfect ſafety, but gave him ſome hopes that he would aſſiſt him in regaining his kingdom, and avenging his wrongs. Thus encouraged, Ethelred left his kingdom entirely to the mercy of the Danes, and paſſing over to Normandy, he made the beſt of his way to Rouen, the capital of the dukedom, where he was cordially and affectionately received by Richard, who contrived, by every means in his power to divert his melancholy, and chear his drooping ſpirits. In fine he did his utmoſt endeavours to

"Pluck from his memory the rooted ſorrow,
"Raze out the written trouble of his brain,
"And with a ſweet oblivious antidote
"Cleanſe the foul bottom of that perilous ſtuff,
"Which weighs upon, and galls the ſickly heart."

And indeed, Ethelred was more pitied, and leſs deſpiſed by the Engliſh themſelves, under the full weight of his complicated misfortunes, than while he was bringing them upon himſelf; compaſſion ſucceeded to reſentment, and many who had frequently condemned, now ſympathized with what they could not redreſs.

Some hiſtorians affirm, and particularly Speed, that Ethelred, juſt previous to his departure for Normandy, addreſſed himſelf thus to ſome principal perſons among the Engliſh. "If I myſelf was void of a paternal regard for the defence of the kingdom, or the adminiſtration of juſtice; or even if ye yourſelves were defective in courage for the defence of your native country; I ſhould have brooded over my calamities in ſilence, and given myſelf up a prey to dejection. But as this is not the caſe, I have formed a reſolution to ruſh into the midſt of the enemy, and ſacrifice my life to my kingdom and my crown. I am certain you muſt eſteem that death to be honourable, which is purchaſed in defence of the liberties of our relations and poſterity. Let us then, one and all, reſolve to die in ſo noble a cauſe. I ſee that we are abandoned by Providence; and that our ruin is arrived to its criſis. We are not overcome by the ſwords, or courage of the enemy, but by the treaſon and perfidy of our friends. Our navy is betrayed into the hands of the Danes; our armies are weakened by the revolt of our officers; our deſigns betrayed to the adverſary by our counſellors; who, inſtead of extricating us from our troubles, are continually perſuading us to infamous treaties. I myſelf am diſeſteemed, and contemptuouſly termed Ethelred the Unready: your valour and loyalty is rendered ineffectual by the treachery of your leaders, and our poverty yearly aggravated by the payment of Danegelt, which God only knoweth how we are to redreſs, though it is our duty to make the trial. In vain do we purchaſe a peace with money, in vain do we oblige the Danes to confirm it by oaths. Regardleſs of God and man, they break through the moſt ſacred ſanctions, and pay not the leaſt regard to equity, to the laws of war, or the laws of nations. So far are we from any proſpect of an alteration in our circumſtances to our advantage, that we have the greateſt reaſon to fear the loſs of our kingdom, and the utter extinction of the Engliſh name and reputation. Seeing therefore our enemies are not at a diſtance, and their ſwords are cloſe to our throats; let us, by our wiſdom and prudence, reſcue ourſelves from danger, or elſe courageouſly ſheath our ſwords in the bowels of our enemies. Either of theſe expedients I ſhall adopt with the greateſt readineſs, in order to preſerve the ſtate, and ſnatch the nation from irrecoverable ruin."

If this ſpeech was really made, it ſeems to have been the effects of diſſimulation; as it is apparent from Ethelred's ſubſequent conduct, that his intention was rather to turn his back upon his enemies than to ruſh into the midſt of them; and William of Malmeſbury poſitively aſſerts, "That the ſubmiſſion of the Londoners to Swein was entirely owing to this inglorious reſolve in the king, of whoſe degeneracy they were aſhamed, and that they would have held out to the laſt, though all England had yielded to the conqueror, had not Ethelred abandoned them."

With reſpect to the conduct of Swein, the Engliſh had very little reaſon to be ſatisfied with it, as he was perpetually burthening them with impoſitions in order to pay his troops, reward his favorites and adherents, and gratify his own rapacious diſpoſition. He did not, however, live long to plague the Engliſh, or enjoy his ill gotten power, for his death happened on the third of February, A. D. 1014, but the manner of it is variouſly related; ſome affirm that he was poiſoned, others that he was choaked with rheum.

Florence of Worceſter relates the manner of his death as follows: Swein, while he was encamped at Gainſborough, called a general aſſembly of his great officers, to whom he declared his intention of ſending out a party the next day to plunder and burn the adjacent monaſtery of Bradiceſworth. Scarce had he uttered theſe words, when, on a ſudden, he cried out with great vehemence, Help! help! fellow ſoldier! See! here is king Edmund coming to kill me! and ſo ſaying, he was inſtantly ſtruck with a mortal blow by St. Edmund, and lay in great torment till the next morning, when he expired. But John of Tinmouth, in his *Hiſt. aurea.* makes St. Edmund's ghoſt to have ſtabbed him with a dagger as he ſat in his chair. William of Malmeſbury ſays, that St. Edmund appeared to him in his ſleep, and ſmote him while he was in bed, for anſwering him rudely; but all agree his death to have been occaſioned by a blow, which he received from St. Edmund. Such are the reports of the old hiſtorians.

The moſt probable conjecture, however, is, that he was aſſaſſinated by the contrivance of ſome of his principal people, who, for political reaſons, connived at the regicide's eſcape; and that the monks of St. Edmund's Bury, taking the advantage of the circumſtance, invented the legend to do honor to their ſaint, and ſecure their monaſtery from future ſacriligeous violations.

We have not ranked this prince under a ſeperate head as an Engliſh monarch, for three reaſons:

1. Becauſe he was never crowned.
2. Becauſe he was never acknowledged as ſuch by a general aſſembly of the ſtates.
3. Becauſe no act of civil authority every paſſed in his name.

On the demiſe of Swein, two powerful factions divided the nation: The one conſiſted of the Danes, and thoſe Engliſh who were well affected to them; the other was formed of the Engliſh nobles and commons, who were diſaffected to the Daniſh government, and wiſhed to throw off ſo diſagreeable a yoke. The former immediately proclaimed Canute, the ſon of Swein, king of England. The latter were for recalling the exiled Ethelred; yet theſe were ſo well acquainted with his diſpoſition, that they determined to reſtore him only on certain conditions.

Ambaſſadors being ſent to Normandy, they propoſed to Ethelred the following articles, as the terms of his reſtoration, viz. That he ſhould rule with juſtice, equity, and moderation; take the advice of none but wiſe, able, and honeſt counſellors; amend his government; and ſhake off that indolence which had been his continual bane.

Ethelred ſolemnly promiſed to perform all that was required of him; in conſequence of which the ambaſſadors returned, Ethelred ſoon followed, and Canute was declared an out-law.

Ethelred was received by the Engliſh with every teſtimony of joy, when a numerous army being raiſed, he put himſelf at the head of it, and immediately marched againſt Canute, who was encamped at Gainſborough. The latter not being in a condition to diſpute his claim to the throne of England, thought proper to make a precipitate retreat, and having gained his fleet he ſet ſail for Denmark, that he might take poſſeſſion of the crown of that kingdom, which was now vacant by the death of his father. In this * he acted with great prudence, for by attempting to ſecure that kingdom where he had the feweſt friends, and but little proſpect of ſucceſs, he might have endangered the loſs of both governments.

The fortunes of Ethelred were truly worthy of obſervation; fate ſeemed induſtrious for his good, while he appeared ſtudious of his own ruin. The paths of equity, and propriety, were pointed out to him, and the cup of proſperity offered to his lip; but he choſe to tread in the ways of vice and folly, and to imbibe the libations of adverſity.----The meaſure of his calamities was at length complete, and the accumulated misfortunes which he had ſo long courted, now ſurrounded him; but his ſufferings rendered him an object of pity, and Providence in an unexpected manner, ſnatched him ſuddenly from the abyſs of woe, to lift him to the pinnacle of human glory. Hence, when the clouds of ſorrow envelope us, let us not deſpair of again ſeeing the beams of joy.

"To-day in ſnow array'd, ſtern winter rules
"The ravag'd plain.——Anon the teeming earth
"Unlocks her ſtores, and ſpring adorns the year.
"And ſhall not we while fate like winter frowns,
"Expect revolving bliſs?——

We are ſorry truth will not permit us to add, that Ethelred, by his ſubſequent conduct, ſtrove either to merit the indulgence of Providence, or the attachment of his friends; for no ſooner was Canute gone, than forgetful of his promiſes, and thoughtleſs of future conſequences, he relapſed into his former errors. Contrary to his ſolemn vow, he gave way to his uſual indolence; or if he was ever aſſiduous, it was only in contriving new taxes to oppreſs his people, and gratify his own avarice. In fine, experience had not eradicated his follies, and to his former crimes he now joined ingratitude, and breach of faith.

To leave nothing undone that might again inſure his ruin, he either diſcarded, or ſlighted his beſt friends, and ſhowered all his favors on the villainous Edric, whoſe treachery had been fatal to him ſo often. This arch-traitor, about this time, A. D. 1015, who was always contriving either to make the king injure himſelf or others, induced the weak monarch to add a crime of a private nature to his many public ones. The fact was thus: two noblemen, named Morcar and Sigeforth, who were of Daniſh extraction, but inviolable in their faithful attachment to Ethelred, had excited the envy or the reſentment of Edric. Whatever were the motives of his malice, he reſolved on their ruin; and to effect this, poſſeſſed the king with a notion that they correſponded with Canute, and had even a deſign upon his life. Ethelred, who was naturally timid and ſuſpicious, lent a ready ear to this tale, and firmly believed its truth. As theſe noblemen were greatly beloved by the people, he thought that a public execution might not be altogether ſafe, but inſinuated that he ſhould be glad to have them taken off privately. Happy to find the king in this diſpoſition, the nefarious Edric took the management of the whole affair upon himſelf: having given them a cordial invitation to his own houſe, he at once violated the laws of honor, hoſpitality, and humanity, by barbarouſly murdering them in the height of their feſtivity. Ethelred, not to be behind hand with his favorite in want of equity, immediately ordered the lady Elgitha, Sigeforth's widow, to be confined in the monaſtery of Malmeſbury, and then ſent his ſon Edmund to ſeize on both their eſtates.

---

* Concerning this occurrence, a modern author ſays, "We cannot in this place forbear teſtifying our ſurprize, that none of our Engliſh hiſtorians of thoſe times ſhould have aſſigned reaſons for this ſudden going off of Canute, who had never been worſted, and had ſtill many ſtrong places in the kingdom in his hands; but, though our Engliſh hiſtory is ſilent on this head, the Daniſh hiſtory accounts for his proceedings very clearly: for it informs us, that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who, having been made regent in the abſence of his father Swein, ſeized upon the kingdom for himſelf. It was this that obliged Canute to leave England in ſo haſty a manner as ſeemed rather to proceed from his fears, than the effect of ſound politics; which latter was however the caſe: for what prince of common prudence would have reſolved to leave the kingdom of his anceſtors in the hands of an uſurper, for the ſake of conteſting a foreign crown in a country newly conquered, and whoſe inhabitants ſeemed determined to ſupport their own prince, whom they had lately recalled at the expence of their lives and fortunes? Beſides, ſhould the event of war prove unfavorable to him, what hopes could he entertain of having ſuccours from Denmark, whilſt that kingdom was in the hands of his brother? The ſubſequent conduct of Canute plainly evinced that the ſtep he had now taken proceeded from very different motives to thoſe of fear, which have been generally laid to his charge; for no ſooner had he ſettled his affairs in the north, than he returned with his victorious troops to England."

But Heaven did not ſuffer theſe crimes to go long unpuniſhed, for Canute having taken poſſeſſion of, and ſecured the crown of Denmark, returned to England with a powerful armament. He firſt appeared off Sandwich, and then ſailing round the coaſt of Kent, he proceeded to the weſt of England, where having landed, he began to ravage Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and Dorſetſhire.

In the mean time Ethelred ſent ſome forces againſt him, under the command of his ſon Edmund, but unhappily his infatuation ſo far prevailed as to give the falſe Edric an equal authority with Edmund, and join him in the command with the prince.

The armies no ſooner came within ſight of each other, than Edmund was informed that Edric had laid a dangerous plot to take away his life as ſoon as the troops ſhould engage. This intelligence being credibly ſupported, the prince found it abſolutely neceſſary, in order to preſerve his own life, and ſave the army from deſtruction, to draw off that part which was more immediately under his command for their mutual ſecurity. This diſmemberment of the army gave the Dane a manifeſt advantage, and the falſe Edric finding that his treaſon, and that his villainy could no longer be hid, even from the long blinded, and infatuated Ethelred himſelf, threw off the maſk at once, openly joined Canute with his followers, induced forty ſhips of the fleet to revolt, and perſuaded the Weſt Saxons, with whom his intereſt was very great, to ſubmit, and ſwear allegiance to the Dane.

Canute's forces being ſo unexpectedly augmented, and powerfully reinforced, A. D. 1016, he entered the Thames at the head of a fleet conſiſting of 160 ſail, compoſed of the Daniſh navy, and the ſhips that had revolted to him at the inſtigation of Edric. Having landed, he penetrated into the midland, and weſtern counties, and ſpread deſolation wherever he paſſed. The gallant Edmund ſympathiſed in the diſtreſſes of the people, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to rouze the lethargic ſpirit of his father from that indolence and ſupineneſs, which had been his continual ruin.

Ethelred, unable longer to bear the remonſtrances of his ſon, at length conſented to take the field. This reſolution was no ſooner known, than multitudes flocked to the royal ſtandard; not ſo much indeed out of reſpect to the king as to prince Edmund, whoſe ſpirit and abilities the people honored, as much as they deſpiſed the cowardice and weakneſs of his father.

A formidable army was now aſſembled, when ſome Daniſh emiſſaries, who were ſtill about the perſon of Ethelred, poſſeſſed his imagination with an idea that a plot was formed to aſſaſſinate him. Such an inſinuation was ſufficient to a prince of his ſuſpicious and timid nature; he determined to leave the army; in vain did his ſon remonſtrate, in vain did the nobles and officers offer in the moſt ſolemn manner to ſwear allegiance to him, and ratify their oaths by defending him to the laſt drop of their blood. The panic-ſtruck monarch baſely deſerted them at this important criſis, and flying to London, there immured himſelf within its walls.

The Mercians now declined fighting for a king who had refuſed to head them according to his promiſe; and the brave Edmund finding it impoſſible to withſtand the power of the Danes through the ſuſpicious puſillanimity of his father, and the defection of ſo great a part of the army, thought proper to retire northward to join Uthred, earl of Northumberland, who had collected together ſome troops in thoſe parts. Having made this junction with thoſe few who choſe to follow him, they together ravaged the counties that had declared for the Danes. On the approach of Canute with his powerful army, to prevent theſe depredations, Uthred thought proper to ſubmit, and Edmund retired to London. Canute, however, knowing the enterpriſing ſpirit of Uthred, and not thinking him ſincere, thought proper to put him to death, and ſeize his eſtates, which he beſtowed on one Eric a Dane, whoſe inſolence afterwards obliged Canute to baniſh him. Edmund on his arrival at London, found the king his father dangerouſly ill, and on the 23d of April, A. D. 1016, that unfortunate monarch departed this life in the 50th year of his age, and 37th of his reign. His remains were depoſited in St. Paul's cathedral, near thoſe of Sebba, king of the Eaſt-Saxons, being incloſed in a cheſt of grey marble, ſupported by four pillars, and covered with a coped ſtone of the ſame.

Ethelred in his perſon was comely, fair, of a genteel addreſs, and affable behaviour; in his intellects he was timid, irreſolute, inconſiſtent, and indolent. His attachment to Edric marks his character with weakneſs, wilfulneſs and folly; and the maſſacre of the Danes ſtains it with wickedneſs, cruelty, and credulity.

His firſt wife Elgiva, an Engliſh lady, bore him four ſons, viz. Edmund, who ſucceeded him, Athelſtan and Egbert, who died young, and Edwy, who was afterwards baniſhed at the inſtigation of Canute; and three daughters, viz. Edgitha, who married an Engliſh count that was afterwards ſlain in a battle againſt the Danes. Edgiva, who became the conſort of that infamous traitor Edric, duke of Mercia, and Elfgina, who was the wife of Uthred, earl of Northumberland.

By Emma, daughter of the duke of Normandy, his ſecond wife, he had three children, viz. Alfred, and Edward, who, on the death of Ethelred were by their mother ſent into her own country, and the lady Goda, who was firſt married to Walter, count of Maine, and afterwards to Euſtace, count of Boulogne.

SECT. XV.

Edmund II. *commonly called* Edmund Ironſide.

EDMUND was ſo much beloved by the Engliſh in general, and more particularly by the Londoners, that the latter unanimouſly determined to elect him for their king, (though Canute was approaching to beſiege the city of London, both by ſea and land;) he was accordingly crowned by Livignus, archbiſhop of Canterbury. The reſt of the clergy, however, did not act ſo honeſtly, for on being ſummoned by Canute to attend him at Southampton, they choſe to follow the ſtronger party, and to be borne away by the prevailing current of the times.

Having left a ſtrong garriſon in London, Edmund marched into the weſt of England, where the generality of the people took the oaths of allegiance to him. In the mean time Canute proceeded to lay ſiege to London; having ſailed up the river, he landed his troops at Greenwich, and marched directly to inveſt the city. Coming to the Surry ſide, he cut a deep trench, in order, as much as poſſible, to drain off the water from the river, by which means his ſhips lay almoſt upon dry land, and the convoys of proviſions were eaſily prevented from coming to the relief of the beſieged.

The citizens ſuſtained the ſiege with great bravery, and Edmund began an expeditious march from the weſt, in order to relieve them. On the other hand, Canute acted with much vigour, and cloſely preſſed the ſiege, but was continually repulſed by the gallant Londoners. Finding his endeavours to poſſeſs himſelf of the metropolis of the kingdom ineffectual, and hearing of Edmund's rapid advances, he thought it moſt prudent to draw part of his forces from the ſiege in order to put a ſtop to the progreſs of that gallant prince.

The two armies met at Gillingham in Dorſetſhire, when a bloody engagement enſued, in which both commanders gave admirable proofs of their ſkill and courage. Victory at length declared for the Engliſh, when Canute retreated in tolerable order to Wincheſter, where having ſhut himſelf up, he iſſued his orders to another body of Danes immediately to lay ſiege to Saliſbury.

Edmund hearing of this marched to the relief of Saliſbury; and Canute, having been recruited by Danes and diſaffected Engliſh from various parts of the kingdom, directly followed him, when the two armies met at Sherſton in Wiltſhire.

Beſides Danes, and Anglo-Danes, or perſons of Daniſh extraction, Canute had in his army the men of Wilts and Hants, commanded by Ælgar and Ælmar, two powerful noblemen, and above all, the traitor Edric with a numerous party.

On the other hand, Edmund had many of the moſt reſpectable Engliſh nobility, and the principal inhabitants of Cornwall, Devonſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Somerſetſhire, with many perſons from other different counties.

Great expectations were formed concerning the fate of this battle, and each party was anxiouſly ſedulous for the event. We ſhall take the deſcription of the engagement itſelf from Simeon of Durham, whoſe account is deemed at once the moſt ſtriking and authentic.

On this occaſion the oppoſite princes were well matched in courage, conduct, and experience, and both armies were nearly equal in ſtrength, though the Danes had manifeſtly the advantage in point of diſcipline. Both kings choſe their ground to the beſt advantage, each harangued his men in that ſtrain which was moſt likely to animate to dominion and conqueſt, as the reward of toils and labour, or encourage to the preſervation of liberty, their laws, their children, and their country. The trumpets giving the ſignal, each ſide made a ſhort but awful pauſe, meditating on the part they were to act, and conſidering that on the iſſue of that day depended freedom or ſlavery, glory or ignominy, and that they were now to fall by the ſwords, or triumph in the deaths of their reſpective enemies. But the ſhock of battle ſoon baniſhing all reflections, a deſperate fight enſued, in which, rank cloſing with rank, diſputed every inch of the bloody field with more than human rage. The gallant Edmund ſeemed preſent in a thouſand places, and to ſtake a thouſand lives on one caſt. All his troops equally witneſſed his valour, and equally trembled for his ſafety. Such, indeed, was the conduct and courage that he diſplayed on this occaſion, that the fate of the day muſt ſoon have ſucceeded to his wiſh, had he not had Canute to encounter as an enemy; but the Dane's experience and the veteran boldneſs of his troops, enured to ſlaughter, and trained up in the art of death, for that time balanced the victory, and the ardour of both ſides outlaſting the day, the combatants unwillingly retired; and rather to meditate new revenge than for the purpoſes of repoſe.

Next day the fight was renewed with double fury, and Edmund's valorous efforts, ſeconded by the intrepid proweſs of his gallant Engliſhmen, had already charmed victory over to their ſtandard, when the traitor Edric bethought him of a ſtratagem which damped the ardour of thoſe glorious aſſertors of their liberty, and for a while threw the advantage on the ſide of the Danes. He cut off the head of one Oſmar, who nearly reſembled Edmund, and raiſing it on the point of a ſpear, called aloud to the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, "Yield! and ſave your lives! See here! the head of your king." This contrivance had for a while the deſired effect; and the irreſolute pauſe which this heart-wounding ſight occaſioned, gave the broken Danes an opportunity of rallying, and returning to the onſet. But no ſooner did this news reach Edmund's ears, than, throwing up his beaver, he flew like lightning to ſhew himſelf to his amazed troops, who inſtantly felt their former courage re-animated, and prepared to make their enemies pay dearly for the deceit they had put upon them: however, the advantage the Danes gained by this ſtratagem, enabled them to maintain the combat till darkneſs once more put an end to the fight.

Edmund, not diſcouraged by this diſadvantage, determined to renew the fight the enſuing morning. But Canute, thinking proper to decline the engagement for many prudential reaſons, made a precipitate retreat with all imaginable ſecrecy in the night, in order to join that detachment of his forces, which were then blockading London.

Edmund was ſenſible that Canute's junction with theſe forces would give him a great ſuperiority of numbers; he therefore returned to the Weſt of England, in order to augment his army with new recruits.

The traitor Edric now made a feigned ſubmiſſion to Edmund, and pretended to obliterate the remembrance of his former baſeneſs by betraying to him the Daniſh councils, and ſerving his country with as much zeal and vigilance as he had hitherto ſerved its enemies.

Edmund, though far ſuperior to his father in abilities, unfortunately copied his weak example, in being too eaſily deceived by this wily and hackneyed traitor.—He not only generouſly forgave him, but believed him ſincere, and took him into his confidence.

Having recruited his army, Edmund marched to the relief of London, when the enemy raiſed the blockade, and divided themſelves into two bodies, the one part going on board the ſhips, and the other proceeding to Brentford, where the troops encamped. Edmund purſued the latter party, croſſed the river, in doing which many of his troops were drowned, and having attacked them with great fury, he put them to a precipitate flight.

As this victory coſt him dear, he was obliged to return again to the weſt of England, in order to recruit his forces, and fill up his ranks; when Canute, taking the advantage of his abſence, renewed the ſiege of London, and carried on his operations with redoubled vigour. The bravery of the Londoners, however, was ſuch, that he found all his efforts ineffectual; exaſperated with his repeated diſappointments, he embarked on board his ſhips, and ſailing round to the coaſt of Suſſex, he ravaged that country in all the bitterneſs of deſpair. Proceeding then up the Medway, he treated the county of Kent in a ſimilar manner, when Edmund, hearing of his depredations, arrived in Kent by haſty marches, and croſſing the Thames with a ſtrong detachment of troops, he came up to the enemy at Ottenford, attacked them with great intrepidity, and having ſlaughtered many, drove the remainder into the iſle of Sheepy; when the traitor Edric, interpoſing and perſuading him to diſcontinue the purſuit, he very imprudently ſuffered them to regain their ſhipping and eſcape to Eſſex, where they were joined by other Daniſh forces.

Edmund, however, overtook them at Aſhdown, near Billerica, in Eſſex, when a bloody engagement enſued, and the advantage at firſt apparently inclined to the Engliſh. But the villainous Edric, the bane of his country, ſeeing victory hovering over the ſtandard of Edmund, determined to act with his uſual treachery. With this view he drew off, and diſordered the wing he commanded, which gave the Danes ſuch a manifeſt advantage, that the Engliſh were defeated, and many nobles as well as private men were ſlain, while Edmund was obliged to ſecure himſelf by a haſty retreat to Glouceſter.

Canute purſued the fugitive king and thought to take him while defenceleſs; but Edmund had raiſed another army with ſuch aſtoniſhing expedition, that Canute was in the utmoſt conſternation at being informed of it; he, however, determined to ſtake all upon one ſtroke, and to hazard a battle which might be deciſive, and terminate the differences between the two competitors.

The two armies being in ſight of each other, the traitor Edric ſtepped forth, and in a florid harangue, repreſented to the reſpective troops, the effuſion of blood, which the conteſt betwixt the two kings had already occaſioned, the carnage which was likely to enſue, the improbability of deciding their differences by pitched battles, ſieges, or ſkirmiſhes, and at length, winding up the whole with an eulogium, on the perſonal courage of each, he propoſed that their quarrel ſhould be decided by ſingle combat, and that the victor ſhould unanimouſly be acknowledged as ſovereign.

This ſpeech met with univerſal applauſe, and the general cry was, "Let them either fight or agree." The two monarchs gladly embraced this mode of deciſion, and repairing to the iſle of Alney, in the Severn, they prepared for the combat, while their reſpective armies were drawn up on each ſide of the river.

Having broken their ſpears, the royal combatants fought hand to hand with equal ſkill and intrepidity. At length, Canute perceiving that Edmund had greatly the ſuperiority, both with reſpect to activity and perſonal ſtrength, he propoſed a partition of the kingdom between them. Edmund generouſly acceded to this propoſal, and the two kings cordially embracing each other, both the armies were tranſported with joy at the ſight, and ſent forth the loudeſt ſhouts of approbation.

Having made a mutual interchange of cloaths and armour, in token of amity, the treaty was formally concluded; when it was ſtipulated, that Canute ſhould have all the northern parts of England, and that Edmund ſhould have the city of London, all Weſſex, Eaſt-Anglia, and Eſſex, together with the title of ſupreme king of England.

The Danes by a treaty with the Londoners, were permitted to take up their winter quarters in the city. But Edric, who beheld this amicable convention with a jealous eye, as his greateſt pleaſure ſeemed to conſiſt in the deſtruction of his country, determined to prevent the happineſs it was likely to enjoy; and more particularly, as he had reaſon to think that Edmund would now ſcrutinize into his actions, and call him to account for his perfidy. Fraught with theſe diabolical ideas, he employed two ruffians to aſſaſſinate the brave Edmund, who thus, A. D. 1016, fell a martyr to the conſummate treachery of one of the greateſt villains that ever diſgraced the annals of this or any other country.

Edmund was courageous, generous, benevolent, patient, and ſtrictly equitable; in ſhort, he ſeemed born for the happineſs of his people, had Providence been pleaſed to have extended the line of his mortal life. With reſpect to perſon he was comely, well made, and ſo remarkably ſtrong, as to obtain the ſurname of Ironſide. The deteſtable Edric was the firſt who carried the news of Edmund's death to Canute, who bountifully rewarded him, though he ſecretly hated him for his treachery, and equivocally promiſed that for what he had done he would exalt him above all the lords in England, which he afterwards did in a manner at that time little expected by the perfidious villain.

The remains of this prince were depoſited by thoſe of his grand-father Edgar, at Glaſtonbury. By his wife Elgitha, he left two ſons, Edmund and Edward, and beſides theſe a natural ſon named Edwy ſurvived him. With Edmund fell the ſplendor of the Anglo-Saxons, after their monarchy had laſted 190 years from its eſtabliſhment by Egbert the Great, 432 from the foundation of the Heptarchy, and 568 from the firſt arrival of the Saxons.

SECT. XVI.

DANISH KINGS.

Canute *the* Great.

EDMUND being dead, Canute, with all imaginable expedition, convened an aſſembly of the nobles, and repreſentatives of the people, to meet in the beginning of A. D. 1017, at London; when he propoſed the two following queſtions to the members of the ſenate, to which he demanded an immediate, and explicit anſwer:

1. Whether in the treaty between the late king, and himſelf (to which they were witneſſes) any ſtipulation had been made in favor of the deceaſed king's brothers in Normandy?

2. Whether in the ſaid treaty there were any articles in favor of the late king's children?

To the firſt queſtion an immediate anſwer was given, that no ſuch ſtipulation was made; but with reſpect to the ſecond, the tendency of which was ſo very obvious, the whole aſſembly remained ſilent.

Canute, however, inſiſted upon a categorical anſwer, when ſome of the members replied in this equivocal manner, "That if any ſuch ſtipulation had been made, they were ſenſible that Edmund deſigned that Canute ſhould be their guardian till they came of age." This mean evaſion not ſatiſfying Canute, he declared that he would not reign in right of another, and therefore poſitively inſiſted that they ſhould ſwear allegiance to him, and entirely renounce the Cerdic race. With theſe conditions, though exceedingly diſagreeable to many, they were all under the neceſſity of complying, as none choſe to diſpute the matter with a powerful and war-like king, who had a numerous and well diſciplined army ready to obey his nod.

Things being brought to this iſſue, he divided England into four diſtinct governments, over each of which he placed a governor, viz. 1. Mercia, which was governed by the traitor Edric. 2. Northumberland, which was held by Eric. 3. Eaſt-Anglia, over which Turkyl preſided. And 4. Weſſex, which he reſerved to himſelf. Having made this diſpoſition, his next care was to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh, to which purpoſe he publicly declared that he ſhould make no difference between his Daniſh and Engliſh ſubjects, either with reſpect to perſonal favor, or public places. He then prudently publiſhed an edict confirming the old Saxon laws, in all parts of the kingdom, except Northumberland and its vicinity, where, as moſt of the people were Danes, or of Daniſh extraction, and had been uſed to be governed by the original laws of their country, a reſervation was made in their favor. This refined policy gained Canute the hearts of moſt of the Engliſh, who were vociferous in their applauſes of a prince of ſuch integrity and juſtice.

Though thus fully ſecured in a kingdom, to which he had neither lineal, or equitable right, he was exceedingly uneaſy concerning Edward and Edmund, the ſons of the late king, greatly dreading that the people would at length be touched with compaſſion, and riſe in their favor.

Being dubious how to act ſo as not to render himſelf obnoxious, or occaſion a revolt, he at length determined to ſend them to the king of Sweden, with this meſſage, "That he would confer an infinite obligation on the Engliſh monarch, if he would deal with them in ſuch a manner, as to prevent their ever returning again to their own country." Shocked with the barbarity inſinuated by this meſſage, and yet fearful of offending ſo powerful a monarch as Canute, whoſe paternal dominions lay ſo near his own, the king of Sweden thought it moſt prudent to ſhift the whole affair from himſelf to another. He therefore ſent the young princes from his own court to that of Solomon, king of Hungary, who, greatly to his honor, cordially received the unfortunate exiles, placed proper tutors over them, and gave them an education ſuitable to the proſpects they had been born to. "Edmund (ſays an accurate author) died in this court, but his brother Edward married Agatha, the queen of Hungary's ſiſter, and daughter of Henry II. emperor of Germany, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, and Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland."

Although the legitimate offspring of the late king were removed, ſtill his natural ſon Edwy was matter of umbrage to Canute; the many virtues, and riſing popularity of this young prince gave him infinite concern; he therefore conſulted the infamous Edric concerning the beſt method of quieting the perturbation of his mind. This traitor, hackneyed in the ways of villainy, readily undertook to make away with the innocent young prince, and immediately employed one of his tools, named Ethelwald, to murder him. But this perſon not being quite ſo wicked as his maſter, ſtill found pretences to delay the execution of the bloody project, till Canute growing impatient, trumped up a ſham plot, in order to have ſome plauſible pretext for baniſhing him the kingdom. The unfortunate youth being exiled, wandered about in a forlorn condition, but at length returning to England, he died, as ſome authors affirm, through mere penury, whilſt others inſiſt that he was privately aſſaſſinated by order of Canute. It is, however, certain, that he fell a martyr to the ſuſpicions of that monarch.

Thus were three obſtacles to the repoſe of Canute removed, but there ſtill remained two others, and the latter appeared ſtill more dangerous than the former. Theſe were Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who were now grown up to mens' eſtate, and remained in the court of their uncle Richard II. duke of Normandy, a wiſe, politic, powerful, and brave prince, who might, as Canute juſtly feared, endeavour to place one of them upon the Engliſh throne.

To avert this ſurmiſed evil, and prevent any future ſtorm, Canute determined to ſecure the alliance of Richard, by double nuptials; he therefore demanded in marriage the duke of Normandy's ſiſter Emma, and offered the hand of his own ſiſter Heſtritha to that prince.

Theſe propoſals were too flattering to be refuſed, both were therefore acceded to by Richard, and the double nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp towards the latter end of July, A. D. 1017. When Richard gave up the intereſt of his nephews to wed the ſiſter of the Dane; and Emma baſely deſerting the ties of nature to her children, meanly conſented to marry the profeſſed foe to her late huſband, and his whole family.

Having thus far ſucceeded in all his deſigns, Canute began to turn his attention towards the arch-traitor Edric, and very juſtly thought that a man who could be falſe to his own natural prince, and his native country, would never be true to a foreigner, and an uſurper, and though he very well liked the treaſon which had benefited him, it was natural for him to deteſt the traitor, who, with his uſual treachery, might injure him; he therefore determined, on the firſt opportunity, to puniſh the villain at once for his manifold crimes, and ſecure himſelf from the apprehenſion of his future malefactions. Edric was not long before he gave Canute an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on him, by treating that monarch, in the public council chamber, with a degree of inſolence that was truly inſupportable, and upbraiding him with not having ſufficiently rewarded him for his many ſervices. On being thus treated, Canute flew into a violent paſſion, and immediately ordered Edric's head to be ſtruck off and fixed on the higheſt gate in London, that his promiſe of exalting him above all the lords in England might be literally fulfilled. Several other perſons were put to death at the ſame time as accomplices with, and coadjutors of Edric in moſt of his villainies, particularly Norman, ſon of duke Leofwine, Ethelward, ſon of duke Ædhelmer, Brightric, ſon of Alphage, earl of Devon, and Edric's own three ſons.

A. D. 1018. Canute laid a tax of 82,000l. upon the nation to pay off the arrears of his fleet; the ſum of 15,000l. of which was paid by the city of London only. This heavy ſubſidy the Engliſh patiently ſubmitted to, as it was to relieve them from ſome very troubleſome gueſts. The money was no ſooner paid than Canute ſent home his navy, forty ſhips excepted; which he retained as neceſſary to the national defence.

Canute was ſo pleaſed with the ready acquieſcence of the Engliſh with this tax, that he convened an aſſembly of the ſtates to meet at Oxford, where he paſſed an act to incorporate the Engliſh and Danes as one people, and re-eſtabliſhed ſeveral of the moſt popular laws of Edgar, and Edward the Elder. Theſe ſteps ſhewed his profound policy, conciliated the affections of the Engliſh, and enabled him to advance any of his countrymen, whom he might think proper, to places of truſt and profit.---He likewiſe enacted,

1. That no markets, fairs, or aſſemblies, ſhould be held on Sundays.

2. That all chriſtians ſhould receive the ſacrament at leaſt three times a year.

3. That a married woman convicted of adultery ſhould have her noſe and ears cut off.

4. That a widow marrying within a year after her huſband's death ſhould loſe her dowry.

Every thing being thus ſucceſsfully adjuſted in England, Canute turned his attention to the affairs of his own country, as a war had broken out between the Danes and Vandals, or Sweeds. He therefore, in

A. D. 1019. went over to Denmark with a conſiderable army, one half of which was compoſed of Engliſh, who were under the command of Godwin, earl of Kent.* Having refreſhed his troops after their debarkation, he began his march towards the enemy, with whom, in the courſe of ſeveral days, he came up towards ſun-ſet. The day being ſo far declined, he thought proper to encamp his army, deſigning to engage the enemy on the enſuing day.

In the night, earl Godwin determined to ſignalize himſelf by a very extraordinary action; he ſecretly drew off his Engliſh, and coming ſilently upon the enemy's camp, he attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, at a time when they little expected ſuch a viſit, that they were routed with great ſlaughter.

In the morning, Canute was much aſtoniſhed to find himſelf in poſſeſſion of a victory, before he knew of an engagement; and this gallant action greatly endeared to him the Engliſh in general, and their leader, earl Godwin in particular; indeed he rewarded the latter by giving him his ſiſter Thyrſa in marriage, and ever after diſtinguiſhing him with peculiar marks of affection.

Canute having ſucceſsfully terminated this war, returned to England, A. D. 1020. when finding that ſome of the Danes, whom he had intruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, had been guilty of many oppreſſions, and acted in a very arbitrary manner, he determined to ſhew his regard for the Engliſh in their puniſhment, and accordingly, having ſummoned a great council to meet at Cirenceſter in Glouceſterſhire, he paſſed the ſentence of baniſhment upon the duke of Eaſt-Anglia, as alſo upon Eric, duke of Northumberland. This act of juſtice and impartiality greatly encreaſed the eſteem the Engliſh had already conceived for him, and to win their affections ſtill farther, he appeared to be deeply penetrated with grief for the vaſt effuſion of blood, which his attempts upon the Engliſh crown had occaſioned, and more particularly for the death of Edmund, for whoſe memory he affected to have the greateſt veneration. To make ſome atonement, he therefore built and endowed a church at Aſhdown, where one of his engagements with Edmund was fought; he likewiſe erected ſeveral monaſteries, chanteries, &c. where other battles had been fought, that prayers might be continually ſaid for the repoſe of the ſouls of the ſlain. Camden ſays, "Among other benefactions he gave the port of Sandwich, with all its iſſues and profits, to Chriſt's-church in Canterbury. He likewiſe founded a monaſtery of Benedictines in Norfolk, which from its ſituation was called St. Bennet's in Holme, (Holme, in the Saxon language, ſignifying a riſing hill or gentle aſcent.) Leland, who ſaw this town and monaſtery, gives us a deſcription of it, which claims our notice. This city, for its ſituation, exceeds any that the ſun ever ſaw: it ſeems, as it were, to hang upon a gentle deſcent, and is waſhed on the eaſt ſide with a little river. Its monaſtery is not leſs noble, whether we conſider it with reſpect to its indowments, its extent, or its unparalleled magnificence. One might even take the monaſtery itſelf for a city, it has ſo many gates, ſome of which are braſs, is adorned with ſo many towers, and has likewiſe a church which cannot be exceeded in grandeur, or magnificence. To this we may add three more churches, which are contiguous, and are, as it were, appendages to this, which are likewiſe admirable for their beauty and architecture. Canute enriched the monaſtery with very conſiderable preſents, brought in the monks with their abbot, granted it the whole town, as well as other eſtates for its maintenance, and offered his crown to the martyr. The pope gave it large immunities, exempting it from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of the dioceſe, beſides the offerings that were brought to Edmund's tomb, its revenues amounted to one thouſand, five hundred and ſixty pounds yearly."

A. D. 1021. Canute found occaſion to baniſh Turkyl, who had been materially concerned in the murder of the archbiſhop Alfage, or Alphage, which was another tranſaction very grateful to the Engliſh, as the memory of that prelate was univerſally eſteemed by them. A. D. 1022. he made a voyage to the Iſle of Wight, in order to exerciſe his fleet, and A. D. 1025. he was under the neceſſity of again repairing to Denmark, to repreſs the Swedes, who had invaded that kingdom with a deſign to annex it to the crown of Sweden, while Canute was ſo earneſtly occupied in the Engliſh adminiſtration. In this expedition as in the former, his army was compoſed of about an equal number of Engliſh and Danes; he was, however, defeated ſoon after his landing, by the Swediſh generals, Wulf and Higlaff, and compelled to return to England the ſame year. During the years 1026 and 1027 he made preparations for a ſtill more important expedition, and A. D. 1028, he again ſet ſail for Denmark, with an army of Engliſh and Daniſh forces, his deſign being to invade Norway, where a powerful party of malecontents were in his intereſt. Having landed, he proceeded with all imaginable expedition into that country; when Olaus, king of Norway, a timid and pacific prince, not expecting ſuch a viſit, nor being prepared to oppoſe it, conſulted his perſonal ſafety in a precipitate flight to Sweden, from whence he removed for greater ſecurity to Ruſſia. Canute, upon this reſolution, ſeized the crown of Norway, and obliged the people to take oaths of allegiance to him.†

When Canute returned to England, A. D. 1029, he diſcovered a dangerous conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt him by a Daniſh nobleman, named Hacum, who had married his niece Gunilda; but the effects of this were prevented by Hacum's being immediately baniſhed, and ſeveral of the other conſpirators put to death. This plot was ſucceeded by the proſpect of a powerful invaſion of England by Robert the ſon of Richard II. duke of Normandy, who, having ſucceeded to that dukedom, in A. D. 1030, took into conſideration the injuſtice, which his couſins, Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, ſuffered from the uſurpation of the Dane. Reſolving to intereſt himſelf in their behalf, he deputed ambaſſadors to wait on Canute, and to demand the dominions of thoſe princes which were inequitably withheld from them. Canute, not being uſed to ſuch haughty meſſages, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors with diſdain, and Robert immediately prepared to give effect to his demands, by force of arms. A ſtorm, however, obliged his fleet, firſt to put into Guernſey, and afterwards to return to France to refit. Nevertheleſs, he ordered many of his lighteſt ſhips to ſcour the channel, and block up the Engliſh ports till he could fit out another navy, and raiſe a ſtill more conſiderable army to complete his deſigned invaſion. Theſe preparations were no ways pleaſing to Canute; the principal part of his Daniſh forces was in Denmark, and he had but a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips in the Engliſh harbours. With reſpect to the Engliſh themſelves, he could very well depend upon them, when they were to fight againſt the Swedes or Norwegians; but he knew too well their love for the Cerdic race, to imagine they would aſſiſt him in oppoſing two innocent and unfortunate young princes, who were deſcended from a long line of their natural ſovereigns. These conſiderations induced him to temporize, and aim to ward off the impending blow, by means of a negociation. He therefore propoſed to reſign one half of the kingdom in favor of the young princes; he however made ſo many artful delays, with reſpect to the ratification of this treaty, and procraſtinated the time in ſuch a manner, that the duke of Normandy was obliged to go to the Holy Land in conſequence of a ſtrict vow he had made, before the affair could be brought to a concluſion; when dying upon the journey, the dukedom of Normandy devolved to his ſon William (afterwards the conqueror of England) who was then only an infant of ſeven years of age, and conſequently the deſign of doing juſtice to the offspring of Ethelred fell to the ground.

---

* It is ſaid, that Canute gave the command of the Engliſh forces to Godwin, not ſo much becauſe he could confide in him, as becauſe he did not chuſe to leave ſo powerful and popular a nobleman behind him; and that he likewiſe aſſociated with him ſeveral other Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen, whom he thought might breed commotions, and be troubleſome in his abſence.

† Hiſtorians ſay, that the unfortunate Olaus made an attempt to regain his kingdom two years afterwards; but being ſlain by ſome of his own perfidious ſubjects, Canute remained king of Norway without a rival.

A. D. 1031. Canute gave many more donations to the church, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to obtain abſolution of the pope for all his paſt offences. His journey, however, he made uſeful to the Engliſh in many reſpects; ſuch as in purchaſing of all the princes, through whoſe territories he paſt, an exemption from toll for all Engliſh merchants, pilgrims and travellers. In obtaining from pope John XIX. ſeveral privileges for the Engliſh ſtudents at the college at Rome. In procuring a remiſſion of the fines (which were very exhorbitant) heretofore paid by the Engliſh metropolitans, on receiving the ſacerdotal pall, &c. &c.

Canute returned home again by the way of Denmark, from whence he diſpatched Levignus, abbot of Taviſtock, to the clergy, nobility and commons of England, with a letter, which, ſays a modern author, "Ought to be written in letters of gold," to inform them of his ſafety, and communicate to them ſome of the particulars of his journey. As this piece is deemed a great curioſity, we ſhall inſert it here for the entertainment of our readers.

"Canute, king of all England, Denmark, and Norway, with part of Sweden, wiſheth health to Ælnoth the metropolitan, and Alfrick of York; and to all biſhops, primates, and to all the Engliſh nation, both nobles and commoners. Know ye that I lately undertook a journey to Rome, to pray for the remiſſion of my ſins; for the welfare of my kingdom, and that of the people ſubject to my government. This is a journey I had long vowed to make; but I ſtill, till lately, was prevented by the exigencies of my kingdom and other cauſes. Now I humbly thank Almighty God, who has, in this life, granted me, according to my deſire, leave, perſonally to venerate and adore the holy apoſtles, Peter and Paul, with whatever is holy or ſacred, either within or without the walls of Rome. This I was the more inclined to effect, becauſe I had learned, from wiſe men, that St. Peter had received from the Lord great power of looſing and tying, and that he was the key-keeper of heaven; therefore I thought it extremely convenient particularly to beſpeak his patronage with God. Now be it known to you, that there was preſent with pope John and the emperor Conrade, a great aſſembly of nobles at the feſtival of Eaſter, who all of them received me with great honor, and made me particular preſents. The emperor, eſpecially, made me a great many preſents of gold and ſilver plate, as well as of robes and apparel. I then conferred with the emperor, and my lord the pope, and the other princes who were preſent, with regard to the hardſhips of my people, both Engliſh and Danes; demanding that they might be upon more eaſy terms; that they might be more ſecure in their perſons when on their journey to Rome, not meeting with ſo many obſtacles, and being plagued with paying ſo many tolls upon the road. This was granted by the emperor and king Rodulph, and by all the other princes, who iſſued out orders that all my ſubjects, both merchants, and they who went to Rome on religious accounts, ſhould be free from all moleſtations of tolls and impoſitions, both in their going and returning. I then complained before my lord the pope, and informed him, that I could not but take it very much amiſs that my archbiſhops ſhould be ſo much harraſſed, and pay ſo great ſums of money, whenever they went to demand their palls at Rome. Upon which the pope made a decree, that the like ſhould not be done in time to come. Every thing which I demanded for the advantage of my people from the pope, the emperor, king Rodulph, and the other princes, through whoſe territories I paſſed, was moſt chearfully granted, and confirmed even under the ſanction of an oath, in the preſence and under the teſtimony of four archbiſhops, twenty biſhops, and a great many of the temporal nobility. I reſolved, therefore, to pay my thanks to God, having thus ſucceeded in every thing I purpoſed. Now be it therefore known to you all, that I purpoſe to devote myſelf, in every reſpect, to God; to reform my life; to govern with juſtice and piety the people committed to my care; to diſtribute impartial juſtice; and if any part of my paſt conduct hath been inconſiſtent with the rules of juſtice, through the folly or inadvertency of youth, to amend the ſame, through the aſſiſtance of God. I therefore adjure and command all my councellors, to whom I have entruſted the management of public affairs, upon no manner of account, either from the dread of my power or their affections for any one in power, be who he will, that they conſent to any injuſtice, nor ſuffer my people to be harraſſed. I likewiſe command all my deputies, and the governors of my people, as they value my friendſhip, or their own welfare, that they do injuſtice to no man, either rich or poor; but that every one, whether noble or ignoble, whether wealthy or needy, have free acceſs to impartial juſtice, from which they are neither to deviate through royal favor, through their partiality for the powerful, nor for the ſake of amaſſing money for me, nor for any other motive whatſoever; becauſe there can be no manner of neceſſity for exacting money for me by unjuſt means.

"Therefore I am willing you ſhould know, that returning the ſame way I went, I am now upon my road to Denmark, with the view of reconciling all differences between that nation and thoſe who, if it had been in their power, would have deprived me both of my life and kingdom. But this they could not effect, becauſe God confounded their devices by his grace, which preſerved our royalty and honor, and brought to nothing all the forces of our enemies. Therefore, having ſettled peace with all our neighbours, and after ordering and compoſing our government in the eaſt, ſo that we may have nothing to dread from war, or the enmity of our foes, I deſign to come to England as ſoon as I can have a convenient convoy of ſhipping this ſummer.

"Now we have ſent this letter before, that all our people may rejoice at our welfare; for you yourſelves are ſenſible that I never ſpared either my perſon or my pains, and that I never will ſpare them to promote the neceſſary felicity of my ſubjects.

"He then concludes with ſtrict injunctions, that, before his return, all the dues to the church ſhall be paid, of whatſoever kind; threatning, that if any are unpaid, he will, when he returns to England, ſeverely, and without favor to any one, puniſh the offenders."

It is but juſtice to obſerve, that Canute's future conduct was perfectly agreeable to what he profeſſed in this epiſtle, ſo that he gained upon the admiration and eſteem of the reſpective people of the different nations he ruled.

A. D. 1033. Canute entered into a diſpute with Scotland, though it at length terminated without bloodſhed; of the occaſion and concluſion of this rupture we have the following account:

Duncan, grandſon to Malcolm II. king of Scotland, and heir-apparent to that kingdom, held the county of Cumberland in fief of the Engliſh crown. Canute had repeatedly ſummoned him to come and do him homage for thoſe territories, which Duncan had as often refuſed, alledging that Canute had no right to make ſuch a demand upon him, inaſmuch as his homage was due only to the Engliſh born kings of England. This anſwer was highly reſented by Canute, who, ſoon after his return from his pilgrimage to Rome, ſet out with a powerful army to chaſtiſe the Scottiſh prince, and reduce Cumberland to his obedience.---Malcolm, ſiding with his grandſon, brought his forces into the field, and prepared to give the Engliſh battle; and a bloody engagement was on the point of beginning, when the prelates and nobles of both armies interpoſed in order to prevent the effuſion of blood; and an accommodation was brought about between the two kings, when it was agreed that Duncan, and the heirs of the future kings of Scotland, for the time being, ſhould hold Cumberland, according to the original tenure, and do homage to Canute and his ſucceſſors, kings of England, for that fief.

From this time Canute relinquiſhed all thoughts of military glory, and reſigned himſelf up to acts of devotion till his death, which happened at Shafteſbury, in Dorſetſhire, on the 12th of November, 1035. This monarch, who reigned over England nineteen years, was buried in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter. By his firſt wife Elſwina, daughter of Ælfhelm, earl of Northampton, he had two ſons, viz. Swein and Harold; and Emma, his ſecond wife, bore him a ſon named Hardicanute, and a daughter named Gunilda. Harold ſucceeded to the throne of England, Hardicanute to that of Denmark, Swein to that of Norway, and his daughter Gunilda was married to Henry III. emperor of Germany; of this lady the following ſingular circumſtances are related by moſt hiſtorians, and therefore ought to remain ſtill on record:

Being a lady of remarkable beauty, her huſband grew jealous of her, and ſhe being accuſed of adultery, a duel enſued, which was the uſual method of trial in theſe ages. The accuſer being a perſon of gigantic ſize, and extraordinary ſtrength, no perſon was bold enough to undertake the vindication of Gunilda's innocence; till her page, who was but a ſtripling, in compariſon of his antagoniſt, appeared in the liſt, and offered to engage her accuſer. In the combat the youth having the good fortune to cut the ſinews of his antagoniſt's legs with one blow, followed his advantage with ſo much vigour, that he felled him to the ground with another, and then cut his head off, which he preſented to his lady. After Gunilda's honor had thus been vindicated by the valour of her Engliſh page, ſhe thought it a proper time to ſhow her reſentment for the affront her huſband had paſſed upon her by his credulity, and having renounced his bed, notwithſtanding his entreaties to the contrary, turned nun at Bruges in Flanders. After her death, ſhe was buried in the collegiate church of Donation, and her monument, in Speed's time, was then to be ſeen near the north door of that ſacred edifice.

The character of Canute is ſo inconſiſtent with itſelf, that it is impoſſible to draw it in general terms; to do him juſtice, we muſt trace his actions, and characterize him differently at different periods. Some, dazzled by the rapidity of his ſucceſs, and the variety of his conqueſts, may think he merited the title of GREAT, by his victories, but

“ Glory by few is rightly underſtood,
“ What's truly glorious muſt be greatly good.

We cannot help thinking, but if theſe very things are viewed with the eye of reaſon, and impartiality, Canute muſt then appear in the light of a murderer, robber, and uſurper; an oppreſſor of innocence, and defrauder of orphans. But view him in the milder and leſs exceptionable parts of his reign, and there indeed he merits the title of Great. It is aſtoniſhing that a man, who waded through ſeas of blood, became familiarized to ſights of horror, and trampled on every law, human and divine, to acquire a crown, ſhould immediately, after obtaining his end, ſink into the benevolent and placid being; and govern the kingdom he had ſo cruelly poſſeſſed himſelf of with juſtice, humanity, and moderation. It muſt be confeſſed he was a man of extraordinary abilities, brave, magnanimous, generous, and modeſt; of the latter virtue, we need no other proof than what is thus related by Huntingdon and Florilegus: One day as he was taking his recreation on the ſea ſhore, at Southampton, accompanied by a train of courtiers, who were idolizing with the moſt fulſome flattery, placing him on a level with the greateſt heroes of antiquity, and extolling his power as ſomething more than human, he ordered a chair to be brought and placed on the beach while the tide was coming in, and ſitting down, he, with a majeſtic air, thus addreſſed himſelf to the ſea. “ Thou ſea art a part of my dominions, and the land whereon I ſit is alſo mine. I charge thee not to preſume to approach any farther, nor dare to wet the feet of me who am thy ſovereign.” But the ſea, as Huntingdon expreſſes it, came rolling on as before, and, regardleſs of his admonition, not only wetted the ſkirts of his robes, but alſo daſhed on his thighs. Upon which riſing up ſuddenly, and turning about with a diſdainful look to his followers, he bid them learn from the example before their eyes, that the title of Lord and Maſter belonged only to him whoſe voice the land and ſea obey: and taking off his crown, which he would never after wear, he ordered it to be placed on the head of the great crucifix at Wincheſter.

Tyrrel has very juſtly obſerved, that it would have been happy for England if Canute had either never ſat upon the Engliſh throne, or had continued on it much longer. And indeed it is ſingular, that power ſo badly attained ſhould have been ſo well uſed, or that the rage of ambition ſhould ſo eaſily meliorate into the milkineſs of humanity. We may, however, conclude that Canute's ruling paſſion was ambition; though at different periods it was of a different nature. In the early part of his life, it was of the fierce, ungovernable, and falſe kind, which, according to the poet,

———“ Is but deſire of greatneſs.
“ And what is greatneſs but extent of power?
“ The luſt of power, a dropſy of the mind,
“ Whoſe thirſt encreaſes while we drink to quench it.”

But in his maturer years, experience taught him to find the ſubſtantial and true ambition.

“ For true ambition there alone reſides
“ Where juſtice vindicates, and wiſdom guides,
“ Where inward dignity joins outward ſtate,
“ Our purpoſe good, as our atchivement great,
“ Where public bleſſings, public praiſe attend,
“ Where glory is our motive, not our end.
“ Wou'dſt thou be fam'd, have thoſe high acts in view,
“ Brave men wou'd act, tho' ſcandal ſhou'd enſue.”

SECT.

SECT. XVII.

HAROLD THE FIRST.

Surnamed HAREFOOT.

AS Hardicanute had been appointed to the throne of Denmark, and Swein to that of Norway, previous to the death of Canute, it was natural to ſuppoſe that he reſerved the kingdom of England for his ſon Harold; but as this was not ſpecifically mentioned in his will, it occaſioned the kingdom to be divided into three parties. The firſt, which conſiſted of the Danes and Londoners, were for the ſucceſſion of Harold. The Weſt-Saxons were for Hardicanute, and the reſt of the people were for the reſtoration of the Cerdic race. With the latter party, queen[*] Emma cordially coincided, together with ſeveral diſtinguiſhed nobles. The moſt powerful perſon, however, was the celebrated Godwin, earl of Kent, a man to whom this character is given, "That he had all the vices of Catiline, without his immorality and imprudence, all the ambition of Cæſar without thoſe virtues which made it praiſe-worthy, and all the diſſimulation of Tiberius, without his winning adreſs." This nobleman had been ſo high in the deceaſed Canute's favour, that he left him ſole executor to what perſonal fortune he bequeathed to his queen Emma, though, on many accounts he ſeemed to be a man but ill calculated for ſuch a truſt.

As the conteſts between the different factions ran high, a civil war was univerſally expected. Many people retired to the moſt fenny and inacceſſible places, in order to ſecure both their perſons and properties, when the threatened ſtorm was prevented by the prudent advice of ſome perſons high in the eſtimation of the public. A general aſſembly of the ſtates being convened at Oxford, it was agreed to divide the kingdom between Harold and Hardicanute, it being ſtipulated, that the former ſhould have the country, north of the Thames, and the latter to have all the remaining part; but this agreement was ſubject to an exception, in favour of queen Emma, who was made regent of Weſſex, earl Godwin being appointed her ſubordinate lieutenant governor.

Ælnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, however, refuſed to crown Harold, on account of Hardicanute's being the real ſon of Canute, and the other ſuppoſed to be ſpurious; for he aſſerted, "that Harold had been obtruded upon Canute, as his ſon, by the artifice of Elfwina, who had recourſe to a falſe labour, (not being with child) in order to ſecure the affection of her huſband, and had paſſed Harold, who was the ſon of a ſhoe-maker, upon Canute for his own." On theſe accounts he laid the royal regalia upon the altar, and denounced the moſt bitter curſes againſt any who ſhould take them thence, in order to crown Harold. The latter, however, found means to ſoften him, and he at length conſented, not only to remove the regalia, but to perform the ceremony himſelf.

Harold, however, ſoon forgot the compliance, but not the affront, for he ever after took a great deal of pains to perſecute the whole body of the clergy; and as ſoon as he was upon the throne ſeized all his father's treaſures, which, by the will of that monarch, belonged to queen Emma, and were depoſited at Wincheſter.

Being now poſſeſſed of great riches, he found means to bring over the powerful earl Godwin to his party, not only by the efficacious application of bribes, but by promiſing to marry his daughter, and declare her iſſue heirs to the crown. This formidable coalition prevailed, and Harold was acknowledged king of all England.

Things being thus ſettled, Emma, according to ſeveral manuſcripts in the Cottonian library, which are now at the Britiſh Muſeum, found herſelf deprived, by this ſudden revolution, of her regency, and her favorite ſon Hardicanute, of the crown of Weſſex, ſoon perceived that all hopes of holding a ſhare in the government were intirely at an end as to him, and therefore ſhe turned her thoughts towards the bringing in one of her ſons, by Ethelred, and place him on the throne, not doubting but ſhe ſhould be powerfully aſſiſted in this deſign by the Engliſh, who wiſhed to have a prince of the race of their antient kings; but fearing earl Godwin's favour, ſhe had recourſe to diſſimulation; with this view, ſhe affected to renounce the intereſt of Hardicanute, and apply herſelf to acts of devotion; but in earl Godwin ſhe had a perſon to deal with, who was not ſo eaſy to be deceived, and who, knowing her talents for fineſſe, was ſuſpicious of this feigned indifference in a manner which he was ſenſible from his knowledge of her ambitious temper and her love ſhe bore to her ſon Hardicanute, could not have failed of deeply affecting her: he therefore imparted his doubts to the king, inſinuating, at the ſame time, that the crown was not ſafe on his head, ſo long as the children of Emma were living to diſpute it with him.

This inference naturally laid the foundation of a plan to get the young princes into their power. To effect which, Godwin forged a letter in the name of queen Emma, inviting them to England, and chiding them with their indifference reſpecting their inheritance. This forgery had the deſired effect, the princes were deceived by it, and Alfred, with a body of Normans, immediately embarked for England; Godwin met him at his landing, and the deluded young prince, thinking him entirely in his intereſt, embraced him with the utmoſt cordiality; at night, however, the young prince, and the greateſt part of his followers, were put to death by the treacherous Godwin.

The next conſideration was to evade the reſentment of Edward and Emma, whom they did not doubt would take every poſſible method to be revenged for the death of young Alfred. They accordingly contrived to have the queen accuſed of treaſonable practices, for which ſhe was A. D. 1037, ordered to be baniſhed the kingdom; when ſhe retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who received her with great cordiality, and aſſigned Bruges for the place of her reſidence.

After two years this queen was viſited by her ſon Hardicanute, out of Denmark, and they comforted themſelves with the hopes of better fortune, that either the hearts of the Engliſh would relent, or the uſurper by ſome other means finiſh his days or his reign. Harold on the other ſide, encouraged by poſſeſſion, omitted nothing that might ſerve to exclude them, or any other pretenders; and accordingly provided himſelf with a fleet, the only bulwark of the iſland, for the furniſhing of which every port in the nation was obliged to pay eight marks of ſilver to every ſixteen ſhips.

A. D. 1038. A rebellion broke out in Wales, which was fomented by Griffith Llewellyn, who commanded the inſurgents, and came to a battle with the

---

[*] A late author, in ſpeaking of queen Emma upon this occaſion, ſays, with theſe joined the queen dowager Emma, who, after having ſatisfied the dictates of ambition, in being twice queen of England, liſtened now to thoſe of nature and juſtice, and ſeemed to long to reſtore to her children, by Ethelred, thoſe rights which her vanity had urged her to ſign away from them by her marriage-contract with Canute.

Engliſh and Danes, at Croſs-ford upon the Severn, in which engagement he proved victorious; but another army being ſent againſt him, he was defeated. This inſurrection occaſioned the celebrated law, which enacted, that every Welchman who ſhould preſume to paſs Offa's Dyke without an eſpecial permiſſion, ſhould have his right hand cut off.

The tyranny of Harold's nature, and his frequent acts of cruelty had rendered him obnoxious to the nation in general, when death relieved the kingdom from his ſway by his * demiſe, which happened, May the 18th, A. D. 1040, when he was buried at Weſtminſter, leaving behind him neither wife nor child.

Hardicanute, who was with his mother at the time of Harold's death, immediately embarked for England, in order to avail himſelf of the favourable criſis, and take the advantage of the faction which intereſted itſelf in his behalf, before the popular tide ſhould turn againſt him and force him from the ſtream of his hopes; he accordingly landed at Sandwich, on the 13th of June, A. D. 1040, and immediately received a ſpontaneous invitation from moſt of the Engliſh nobility and clergy, who ſeem to have ſacrificed their real inclinations for the ſake of avoiding a civil war, and preventing the conſequent effuſion of blood. Even earl Godwin, who had hitherto been his inveterate enemy, appeared among the number of his friends, and thus all parties ſeemed unanimouſly to ſmile upon his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne.

SECT. XVIII.

Canute *the* IId, *or* Hardicanute.

HARDICANUTE's character had been repreſented in ſo amiable a light, that the Engliſh expected the greateſt happineſs under a reign, which promiſed to be ſo propitious; but they ſoon found that they had changed bad for worſe, as Hardicanute had more vices than his brother, without any of the virtues of his father.

The firſt action of his reign was an unhappy piece of revenge againſt the defunct: for he ordered the dead body of his brother Harold to be dug up, the head cut off, and the carcaſe thrown into the Thames. The mandate for this purpoſe was iſſued to Alfric, archbiſhop of York, earl Godwin, and Troubl the common executioner, who executed their commiſſion with a moſt rigorous punctuality. The body being afterwards found by ſome fiſher men, floating upon the water, was delivered to the Danes, who buried it in the church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, London. But Hardicanute being informed of this, ordered it to be a ſecond time dug up, and again caſt into the river, but being afterwards found once more, it was carried privately to Weſtminſter, and there interred.

The next act of Hardicanute was ſtill more unpopular, as it was a heavy tax laid upon the Engliſh to pay the fleet which brought him hither, and this was impoſed at the time of a dearth. But the complaints of the people concerning this unreaſonable tax, made no impreſſion on Hardicanute, for the very next year, viz. A. D. 1041, he raiſed, by two other impoſts, the ſum of 40,077l. Theſe impoſitions occaſioned a riot at Worceſter, when two of the king's collectors, named Peader and Torſtan, were killed, which Hardicanute revenged by ſending a party of ſoldiers to lay waſte the country in the vicinity of that city. The troops began their devaſtations on the 12th of November, and continued them to the ſixteenth. On this occaſion it is ſaid, the inhabitants, foreſeeing the fate which muſt attend their waiting for the arrival of theſe meſſengers of blood and deſolation, ſeized upon and fortified a little iſland in the Severn, called Beveridge, reſolving there to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, or to purchaſe their freedom; accordingly, when the king's troops, after having punctually obeyed their inglorious orders, prepared to attack this handful of reſolute men, they met with ſo warm a reception, that after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to drive them out of their faſtneſſes, the generals were glad to retire and leave them in the poſſeſſion of their aſylum, which they rebuilt, and, in a ſhort time, reſtored with double luſtre.

It was about this time that Hardicanute ſent an invitation to his brother Edward, then in Normandy, to come over to England; and on his arrival he treated him with great affection and cordiality; and at the ſame period he ſent his ſiſter Gunilda to Germany, to conſummate her nuptials with the emperor Henry III. to whom ſhe had been already ‡ betrothed.

By the influence of prince Edward, and his mother queen Emma, the Norman intereſt began greatly to prevail in England; when Livignus, biſhop of Worceſter, and the celebrated earl Godwin, were accuſed by Alfric, archbiſhop of York, and others, of the murder of prince Alfred. Upon this accuſation, the biſhop was deprived of his ſee, but well knowing the power of money, and the avaricious temper of Hardicanute, he ſoftened him by a bribe, and was again reſtored to his dignity; and earl Godwin, dreading to fall the victim of popular reſentment, followed the example of the biſhop, and found means to purchaſe his peace with an extraordinary preſent, which was a galley with a gilded ſtern, wonderfully rigged, furniſhed out with all conveniencies both for war and pleaſure, and manned with eighty choice ſoldiers, every one having upon each arm a golden bracelet weighing ſixteen ounces, an helmet and corſlet finely gilt, a Daniſh ſcymitar adorned with ſilver and gold hung on his left ſhoulder, in his left hand a ſhield with gilt boſs and nails, and in his right a lance, which, in the language of the Engliſh, was called a Tegar. This uncommon preſent was not ſufficient till he alſo took a ſolemn oath, that prince Alfred loſt not his life by his advice or deſire, but in that he merely obeyed king Harold, then his ſovereign lord; which oath was alſo taken by moſt of the nobility of the land.

Whatever Hardicanute's filial or fraternal love might have been, he ſeems to have had very little affection for the Engliſh; for he not only affected the Daniſh cuſtoms and manners, and was even fond of their vices, but he ſhewed a moſt aſtoniſhing partiality for them, when any diſpute aroſe between perſons of the different nations. At length he fell a martyr to their great failings, drunkenneſs and gluttony,

---

* Concerning the abſent princes of the Engliſh race, an accurate writer ſays, "The Engliſh, in vain, caſt their eyes on Edward, the ſurviving ſon of Ethelred, who was then in Normandy; for that court, on account of its own diſtractions, was unable to give him any aſſiſtance; and earl Godwin had ſo powerful a party in England, that any attempts made by the natives alone muſt have proved abortive, or have ended only in their own deſtruction. So that this unfortunate prince ſeemed to be in a manner out of queſtion, with regard to the ſucceſſion, more eſpecially as the right of primogeniture was, by moſt men of candour and diſpaſſionate conſideration, looked upon as belonging to Edward, the ſon of Edmund, then an exile in the Hungarian court; but his diſtance from the kingdom, and the general eſtimation in which the other Edward was held by the populace, ſeemed to remove him farther from the hopes of filling the throne of England, than even the ſon of Ethelred."

‡ It is ſaid that this marriage was performed with ſo much magnificence, and with ſuch memorable profuſion, that it got even into the ſongs of the bards of thoſe days, and was tranſmitted in lays, which were ſtill extant at the time when Matthew of Weſtminſter wrote, who records this circumſtance.

tony, for being preſent at Lambeth, at the ſolemnization of the nuptials of Tuvey Prudean, a Daniſh nobleman, with Githa, the daughter of Oſgood Clappa, he revelled to ſuch an exceſs, that the debauch terminated his life on the eighth of June, A. D. 1042, in the third year of his reign; he was buried at New Wincheſter. The Engliſh, in deriſion to his memory, uſed to commemorate the day of his death as a holiday, and to diſtinguiſh it by the name of Hog-Wedneſday, on account of the immoderate luxury of this prince, by the means of which he frequently degraded himſelf even beneath the brute.

Such was the end of this diſſolute young prince, by that vice which was too familiar to the Daniſh nation, which to the cruelty they ſhewed before they got poſſeſſion of the land, they afterwards added gormandizing and drunkenneſs. But as he exceeded all in this kind, ſo though he was born in England, and conſequently might have naturally followed the cuſtoms of that country, yet out of ſimpathy with the humor of the Danes, he bore moſt affection to them; nay, and ſuffered them moſt inſolently to domineer over the Engliſh. So that we are told, if a Dane met an Engliſhman upon a bridge, the latter durſt not move till the former paſſed over; and if the Engliſhman did not bow in the moſt humble manner, his head ſhould be broken, or for his clowniſhneſs, as it was termed, he ſhould be baſtinadoed.

Hardicanute had few virtues, and thoſe ſcarce aroſe above mediocrity; but he had many vices, and theſe in general he carried to exceſs, ſo that he lived deſpiſed, and died unlamented.

SECT. XIX.

Edward, *ſurnamed the* Confeſſor.

EDWARD, the ſon of Ethelred II. by Emma, was now the only perſon in the kingdom who had any kind of pretenſion to the crown of England; and indeed the principal one whom the Engliſh wiſhed to be their ſovereign, for they were now heartily ſick of a foreign yoke, and of being ruled by the Danes in particular, who had plundered inſtead of governing, and oppreſſed, inſtead of protecting them. So that it ſeems at this time the Engliſh had unanimouſly imbibed ſuch a ſpirit of freedom, that they not only excepted againſt a Daniſh ſovereign, but expelled the Danes, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, from the kingdom. But concerning the particulars of this revolution, and how it was brought about, the hiſtorians of thoſe times have left us in the dark; the moſt pertinent reflections, however, upon the ſubject, are thoſe of Rapin, which we ſhall here inſert, as they are at once curious, and intelligent:

" This is one of the moſt difficult paſſages in the Engliſh hiſtory. On which ever ſide we view it, it ſtill appears altogether unaccountable. The Danes alone, in a manner, were in poſſeſſion of all the eaſtern and northern counties; and in Mercia, that is, in the heart of the kingdom, they were as numerous as the Engliſh. Three kings of their nation had reigned ſucceſſively, who, far from humbling them, had no doubt ſhewn them great favor, and given them the preference. And yet, without any thing extraordinary happening, except the death of Hardicanute, a prince of little merit and reputation, they will have it that the Engliſh were ſuddenly become ſuperior. But this is not all, 'tis affirmed, that this ſuperiority was ſo great as to enable them to expel the Danes out of the kingdom. How is it poſſible to believe, that the Danes ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be thus treated, without making the leaſt reſiſtance? for it does not appear that there was any war or commotion in the kingdom upon this occaſion. Pontanus, the Daniſh hiſtorian, makes the matter ſtill worſe; he tells us, that all the Danes in England were maſſacred in one night, by the treachery of Harold, the ſon of Godwin, who ordered all the Daniſh ſoldiers to march out of their garriſons, under pretence of ſolemnizing the funeral of the late king. But this account is altogether improbable; for, in the firſt place, Harold, who was then very young, had no hand in the government, and conſequently could give no ſuch orders to the Daniſh officers. In the next place, how came it to paſs, that all the Engliſh hiſtorians, Brompton only excepted, who ſays but very little of the matter, ſhould agree to paſs over in ſilence ſo remarkable an event? How was it poſſible for them to write their hiſtories without ever making the leaſt alluſion to it? If it is objected, they did this, as aſhamed of their nation for ſo barbarous an action, what is the reaſon they acted not in the ſame manner with regard to the maſſacre in the reign of Ethelred? Theſe are difficulties that are not eaſily to be got over. It ſeems at firſt, as if there was a plauſible way of accounting for them, which is, to charge the hiſtorians, as well Engliſh as Daniſh, of not having told the whole truth, or of having aggravated what they relate. But by taking this courſe we run into greater difficulties. It is moſt certain, that ever ſince the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, the Danes have been ſo far from making any figure in England, that they are not mentioned in hiſtory any more than if they had never been known there, though juſt before, they were maſters of the whole kingdom. But whence ſhould proceed ſo ſudden a fall, or rather, how ſhould they all vaniſh in a moment, if neither expelled nor maſſacred? Hiſtory acquaints us not that war was made againſt them, that their ſtrong holds were taken from them, that they were brought under new laws: but all on a ſudden, theſe powerful and formidable Danes were reduced to nothing, in the reign of a prince the moſt unwarlike that had ever ſat on the throne. Theſe are hiſtorical difficulties, the ſolution whereof muſt be left to others."

Edward's affairs ſeemed benefited, not only by this revolution, but by the countenance and ſupport of earl Godwin, the moſt powerful ſubject this kingdom had ever known, who ſeemed now to make his country ſome atonement for his late attachment to the Danes, by intereſting himſelf in the reſtoration of the blood of Cerdic. Edward himſelf, however, was but little ſolicitous about his advancement, as he had formed a deſign to retire with his mother into Normandy, from which earl Godwin diſſuaded him by very ſpirited remonſtrances, telling him, " that he had better live gloriouſly a king in England, than ignominiouſly to dye an exile; that the crown did of right belong to him, as the ſon of Ethelred, and grandſon of Edgar, one who was ripe in years, inured to toils, and taught by experience how to adminiſter public affairs, and by his own afflictions how to prevent thoſe of his people. To effect this there would be no obſtacle, if he would confide in him, whoſe intereſt was ſo great in the land. Therefore on condition he would eſtabliſh a firm friendſhip with him, prefer his ſons, and marry his daughter, he ſhould ſhortly ſee himſelf a king; though now as one ſhipwrecked in his fortunes, and a man baniſhed from all expectations, he implored the aid of another perſon."

Edward at length, being rouſed from his uſual apathy, readily embraced the propoſitions of earl Godwin, took his advice, and gave himſelf wholly up to his direction.

Godwin * then convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates

at

---

* It is neceſſary here to give a particular account of the great power and aſtoniſhing influence of earl Godwin. This nobleman then, though by his father's ſide he had neither the blood o a gentleman nor a king in his veins, had pretenſions as form

dab

at Gillingham, and having, by an artful addreſs, calculated to prejudice the hearers againſt a foreign yoke, and intereſt them in what reſpected the blood of Cerdic, worked up all preſent to his purpoſe; he ſuddenly preſented Edward (who had been previouſly introduced incog.) to the aſſembly, and, at the ſame time, cried aloud, "Behold your king! this prince "Edward the ſon of king Ethelred and queen Em"ma, and to him I pay my allegiance;" when Edward was unanimouſly elected to the throne, though the ceremony of his coronation, on account of a great dearth which then prevailed, was poſtponed till the enſuing year, A. D. 1043, when it was ſolemnized with great pomp at Wincheſter.

The firſt public act of this king's reign, was inhumanly to rob his mother Emma of her lands and treaſures, and the next was uncharitably to accuſe her of a criminal correſpondence with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter. Her oſtenſible impeacher was Robert the Norman, who was afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he, not having any evidence to make good his allegations, inſiſted upon her undergoing the fire ordeal, in order to purge herſelf from the imputation; when ſhe walked blindfold over nine red hot plough ſhares, without receiving any injury, to the aſtoniſhment of all preſent, and the confuſion of her accuſers.

As the nature of the trial by ordeal is not commonly known, we have no doubt but the following ample account of it will prove entertaining to the generality of our readers.

The trial by ordeal was two-fold, the one by fire, and the other by water. The trial by fire was performed two ways; the perſon accuſed held in his hand a red-hot piece of iron, of one, two, or three pounds weight, according to his crime, or according to the evidence againſt him; or elſe he was made to walk barefoot and blindfold, over nine red-hot plough-ſhares placed at ſtated diſtances: if he had the good luck to come off unhurt, he was declared innocent; but in caſe he was burnt, he was pronounced guilty. Perſons of quality, only, were tried by fire-ordeal. Trial by water-ordeal was made either by cold or by ſcalding-water. Peaſants and ſlaves were put upon this trial. In the trial by cold water, the party ſuſpected had his hands and feet tied together, and ſo thrown into a pond or river: if he floated, he was held innocent; but if he ſunk he was declared guilty. When ſcalding water was the teſt, the perſon accuſed was to plunge his arm into it as far as the wriſt, and ſometimes up to the elbow. Theſe trials were made with great ſolemnity, and were always managed by the clergy. The perſon accuſed was obliged to ſwear his innocence, and ſometimes, eſpecially if in orders, to receive the ſacrament. After the charge was legally brought in, the perſon impeached was to ſpend three days in faſting and prayer. At the day of trial, which in the fire-ordeal was made in the church, the prieſt in his habit took up the iron which lay before the altar, and repeating the hymn of the Three Children, put it into the fire; then uſing ſome form of benediction over the fire and iron, he ſprinkled the iron with holy water, and made the ſign of the croſs in the name of the trinity; which done, the party accuſed paſſed through the teſt. The ceremony of the ſcalding water ordeal was much the ſame. But when the trial was by cold water, the three days faſt and other circumſtances being premiſed, the perſon ſuſpected drank a draught of holy water, to which the prieſt added an imprecation in caſe he was guilty: then the water into which he was to be thrown, had a ſort of exorciſing form of prayer ſaid over it. All theſe ways of trial continued long after the conqueſt. The firſt public diſcountenance from the ſtate was in the third year of Henry III. The cuſtom among the country people of trying witches, by throwing them into the water with their thumbs and toes tied together, is, perhaps, a relict of the old water ordeal. But the whole of this pretended purgation appears to be an impious deluſion of the ſenſes of mankind, to ſwell the bags of mercenary prieſts; for to them the party was committed to be held in cuſtody, and on them alone depended life or death. In this caſe no price, at the expence either of property or of virtue, was thought too dear by moſt of the accuſed for deliverance. But if the unhappy culprits had nothing to offer, they were ſure to ſuffer. On the contrary, if they could bid up to the prieſt's demand, either of luſt or avarice, they were ſaved by a preparation of oil, then a ſecret with the clergy, but now common with every fire ſwallowing mountebank that travels the country.†

The ſame year, viz. A. D. 1043, Swein, king of Denmark, the ſon of Canute the Great, began to make preparations for the invaſion of England, in order to aſſert his claim to the crown, as his father's ſucceſſor. On this important occaſion, earl Godwin acted with great ſpirit and diligence; he put the Engliſh fleet upon a reſpectable footing, ordered thirty five ſail of large ſhips to rendezvous at Sandwich, and even perſuaded Edward (who was one of the moſt unwarlike king's that ever ſat upon a throne) to repair on board, and take himſelf the command. It was Godwin's intent to prevent the Danes from landing, by attacking their fleet at ſea; but providence ordered matters otherwiſe, for Swein, inſtead of invading England, was obliged to ſtay at home, in order to defend his own territories from the invaſion of Magnus, king of Norway, who had entered his dominions with a formidable fleet.

England thus happily enjoying peace upon eaſier terms than was expected, Edward determined to fulfil his promiſe made to earl Godwin; and, accordingly, married that nobleman's beautiful daughter Editha, A. D. 1044. Ingulphus the abbot, and famous hiſtorian, who lived in thoſe times, and was perſonally acquainted with this lady, ſays, that ſhe was a miracle of perfection, both in mind and body, and with all the graces which could adorn the perſon, poſſeſſed every virtue that dignifies the ſoul. She had, in an eminent degree,

---

dable as his power. The firſt time that he appeared with any degree of eclat, was in the reign of Canute the Great, when that monarch intruſted him with the command of the Engliſh troops in his war againſt the Vandals. As a reward for the ſignal ſervices he did in that expedition, Canute made him earl of Kent, Suſſex, and Surry, and gave him in marriage Thyra, ſiſter to earl Ulpho, his own brother-in-law. Godwin had, by this lady, a ſon, who died young, being killed by a fall from his horſe. He afterwards married Githa, ſiſter to Swein, who was king of Denmark after Hardicanute: by her he had ſeven ſons, Harold, Toſtin, Swein, Ulnoth, Gyrth, Elfgar, Lewin, and a daughter named Editha. His great credit with Canute, the ſuperiority of his genius, his noble alliances, his titles of earl of Kent, and duke of Weſſex, and his poſt of high treaſurer conferred on him by king Harold; and laſtly, the high places of truſt and honour, enjoyed by his ſons, the eldeſt of whom, Swein, was earl of the countries of Hereford, Glouceſter, Oxford, Berks, and Suſſex: and Harold, another, earl of Eſſex and Eaſt-Anglia, had raiſed him to that height, that it was difficult for a ſubject to attain to a more exalted power; and, indeed, the title of king excepted, he poſſeſſed every other requiſite of regal authority; for the better half of the kingdom was actually in his hands, and thoſe of his family: ſo that, as we have before obſerved, he was more than a match for any party that could be raiſed in oppoſition to him.

† Many modes of trial equally ridiculous are, at this day, uſed in various countries, particularly in Africa, where crimes are tried by means of a liquor called Bonda, which the criminal is obliged to drink. If he is ſo far inebriated by it as to fall down as if dead, the prieſt pronounces him guilty, and he is dragged to execution; but if, after drinking, he is capable of ſtanding upright, he is declared innocent.

degree, all the good qualities of her father, and her brothers, without any of their vices or follies; and in particular, without the leaſt tincture of that turbulency of temper, for which they were ſo conſpicuous, and which ſo frequently gave cauſe of uneaſineſs to the weak and timid Edward. Yet this lady's accompliſhments, and profuſion of charms, could not induce the frigid monarch to perform the rites of marriage with her; for, either prevented by ſome natural incapacity, or deterred by a vow, he never conſummated his nuptials, and the monks, principally, for this ridiculous celibacy canonized him, though his conduct was certainly diſgraceful to him a as king, a huſband, and a man. As a king, he ſhould have been ſolicitous for an heir to the crown, which would have prevented the great effuſion of blood, and innumerable miſeries that afterwards befel his country on account of that deficiency. As a huſband, he ought to have followed the dictates of nature, and to have fulfilled the laws of God in the end of marriage, by endeavoring to multiply his ſpecies. If therefore his vow of celibacy was made previous to his nuptials, his marriage was unlawful, but if it was made ſubſequent, ſuch a vow was at once ſinful and abſurd. As a man, it was incumbent on him to treat a lady of Editha's virtues, and amiable qualities, and to whom he was bound by the moſt ſolemn tie, with affection at leaſt, inſtead of which, he not only neglected, but frequently behaved to her with great inhumanity.

A. D. 1045. Earl Godwin's eldeſt ſon, whoſe name was Swein, made an attempt upon the chaſtity of the abbeſs of Leominſter, in Herefordſhire. This offence greatly exaſperated Edward, who proſecuted the young nobleman with unremitting ſeverity, though he offered to make atonement by marrying the lady. But Edward was inflexible, and Swein was ſentenced to be baniſhed to Bruges, in Flanders. During the whole of this proſecution, earl Godwin acted with great policy, and did not in the leaſt intereſt himſelf in his ſon's behalf, which was highly pleaſing both to the king, and the clergy, as they deemed it a reſpectful ſubmiſſion to eccleſiaſtical authority.

Swein being thus baniſhed, he determined on a ſevere revenge; with this view he retired to Denmark, and procuring eight large ſhips, well manned, in A. D. 1046, he made ſeveral piratical depredations on the Engliſh coaſts, which ſo much terrified Edward, that he was willing to come to an accommodation with him; and Swein not being fond of the reſtleſs and dangerous life he then lived, ſeemed ready to acquieſce in any reaſonable conditions; this negotiation was, however, prevented from taking place by Harold, Swein's brother, who, dreading his aſpiring and ambitious diſpoſition, perſuaded Edward to break off the conference, which unhappy jealouſy in Harold occaſioned his brother Swein to retire once more from England in diſguſt, again to meditate future ſcenes of miſchief.

The king of Denmark, about this time, being unſucceſsful in his wars againſt Magnus king of Norway, ſolicited Edward to ſend him ſuccour, and thus requeſted aſſiſtance from the very nation he was but a ſhort time before about to invade. A great council was called upon this extraordinary meſſage, and the matter being warmly debated, earl Godwin was for aſſiſting the Dane with a fleet of fifty ſail of ſhips; but this motion being oppoſed by Leofric,* earl of Mercia, and Siward, earl of Northumberland, they, for this time, had influence enough to over-rule the propoſals made by the powerful earl of Kent.

Swein, king of Denmark, being at length relieved from his diſtreſs, by the death of his powerful enemy, Magnus king of Norway, determined to evince his reſentment to Edward for diſregarding his embaſſy, and refuſing him aſſiſtance. Setting ſail from Denmark with what ſhips he was able to collect together, he began his depredations by ravaging the coaſt of Wales; then proceeding round to Eſſex, he made an irruption into the heart of that country, till he was encountered by the Engliſh forces under the command of the earls Godwin, Siward, and Leofric, when the Danes were routed and driven to their ſhips.

The enſuing year, however, A. D. 1047, Swein, king of Denmark, ſent another fleet to ravage the coaſt of England, which being joined by the eight ſhips under the command of the rebellious Swein, earl Godwin's ſon, the moſt bloody conſequences were to be apprehended. Godwin, to prevent the effuſion of blood, and the miſchiefs which might enſue upon this occaſion, requeſted the king to grant his ſon a free pardon, Edward at length conſented to this, not out of reſpect either to Godwin or his ſon, for he equally hated them both, but through fear of the great intereſt of the firſt, and raſhneſs of the latter, which united might endanger his crown. Count Beorn, ſon of Ulpho, by Eſtritha, ſiſter to Canute the Great, was deputed to inform Swein of the king's intention to pardon, and reſtore him to his former honors. Swein, however, unhappily ſuſpecting the count's ſincerity, and conceiving that he intended to betray him into the hands of his enemies, determined to deſtroy him. With this view he inveigled him on board his ſhip, ſailed away with him to Axminſter, in Devonſhire, and having there murdered him, caſt his body into the ſea. This attrocious addition to his former delinquency, retarded Swein's pardon for a conſiderable time. But Edward equally fearing the father and ſon, and dreading a more powerful invaſion than ever from Denmark, at length concluded to conciliate, as much as poſſible, the affections of the two former, in order to weaken the force of the latter by depriving Swein, king of Denmark, of the aſſiſtance of the rebellious Swein's ſquadron: a reconciliation accordingly took place, and the Godwin family were for a time reconciled to the king.

Edward's conduct was in nothing more exceptionable to the people, than in his extreme partiality to the Normans. His long reſidence among them had attached him to their language, and manners, and he introduced both into his own court. Thoſe who wiſhed to baſk in the ſun-ſhine of royal favor, were obliged to ſpeak the Norman French, and imitate the dreſs and addreſs of a people whom Edward ſo much admired. It has been obſerved, that if Edward's kindneſs to the Normans had been merely a return for their humanity to him while he was an exile in their country, it might have been deemed a laudable inſtance of gratitude; but he carried his partiality to a moſt pernicious exceſs, to the excluſion of his own natural ſubjects from all places of truſt or profit, into which he had power to thruſt his favorite Normans. Moſt of the caſtles, and ſtrong places in the kingdom were entruſted to the care of Norman governors, inſtead of Engliſhmen, a Norman monk was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Norman dialect was even introduced into the courts of judicature, for by the king's command, all law proceedings were carried on in that language. This ſtrong attachment to foreigners gave great umbrage to the Engliſh people in general, and to the Engliſh nobles in particular; among the latter, earl Godwin was peculiarly hurt at the abſurd partiality ſo viſible in Edward. This nobleman,

---

* Theſe noblemen were ſenſible, that if ſo powerful a fleet was ſent to Denmark, earl Godwin would have the command of it, and therefore were unwilling that his great influence, which they already envied, ſhould receive ſuch a formidable augmentation.

bleman, with all his faults, which aroſe principally from ambition, was a real patriot, and had the good of his country truly at heart. He therefore ſeduloufly laboured to detach the king, in ſome meaſure, from his over fondneſs for the Normans, and to induce him to ſhew a greater regard for his Engliſh ſubjects. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury had too great an intereſt with the king, to ſuffer earl Godwin's ſalutary advice to take any effect; and by his inſinuations and artifices, he prevailed on Edward ſtill to continue ſhowering his favors on the Normans only; when an accident happened, which was near making Edward repent of his partiality to foreigners, and plunging him in a civil war with his own people. Of this occurrence we have the following relation:

Euſtace, earl of Boulogne, father to the famous Godfrey, and huſband to the king's ſiſter, having been to viſit Edward, and returning through Canterbury to take ſhip at Dover, one of his harbingers was ſo rude with a townſman in ſeeking for lodgings, that in the heat of anger he provoked him to kill him. The earl with his whole retinue going into the houſe where this ſervant had been killed, ſlew both the murderer and eighteen more who defended him; but the townſmen running to arms, revenged themſelves by the ſlaughter of twenty-one more of the earl's ſervants, and wounding almoſt all the reſt. Euſtace with much difficulty eſcaping, with great clamour haſtened to the king, and being ſeconded by other Norman courtiers, he raiſed him to that fury, that he immediately ordered earl Godwin to march to Canterbury, and puniſh the citizens with military execution. Godwin on the contrary alledged, "That no man was to be condemned unheard," inwardly grieving that the king ſhould favor ſtrangers more than his own ſubjects. Being joined with ſome others who loved their country, Godwin urged, "That the chief actors in the late diſorder ſhould firſt be fairly tried; in caſe they were found innocent, to be diſmiſſed, but if culpable, to be fined, or undergo ſome corporal puniſhment for the breach of the king's peace, and the violence and affront that they had offered to the earl." He further put him in mind, "That it was his buſineſs to protect his people, and not to condemn them without due proceſs." In concluſion, he refuſed to obey his commands, not regarding the king's anger, which he conceived would laſt but a ſhort time; but Edward diſpleaſed at his behaviour, and being by others excited to revenge, called an aſſembly of all the nobility at Glouceſter, when Godwin and his ſons did not think proper to attend, but raiſed and armed a number of troops, in order to prepare for the worſt; and it happened that an occurrence about the ſame time gave them a plauſible excuſe for appearing in an hoſtile manner, for the Welſh having erected a fort upon part of the eſtate of Swein, Godwin's eldeſt ſon, it furniſhed a good pretext for the earl and his family to draw together a body of forces to defend themſelves, in caſe the king ſhould proceed to extremities againſt the former, for his diſobedience of his commands.

Edward was greatly exaſperated at the contempt ſhewn him by the non-attendance of earl Godwin, and his anger was ſtill more increaſed by the arrival of deputies from the Welſh, complaining againſt earl Godwin and his ſons, for having entered their territories in an hoſtile manner. Hereupon Edward ſent to ſummon Godwin and his ſons to appear at the council, having previouſly engaged Leofric and Siward, earls of Mercia and Northumberland, in his intereſt, by whoſe preſence and authority he hoped to be a match for the oppoſite party. Godwin, on receiving this ſummons, was not a little puzzled how to act; he could not, conſiſtently with his own character, refuſe to attend, nor could he with ſafety comply. At length, however, he determined not to obey the ſummons, though he was well aſſurred that this appearance of contempt would ſubject him to all the weight of the royal indignation; but then, on the other hand, he conſidered that the eaſineſs of the king's nature made him the dupe of his enemies, and, though he bore the reſpect due to a king, he could not approve of the meaſures of the adminiſtration.

Agreeable to this determination, Godwin ſent a meſſage to the aſſembly of the ſtates, importing that the machinations of his enemies, and thoſe of the kingdom, made it not ſafe for him to truſt himſelf in their power: he declared the Welſh to have been the firſt aggreſſors, by infringing the laws ſubſiſting between the two nations, and invading the territories of the Engliſh: he painted in the moſt lively colours the injuries the native ſubjects of this land had ſuffered from the encroachments of the Normans, who had engroſſed the royal favor wholly to themſelves: and that he thought it his duty to raiſe forces, in order to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Welſh, and reſcue his prince out of the hands of foreigners: and concluded by demanding, that the perſons of count Euſtace and his retinue, who had murdered ſo many of the king's liege ſubjects, ſhould be delivered into his cuſtody, as earl and governor of Kent, where they had committed thoſe outrages, and there to be tried by the laws of England.

The king was fired with indignation on hearing this meſſage, and all the members of the aſſembly were aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of earl Godwin's procedure. Some ſilently approved of his ſpirited conduct, but the generality who were preſent, being court ſycophants, highly condemned ſuch audacious and treaſonable behaviour, as they thought proper to term it.

This aſſembly being diſſolved, a general council was called, to be held at London, merely for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the conduct of earl Godwin and his ſons. In this council, Swein, earl Godwin's eldeſt ſon, was declared an out-law, and an order was ſent for Godwin himſelf, with his next ſon Harold, to appear, in order to juſtify their conduct, with only twelve perſons to accompany them.

Godwin and his ſons, when they firſt heard that this council was to be ſummoned, thought it moſt adviſeable to march towards London in order to be nearer at hand upon any emergency; they accordingly approached the capital, and took up their quarters in Southwark, where they received the above order to attend the council, to which they returned anſwer, that they would willingly attend according to the ſummons, and with the ſtipulated number of attendants only, provided they might have hoſtages for their ſecurity. This requeſt, which, conſidering the diſpoſition and power of their enemies, was nothing but juſt, was rejected with indignation, and the king iſſued orders for the apprehending the perſons of Godwin and his ſon. Theſe orders, however, had no effect, the adherents of the two noblemen continuing firm to their intereſt. A ſecond citation was thereupon iſſued; but the earl remaining obſtinate, the aſſembly proceeded againſt him for contumacy, and paſſed an order for his departing the kingdom in five days, together with all his ſons, on pain of being treated as traitors to their country.

Though the citations, and orders for apprehenſion made no impreſſion on the adherents of the Godwin family; yet the ſentence of baniſhment produced a different effect: the followers of earl Godwin, and his ſons, were panic-ſtruck; they dreaded to fall victims to the ſame vengeance, the men daily deſerted, the officers grew cool, and this powerful nobleman, with his ſpirited progeny, found themſelves under the neceſſity of complying with their ſentence.

Earl Godwin therefore ſhipped his treaſures on board a ſmall ſquadron at Boſonham, in Suſſex, and, together with his ſons, viz. Swein, Gyrth, and Toſti, ſet ſail for Flanders, where he met with a cordial reception from earl Baldwin; and, about the ſame time his ſons Harold and Leofwin took refuge in Ireland, where they were hoſpitably entertained.

Edward having thus got rid of ſo many perſons who were obnoxious to him, more from their love to their country than on account of any great delinquency, could not yet be ſatisfied, but determined to wreak his vengeance on every branch of earl Godwin's family. With this view, he ſhewed a moſt unmanly reſentment to his innocent queen, who had never, in one inſtance, offended him, by confining her in the nunnery of Whorwell, where he had already impriſoned his own mother Emma. The reaſon he gave for thus treating his amiable conſort, is at once truly ſingular and abſurd; for, ſays William of Malmeſbury, he declared, "He was reſolved, that " ſhe alone ſhould not enjoy peace and plenty, while " her father and brothers were abandoned to difficul- " ties and diſtreſſes." A declaration which plainly evinces, that he was no more ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of humanity, than capable of the delicacies of love. After having thus revenged himſelf upon all Godwin's family, Edward, with his uſual partiality, beſtowed that nobleman's eſtates upon Odda, a Norman nobleman; but not entirely to affront the Engliſh, he thought proper to give Harold's eſtates to Elfgar, ſon to Leofric, the great earl of Mercia.---The conſort of this Elfgar was the celebrated lady Godina, of whom the following remarkable ſtory ſtands on record; That the inhabitants of Coventry, having greatly offended her huſband, he loaded them with grievous taxes; when Godina, pitying the people, and begging her huſband to eaſe them in ſome meaſure of their great burthens, he ſwore he would not, unleſs ſhe would ride naked through the city, a thing that he had not the leaſt idea ſhe would conſent to. The lady, however, though one of the moſt virtuous, and modeſt women of the time, determined to undertake this taſk, rather than ſuffer the people to continue oppreſſed: giving notice to the magiſtrates of her intention thus to ſerve them, they iſſued out ſtrict orders, that none of the inhabitants ſhould look at her during the proceſſion. This being done ſhe mounted her horſe, and rode through the town with no other covering than her own long hair. One perſon, however, having the curioſity to peep at her as ſhe paſſed, was ſtruck dead with lightning, in commemoration of which event the citizens of Coventry ſtill exhibit the ſtatue of a man in the attitude of peeping, on the very ſpot where the ſaid cataſtrophe is ſaid to have happened, and this ſtatue is generally known by the name of Peeping Tom of Coventry.

The impotency of Edward's government prompted the Iriſh and Welch to form the deſign of invading England. Having made a junction, they entered the Severn with thirty-ſix ſhips, and committed great depredations on the adjacent coaſt; but after having defeated ſome men haſtily collected together by the biſhop of Worceſter to oppoſe them, they thought proper to retire, on hearing a ſuperior force was marching to oppoſe them.

Edward, conſcious of his being obnoxious to the people in general, was ſolicitous to obtain ſome little degree of popularity, to effect which, A. D. 1051, he aboliſhed the tax of Dane-gelt; "Nor (ſays a late author) did his kindneſs to the people end here, for he ordered an account to be taken of all the ſurplus money remaining in his treaſury from this tax, and cauſed it to be reſtored to the ſeveral proprietors, from whom it had been collected."

William, duke of Normandy, about this time paid a viſit to his couſin, the king of England, when he was cordially received and magnificently entertained. This, however, was a fatal viſit to England, for William afterwards founded his invaſion upon it, by pretending that Edward, during his ſtay, had made him heir to the Engliſh crown; a pretence improbable in itſelf, and inconſiſtent with the circumſtances of the times, unleſs we ſuppoſe Edward to have been inſane at the time he made William ſuch a promiſe.

A. D. 1052. Emma the king's mother died, whoſe chief faults were ambition, a too great diſregard to the memory of her firſt huſband, and her offſpring by by him. The ſhining talents of Canute, however, in ſome meaſure, excuſe her for having borne a greater affection to him than a man of Ethelred's weak underſtanding, narrow ſpirit, and puſillanimous diſpoſition.

In the interim we find that earl Godwin and his ſons were doing their utmoſt endeavours, and ſtraining every nerve to put themſelves in a ſtate of ſhewing their reſentment to the king of England. To effect this, they tried all their friends, they procured ſupplies of ſhips, men, and money, and having at length gotten together a ſtrong fleet, they reſolved to revenge on Edward the ungrateful treatment they had received from him, and, if poſſible, compel him to reſtore them to their honours and poſſeſſions. Their deſigns, however, could not be kept ſo ſecret, but that Edward got notice of them; and, ſenſible that it behoved him to be well upon his guard againſt the attempts of ſuch an enterpriſing and incenſed foe as Godwin, he gave orders to his two admirals, the earls Rodulph and Odda, to repair on board his fleet, and cruiſe off the coaſt of Kent, to prevent any attempt of a deſcent. This was a very neceſſary precaution; and had it been properly managed, would, in all probability, have defeated, for that time, the deſigns of the exiled earl. Scarce was the fleet met together at Sandwich, the place appointed for its rendezvous, when intelligence was brought, that Godwin, who had ſailed from Bruges, was lying off Romney, in Kent, upon which the admirals immediately weighed anchor to go in purſuit of him, while a numerous body of forces was at the ſame time ſtationed along the coaſt to oppoſe any attempt to make a deſcent. Godwin, not thinking himſelf able to cope with the king's fleet, which was greatly ſuperior to his own, thought proper to retire to Pevenſey in Suſſex, whither two admirals deſigned to purſue him, but were prevented by a ſtorm, which obliged them to return back to harbour. Godwin taking the advantage of this accident, eſcaped to Flanders, and immediately ſent to his ſon Harold, who was in Ireland, to join him with a reinforcement from thence with all poſſible expedition.

Edward's adminiſtration was ſo weak and impolitic, that Godwin no ſooner diſappeared than the Engliſh fleet was ordered to be laid up. Godwin being informed of this abſurd ſtep, determined to take advantage of Edward's folly and careleſsneſs, by returning directly to the coaſt of England. Arriving at the Iſle of Wight, he extorted ſeveral conſiderable ſums of money from the inhabitants, then ſailing to Portland, he laid the people there under contribution; after this, he returned again to the Iſle of Wight, where he was joined by his ſon Harold, with nine ſhips from Ireland. With this fleet he entered the Thames, and proceeded towards London. Edward, upon this emergency, diſpatched orders to his admirals to oppoſe earl Godwin's armament; but this they found impoſſible, for the ſailors in general diſliking the king, his miniſters, and their own commanders, who were principally Normans, deſerted to the earl in great numbers. Thus was Edward's fleet without men, and the ſhips which were deſigned to impede the progreſs of the invader, could not be worked for want of hands. However, the earl did not make ſuch diſpatch but that Edward had time to aſſemble his principal nobles, who all bringing in their quotas of troops, formed an army ſufficiently numerous to defend the capital from any hoſtile attempts of a much ſtronger force than Godwin had brought with him.

Earl Godwin being informed that the king was prepared to give him a warm reception, thought it beſt to diſſemble his real ſentiments, and put on the appearance of humility and ſubmiſſion, though with the ſword unſheathed in his hands; and accordingly ſent a ſupplicating meſſage to the king, in his own name and thoſe of his ſons, requeſting that they might be reſtored to their former honours, of which they had been unjuſtly deprived through the malice of their enemies; and promiſing the moſt loyal and pacific behaviour. But Edward, ſurrounded by his Norman counſellors, rejected the propoſed accommodation in the moſt injurious terms, and even threatened the lives of thoſe who had been charged with the earl's meſſage. This unſeaſonable obſtinacy had very nigh proved fatal to Edward's affairs, for though his army ſeemed to entertain ſentiments of loyalty, yet they could not endure the idea of ſhedding the blood of their countrymen; and ſacrificing their own lives, when lenitives might be ſo eaſily adopted. At length Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſome of the principal nobles interfered with ſo much ſpirit, that Edward was in a manner compelled to hear reaſon, and a negociation was concluded upon the following terms:

1ſt. That Godwin, his wife, and ſons, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective ranks, power and poſſeſſions.

2d. That the queen conſort, Godwin's daughter, ſhould be reinſtated in her former dignity.

3d. That all the king's foreign counſellors ſhould be expelled the kingdom.

In return for the king's compliance with theſe articles, it was ſtipulated that earl Godwin ſhould voluntarily ſubmit to undergo a public trial for the murder of Alfred the king's brother, and to reſt his fate after a fair hearing, upon his acquittal or conviction. To this condition, the earl readily agreed, and gave hoſtages for his appearance on the day appointed for the trial. The hoſtages were ſent to Normandy for the greater ſecurity, as the timid Edward did not think them ſafe in England, and could not help upon all occaſions, placing a greater confidence in the Normans than his own natural ſubjects.

In the interim, the Normans being alarmed at the article of this treaty in which themſelves were included, and their expulſion inſiſted on, thought proper to withdraw in time, leſt worſt conſequences ſhould enſue; but the diſorders they committed in paſſing to the ſea, and the brutality with which they behaved, plainly evinced that the charges brought againſt them by earl Godwin, were but too well grounded. Among the principal perſons exiled, were Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, commonly called Robert the Norman, William, biſhop of London, and Ulf, biſhop of Lincoln, both Normans. Oſborne and Hugh, two Norman officers ſurrendered their caſtles to Leofric, earl of Mercia, and were by him permitted to paſs into Scotland.

As the trial of earl Godwin is the moſt remarkable in the Anglo-Saxon annals, and at the ſame time a very ſingular occurrence in itſelf, we ſhall inſert an ample account thereof, from the antient hiſtorian Brompton, together with the judicious annotations of an ingenious modern author.

The awful day of trial being come, and the aſſembly of the ſtates convened, the king, as ſoon as Godwin appeared in it, accuſed him of his brother's death in the following terms: "Thou traitor, Godwin, I impeach thee of my brother Alfred's murder, whom you yourſelf ſlew." Godwin's reply was, "Moſt gracious ſovereign, with all due reſpect to your majeſty's peace and dominion, I never did betray nor kill your brother; and I put myſelf upon trial as to this impeachment before your court." The king then ſpoke to this effect: "My well beloved lords, earls, and barons, here aſſembled, and who have heard my impeachment, and earl Godwin's anſwer, I will that you award judgment, and do ſtrict juſtice upon this impeachment." Upon this a ſtrong debate happened in the aſſembly, and variety of ſentiments were urged. It was ſaid in Godwin's vindication, that at the time of the murder (for ſo Brompton's words are to be underſtood) the earl was no ſubject of the king, and that he had not with his hands committed the murder. But thoſe of the oppoſite party urged the earl's late rebellion as a proof of guilt, and were deſirous of making uſe of the one charge as the moſt proper way to puniſh him for the other. We can by no means be of opinion here with ſome authors, who contend, from the words of Brompton, that no allegiance was due to the kings of England by birth, nor until a man had actually performed homage, or ſworn fealty to the king. This ſeems to be contrary to the ſtrongeſt evidence of our hiſtory and conſtitution. But, be this as it will, it was very warmly urged by Godwin's enemies, that no earl, baron, or other ſubject of the king, could by law wage battle againſt him in his appeal; but ought, upon the whole matter, to ſubmit himſelf to the king's mercy, and offer him reaſonable amends.

"This opinion ſeems to have carried it; for we are told, that when the queſtion was put, Leofric, as being the moſt reſpected in the aſſembly, delivered his ſentiments in the following manner:

"Earl Godwin, ſaid he, muſt be admitted, next to the king, to be the perſon of the higheſt quality in England, and he cannot deny that he had a hand in adviſing the murder of prince Alfred, his majeſty's brother: my opinion therefore is, that he himſelf, his ſons, and twelve of us earls, who are all of us his friends and kinſmen, ſhall humbly come before the king, each laden with as much gold and ſilver as he can carry between his arms, and offer the ſame for his offence, and moſt humbly ſupplicate his pardon, beſeeching him to lay aſide all ill-will, rancour, and malice againſt the ſaid earl, and peaceably reſtore him to his lands, after taking his homage and fealty." This award, which was probably before concerted between all parties, took place; the proceſſion inſtantly ſet out, and Edward accepted, with ſeeming acquieſcence, of the atonement.

"Many are the remarks which hiſtorians have made on this event. What is of real importance to us, is to remark the great authority of a meeting of the ſtates in thoſe days, and that it extended to cauſes which lay perſonally between the king and his ſubjects; that commutation in caſes of murder was even at this time admitted, though of the higheſt nature; that Godwin was tried by his peers, but that the king in his own realm, had no peer. This laſt maxim is implied by an expreſſion of the hiſtorian, which, if not conſidered properly, may be wreſted to very bad purpoſes; for, in giving an account of the debates upon this queſtion, it is ſaid, "that no earl, baron, nor any ſubject of the king, can by law wage battle againſt him in his appeal." But this is far, as has been generally ignorantly or perverſely urged, from taking away the lawfulneſs of all civil reſiſtance. By the term battle here cited, is only meant the ſingle combat, by which every man in thoſe days had it in his power to convict his adverſary, and clear himſelf: and it was then undoubtedly a maxim in the government, that the king of England had no peer, and therefore was not obliged to anſwer any challenge of that kind. This paſſage has we know, never been conſidered in this light; but to conſider it in any other, is giving up the principles of civil liberty, the common ſenſe of our anceſtors, and the genius of this conſtitution."

Earl Godwin being thus cleared by commuting his crime, himſelf, and his family were reſtored to their former dignities and poſſeſſions, all except Swein, who being ſtruck with remorſe for the murder of Beorn, undertook a pilgrimage bare-foot to Jeruſalem, by way of purgation for his heinous offence, but died on his return towards home. The popularity of Godwin rendered that nobleman's reſtoration to his former honors extremely pleaſing to the people in general, and his having procured the baniſhment of the Normans, contributed to encreaſe the love they bore him. Stigand, biſhop of Wincheſter, was promoted to the vacant ſee of Canterbury in the room of Robert the Norman, and many other Engliſhmen had thoſe places aſſigned them which had been lately in the occupation of the Normans.

Earl Godwin did not, however, long enjoy his reſtoration to power and authority, for A. D. 1053, the court being at Windſor, the earl with the reſt of the nobles was at an entertainment which the king had provided for the celebration of the feſtival of Eaſter, when being ſeized with a violent diſorder while he was at table, he fell from his ſeat, and was taken up by his three ſons, Harold, Toſti, and Gyrth, who carried him into one of the king's apartments, where his malady encreaſing he expired five days afterwards. This is the account of this great man's death, as it is given by the Saxon chronicles, Hemingford, Eadmer, &c. But the Norman writers, who were virulent enemies to Godwin, on account of his firm attachment to the Engliſh, and great enmity to foreigners, inſiſt that his death had ſomething ſupernatural in it, and viſibly evinced the hand of divine vengeance in the circumſtances that attended it. The principal of theſe alien enemies to the fame of the deceaſed earl was the abbot of Beverley, who gives the following account of his death :

" As Godwin was ſitting at table with the king, the cup-bearer in his hurry made a trip with one foot, but recovered himſelf with the other. Several who were preſent making themſelves merry on this incident, obſerved that one foot came luckily to the aſſiſtance of the other; and the earl, to increaſe their mirth, added, " So brother ſhould aſſiſt brother, when either ſtands in need." Edward, turning to the earl as ſoon as the words were out of his mouth, replied, " So might my brother have helped me, if Godwin had not interpoſed." The earl being ſurpriſed and abaſhed with this ſudden retort, was very much dejected, and with a countenance that diſcovered deep ſorrow, addreſſed the king to the following effect: " I know your majeſty is perſuaded that I am the author of his death, and that you ſtill give credit to thoſe who aſperſe me, as a traitor both to him and to yourſelf; but God, who knows the ſecrets of hearts, ſhall judge: if I am guiltleſs, I beg that he would ſuffer me to ſwallow this morſel unhurt; but if it ſhould ſtick by the way, you need no further proof of my guilt." Having ſaid this, he endeavoured to get the morſel down, but it ſtuck in the paſſage, and by his continued efforts to ſwallow it, ſtopped up the avenues of life, and choaked him."

But it is to be conſidered, that during the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, there was no ſurer method of gaining the graces of that weak prince, than by appearing to be at enmity with earl Godwin; and, in the ſucceeding reigns after the conqueſt, it became faſhionable to abuſe that patriotic nobleman's memory, and even dangerous to ſpeak well of him. It is therefore no wonder that the Norman writers, in order at once to pleaſe thoſe in power, and gratify their own ſpleen, have loaded the character of earl Godwin with all the infamy that the utmoſt violence of malice could ſuggeſt, without taking the leaſt notice of his many ſhining qualities. Dr. Echard, prebendary of Lincoln, ſays of this great man, " Whatever was the manner of his death, he was a man of an active and turbulent ſpirit, not nicely conſciencious, either in gaining or keeping, and not to be vindicated in his forcing his ſovereign to what he pleaſed; but had he not been ſo great a lover of his country, and an enemy to ſtrangers, thoſe who wrote in the Norman times, and who durſt not but write what would pleaſe their maſters, would have diſmiſſed him without this ſtory, and with a fairer character." And a more modern writer hath, with great accuracy and ingenuity, thus characterized him :

" Thus fell the greateſt ſubject England ever ſaw, and one of the greateſt men ſhe ever produced, had his virtues been equal to his abilities; but he was of an ambitious and turbulent ſpirit, and not over-conſciencious when the intereſts of himſelf or family were in view. However, his great love for his country, and his averſion to foreigners, have occaſioned his character to be handed down to us with blacker circumſtances than it appears to have deſerved. The death of a nobleman of ſuch extenſive power might have occaſioned a change in the adminiſtration, productive of danger; but the earl's influence deſcended almoſt entire to his family. His eldeſt ſon, Harold, ſucceeded to all his titles, poſſeſſions, and authority, unimpaired, and at the ſame time held the office of ſteward of the houſhold, with the governments of Kent, Suſſex, and the Weſt Saxons; but was obliged to reſign his own government of Eſſex to Elſgar, the ſon of earl Leofric. Harold as yet lay under no imputation of any of thoſe crimes of which his father had been accuſed; beſides, he was more humane, polite, and inſinuating; and, on all occaſions, behaved with ſo much reſpect to Edward, that he ſoon got into his good graces: not but that Edward put on a face rather foreign to his heart, for though he might not bear ſo great a hatred to Harold as he had done to his father, yet he was to the full as jealous of him; and indeed with great reaſon, for Harold, whoſe abilities were no ways inferior to thoſe of Godwin, had, by the additional charms of his obliging and courteous behaviour, firmly gained over to his intereſt both the nobles and the people; whereas the natural haughtineſs and reſerve of Godwin's diſpoſition had often times loſt him many friends. In a word, Harold, though he ſeemed to obey the king in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, commanded him; whereas Godwin, though he endeavoured to command the king, was obliged to obey him."

A. D. 1054 is remarkable for the rupture between Edward, and the famous, or rather infamous Macbeth, who had aſſaſſinated Duncan his lawful ſovereign, and uſurped the throne; the bloody tyrant next made an attempt upon Malcolm Canmore, the ſon of Duncan, but that prince eſcaping, fled to the Engliſh court, where he ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of Edward to puniſh the regicide, and recover the crown of Scotland from an uſurper. Edward readily granted him his requeſt, and ſent an army of 10,000 men into Scotland, under the command of the brave Siward, earl of Northumberland, who, being joined by Macduff, Thane of Fife, they in conjunction marched againſt Macbeth. Concerning the event authors are agreed, but with reſpect to the manner and circumſtances they materially differ: ſome ſay that Macbeth gave battle to the army ſent againſt him, and was defeated, after a moſt bloody conteſt, in which great numbers periſhed on both ſides, when he retired to the Highlands, where he was deſerted by his ſubjects, and at laſt taken and ſlain. Upon his death, Malcolm, the rightful heir to the crown, aſcended the throne of his anceſtors without further oppoſition.

But archbiſhop Spotſwood tells us, that Macbeth, upon receiving advice of the ſtrong army marching againſt him, was ſeized with great dread; and the arrival of the murdered king's ſon and the beloved Macduff was no ſooner known among the common ſoldiers, than they deſerted in great numbers, ſo that the tyrant ſeeing himſelf abandoned, and not knowing what to do, ſhut himſelf at firſt in the caſtle of Dunſinane, a fort that he had lately built. The loyal army marching thither, no ſooner came in ſight, than Macbeth, ſtruck with a freſh panic, abandoned the fort, and thought to have ſaved himſelf on horſeback; but being purſued by ſome of Malcolm's friends, he was taken and killed.

Rice, a Welſh prince, about the ſame time, entered England at the head of a body of men, and committed great depredations; but a number of Engliſh troops coming up with him, his forces were defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner. Being ſent to Edward, he was ordered immediately to be put to death, agreeable to a ſtanding Saxon law, which enacted, "That any Welchman who paſſed Offa's "Dyke, without a particular licence, ſhould ſuffer "death."

A. D. 1055. The celebrated Siward, earl of Northumberland died of a bloody flux. Of this brave nobleman's death, we have the following account:

"Finding his end approaching, he ordered his armour-bearer to put him on his compleat ſuit of armour; then cauſing himſelf to be ſupported on his feet, and taking his ſword in his hand, "Thus (ſaid he) ſhould every ſoldier die." So ſaying, he breathed his laſt in the arms of thoſe who ſupported him."

Similar to this was his behaviour on receiving the news of his ſon Oſbern's death, who was ſlain in the late expedition into Scotland.——Hearing that he was killed, "Whereabouts are his wounds?" demanded he; being anſwered that they were all before, "Haſte then, and bring him to me (he ſaid) that I may give him a ſoldier's burial, as he hath deſerved."

The only ſurviving ſon of this nobleman, named Waltheof, being a minor, the government of the Northumbrian dominions was entruſted to Toſti, the brother to Harold. About the ſame time Elfgar, the ſon of the great Leofric, earl of Mercia, was accuſed before the aſſembly of the ſtates of high treaſon; the particular charges of which, antient hiſtorians have not tranſmitted to us, but we find that ſentence of baniſhment was paſt upon him.

Elfgar thinking himſelf aggrieved, determined to be revenged on Edward, and with this view paſſed into Ireland, where having collected eighteen ſhips, he landed in Wales, and joining with Griffith, the then reigning prince of that country, they together invaded England. Rodulph de Maine, the king's nephew, encountered them while they were committing the moſt cruel ravages in Herefordſhire; but being without either courage, or military ſkill, he was totally defeated. Upon this ſucceſs, the invaders entered the city of Hereford, which they plundered and burnt, after killing many of the inhabitants, and ſeven canons, who defended the door of the cathedral.

The king being greatly alarmed at this intelligence, ordered earl Harold to march againſt the invaders; the latter, however, well knowing the ſkill of Harold, did not chuſe to wait for him, but retired into Wales, and were purſued by the Engliſh as far as the mountains of Snowden, when Elfgar was under the neceſſity of making ſome conſiderable conceſſions, and Harold generouſly intereſted himſelf in obtaining his pardon, upon which affairs were amicably ſettled, and Elfgar was reſtored to his former honors. It is to be preſumed, however, that Griffith, prince of Wales, was not included in this treaty, as he began hoſtilities again A. D. 1057, till the earls Leofric and Harold interpoſing, a peace was concluded between him and Edward. Soon after, viz. Auguſt the third of the ſame year, earl Leofric died univerſally lamented by all ranks of people in the kingdom, as he was brave, wiſe, honeſt, faithful, loyal, pious, humane, and benevolent; and indeed his conduct was in every reſpect ſo unexceptionable, that even the Norman writers of thoſe times, who took great pains to aſperſe every Engliſhman, could not find a ſingle fault to lay to this nobleman's charge, but unanimouſly give him a good character.

Edward being now advanced in years, and very infirm, grew reſtleſs and peeviſh. Moſt of the friends he had loved, and the counſellors, whoſe advice he had paid the greateſt regard to, were either exiled or dead; and above all, he dreaded that any of the late earl Godwin's progeny ſhould mount the throne after his deceaſe, as his hatred to that nobleman's family was fixed and implacable. To prevent ſuch an occurrence, he ſent Aldred, biſhop of Worceſter, his particular favorite, to Hungary for his nephew Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, that he might make him heir to his crown. That prince arrived in England accordingly, together with his ſon Edgar Atheling, and both were cordially received, not only by the king, but by the people in general, on account of their being the remnant of the Cerdic race.

Harold, who expected to mount the throne of England after the deceaſe of Edward, was ſenſibly affected at this occurrence. He, however, prudently concealed his chagrin, leſt Edward ſhould take the advantage of any appearance of diſcontent, and form a plauſible pretext to ruin him; but he was ſoon relieved from the greateſt part of his uneaſineſs by the demiſe of prince Edward, who died ſoon after his arrival, being about forty years of age, and his remains were depoſited in St. Paul's cathedral. From Edgar Atheling, the ſon of the deceaſed prince, Harold had but little to fear, as he was of a very weak underſtanding, exceedingly irreſolute, and inactive; remarkably timid, and perfectly inexperienced. And it is to be preſumed, that had Edward even declared him his heir upon the death of his father, Harold had the faireſt chance of governing as regent during the minority, in caſe the king did not long ſurvive, which his years and infirm ſtate of health ſeemed to render doubtful. But now an unexpected affair prepared the way for future misfortunes to this nation, for in the year 1058, earl Harold took his famous and fatal voyage to Normandy. Our hiſtorians are greatly divided, not only with regard to the views, but to the manner and circumſtances of this voyage; ſome aſcribing it to mere caſualty, others ſaying it was undertaken from a premeditated deſign. William of Malmeſbury tells us, that Harold being at his houſe at Boſenham, in Suſſex, near the ſea-ſide, he, for his recreation, with ſome of his retinue, took a fiſhing-boat, in order to row up and down at a ſmall diſtance from the land; but running out a little farther to ſea than they were aware, a ſtorm ſuddenly roſe and forced them acroſs the channel to the coaſt of France, where they landed in the territories appertaining to the earl of Ponthieu. The barbarous inhabitants of this part of the coaſt ſoon ſeized Harold and his followers, ſtripped them of every thing they had about them of any value, loaded them with chains, and caſt them in priſon. In this dilemma, Harold thought proper to ſend a meſſenger, with this information to William, duke of Normandy, (according to the moſt authentic hiſtorians) that he (Harold) had been ſent over by the king of England, formally to confirm certain matters of deep import to the duke, which he had hitherto only received by diſtant hints from envoys of inferior note; but that he was kept priſoner by the command of Guy earl of Ponthieu, and thereby prevented from diſcharging his embaſſy; repreſenting, at the ſame time, that William's honor and character were concerned in ſuffering ſuch a breach of the laws of hoſpitality, and ſo great an inſult on his own authority as ſovereign of the country, to go unpuniſhed; and concluded with appealing to him for juſtice, ſaying, " that if it was required of him, to purchaſe his liberty, and that of his followers, with money, he was ready to pay the ſame to duke William; but never would ſubmit to do it to a perſon inferior to himſelf, as was earl Guy." Hereupon duke William inſtantly gave orders for ſetting Harold at liberty, who repaired to the duke's court; where being honorably received, and by the duke invited to accompany him on an expedition he was then about to make into Brittany, he ſo far ingratiated himſelf into the Norman's favor, by his wit, courage, and inſinuating addreſs, that the latter ſhewed him every diſtinguiſhing mark of friendſhip; and Harold, not to be behindhand with ſo generous a patron and protector, promiſed him by oath, that in caſe king Edward died, he would deliver up to him the caſtle of Dover, which was then under his command, and uſe all his influence to procure him the crown of England. Duke William, confiding in the earl's proteſtations, and to endear himſelf and cauſe the more to his care, betrothed to him his daughter, then too young for marriage; and the affair of the ſucceſſion being thus concluded between them, Harold was ſent home, loaded with rich preſents. This is the moſt generally received account, though ſome writers affirm, that Harold, much againſt his inclination, was compelled to take the oath before William would ſhew him any manner of countenance, or even grant him his liberty. But whether the proteſtation was voluntarily made, or by compulſion is uncertain, but all writers of any authority agree, that ſuch an oath was actually taken.

While theſe things were tranſacting at the court of Normandy, Elſgar, the ſon of the great earl Leofric, who had now ſucceeded to all his late farther's honors, riches, and poſſeſſions, again fell under the diſpleaſure of the king of England. And being once more ſentenced to baniſhment, he had recourſe to his former ally, Griffith, prince of Wales, who immediately lent him a conſiderable body of forces. Elſgar, having beſides theſe procured a conſiderable fleet from Norway, with his whole force ſoon appeared upon the coaſts of Kent. This invaſion greatly terrified Edward, and his uneaſineſs was not a little encreaſed by the abſence of Harold, the only general on whom he could ſafely depend; for though he hated the man, he could not help admiring his abilities. In this exigency, the ſpiritleſs Edward thought proper to accede to whatever propoſals Elſgar made: he took off his attainder, reſtored him to his dignities and poſſeſſions, and only ſtipulated, that he ſhould ſend home his forces at his own expence. Elſgar ſoon after died, and his ſons Morcar and Edwin divided his vaſt eſtates between them.

Harold being now returned, Edward determined to avenge himſelf on Griffith, prince of Wales, for having abetted and aſſiſted Elſgar in his late rebellion; with this view he diſpatched Harold at the head of a formidable body of horſe to ſurprize him; but the Welch prince being apprized of Harold's approach, took to flight with great precipitation, and abandoned a fleet which he had juſt fitted out to the mercy of the approaching enemy, which Harold burnt and then returned in triumph.

Soon after, Edward found it neceſſary again to chaſtiſe the Welch, and with this view he ſent Harold with a conſiderable fleet, and his brother Toſti at the head of an army to attack them both by ſea and land. The Welch were ſo terrified at this formidable invaſion, that they baſely delivered up their prince Griffith, in order to prevent their country from being laid waſte; when that unfortunate prince was put to death, as his brother Rice had been ſome time before, and his head was ſent to the king at Glouceſter. Edward, however, thought proper to divide Wales between Blethyn and Rithwallen, the two ſurviving brothers of Griffith.

In this expedition, Toſti, the brother of Harold, had acquired great honour by his military ſkill and proweſs, and had thereby rendered himſelf very popular; yet that ambition and reſtleſs diſpoſition, which ſeems to have been the characteriſtic of the Godwin family, prompted him, on ſeveral occaſions, to behave ſo tyrannically and oppreſſively to the Northumbrians, who were immediately under his government, that, unable longer to ſupport their miſeries with patience, they had recourſe to arms, preferring the proſpect of death to certain want and ſlavery. To encreaſe the general diſcontent he had, about this time, a quarrel with one Goſpatrick, a man of great intereſt in Northumberland, when he found means to get him murdered, and afterwards endeavoured to charge the odium of his death upon his own ſiſter Editha. Not content with this, he, under the ſpecious maſk of friendſhip, got into his power two of Goſpatrick's friends, Gammel and Ulf the ſon of Dulfin, whom he inhumanly put to death in his own palace. Theſe complicated acts of perfidy and bloodſhed put the finiſhing hand to what his pride and inſolence had begun; and three or four of the principal noblemen of the country, at the head of four hundred men, ſeized upon the city of York, made themſelves maſters of all Toſti's treaſures, which were there depoſited, put to death two hundred of his friends and followers, and then ſent a deputation to Morcar, ſon of the deceaſed earl Elſgar, inviting him to take upon him the government of the Northumbrians, who were now determined to throw off all ſubjection to a perſon that had rendered himſelf ſo odious to them, by his male-adminiſtration. In this they were joined by the inhabitants of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincolnſhire. Hereupon Toſti appealed to the king, under whom he immediately held his government, and a conference was appointed to be held at Northampton, while Harold was ordered to march with a ſtrong body of men, in hopes of over-awing the malecontents: but when the conference came to be opened, theſe people, who were warmed with the noble ſpirit of liberty, and not actuated by principles of ambition or rebellion, repreſented their motives for taking up arms, and their reſolution not to lay them down till they had procured redreſs, in ſuch perſuaſive terms, that Harold, perceiving their reſentment againſt his brother to be entirely owing to his own bad conduct, gave a noble inſtance of his moderation and juſtice, by drawing off his forces, and conſenting to their election of Morcar in his room; and making a report to the king much in favour of the complainants. Toſti, finding himſelf thus deſerted by his brother, proceeded to ſuch acts of revenge, violence, and cruelty againſt thoſe of the Northumbrians who were yet in his power, as to render his name odious. His barbarity even extended to the dependants of his own family, for we are told that he always hated his brother Harold, but the conduct of that nobleman in this laſt affair had exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he ſeized ſome of his domeſtics, whom he ordered to be cut in pieces, ſalted, barrelled, and ſent as a preſent to their maſter. Theſe and ſimilar outrages, occaſioned the king to baniſh him, when he retired to his father-in-law, Baldwin earl of Flanders.

Malcolm, king of Scotland, about the ſame time, taking advantage of the diſturbances in Northumberland, ravaged that country in a moſt cruel manner, without the leaſt conſideration of the treaty then ſubſiſting between him and the Engliſh, or any grateful remembrance of the ſervices Edward had rendered him, in aſſiſting him to recover the Scottiſh crown from the uſurper Macbeth.

Toſti's baniſhment was a great addition to Harold's power and conſequence, and theſe he augmented by marrying Elgitha, the ſiſter of Morcar, earl of Northumberland,

thumberland, and Edwin earl of Mercia, by which his influence was ſo great, and his intereſt ſo well ſecured, that he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to mount the throne after the deceaſe of Edward.

It is now neceſſary to obſerve, that Edward had made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Rome; but as he afterwards found it inconvenient, as well as diſagreeable to his ſubjects, to leave the kingdom, or, what was ſtill more likely, was fearful of leaving behind him ſuch a ſubject as Harold, who might take advantage of his abſence to ſupplant him in his throne, he therefore obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, abſolving him from this obligation: but he thought he could not employ the money he had raiſed for his journey to a better purpoſe than that of repairing the monaſtery and cathedral of Weſtminſter, which was originally founded by Sebert, king of the Eaſt-Saxons, or rather converted into a Chriſtian church, from a temple in which the old Saxons had worſhipped Apollo.

For this purpoſe, he convoked an aſſembly of the ſtates to meet at London about the latter end of the year 1065, in order to confirm the charter of endowment of this foundation. In this aſſembly, beſides the lords ſpiritual and temporal, the queen Editha was preſent. The charter begins principally with the pope's bull, and then follows this clauſe.

“ The king, for the expiation of his own vow, and alſo for the ſouls of the kings his predeceſſors, as well as ſucceſſors, had granted to that place (viz. Weſtminſter) all manner of liberty, as far as earthly power could reach, and that for the love of God, by whoſe mercy he was placed in the royal throne; and now by the council and decree of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, and other of his great men, and for the benefit and advantage of the ſaid church, and all thoſe that ſhould belong to it, he had granted theſe privileges following, not only in preſent, but for future times.” Then follow the exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction, and the privilege of ſanctuary. This charter was ſigned by the king, queen Editha, two archbiſhops, ſeven biſhops, ſeven abbots, Raynbald the lord chancellor, the earls Harold and Edwin, ſix thanes, and ſeveral inferior perſons.

Edward was ſoon after this attacked by a violent fever; he, however, lived to conſecrate the cathedral he had taken ſuch pains, and been at ſo much expence to repair and embelliſh; but the very day after the conſecration, he took to his bed, and died on the 5th of January, A. D. 1066, in the 65th year of his age, and 24th of his reign, and was buried in his new conſecrated cathedral church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter.

Though Edward's character hath been drawn by the monkiſh writers in the moſt favourable light, yet a variety of dark ſhades were but too conſpicuous in the tranſactions of his reign: his panegyriſts inſiſt, that he was without paſſions, but this we deny; indeed he was deficient in point of the ſocial affections, and thoſe tender ſenſibilities which refine, and humanize the heart; but he was too ſuſceptible of prejudice, implacability and revenge, as his behaviour to his mother, his wife, and the Godwin family, too plainly evince. Hence a modern author ſays, “ he was a bad huſband, a bad ſon, an indolent king, a faithleſs friend, an inexorable enemy, a dupe to foreigners, and a ſponge to the monks”; for they ſqueezed him out of the greateſt part of his treaſures, and in return gave him the higheſt encomiums. Among the other miraculous things which they aſcribed to him, was the ſpecial privilege of curing, by the touch, the ſcrophulous malady from him called the king's evil; a privilege which ſome affirm to have deſcended upon the kings of England his ſucceſſors. “ How far, ſays a late author, this gift was real or imaginary, we leave to the reflection of every perſon of enlightened underſtanding, who need not be told that ſurpriſing effects have been produced by the effluvia of bodies of a certain conſtitution upon the human frame, without any ſupernatural intervention; we ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that it was not peculiar to the kings of England, ſince the kings of France have claimed the ſame privilege ever ſince the time of Clovis, the firſt chriſtian prince of that kingdom.”

Nevertheleſs, for this and other his reputed virtues, he was canonized by pope Alexander III. about two hundred years after his death, by the name of Edward the Confeſſor. Pope Innocent IV. afterwards granted a bull to fix the anniverſary and order the ſolemnity of the feſtival, which was on the fifth of January, the day of his deceaſe.

Even his eaſineſs of temper, or rather careleſs apathy of diſpoſition, though truly reprehenſible in a king, hath furniſhed the monkiſh writers with matter to pay their compliments to this monarch. Among others, the following ſtory is related as a proof of his affability and good nature.

One day, as he was repoſing himſelf on his bed, with the curtains drawn round, a page of his chamber came into the room, in order to do ſome menial offices, not knowing the king was there; and a coffer being left open, in which was money to a conſiderable amount, the youth, thinking himſelf ſecure from all detection, filled his pockets with the ſpecie, and retired; Edward, who ſaw him all the while through the curtains, not giving him the leaſt diſturbance. In a very few moments the thief returned again, and fell to work as before; when the king, diſpleaſed at this repetition of his boldneſs, called out to him, “ You young rogue, you had beſt be contented with what you have gotten, for ſhould lord Hugolin, the prime miniſter and chamberlain come and catch you, he will not only cauſe you to be ſoundly whipped, but alſo take away the booty you have already made.” The boy, half dead with fear, inſtantly diſappeared, and Hugolin coming in preſently after, and finding that ſome of the bags were miſſing, flew into a violent paſſion, and uttered threats of the ſevereſt puniſhment on the felon, if he could diſcover him: but Edward, with great good nature, endeavoured to pacify him, “ For the poor knave, (ſaid he) who has the money, wants it more than we do.”

But the moſt ſhining part of Edward's character is his merit, in a legiſlative capacity; for he collected, reviſed, and digeſted the laws of the Northumbrians, Mercians, and Weſt-Saxons, with thoſe of Alfred, Edward the Elder, and Edgar; and having reduced them into one body, laid the foundation of what hath been ever ſince termed the common laws of England, though it muſt be acknowledged that the forms of pleading and proceſs are chiefly derived from the Normans.

With reſpect to perſon, Edward was of a fair and ruddy complexion, tall and well made, and in his latter years had a moſt venerable and majeſtic appearance; his beard was long and white, and his perſon, upon the whole, inſtead of borrowing from, gave dignity to the royal robes he wore. When he dreſſed ſuperbly, it was not out of any oſtentatious love of grandeur, but merely to comply with the neceſſary forms of ſtate. In fine, in his enjoyments, he was temperate; in his amuſements, moderate; in his diet, abſtemious; in his common dreſs, plain; and in his manners, ſimple.

Edward was the laſt monarch of the royal Cerdic race, though not the laſt Saxon king, as his ſucceſſor was of that nation.

SECT. XX.

HAROLD THE SECOND.

ON the demiſe of Edward, three competitors appeared for the crown of England, viz. Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir, as being the grandſon of Edmund Ironſide; William, duke of Normandy, who founded his title on a pretended will of the late king; and Harold, the ſon of earl Godwin, who had not the leaſt ſhadow of pretenſion, except his own popularity, and his bare aſſertion, that the king had deſigned, and promiſed the crown to him. Of theſe three, however, Harold was the ſtrongeſt, as the whole body of Engliſh clergy, and the greateſt part of the nobility, declared for him, while William was of a country which the Engliſh implacably hated, and Edgar was young, inexperienced, weak, timid, and friendleſs. Harold politically made the moſt of theſe circumſtances, and to take away the ſhadow of an opportunity of caballing, he cauſed the king to be buried the morning after his deceaſe, as it was at that time uſual to defer the coronation of a new ſovereign till the former was interred. Immediately after this precipitate interment, an aſſembly was convened, and Harold, having a majority of ſuffrages, was declared king, and inſtantly anointed by Aldred, archbiſhop of York the archbiſhop of Canterbury being at that time very much indiſpoſed: this peculiar hurry ſeems to evince, that Harold himſelf looked upon his pretenſions as unjuſt, and his title as diſputable.

The above is the moſt generally received account of Harold's advancement to the crown of England; the antient hiſtorians, however, greatly differ in relating the circumſtances of this important affair. Ingulphus ſays, that Harold wickedly obtruded himſelf into the throne. Huntingdon tells us, that though the people in power were for Harold, yet the generality of the Engliſh were inclined to favor the pretenſions of Edgar Atheling.

William of Malmeſbury, who inclines to the Norman party, aſſerts, that Harold, finding a great diſagreement among the nobles about the ſucceſſion, ſeized the crown, placed it on his own head, and intimidated the aſſembly ſo, as to extort an oath of allegiance from them; and Henry de Silgrave (an author who wrote in the time of Edward I. and whoſe hiſtory is now in manuſcript in the Cottonian collection) relates, that Harold came to Edward, as he was lying on his death-bed, deſiring him to appoint a ſucceſſor: that he replied, he had already nominated duke William for his heir: but the earl and his friends ſtill perſiſting in this requeſt, the king, turning his face to the wall, replied, "When I am dead, let the Engliſh make either the duke, or the earl, king."

The throne being thus filled by Harold, by an election ſeemingly unanimous, or at leaſt by an apparent majority, he applied himſelf to gain the affections of the people by the moſt laudable and popular meaſures. With this view he repealed ſeveral acts which were generally deemed oppreſſive, and affected on all occaſions to treat the young Edgar Atheling with the greateſt marks of reſpect and kindneſs, hinting at the ſame time, that he took poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power merely for the ſake of the young prince, whoſe nonage rendered him unfit for the weight of government, and that he might poſſibly ſhift the diadem from his own brow to place it upon his, when years had ripened him into maturity for wearing it. He ſpared nothing to give him the moſt liberal education, as a perſon who was one day to rule over others; he loaded him with gifts and honors, and particularly cheriſhed thoſe whom he knew to be favorers of that prince's cauſe. By theſe and the like politic ſteps, he eſtabliſhed ſuch a dominion over their minds, that he reigned the king of their choice, and bade defiance to any cabals that could be raiſed against his power and authority.

> The greateſt pow'r a ſovereign can attain,
> Is o'er his people's hearts by love to reign;
> For the dominion by affection gain'd,
> Is ſtronger far than that by arms obtain'd.

Harold's prudent conduct and wiſe precautions were abſolutely neceſſary, as he had a double cauſe of apprehenſion, namely from the malice of his brother Toſti, who was envious of his ſucceſs; and from the ambition of duke William to whom he had broken his promiſe.

Toſti was at this time in the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, father to his wife Judith, and to Matilda or Maud, dutcheſs of Normandy; and preſuming upon this affinity, as alſo being ſenſible of the pretenſions which William had ſet up to the crown of England, went over to Rouen, on a viſit to the duke, in order to perſuade him to invade the territories of his brother Harold. William wanted very little incitement to the attempt; he had already reſolved in his own mind to make the moſt powerful alliances he could againſt Harold, and for this purpoſe he had entered into a new league with the Norwegians, the antient friends of the Normans, and had engaged Harold Harfager, the king of that country, to fall upon the Northumbrian territories, while he himſelf ſhould make a deſcent upon the ſouthern parts.

William being full of theſe ideas, it is no wonder that Toſti was cordially received by him. Indeed, he determined to make this nobleman his inſtrument, in order to ſound the affections of the Engliſh, and with this view, as preparatory to the grand blow intended to be ſtruck, he intruſted him with ſixty ſail of ſhips and a body of forces; with which Toſti ravaged the Iſle of Wight, and then ſcoured the coaſt till he came to Sandwich. Harold, in the mean time ſent a ſtrong ſquadron and a body of horſe againſt him; when Toſti thought proper to withdraw his forces from that part, but ſtill kept plundering the coaſt at different places, till Edwin earl of Mercia, and Morcar, who had ſucceeded Toſti in the government of Northumberland, getting together a body of troops in haſte, encountered the invader, and drove him with a great ſlaughter of his men, back to his ſhips, ſeveral of which they burned, and the enterpriſing exile was obliged to fly for refuge into Scotland, with twelve of his ſhips, all that he had remaining of the fleet he had firſt brought with him Here he endeavoured to engage Malcolm, king of Scots, in his intereſt; but that prince being then embroiled in a civil war with the deſcendants of Macbeth, could not be prevailed upon to join him; therefore Toſti's ſucceſs in Scotland fell far ſhort of his ſanguine hopes.

About the ſame time William, duke of Normandy, ſent a meſſage to Harold, to relinquiſh the crown of England in favor of himſelf by reaſon of his double claim, viz. The will of king Edward, and the oath of Harold while in Normandy. To this demand, Harold returned a ſpirited and peremptory anſwer, by which he gave the duke to underſtand, that in the firſt place the ſuppoſed will of Edward, if any ſuch there really was, made nothing for his claim, inaſmuch as by the conſtitution of the kingdom no monarch of England could bequeath his dominions to any one without the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom, much leſs to a foreigner; that the right of election of a ſovereign to rule over them was veſted in the nobles and commons of the kingdom; that ſuch election had been formally made in his (Harold's) favor, and therefore, that he held the crown by the moſt authentic of all tenures, the united ſuffrages of the people. Secondly, that as to the pretended promiſe that he might have made to the duke, it was extorted from him while in a ſtate of durance, and as ſuch was null and void by the laws of all nations. And laſtly, he concluded with declaring, that he was ever ready to maintain himſelf in poſſeſſion of that ſovereignty, to which the voices of the people, in full aſſembly, had raiſed him, againſt all thoſe who ſhould dare to conteſt his claim, ſo long as he had an arm to wield a ſword, or a ſoldier that would fight under his banner. This ſpirited anſwer convinced William, that he had nothing to expect but from the ſucceſsful iſſue of a war; for which both parties now made the moſt earneſt preparations. Accordingly the duke applied to the neighbouring princes for ſuccour, with the moſt alluring promiſes of reward, in caſe by their aſſiſtance he ſhould be enabled to compaſs his end.

In the mean time (we are told that) Harold Harſagar, king of Norway, appeared on the coaſts of England, with a fleet of three hundred ſail; and being joined by Toſti, who, ſince his late defeat, had kept hovering on and off the northern part of the iſland, the two fleets ſailed up the river Humber, where they landed their forces, and immediately marched forwards to lay ſiege to the city of York. This invaſion was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that the earls Edwin and Morcar, who were the governors of that country, had not time to levy a ſufficient force to diſpute their landing: however, knowing that ſomething muſt be done in this critical ſituation, in order to check the enemy in their progreſs, till a ſtronger reinforcement could be ſent from the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, they got together a few troops from the adjacent countries, and advanced to oppoſe the invaders; but theſe troops conſiſting of raw undiſciplined men, were quickly beaten, and the enemy proceeding onwards, ſat down before the city of York, which ſoon fell a prey to them, where they put the greateſt part of the inhabitants to the ſword. On the firſt news of Harfagar's deſcent, Harold marched with a choſen body of veteran troops to oppoſe him, but could not come up time enough to prevent the fate of York. At length, however, the two armies met near Standford-brigg, ſince called Battle-bridge, which bridge was guarded by a party of Norwegians, who defended it for ſome time with great intrepidity, but being driven from it, the action became general, and was obſtinately maintained by both parties, till victory at length declared in favor of the Engliſh. The loſs of the invaders was almoſt incredible; amongſt others their leaders Harfagar and Toſti were left dead on the field of battle, and a very conſiderable booty fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Harold wiſely purſuing this advantage, made himſelf maſter of many of the Norwegian ſhips, but at length coming to an agreement with Paul, count of the Orkneys, and Olaus, the ſon of Harfager, he ſuffered them to carry off their wounded in twenty-one ſhips, on their ſwearing never more to invade the dominion of England.

The defeat of the Norwegians, and death of Toſti, greatly diſconcerted the duke of Normandy, but his reſolution, which never forſook him, determined him to purſue his preparations with redoubled vigor, and to obtain the crown of England, or periſh in the attempt.

This victory, however, inſtead of rendering Harold's power more permanent proved but a prelude to his ruin, which the following circumſtance did not a little contribute to accelerate: It was uſual, in thoſe times, after a victory for the ſpoils to be divided between the officers and ſoldiers; but Harold upon this occaſion acted with an impolitic parſimony, by ſeizing all the booty in order to carry on the impending war with the Normans, without burthening his ſubjects with any additional taxes. Laudable as this motive really was, the troops were greatly offended at his conduct, and imagined, that through avarice he had robbed them of the ſpoils, for which they had expoſed themſelves to dangers, and hazarded their lives. Hence, moſt of the officers, and all the ſoldiers were diſcontented, and many of both deſerted.

This defection, with the great numbers loſt in the engagement, greatly weakened Harold's army. He, however, entered the city of York in a triumphant manner, and there continued till he received the unwelcome news of the duke of Normandy's deſcent upon the Engliſh coaſt.

Before we enter into a detail of matters ſubſequent to the invaſion, it is neceſſary to premiſe that William convened together the ſtates of Normandy, in order to get them to give a ſanction to his intended deſign. But in this his utmoſt eloquence could not prevail, moſt of the Norman nobility were averſe to the enterprize, and repreſented, that their country was already drained of men and money by the long war it had carried on with its neighbours, the French; and that they were not obliged to ſerve in foreign expeditions, in which the intereſt of Normandy was not immediately concerned, which they thought by no means to be the caſe in the preſent intended expedition.

Upon this repulſe, we find that William changed his plan of operations, gave over proſecuting his enterprize as connected with the honor and dignity of his dukedom, and determined to make a private jobb of it; with this view he ſet on foot a ſubſcription, to which every man in Europe was invited as an adventurer. This method ſucceeded to his wiſh. In a ſhort time he found means to get ſeveral of the chief men of his duchy to contribute, as private individuals, to that ſcheme which they had oppoſed in their political legiſlative capacities. This inſpired a general emulation who ſhould be foremoſt in aſſiſting their prince. And we have an account of ſeveral perſons who furniſhed him with ſhips, and a ſuitable number of men, viz.

	Ships.
William Fitz Oſbern,	40
William, the ſon of ditto,	60
Hugh, afterwards earl of Cheſter,	60
Hugh de Montfort,	60
Romus, the almoner of Toſcan, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln,	1
The abbot of St. Odian,	15
Robert, earl of Angus,	60
Girald the Sewer,	60
William, count of Durance,	80
Roger de Montgomery,	60
Roger de Beaumont,	60
Odo, biſhop of Bayeux,	100
Robert de Mortimer,	120
William Gifford,	30
Matilda, William's conſort, furniſhed one ſhip in which the duke himſelf embarked, on the prowe of this was a child of gold, with the right hand pointing towards England,	1
	807

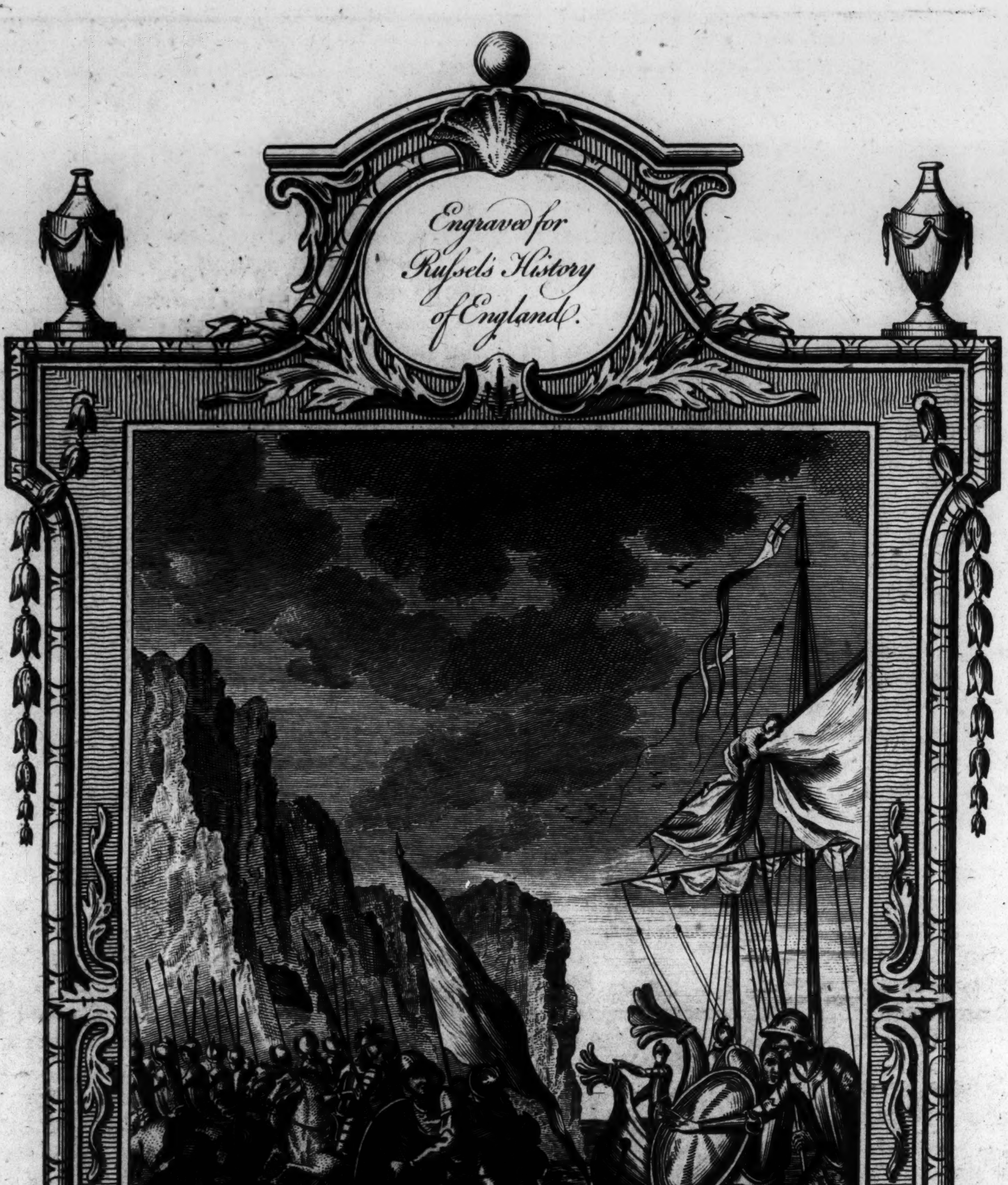
Beſides theſe many private gentlemen, whoſe names are not handed down to us, furniſhed one or more ſhips, ſo that the whole fleet amounted together to upwards of a thouſand ſail. The ſhips were made with flat bottoms to draw but little water, and ſuitable to the purpoſes of carrying both men and horſes.

Others, who did not aſſiſt William with any ſhipping, contributed to the enterprize by furniſhing conſiderable bodies of land forces, particularly

Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou,
Guy, earl of Ponthieu,
Euſtace, count of Boulogne,

The

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


Wale delin.
White sculp.

Engraved for
Ruſsel's History
of England.

The Landing of
WILLIAM the CONQUEROR

The viſcount of Thouars, and
Howel count of Bretagne.

The emperor Henry IV. by the advice of the imperial council, iſſued a proclamation, permitting any of the vaſſals and dependants of the Empire to enter into the ſervice of William. The court of France, however, gave him no manner of encouragement to proſecute his enterprize, but adviſed, or rather commanded him as a vaſſal not to enter into it. But this diſcountenance of the Gallic court was overbalanced by the favour and protection of pope Alexander the II. who, upon William's promiſing to hold England as a fief of the Apoſtolic See, immediately excommunicated Harold, pronounced him a perjured traitor, and an uſurper, and ſent to the duke of Normandy a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it, and a conſecrated banner. He likewiſe publiſhed bulls to ſanctify William's cauſe, and invited all chriſtians to aſſiſt in placing him on the throne of England. Theſe concurrent circumſtances not only rouſed many foreigners to join the Norman ſtandard, but numbers of the Engliſh themſelves looking upon Harold as an excommunicated perſon, deſerted him, and joined the enemy of their country. At length he ſet ſail from St. Valery, A. D. 1066, on the eve of the feaſt of St. Michael, the tutelary ſaint of Normandy, and landed without oppoſition the next day at Pevenſey, in Suſſex, having loſt in his paſſage only two ſmall veſſels that were overladen. The duke is ſaid to have been himſelf the firſt who jumped aſhore; and the writers of his life have, upon this occaſion, adapted to him an incident we meet with in the life of Julius Cæſar; for they tell us that his foot, by accident, ſlipping, he fell down, when a ſoldier ſtanding by, immediately turned it into a good omen, ſaying, "Sir, you have thus taken ſeizin of that land of which you will ſhortly be king."

After William had thus effected a landing, he acted with the moſt refined policy, by returning, or, as others ſay, with greater probability, by ſending his fleet back to Normandy, that his men might be deprived of any hopes of perſonal ſafety but by victory; then marching to Haſtings in Suſſex, he erected a fortification and publiſhed a manifeſto, containing his reaſons for undertaking this enterprize, and ſetting forth, that he came to revenge the death of prince Alfred, reſtore Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury, and aſſiſt the Engliſh in puniſhing Harold, who had ſeized the crown, to which he had no right, in direct violation of the oath he had ſworn at the Norman court. But theſe reaſons were treated as frivolous by every Engliſhman of good ſenſe; for in the firſt place, Alfred had fallen by Godwin, who had been tried and fined for the ſame: but although that puniſhment fell far ſhort of the crime, yet Harold could not be involved in the guilt, as it did not appear that he had any hand in the murder. The ſecond reaſon was no better than the firſt (though probably inſerted in the manifeſto on the pope's account, to ſerve as a cover for his partiality to the duke), for it was well known that prelate had been baniſhed by the general aſſembly of the kingdom in Edward's reign, and conſequently the preſent king could not be blamed for it: moreover, it was in itſelf a wiſe and juſtifiable meaſure, and ſuch as was univerſally approved of by the Engliſh themſelves. Thirdly, as to his offering the Engliſh his aſſiſtance to bring Harold to condign puniſhment for having ſeized the crown without right, and in direct contravention to his oath, Harold had fully anſwered every thing that William could allege on that ſubject.

What moſt ſurprized all thinking people was, that William in his manifeſto never mentioned, or even hinted at any will made by the deceaſed king Edward; we may therefore venture to ſuppoſe, that neither will or verbal promiſe had been made, and that the duke of Normandy, in reality, had ſmaller pretenſions to the crown of England than even Harold.

It is to be obſerved, that a political ſtep of William's was of infinite ſervice to his cauſe, for when his proviſions were conſumed, he gave ſtrict orders that his people ſhould not plunder the inhabitants, in order to procure any more.

By this prudent ſtep he, in all probability, ſaved his army from deſtruction; for the inhabitants of the adjacent country, finding themſelves treated thus mildly, endeavoured to ſecure the favor and protection of their new maſter, by ſupplying him with all thoſe neceſſaries which he wanted, inſtead of retiring with their effects, cattle, &c. up the country, which a contrary conduct would certainly have occaſioned.

About this time a Norman baron, named Robert, who had been, for ſome time, ſettled in the northern parts of England, ſent William an account of Harold's victory over the king of Norway, and his return from the north to London, adviſing him, at the ſame time, not to venture a battle with ſuch a numerous army of brave men as the uſurper had to bring againſt him, but rather to entrench himſelf as ſtrongly as poſſible in his camp at Haſtings. William, however, either too judicious, or too intrepid, to follow ſuch timorous advice, returned for anſwer, "that he was come into England to ſeek his enemy; that he put confidence in the valor of his troops, and did not doubt of ſucceſs; and that he held it beneath the honor of a general, who had the ſwords of ſixty thouſand brave men unſheathed in his cauſe, to waſte time in parlying."

Harold, in this exigency, made a general muſter of his forces, and found, too late, the bad effects of his ill-timed parſimony; the conſequences of which he ſtrove to repair by the kindeſt behaviour to thoſe who remained firm to him, and by ſoliciting the aſſiſtance of the nobles of the kingdom, to whom he repreſented the danger to which they, their country, and himſelf were expoſed. Many of the nobility accordingly joined him, or ſent him ſuccours, and in the interim William ſent ambaſſadors to demand the crown, which he accuſed him of having perfidiouſly and perjuriouſly uſurped. Harold, enraged at ſuch an haughty and inſolent meſſage, returned an anſwer teeming with equal aſperity of language, and ſtrained every nerve to oppoſe the Norman with vigor. Some of the Engliſh nobles, however, ſtrove to mitigate that martial fire with which Harold ſeemed to be animated, and perſuaded him to make this propoſition to William: That if he would depart the kingdom quietly, the expences of his expedition ſhould be defrayed. The Norman received this overture with the contempt it merited, and returned this anſwer "That he was not come over for the ſake of plunder, or paltry coin, but to ſeize that kingdom which was his due, and which Harold, in violation of the moſt ſacred oaths had uſurped; and that nothing elſe would ſatisfy him." Upon the receipt of this meſſage, Harold, who, it ſeems thought too lightly of his enemy with reſpect to number, ſkill, and courage, marched towards the Normans, and encamped within ſeven miles of Haſtings. While the two armies were thus ſituated, Gyrth, one of Harold's brother's, who was equally remarkable for his courage and prudence, repreſented to the king, that the wiſeſt ſtep he could take would be to temporize, and procraſtinate coming to an engagement, remonſtrating, "That all his ſupplies were not yet come up; that the enemy was, therefore, much ſuperior in number; that his army was fatigued with its march; and that it would be better to content himſelf with waſting the country and carrying off all the proviſions it afforded, till the expected ſuccours ſhould join him from the north; that ſuch a conduct would greatly diſtreſs the enemy, who, when they found that they could neither ſubſiſt in the country, nor force the iſſue of a battle, would be glad to come into any terms, to ſecure a ſafe retreat, and leave the land with more precipitation than they ever entered it." At the ſame time he beſought his brother to let him take the command of the army upon himſelf: "Reſerve yourſelf, ſaid this able counſellor, to other times; while you are ſafe, the enemy can never be ſaid to conquer, but on your perſon the fate of your kingdom depends. Leave me to fight the Norman, if, peradventure, a favorable occaſion ſhall offer; while you keep yourſelf ready to reap the glory of my ſucceſs, or repair the misfortune of my defeat."

But Harold was unfortunately deaf to this ſalutary advice, till the next day, when in company with Gyrth, he reconnoitered the enemy's camp, and found them far from being ſo contemptible as his ſanguine imagination had repreſented them. Perceiving that he had been greatly impoſed upon, both with reſpect to their numbers and diſcipline, he now propoſed to retreat to London, till he could increaſe his forces, and take the field againſt ſo powerful a foe with greater advantage to himſelf. But here Gyrth again oppoſed his intention, and with a generous warmth told him "that he ought to have gone and abided in that city, agreeable to the advice of himſelf and others his faithful counſellors, till the arrival of his troops; but ſince it was now too late to repent, ſo it would be ignominious to recede; that his honor was now engaged, and he muſt ſtand the teſt, prepared either to conquer or loſe all; that the leaſt ſtep towards a retreat would be conſtrued into a flight, and loſe him for ever in the opinion of his ſoldiers and all the world, animate the Normans, and ſo diſcourage his own men, that they would certainly deſert him, and he would never be able to get them together again."

Harold was convinced of the propriety of this advice, and now the impending ſtruggle for dominion and power entirely engroſſed his thoughts, when a Monk, named Hugh Margot, came to the Engliſh camp on a meſſage from William, with the four following propoſitions, viz. the firſt, was, that Harold ſhould relinquiſh the kingdom, upon certain conditions; the ſecond, that he ſhould hold it under homage to the duke; the third, that they ſhould refer the deciſion of their differences to the pope; and the fourth, to determine their quarrel by ſingle combat, and the kingdom to be the prize of the conqueror.

To theſe propoſitions Harold replied, that he was not ſo ſimple as to ſubmit to the arbitration of the pope, who had already declared himſelf a party; that he ſcorned to hold the crown of England dependent on any prince whatever; nor would he put his kingdom on the iſſue of a ſingle combat, in which, though he ſhould obtain the victory, he could reap no ſolid advantage, and that, therefore, he would leave the deciſion of his cauſe to God alone.

The Norman barons and officers, now grew preſſing to be led to engage, before Harold could receive any farther reinforcements. William was pleaſed with their willingneſs; but at the ſame time to prevent, if poſſible, the effuſion of human blood, and to conceal his ambition beneath the ſhew of reluctance, he determined to try the reſult of a perſonal conference, in which he intended to offer all the provinces of England, north of the Humber, to Harold, and to ſecure the Godwin patrimonial eſtate to Gyrth, provided all the reſt of England was ceded to himſelf. And in caſe of a refuſal to theſe propoſals, to pronounce Harold a perjured traitor, to challenge him to a general engagement, and to declare all ſuch as ſhould adhere to him, excommunicated by the pope.

With this view William advanced at the head of a ſelect party of twenty perſons only, but Harold, not chuſing to enter into a perſonal conference with William, ſent his brother Gyrth to hear what the duke of Normandy had to ſay. After the interview Gyrth made his report to the council, of the duke's offers and threats, the latter of which, we are told, made a conſiderable impreſſion upon many of the members. Perjury and breach of promiſe ſounded ſtrange and ominous to Engliſh ears; and the menace of excommunication carried with it a force, only to be conceived by thoſe who live under the terror of eccleſiaſtical rule, or are the dupes of bigotry and religious ſuperſtition. The aſſembly, therefore, unanimouſly adviſed Harold to come to an accommodation; but Gyrth, alarmed at, though uninfected with, the panic, which had now diffuſed itſelf like a contagion from the council to the army, reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts to ſtop the ſpreading poiſon to their hopes, and with irreſiſtible eloquence diſplayed to them the certain loſs of honor, power, poſſeſſions, liberty, in a word, of every thing dear to a freeborn Engliſhman, that would await ſo puſillanimous a reſolution; expatiating on the miſeries they had to expect under the rule of a conqueror, who had already devoted their perſons and effects, as a prey to thoſe who aſſiſted him in the conqueſt. This harangue had the intended effect, and inſpired the hearers with an enthuſiaſtic deſire to appeal to the deciſion of the ſword. Harold, to take the advantage of this propenſity, appointed the enſuing day, October the 14th, A. D. 1066, which happened to be his birth-day, for a general engagement.

William, finding that Harold deſigned to give him battle, poſted himſelf advantageouſly on an open plain, and obliged his troops to paſs the preceding night in ſobriety, ſilence and acts of devotion. While on the contrary, riot and confuſion reigned in the Engliſh camp. Harold, fluſh'd with his late ſucceſs againſt the Norwegians, and pleaſed with the apparent ardor of his troops, appeared rather too confident of victory, and ſeemed to be previouſly ſecure of what, upon all ſuch ſanguine occaſions, is in the power of Providence alone to beſtow. Such were the hopes and the behaviour of the adverſe parties previous to the engagement; but of the battle itſelf, the ſubſequent is the moſt ample, and the beſt account extant.

Harold, far inferior in the number of his forces, reſolved not to loſe any advantage in the ground, and therefore drew up his men on the brow of a hill, with a ditch and a line of hurdles before them. The Kentiſh men armed with halberts, pikes, and targets, formed the van, a poſt of honour, which they claimed as their right by antient uſage ever ſince the time of the Saxon Heptarchy; and the care of defending the king's perſon and the royal ſtandard was, by like preſcription, conſigned to the Londoners, whom Harold particularly cautioned to keep cloſe together, telling them that breaking their ranks would be attended with inevitable diſcomfiture. Theſe latter formed the main body, and the remaining ranks were indiſcriminately filled up with the other Engliſh. Harold and his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine placed themſelves in the centre, that their men might be witneſſes of their valor; and diſdaining an indulgence that was not ſhared by the meaneſt ſoldier, they fought on foot. The whole together formed a well-compacted phalanx, whoſe cloſe cemented ranks ſeemed indiſſoluble by any force that could aſſail them.

William, mounting on horſeback, encouraged his men with a voice that ſeemed to breathe victory; he appealed to heaven for the juſtneſs of his cauſe: he then hung round his neck, as witneſſes of his rival's perjury, the relics on which Harold had ſworn, and ordered the conſecrated banner ſent him by the pope to be unfurled in the front of his army. Theſe things, which would be laughed to ſcorn in the preſent enlightened times, had a wonderful effect in thoſe days of dark ignorance and blind ſuperſtition. The Normans thought they marched under the immediate protection of heaven. They advanced in three bodies; the firſt, compoſed of the troops of Bretagne, Anjou, le Maine, and Perche, led by Fitz-Oſberne and Roger de Montgomery; the ſecond, of Poictevins and Germans, under the command of Charles Martel and a German general; the duke himſelf led up the laſt diviſion, conſiſting of his own Normans and the flower of his nobility; and among all the three diviſions, were interſperſed flying bodies of archers, to ſerve as opportunity ſhould offer.

The Normans, marching with the pope's banner at their head, to begin the attack on three ſides at once, Taillefer, a gallant old ſoldier, advanced before the reſt, and ſung, according to cuſtom, the famous ſong of Roland, and the heroes who fell at Ronceval, to rouze the valor of his countrymen. To animate them ſtill more by his example, he obtained the duke's permiſſion to ſtrike the firſt blow in the battle, upon which he ruſhed on to begin the charge, running a ſtandard bearer through with his lance, and killing another with his ſword, but before he could diſpatch a third he was ſlain himſelf. The air was now darkened by a cloud of arrows, diſcharged from the bows of the Norman archers which greatly galled and diſordered the Engliſh, who ſeeing their men fall on all ſides, thought the centre of their army had been broken through, which for a while occaſioned ſuch a confuſion and diſmay as was eaſily perceived by the Normans, who, reſolving to follow their advantage, charged with redoubled impetuoſity; but the Engliſh having recovered from their firſt aſtoniſhment, and forming a penthouſe with their targets over their heads, cloſed their ranks, and preſented ſuch an impenetrable body to their enemy, as obliged them to retire, and being thus reunited, did amazing execution upon them with their javelins, inſomuch that the troops, in the enemy's left wing, giving way, were puſhed into ſome covered ditches, which they had not obſerved as they marched up to the attack. The other corps being ſtruck with a panic, on a falſe report that the duke was ſlain, were preparing for flight, when he, coming up in lucky time, ſhewed them their miſtake, rallied them, and led them again to the fight.

The Engliſh, vain of this trifling advantage, had, contrary to Harold's expreſs command, quitted their poſt on the hill to purſue the broken column into the plain, which as ſoon as William perceived, he, with a happy readineſs, brought up a body of Norman cavalry from his right wing, and cut off the retreat of three thouſand of the moſt advanced of the purſuers, conſiſting of the Kentiſh and Eſſex men, all of whom he put to the ſword: he then renewed the general attack againſt the main body of the Engliſh, by whom he was received with the ſame firmneſs and intrepidity as before. He was repulſed on all ſides, and wherever he ſtrove to make an impreſſion, the loſs reverted upon himſelf. Thus circumſtanced, he deſpaired of prevailing by open force. Thrice had he led up the charge, and each time the horſe on which he rode was killed; he flew from rank to rank, from ſquadron to ſquadron, animating by his words, and encouraging by his example, both the brave and irreſolute; ſometimes ruſhing on with a torrent of death in his rear, ſometimes oppoſing his ſingle authority to a croud of runaways. Harold, with equal ſpirit, with equal valor, but with ſuperior ſucceſs, oppoſed him: the eyes of his faithful Engliſh were fixed on him, by his uplifted ſword they dealt the blow, and mowed down the remaining ranks which his javelin had thinned: no man felt fatigue, no man thought of receſs, while their king ſeemed loſt to every ſenſe but that of a thirſt for glory, and to have nothing in purſuit but conqueſt or death.

And now victory appeared on the point of paſſing over to the ſide of the Engliſh; the drooping Normans ſtaggered under their reſiſtleſs ſhock, when William's genius found means to fix the wavering fortune of the day, by one of thoſe ſtratagems in war, which, from their frequency, are the leſs ſuſpected or guarded againſt; he ſounded a retreat; the knell of Engliſh liberty! for ſo it proved. Harold's brave ſoldiers, thinking that nothing now remained but to glean the deathful harveſt, for which they had ſo painfully laboured, were ruined by a raſh ſecurity; deaf to all order, impetuous and ungovernable, they purſued the wily fugitives into the plain with as little caution as before; and they, who, when united, were invincible, when thus diſperſed, became an eaſy prey to thoſe of whom they thought they had the maſtery. For the Normans rallying upon a ſignal given, cloſed their ranks, faced about, and ſurrounding their purſuers with their cavalry, cut numbers of them in pieces, and the reſt, with great difficulty regained the hill, where they ſtill maintained their ground in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the enemy to diſlodge them or break their ranks.

The Normans finding all their attacks were fruitleſs, had recourſe to their former ſtratagem, and, amazing to be told! it met with the ſame ſucceſs; the Engliſh, never to be taught by experience when their fighting humour is indulged, forgot the check they had ſo lately met with, and followed the enemy a third time into the plain, where they were again trodden down by the Norman horſe, and ſtrewed the field with their dead bodies. Weakened as they were with theſe repeated loſſes, they ſtill kept their ground on the hill, unſhaken for ſome time, and, in all probability, might have recovered their ſtrength and ſpirits, and have finally repulſed their fierce aſſailants, had not an arrow, ſhot from the bow of the evil genius of England, laid their monarch breathleſs on the ground, whoſe dying groan was the departing ſigh of Engliſh liberty. William and ſlavery triumphed. Gyrth and Leofwine, the gallant brothers of Harold, ſtill ſurvived, and ſtill animated their countrymen to ſtand their ground; the amazed Engliſh thronged inſtinctively round the ſtandard of their deceaſed prince; but the Normans pouring upon them in redoubled numbers, carried their point: Gyrth and Leofwine fell in each others arms; Harold's ſtandard was pulled down, and the duke's erected in its ſtead, upon which the Engliſh retired from all parts of the hill, and were hotly purſued by the enemy, even after the cloſe of day.

The darkneſs, however, which favored their retreat, had well nigh proved fatal to the Normans, by wreſting the victory out of their hands; for in the eagerneſs of their purſuit, and not being ſo well acquainted with the country as the Engliſh, they fell into moraſſes and deep ditches, and loſt a great number both of horſe and foot. The fugitives, re-animated by this accident that had befallen the foe, turned upon their purſuers, and made a dreadful ſlaughter amongſt them, Engenouf, baron de l'Aigle, falling among the reſt; and, indeed, ſo hot was the action, that Euſtace, count of Boulogne, perſuaded William to ſound a retreat for that night, and not to truſt to the chance of darkneſs, a victory that would be inſured to him by the returning day; while he was whiſpering this council in William's ear, he received a blow between his ſhoulders, which for a while bereft him of ſpeech. The duke, however, reſolving not to leave his victory imperfect, ſtill continued the fight: the battle ſeemed now to be renewed, the Normans redoubling their efforts, but ſtill the Engliſh maintained their ground. At length, William, pretending to be touched with the fate of thoſe whom he now looked upon rather as his ſubjects than his enemies, but in reality being fearful of experiencing one of thoſe ſudden reverſes of fortune, which are ſo frequent in battle, ordered a truce to the combat, and offered liberty for that body of Engliſh to retire: this was accepted; they drew off through the marſhy defiles before-mentioned, and night being now pretty far advanced, William ſaw himſelf left in full poſſeſſion of the field of battle and of the crown of England.

Thus ended this bloody engagement, which decided the fate of England; the loſs of the Normans is ſaid to have been about fifteen thouſand men, but of the Engliſh a much greater number were killed.

After the battle, William ordered all his troops to kneel down on the bloody field, and return thanks to God for their ſucceſs; the enſuing day was ſpent in burying the dead, when the body of Harold, being with ſome difficulty found, we are told, that a Norman ſoldier, who was preſent at the diſcovery, in a fit of unmanly exultation, ran his ſpear into the thigh of the lifeleſs king; which action being told to the duke, he inſtantly ordered the baſe wretch to receive the puniſhment due to ſo daſtardly a deed, and diſmiſſed him from his ſervice. He afterwards ſent the bodies of the king and his brothers to their mother Githa, who gave them as honorable a burial as the preſent circumſtances would permit, in Waltham abbey, which had been founded by Harold himſelf.

Thus fell the gallant Harold, after a reign of only nine months, one week and two days. He was of a comely perſon, and majeſtic preſence, which awed the beholder into a kind of veneration, and inſpired all who ſaw him with reſpect. He poſſeſſed great abilities, and the moſt intrepid courage, and his few faults were overbalanced by many ſhining virtues, and great qualities. With Harold expired in this nation the empire of the Anglo-Saxons, after a continuance of 617 years from their firſt arrival under Hengiſt and Horſa.

With reſpect to Harold's family, it is proper to take notice that he had two wives; the firſt he buried long before he was king, but none of our writers mention her name; his ſecond was Elgitha, widow of Griffith ap Llhewellyn, prince of North Wales, ſiſter of Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland. We are told, that by the former of theſe wives he had children, who were of ſuch an age at his death that they waged war againſt the conqueror in the ſecond year of his reign. The firſt was Godwin, who, with his brother Edmund, after his father's death and overthrow, fled to Ireland; but returning again into Somerſetſhire, ſlew Ednoth, formerly one of his father's generals, who encountered him, and, after having made great depredations in Devonſhire and Cornwall, ſet ſail again for Ireland. The next year he made another deſcent upon Cornwall, where he had a battle with Beorne, a nobleman of that county, in which he got the better: from thence he went back to Ireland, and afterwards went to Denmark, to king Swein, where he continued the reſidue of his days.

The ſecond was Edmund, who joined with his brother in all his aforeſaid invaſions and wars, depending abſolutely on him while he lived, and died, like him, in Denmark.

Magnus, the third ſon of Harold, went with his two brothers into Ireland, and came back with them the firſt time to England; after which we hear nothing of him.

By his ſecond wife, Elgitha, he had a ſon named Ulpho, or Wulf, who was but a child at the time of the battle of Haſtings, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus.

He had alſo two daughters: Gunilda, the eldeſt, falling blind, paſſed her days in a nunnery.

Another daughter of Harold's is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus, in his Daniſh hiſtory, to have been married to Waldemar, king of Ruſſia, by whom ſhe had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar, king of Denmark.

Before we conclude this reign, it is requiſite to give ſome account of the famous and fortunate William duke of Normandy, previous to his conqueſt of England. This brave and celebrated prince was natural ſon to Robert the ſixth, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta the beautiful daughter of a ſkinner in Falaiſe, with whom he accidentally fell in love, and from whoſe name it is ſaid, the word harlot, implying a looſe woman, received its origin. Notwithſtanding his illigitimate birth, when he was about nine years of age, his father declared him his ſucceſſor, and cauſed his nobles and chief Norman ſubjects to ſwear fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do homage to Henry the firſt, king of France, for the dutchy of Normandy, according to the cuſtom of the former dukes. Then delivering him to the guardianſhip of that king, and to the care of the duke of Bretagne, he made a pilgrimage to the holy land, in which journey he died; leaving the young prince to be the founder of his own fortunes, rather than the heir of his father's; which he found expoſed to all the difficulties ariſing from the tenderneſs of his age, the reproach of his birth, a ſuſpected guardian, a diſputed title, and a diſtracted ſtate. For upon the firſt news of duke Robert's death, the nobles of Normandy, who were intruſted with the government during the ſon's minority, found themſelves involved in great difficulties, by the open factions of ſome noblemen, who envied their greatneſs, and by the private practices of others, who being deſcended from ſome of the former dukes, reſolved to ſet up themſelves, but at firſt concealed their deſigns, and joined with the common murmurers againſt the preſent adminiſtration. The governors were ſtill faithful to their truſt, and judged the preſence of the young prince neceſſary to ſupport their authority and his title; they thereupon prevailed with the king of France to ſend him into Normandy, which he did with great honor to himſelf, and kindneſs to his pupil, as well as ſatisfaction to all his loyal ſubjects; but to the great diſappointment of thoſe who pretended their diſcontents were only againſt the governors, and not the ſucceſſion.

No prince ever came ſo early into the cares and burdens of a crown, nor felt them longer; engaged in toils and difficulties, in hardſhips and dangers; his perſon expoſed to the arms of enemies, and the plots of aſſaſſins; his reign embroiled by the revolts of his ſubjects, and the invaſions of his neighbours; and his whole life ſpent in the neceſſary defence of his own title and dominions, or in the ambitious deſigns of acquiring greater. Yet none ever ſurmounted all with more conſtancy of ſpirit, prudence of conduct, and felicity of fortune: for he had a ſtrong and active body, and a brave and vigorous mind; and ſeemed to have been born more for a Hero, than a happy man. His firſt conteſts aroſe from the pretenders to the ſucceſſion, who favored by the defects of his birth, found ſo many followers at home, and ſuch aſſiſtance from neighbours abroad, that they raiſed great forces, and conſtrained the young duke to appear, not only at the head of his councils, but of his armies too, before he was eighteen years of age. Theſe civil wars continued long with many various ſucceſſes, bloody encounters, defeating of troops, ſurprizing, beſieging and relieving of towns, and waſting of countries; till at length William, by his vigilance, bravery and induſtry, totally ſubdued, not only the forces, but the courage of all his competitors and enemies at home, and conſtrained them both to quit Normandy and France, and to ſeek new fortunes in ſeveral parts of Italy, as Apulia, Calabria and Sicily.

When duke William had ſubdued all his domeſtic foes, another appeared from abroad more powerful than any of the former: this was Martel earl of Anjou, who was not only a prince of great power, but was alſo ſtrengthened by the aſſiſtance of the king of France himſelf, who jealous of the Norman greatneſs was very ready to join in the reducing of an aſpiring prince. To which end he encouraged, if not ſet on foot, the earl of Anjou's pretenſions to the dutchy of Normandy, gave him his aſſiſtance to juſtify his claim and purſue it by arms, and by degrees engaged in an open and declared war againſt the duke. This he proſecuted with much paſſion and violence, appeared himſelf in the field with his nobility, and threatened, That nothing but the ocean ſhould ſtop the progreſs of his arms. On the other ſide duke William proceeded with invincible bravery, and with ſuch a preſumption of ſucceſs, that he ſcorned to ſet upon his enemies by ſurprize, but ſent them notice of the very day he would give them battle; a ſort of courage unknown to this preſent age. After many ſucceſſes, he at length brought the conteſt to the deciſion of two fierce battles. The firſt ended in an intire victory on the duke's ſide, with the ſlaughter of three parts of his enemies, amounting to above thirty thouſand men. This loſs rather enraged than diſcouraged the king of France, who gave neither himſelf nor his enemies any quiet till he had engaged the Normans in a ſecond battle, with greater forces and fury on both ſides, but the ſame or worſe ſucceſs than the former. For in this the king of France loſt the flower of his army, the principal part of his nobles, and with great difficulty eſcaped himſelf in perſon. Yet that but little availed this unfortunate prince, who was ſo ſenſible of his loſs, and diſhonour, as he conceived, gained by ſo unequal a match, that he had not the courage to ſurvive it long, but died with grief, and left duke William a calm and peaceable reign. This gave him opportunity in a ſhort time to enlarge his dominions, firſt by the earldom of Mans, and next by part of the dukedom of Bretagne: after which he lived in peace for a conſiderable ſpace, 'till he diſturbed his own and his neighbours quiet by new and greater adventures.

The battle of Haſtings rather opened than completed William's ſucceſs; as the nation was ſtill divided by three powerful factions, viz. The Anglo-Saxon, the Daniſh, and the Norman. The firſt was for reſtoring to the throne the race of Cerdic, in the perſon of Edgar Atheling. The ſecond, or Daniſh cabal, conſiſted of perſons of Daniſh extraction, who were for again bringing the race of Canute the Great, by placing the crown on the head of Swein king of Denmark. And the third party compriſed the Normans, who had ſettled here in the reign of Ethelred the II. and Edward the Confeſſor; of perſons of Norman parentage, and of the victorious Norman troops, who were under the immediate command of William.

Edwin and Morcar, the powerful earls of Northumberland and Mercia, retreated to London, with the ſhattered remains of the forces which had eſcaped the bloody ſlaughter of the late engagement, and convened together a meeting of the Engliſh, where they propoſed to place the crown upon the head of Edgar Atheling, in which they were ſeconded by Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Londoners; but many other nobles, and moſt of the clergy, were rather for throwing themſelves upon the clemency of the Conqueror, than truſting the guidance of the kingdom at this critical juncture to ſuch a young, weak, inexperienced and timid prince as Edgar. The other party, however, prevailed ſo far, as to obtain a majority of votes, and Edgar was proclaimed king. But the diſſenſions and cabals that immediately ſucceeded among the principal perſons, rendered this ſalutary meaſure abortive.

William, in the mean time, having fortified Haſtings, and left a ſuitable garriſon, determined to poſſeſs himſelf of the town and caſtle of Dover, in his way to which he paſſed through Romney, and ſacked the place in revenge for the ill treatment which the crew of one of his ſhips (ſeparated by accident from the reſt) had received from the inhabitants. This ſeverity, and the fame of his victory at Haſtings, flew before him like lightning, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into the hearts of the garriſon of Dover, that they threw open their gates almoſt as ſoon as he appeared in ſight, or at leaſt ſubmitted after a very ſhort capitulation. As ſoon as the duke was in poſſeſſion, he ordered the town, which Matthew Paris juſtly ſtyles the lock and key of the kingdom, to be more ſtrongly fortified, and ſpent eight days there. Change of climate at that ſeaſon of the year, with alteration of diet, and the amazing fatigues they had undergone, occaſioned ſeveral diſtempers amongſt his ſoldiers. This accident, which would have damped the courage of a leſs intrepid general, ſerved only to convince William that no time was to be loſt; and that it behoved him to follow his late victory with unremitting ardor, while his remaining troops were yet in a condition to aid the vaſt deſigns of their leader: therefore, leaving his ſick in hoſpitals at Dover, he ſet out for London, at the head of a ſmall but truſty army, in which every man was well affected to the cauſe of his general, and all determined to contribute to his ſucceſs, or ſhare in his defeat. However, his march was retarded for ſome time by his falling ill himſelf of the ſame diſorder which had prevailed among his men, and it is to be obſerved, ſays an accurate author, that it is during this march that we are to place the celebrated ſtory of the Kentiſh men meeting William with each a branch or bough in his hand, and obliging him to grant them ſeveral excluſive privileges, and in particular that of gavel-kind (by which all the ſons ſucceed equally to their father's eſtate): but this ſtory contradicts itſelf, as it mentions that they marched with green boughs in their hands, in the beginning of November; beſides, ſo tame an acquieſcence is inconſiſtent with the known character of William, who was as remarkable for his ſeverity to the obſtinate, as for his lenity to the ſubmiſſive. Add to this, that the ſtory was originally taken from the MS. hiſtory of the monks of St. Auguſtine's, Canterbury, written by Thomas Spot, who, in all probability, invented it to magnify the valor of their abbot and of the Kentiſh men. But as neither Somner, in his treatiſe of gavel-kind, and eſpecially Gulielmus Pictavenſis, who accompanied the duke in his march, make mention of this fact, we may fairly refuſe our credit to it. Nor does the well known courage of the Engliſh ſtand in need of being ſupported by idle tales or monkiſh legends; while they had a leader to direct their operations, they fought like brave ſoldiers; when left to themſelves, and no longer able to reſiſt, they ſubmitted like wiſe men.

William thought proper in continuing his march towards London, to divide his army into three diviſions, and to proceed by three different routes. Upon this occaſion he gave ſtrict orders to his men to behave with the greateſt lenity to ſuch as voluntarily ſubmitted; but to act with the utmoſt ſeverity, and waſte the country wherever they met with any oppoſition.

The terrors of the people naturally encreaſed, as William approached towards the capital. The clergy, upon this occaſion, were for pacific meaſures, and adviſed an immediate ſubmiſſion to the conqueror; and the citizens, who greatly dreaded to loſe their wealth if they ſhould provoke William, were ready enough to liſten to any terms of accommodation. But the earls Morcar and Edwin, accuſtomed to the dangers of the field, and well acquainted with the viciſſitudes of war, ſpirited up a party to make one more ſtruggle for the liberties of England. They accordingly, on the approach of the duke's firſt diviſion towards London, ſallied out with an intent to attack the Normans before they had recovered from the fatigues of their march, or were joined by the other two diviſions of their forces: but William was a general of too much ſkill to truſt his troops to officers who wanted vigilance, and his army too well diſciplined to ſuffer a ſurprize of this nature to ſucceed. Indeed the Normans were ſo well prepared for the worſt, and gave the two earls ſuch a warm reception, that they were compelled to retire with conſiderable loſs. This unſucceſsful attack greatly added to the fears of the citizens, the friends of Edgar dwindled off a-pace, and the idea of ſubmitting to the duke of Normandy, became almoſt general. The earls Morcar and Edwin, finding the clergy for ſubmiſſion, the nobles irreſolute, and the commons too much diſpirited to think of withſtanding the conqueror, gave up the cauſe of Edgar, and withdrew to the northern counties.

In the mean time, William, who had the earlieſt intelligence of what paſſed in London, thought the confuſion which that city muſt be thrown into by the departure of the two brothers, in the preſent exigence, offered too favorable an opportunity for compaſſing his deſigns to be neglected even for a moment: accordingly he himſelf croſſed the Thames, and took poſt at Wallingford, in Berkſhire, from whence he ſent out detachments to do military execution on all the country round; after which he marched to Berkhamſtead, in Hertfordſhire; but previous to this ſtep, he ſent a ſtrong body of forces to the Surry ſide of the river, with orders, if they were not received in London, to reduce all Southwark to aſhes; which was accordingly performed with the moſt cruel rigour.

This ſeverity had the deſired effect. The chief of the Engliſh party, foreſeeing that their longer holding out would only open new ſcenes of calamity, reſolved to give way to the torrent of the times, and, if poſſible, ſave their country from devaſtations more ſhocking than it had ever yet experienced. With this view ſeveral nobles, accompanied by Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Wulſtan, biſhop of Wincheſter, Walter, biſhop of Hereford, and other the moſt eminent citizens of London, repaired to William, at Berkhamſtead, and ſwore him fealty.

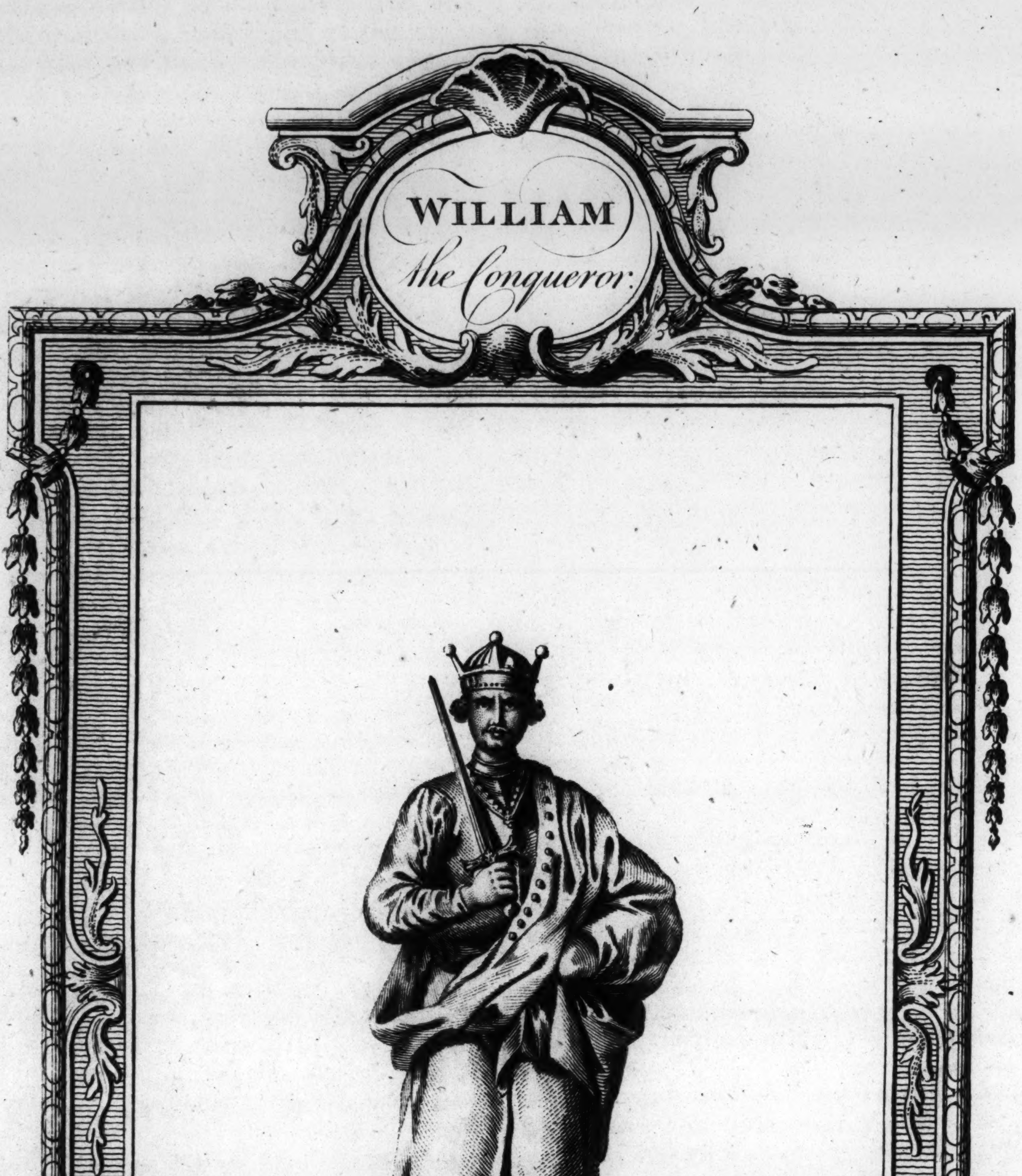
The example of the Londoners could not fail of having a great effect upon the inhabitants of various other parts of the kingdom: while their admiration of the conqueror's ſucceſs, and dread of his ſeverity, contributed to expedite their ſubmiſſion; for they reflected, that the only way to ſecure the conqueror's favor was to anticipate his wiſhes, and make a merit of neceſſity. After having conſulted with the nobility, who had already made their ſubmiſſion, they unanimouſly reſolved to go in a body to make him a tender of the crown, with this expreſſion, "That having always been accuſtomed to live under kingly government, they knew no one more worthy to govern them than himſelf."

Though this propoſal was the ultimate end of William's wiſhes, and gave him infinite ſatisfaction; yet he played the refined politician, received it, ſeemingly, with great reluctance, and pretended to have various ſcruples, which would require ſome conſideration ere they could be removed. At length, after the farce of a mock deliberation, he acquieſced in the gratification of his own ambitious deſires, by apparently yielding to the joint importunities of the rejoicing Normans, and ſubmitting Engliſh; the anſwer he returned to the propoſal was, "That he accepted "the crown as their free gift;" and thus ſaith a modern writer, "tacitly acknowledging the right of election in the people of England, at the ſame time that the manner in which he acquired that election plainly ſhewed him unregardful of ſuch right."

In the mean time Edgar Atheling, finding himſelf powerleſs, abandoned, and friendleſs, thought proper to ſubmit to William, who was doubtleſs the greateſt enemy he had in the world; and to implore the protection of a man who robbed him of that crown to which he alone had a legal and lineal right. Thoſe two powerful noblemen, Morcar and Edwin, thought it now unneceſſary to continue any longer the oppoſers of William, they therefore made their conditions with, and ſwore fealty to him. Thus was the whole kingdom ſubdued either by arms, promiſes, or intimidation, and William immediately gave orders for raiſing ſome ſtrong fortifications for the defence and ſecurity of London; but while they were erecting he remained at Barking, in Eſſex, where he iſſued out orders for the neceſſary preparations to be made againſt his coronation, which he deſigned ſhould be ſolemnized with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence on the enſuing Chriſtmas-day, viz. December the 25th, A. D. 1066.

We cannot conclude this ſection better than in the words of a learned clergyman, who, in ſpeaking of this period of the Engliſh Hiſtory, ſays, "That notwithſtanding the valor and conduct of the Normans, the Engliſh were the chief forgers of their own fortune, and behaved themſelves as if they deſired to be enſlaved, by thoſe whom they admired, and imitated only in the worſt of their qualities. For beſides the late miſmanagements of Harold, in other reſpects a wiſe prince, the nation and nobility were divided into factions, and could not agree upon the perſon to ſucceed him; and Edwin and Morcar retired with diſcontent into Northumberland, not regarding the ſafety of their country, becauſe their ambitious purpoſes were not gratified. A firm union, and a wiſe management muſt ſtill have put a ſtop to William's arms; but inſtead of preparation for expelling the common enemy, the nobility became enemies to one another, and ſtrove for that crown which the duke had already got, on the point of his ſword, though not on his head. Theſe were prodigious miſcarriages, not incident to any who had their reaſon, but abſolute effects of ſuch vicious tempers as infatuate mens minds, enervate the power of their ſouls, and render them abject, and ripe for ſervitude. Such were the Engliſh at this time, as we are aſſured from Malmeſbury, who being of Engliſh as well as Norman deſcent, profeſſes that he had no prejudice to either nation, and declares, That for ſome years before the arrival of the Normans, piety, and all good literature became ſo unfaſhionable even among the clergy, that contenting themſelves with a very ſmall ſhare of devotion, as well as learning, they could ſcarce read divine ſervice; and to underſtand grammar was next to a miracle. The monks were clad in fine ſtuffs, and obſerved not the rules of their orders. The nobles were given up to gluttony and a diſſolute life, neglected the ſervice of the church, made a prey of the common people, debauched their daughters whom they had in their ſervice, and then turned them off to the ſtews. While the meaner ſort ſpent night and day, and their whole ſubſtances, in rioting and drunkenneſs, and thoſe other vices which effeminate mens reaſons. From hence it came to paſs, that being carried away with temerity and fury, rather than true valor, they engaged with duke William, and brought ſuch calamities upon themſelves and their country. In fine, the Engliſh then wore their cloaths ſhort, cut their hair, loaded their arms with golden bracelets, marked their ſkins with divers images, would eat till

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


WILLIAM
the Conqueror.
Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

they ſurfeited, and drank till they vomitted; which laſt vices they communicated to the conquerors, but in all things elſe followed and admired their modes. But our author would not have this underſtood of all, but of the Engliſh in general; for to his knowledge, there were many good men both among the clergy and laity. "But, adds he, as the mercy of God often permits the bad as well as good to enjoy the like proſperity; ſo his juſtice does not always exempt good men from partaking in the common calamities of their country." Since diviſions and factions, immorality and impiety occaſioned ſuch great miſeries to our anceſtors, we ought carefully to remember this one maxim, that the ſame cauſes ordinarily produce the ſame effects.

BOOK V.

From the Coronation of William I. *commonly called* William *the* Conqueror, *to the Death of* King Stephen.

SECTION I.

William I. *commonly called the* Conqueror.

WILLIAM, though dignified with the title of Conqueror, did not obtain the crown of England by the ſword only; and, indeed, he was far from claiming it as a conquered country, but ſeemed politically to refer his right to five general cauſes, viz. The promiſe of Edward the Confeſſor, the oath of Harold, the ſubmiſſion and avowed allegiance of the Engliſh, the ceſſion of England to him by Edgar Atheling, who had claimed his countenance and protection, and the ſecurity which the rapid progreſs of his arms had given him.

In this period of the Engliſh Hiſtory, it hath been obſerved, that we remove from twy-light to day-light; and emerge from an æra of obſcurity to a memorable epocha, when England received various and great alterations in laws, language, cuſtoms, faſhions, fortifications, buildings, and moſt things, religion excepted. From which extraordinary mutations, we are to conſider the power of this country in a more extenſive point of view; larger in dominion abroad, greater in ability at home, and of higher reputation in the world: all which proceeded from the Normans, who are thus deſcribed by the judicious William of Malmeſbury. They were, at this time, curious in their cloaths without foppery; choice in their diet without exceſs; fond of war, and ſcarce knowing how to live at peace; quick and intrepid in attacking an enemy; and when open force was too hazardous, cunning in circumventing by ſtratagem, or expert in corrupting by bribes. They built capacious edifices, but lived in them at a moderate expence; apt to envy, deſirous of ſurpaſſing their ſuperiors, yet courteous to thoſe beneath them; loyal, while pleaſed with their ſovereign, but revolting upon the ſlighteſt occaſion, and leaving their perfidy to be judged of by their ſucceſs. Changing ſides for advantage, but in general humane to all parties. To their honor, upon the conqueſt, they revived the diſcipline of the chriſtian religion, then almoſt extinct in England; hence aroſe new churches and monaſteries, erected after a nobler mode of architecture; and thus the face of the country became changed, and the buildings improved after a very extraordinary manner. Theſe advantages the nation in general obtained by this change, though many particular noble families ſuffered by the revolution.

Hence conq'rors are the ſcourges of mankind,
By whom at once they're puniſh'd and refin'd;
And all the nations on earth's ample round,
Which ambient air, and twinkling ſtars ſurround,
Subſervient to the ruler of the ſkies,
Fall by their vices, by their virtues riſe.

Every thing being prepared for the coronation, William proceeded to London, and was ſolemnly crowned in Weſtminſter-Abbey on Chriſtmas-day, A. D. 1066. Concerning this coronation, ſome particulars are very neceſſary to be obſerved, viz.

1. That William was crowned by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, inſtead of Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who by virtue of his ſuperior dignity in the church, ought to have placed the crown on his head. The reaſons of the preference being given to the archbiſhop of York, upon this occaſion, were, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury had incurred the papal cenſure, and that he was known to be a profeſſed enemy to the Normans.

2. That it had been cuſtomary, on former coronations, for the ſovereign to give his royal word only to maintain the laws, the liberties, &c. of the ſubjects, except upon extraordinary occaſions; but the archbiſhop of York exacted of William a moſt ſolemn oath to this purport, *That he ſhould protect the holy church and its governors; that he ſhould govern all the people ſubject to him prudently and juſtly; that he ſhould ordain, and keep juſt laws, and wholly forbid all rapines and unjuſt judgments, and that he ſhould behave mercifully towards his ſubjects, and govern both the Engliſh and Normans by the ſame equal law.*

3. That William politically choſe not to receive the crown as a badge of conqueſt, but as a mark of election, for Aldred, by his deſire, demanded of the Engliſh, if they conſented, that the duke ſhould be crowned king; and theſe replying in the affirmative, the biſhop of Conſtance put the ſame queſtions to the Normans, who anſwering, Yes, Aldred immediately placed the crown upon William's head.*

After the coronation, the very firſt ſtep that the new king took was to ſeize upon the treaſures which Harold had amaſſed and laid up at Wincheſter. Theſe, however, he did not keep to himſelf, but liberally diſtributed as rewards to his Norman officers and ſoldiers, and as donations to churches and monaſteries. By this conduct he hoped to anſwer two purpoſes, viz. to retain inviolable the attachment of the army, and to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh clergy, wiſely judging that the gown and ſword would prove his greateſt ſecurities, and far overbalance the power of the lay-nobility and peaſantry. Nor was he ungrateful to the eccleſiaſtics abroad, for he ſent the royal ſtandard of Harold, which had been taken at the battle of Haſtings, as a preſent to the pope, beſides other rich offerings, and was remarkably generous to many others of the foreign clergy. But the expences of William's army and navy, and other contingencies, together with theſe late donations and preſents, exhauſted all William's own money as duke of Normandy, together with what he had ſeized of Harold's, and received as voluntary loans ſince he came to England. It therefore appeared abſolutely neceſſary to recruit his treaſury, and repleniſh his purſe; but the neceſſity being eaſier diſcovered than the remedy, William had recourſe to his uſual policy, and employed ſeveral of his truſty friends and emiſſaries to feel the pulſes of the people, and, if poſſible, to prevail on them to make their new ſovereign a free gift, from an intimation that ſuch an inſtance of their confidence and eſteem could not fail of having the moſt agreeable effect upon the king's mind, and inſure to them his good-will and protection. Theſe plauſible arguments, artfully urged, had the deſired effect; in a ſhort time William received preſents from all quarters of the kingdom, to a very conſiderable amount; the firſt beginning of his reign ſeemed to promiſe his people a ſuitable return, and the deluded Engliſh fondly flattered themſelves that they were about to enjoy all the bleſſings of a juſt and mild adminiſtration.

---

* We are told by hiſtorians of a ſingular circumſtance that occurred, by miſtake, at this coronation; for the loud acclamations which enſued upon this occaſion had well nigh proved fatal to the inhabitants of Weſtminſter; and, in fact, gave the firſt occaſion to that diſguſt which the Engliſh entertained for the Norman government. The Conqueror, who was too cautious to truſt

Being thus ſucceſsful, he wiſhed to impreſs a general and favorable opinion of his moderation and equity, and the Engliſh conceived great hopes of happineſs, but ſoon found themſelves miſerably deceived, as will appear by the ſequel.

To excite an advantageous idea of his juſtice and clemency, he began his reign by ſtrictly enjoining his principal Norman officers to treat the Engliſh with humanity, and reſpect them as their brethren, and as one people with themſelves: he iſſued orders, forbidding the ſoldiery to commit the leaſt outrage on the inhabitants, under the ſevereſt penalties; and publiſhed an edict, formally confirming all the privileges of the people, and all the promiſes he had made in their behalf by his coronation oath. This artful ſhew of love and kindneſs prepared the minds of the Engliſh for his next ſtep, which was that of dividing among his followers the lands of all the noblemen who had appeared in arms againſt him, as well thoſe that fell in the battle as thoſe that ſurvived: and to leave as little room as poſſible for murmurings or heart-burnings, from a ſuſpicion of partiality in this diſtribution, he diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of favor, Edgar Atheling, to whom he granted many large poſſeſſions, and, as ſome authors ſay, created him earl of Oxford; but this latter circumſtance has been ſtrongly conteſted. He likewiſe conferred poſts of great importance on many other Engliſh noblemen, particularly Edwin and Morcar, to whom he ſhewed all the regard that was due to their high ſtation. And to convince the Engliſh ſtill more fully of his good intentions, he projected matches between his officers and the Engliſh ladies, and at the ſame time provided huſbands among the Engliſh for the Norman heireſſes. He likewiſe granted a new charter to the city of London, confirming the privileges and immunities which the citizens enjoyed in the days of Edward the Confeſſor.

Thus were the citizens of London, with the reſt of the nation, lulled to ſleep, or drawn by his ſpecious baits to repoſe an unlimited confidence in his ſeeming integrity and juſtice. Hence, under a pretence of being anxious for the ſecurity of the people, he erected forts to curb them, and by affecting to introduce better regulations, he found an opportunity of reducing them to the moſt abject obedience. All the places of ſtrength were filled with Norman garriſons, and every fortreſs of conſequence was under the immediate direction of a Norman governor. After having proceeded in this political manner, that he might leave nothing undone that could tend to the ſecuring of his new acquiſition, he reſolved upon a tour through ſome of the principal parts of England, under pretence of inſpecting the civil œconomy of the kingdom, curbing the turbulent, encouraging the quiet, and guarding againſt public danger, by extirpating the banditti and robbers, who infeſted the country, and then ſought ſhelter in the woods, which were at that time very thick in moſt parts of the kingdom.

William took great pains to win the affections of the clergy, and to eſtabliſh a reputation for religion and piety; in particular he erected a church and monaſtery at Haſtings, where prayers were to be ſaid for the repoſe of the ſouls of thoſe who were there ſlain in the battle againſt Harold. Some hiſtorians affirm, that the high altar was raiſed on the very ſpot where Harold's ſtandard had been taken; but others ſay it was on the place where his body was found. The monaſtery, which was called Battle-Abbey, was filled with monks of the Benedictine order from the great monaſtery of Wincheſter, but exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction, and the church was dedicated to St. Martin. William would have theſe fabricks conſidered as monuments of piety; but it is evident, they were erected by his vanity, as memorials of his victory; and endowed by his policy as inſtruments of his diſſimulation.‡

A. D.

---

truſt himſelf in the power of the Londoners without having a ſufficient ſecurity for his perſon, had, under the ſhew of greater ſtate, ſurrounded Weſtminſter Abbey, the place of his inauguration, with a body of Norman ſoldiers; who, when they heard the tumultuous ſhouts of the people within the church, on placing the crown on the duke's head, miſtook their acclamations for an uproar occaſioned by a diſpute or quarrel, and thinking their leader in danger, without taking any time to examine into the truth of the fact, they ſet fire to the city, and began to kill and plunder at random. Thoſe within doors, equally ignorant of the reaſon of the tumult without, and ſeeing the flames and hearing the cries of thoſe who ran to the church for ſhelter, were ſeized with a panic, different according to the different ſituations of thoſe whom it affected. The Engliſh imagined ſome treachery was on foot, and that their victor king had doomed them to deſtruction, in order to fix himſelf more firmly in his new acquired dignity. William himſelf, trembling and aghaſt, thought of nothing but a plot to aſſaſſinate him, and fled with precipitation from his throne to the high altar for ſanctuary. But all parties being ſoon convinced of their error, a ſtop was put to the confuſion, and the flames were extinguiſhed before they had done any conſiderable damage.

‡ Of this place we have the following account from a modern writer; Battle is in the rape of Haſtings. Its old name was Epiton, but it took the preſent from the deciſive battle, (called likewiſe the Battle of Haſtings, becauſe fought betwixt theſe two places) when king Harold was killed by William the Norman; as were alſo great numbers on both ſides. To make ſome atonement for the effuſion of ſo much blood, the conqueror erected an abbey in that called Heath-field, on the very ſpot that was ſoaked with it; wherein he placed Benedictine monks, (whoſe abbot was mitred) to pray for the ſouls of the ſlain. He made it a ſanctuary for the greateſt of criminals that fled to it, and impowered the abbot to ſave the life of any villain, that he ſaw going

A. D. 1067, William began to turn his thoughts on the Norman dominions, which he had drained of its forces, and left almoſt defenceleſs. Indeed he had ſome ſuſpicion that the king of France intended to take the advantage of his abſence to attack his patrimonial territories, which cauſed him to determine on a voyage to Normandy. Previous, however, to his purſuing this deſign, he judged it expedient to take every precaution for the ſecurity of his new acquired kingdom: with this view, beſides the fortifications he had raiſed at London, he erected forts at Norwich, Wincheſter, Haſtings, Hereford, &c. and filled them with Normans. Then he diſarmed the Engliſh in general, broke their militia, and took every method which his imagination could deviſe to prevent an inſurrection. The command of the Norman forces, and the regency of the kingdom he then left to his half-brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, whom he had made earl of Kent, a prelate equally qualified for the management of civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical affairs; and to William Fitzoſbern, a wiſe, brave, and experienced general, in whom he placed an entire confidence, and whom he had lately made earl of Arundel and Hereford.

William then embarked at Pevenſey, in Suſſex, and paſſed over to Normandy; at the ſame time ſhewing the moſt conſummate policy by taking with him, not only the hoſtages which had been delivered to him upon the ſubmiſſion of London and the different parts of the kingdom, but likewiſe ſeveral of the principal nobility, whom he imagined likely, either from inclination or power, able to excite any commotions in his abſence. The chief of theſe were Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland, the abbot of Glaſtonbury, Egelnoth and Waltheof, ſons of earl Siward, both powerful noblemen, the one in Kent, and the other in the north of England: and to ſtrike at the very root of his apprehenſions, to theſe he added Edgar Atheling, whom he wiſely judged it was not ſafe or prudent to leave behind in a kingdom to which he had an undoubted title. But he pretended that the reaſon of his taking theſe great men with him was, to do them particular honor, and indeed, he affected to treat them with the utmoſt reſpect upon all occaſions, particularly archbiſhop Stigand, whom he always accoſted with the title of father, and conſtantly roſe from his ſeat, in all aſſemblies, to ſalute that prelate whenever he entered.

William's Norman ſubjects received him with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy; and the king of France, as he had not taken timely advantage of William's abſence to attack Normandy, now thought it beſt to diſſemble his jealouſy of that hero's ſucceſs, and to ſend him an embaſſy of congratulation. Rodulph, the French monarch's father-in-law, was accordingly diſpatched with a ſplendid retinue to Feſchamp, where William intended to keep his feſtival of Eaſter, in order to compliment him on his late victory and coronation. Upon this interview, the magnificence of the robes worn by William, and thoſe who were with him; the variety of jewels that adorned them, and vaſt profuſion of gold and ſilver utenſils which the Conqueror oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, excited the admiration of the French to ſuch a degree, that they could hardly believe their ſenſes, but almoſt fancied that ſuch ſplendor, and ſo much treaſure could only exiſt in the deluſions of imagination. The comelineſs and beauty of the Engliſh youth, who were in William's train, excited the aſtoniſhment of the French, as much as any thing elſe which they ſaw; they were little accuſtomed to ſuch dignity of mein, and delicacy of features, and the hearts of the French and Norman ladies fell victims to the perſonal charms of the vanquiſhed Engliſh.

But while he was indulging himſelf in joy and feſtivity, all the precautions he had taken to ſecure the tranquillity of England were fruſtrated. The inſolence of the Normans could be reſtrained by no authority, but that of William. Proud from the victory they had obtained, greedy of plunder, and looking with contempt on a people who had ſo eaſily reſigned their liberties, they were guilty of every exceſs. They plundered the houſes of the Engliſh, violated the chaſtity of their wives and daughters, and practiſed ſuch enormous cruelties, that nothing but ſavage brutality could invent. Revenge rouſed the ſpirit of the Engliſh. They perceived their dreadful ſituation, and deſpair urged them to retaliate on the invaders of their country all the miſeries they had ſuffered from the hand of wanton deſpotiſm. They were not yet totally inſenſible to the charms of liberty, and determined either to drive their tyrannical maſters out of the kingdom, or periſh in the attempt. But they were deſtitute of leaders, and could form no regular plan for executing their deſign. The inhabitants of Kent, who ſeverely felt the rod of power, applied to Euſtace, count of Boulogne, for aſſiſtance. He liſtened to their complaints, and promiſed them relief. The caſtle of Dover was conſidered as the moſt proper place for a retreat if the enemy ſhould prove too powerful, and they agreed to begin their operations againſt the enemy, with ſeizing that important fortreſs. The plan was conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and Montfort, the governor, being abſent with part of the garriſon, there was great reaſon to hope that the attempt would be crowned with ſucceſs. The night appointed for the execution of his project arrived, and the Kentiſh-men repaired in ſmall parties to the place of rendezvous. About midnight Euſtace landed his forces, and led the combined troops immediately to the attack. The ſtrength of the caſtle ſaved the Normans from the reſentment of the Engliſh. They aſſaulted the gate with the utmoſt fury; but they ſpent their force in vain, for the garriſon, quickly recovering the ſurprize they were at firſt thrown into by this unexpected attack, made a vigorous ſally, and falling upon the aſſailants, put them to flight, drove Euſtace and his men to their ſhips, and a diviſion of the Engliſh, which had joined him, towards the brow of a rock, where moſt of them were precipitated down the clifts into the ſea: Euſtace's nephew was taken priſoner in this ſkirmiſh, and the count himſelf narrowly eſcaped with a few of his followers.

Yet we find, that this bad ſucceſs at the beginning was not ſufficient to damp the ſpirits of thoſe who had unfurled the ſtandard of liberty; their example ran through the kingdom like wild-fire, ſo that no ſooner was the flame extinguiſhed in one part, than it burſt forth in another.

The next ſcene of diſturbance we hear of, had its riſe in Shropſhire and Herefordſhire, and was of ſo violent a nature as to threaten the moſt ſerious conſequences; and ſo high did the tide of diſcontent run throughout

---

ing to be executed. By the remains of it, it was, no doubt, a very ſtately pile, and a mile in compaſs. The Gate-houſe, which ſtands almoſt intire, is made a place for the ſeſſions, and other public meetings. Here is a charity ſchool for forty boys. Its market was firſt granted by king Henry I. for Sundays; but in 1600 Anthony lord viſcount Mountague got it changed, by act of parliament, to Thurſday. It has another on the ſecond Tueſday in every month. All that the town is noted for now, is, for making the fineſt gunpowder, and the beſt, perhaps, in Europe. The incumbent of the church here is called Dean of Battel. The place ſtands in a dirty low country, not reckoned very healthy. There is a hill near it with a beacon on it, for which reaſon it is called Beacon-hill, but its old name was Standard-hill, becauſe William the Norman ſet up his great ſtandard of defiance there, the day before the above-mentioned battle with Harold.

throughout the kingdom, that Coxo, a nobleman of great power and property, and highly in favor with the Engliſh, was murdered by his own vaſſals, becauſe he would not head them in an inſurrection. This worthy lord, whom ſome of our antiquaries take to have been earl of Northumberland, was a man of ſtrict virtue, and notwithſtanding that he lamented the oppreſſion under which ſome of his countrymen laboured, he thought that the oath of fealty he had made to William, in common with other nobles of the realm, after the battle of Haſtings, would not allow him to take up arms againſt him in his abſence: Theſe conſiderations, however, had but ſmall weight with Edric, ſurnamed Sylvaticus, or the Foreſter, nephew to the infamous Edric Streon, who lived in the reign of Ethelred II. This nobleman's eſtates lay on the borders of Wales: hiſtory does not inform us what reaſons he alleged for taking up arms; he had, like earl Coxo, and other noblemen, ſworn allegiance to William, and had met with the moſt favorable reception and kind treatment from him. However, ſeeing himſelf now at the head of a ſtrong party of the malecontents, he attacked the territories of Richard Scrope, and other Normans in Herefordſhire, and being joined by a body of the Welſh, under Blethwyn and Rynwellen, princes of Powis and North Wales, he waſted all the country as far as Luggen bridge, and after making a conſiderable booty, returned home. Nor were theſe the only inſurrections that were raiſed by the Engliſh againſt the Norman intruders; great numbers of thoſe foreigners were ſet upon and cut off by bands of people that rendezvouſed in woods, foreſts, and caves.

As ſoon as the intelligence of theſe commotions reached William's ears, he left the government of Normandy in the hands of Matilda, his ducheſs, and his eldeſt ſon Robert, and ſetting ſail from thence, landed at Winchelſea, on the 6th of December, 1067. By this ſudden arrival he defeated a plan which had been concerted by the Engliſh, for ſhaking off the Norman yoke; and it is not improbable that the diſcovery of this deſign having been imparted to him, was the principal means of haſtening his coming over. The conſpiracy, indeed, was too general, and there were too many concerned in its intended execution for it to be kept ſecret: the deſign was to fall at the ſame hour upon the Norman troops, who were diſperſed in the different parts of the kingdom, and having deſtroyed theſe, the conſpirators imagined they could oppoſe William's again entering the kingdom. But William's return allayed the ſtorm that had been raiſed in his abſence; nevertheleſs, it gave him ſuch a ſuſpicion of the Engliſh, that he determined entirely to curb their turbulent ſpirit by oppreſſion, to cloſely rivet the chains of ſlavery, which before he had only had opportunity to fit on, and in future to rule them with a rod of iron.

It was, however, eſſentially neceſſary to conceal a deſign, the avowal of which would have thrown, perhaps, inſurmountable obſtacles in the way of its completion, by exaſperating the Engliſh to a general inſurrection. He therefore had recourſe to that diſſimulation which had ſerved him ſo well on former occaſions; and though he firmly perſiſted in his intent, he purſued it with the moſt refined policy, gaining his point by degrees, and carrying it on under the veil of the moſt engaging careſſes, and the moſt enſnaring promiſes of kindneſs, affection, and friendſhip.

The firſt ſignal which William gave of his intention to rule by arbitrary power was manifeſted in the revival of the tax of Danegelt, ſo juſtly odious to the whole Engliſh nation. The levying it without calling together the ſtates, gave them great cauſe for ſuſpicion, and added fuel to the preſent diſcontent. On this occaſion, Aldred, archbiſhop of York, took the liberty to make ſeveral remonſtrances to the king with a noble freedom, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from ſo unpopular a meaſure; but William, deaf to his advice, or rather incenſed at his intermeddling, inſtead of deſiſting from his deſign, gave orders for the levying this tax with the moſt rigorous exactneſs. Theſe orders ſtruck a terror into thoſe parts of the kingdom that were more immediately under his eye and the power of his ſtanding army, ſo that little or no oppoſition was made to the payment of it in thoſe counties adjacent to the capital; but the more remote provinces of Cornwall and Devonſhire did not ſo tamely ſtoop beneath the burthen, and the city of Exeter was the firſt that refuſed to ſubmit to the Conqueror's new regulations. It is to be obſerved, that Githa, the mother of Harold, had retired to this city with all her rich effects, after the battle of Haſtings, ſo fatal to her family, and had here, with all her riches, lived uninterrupted, and in a ſplendor little inferior to that of the poſſeſſor of the crown: and it is not improbable but that her influence might, in a great meaſure, have contributed to the reſiſtance made on this occaſion by the inhabitants of theſe counties, who abſolutely refuſed to ſwear fealty to William, or to admit a garriſon of Normans whom he had ſent down to take poſſeſſion of their ſtrong holds. William, not chuſing to ſuffer any one inſtance of refractorineſs to go unpuniſhed, leſt an ill-timed lenity might give riſe to future diſturbances of this kind, ſent the malecontents word, that unleſs they immediately returned to their duty, they had nothing to expect but the moſt rigorous treatment for their diſobedience. They, in no wiſe intimidated by his menaces, perſiſted in the reſolution they had taken, upon which he marched in perſon, with a ſtrong force, to quell them. And here he gave the moſt remarkable inſtance of that refined policy, to which moſt of his ſucceſſes had in fact been owing: notwithſtanding he had ſo many Normans ready to march at his command, the greateſt part of the army he raiſed on this occaſion was compoſed of Engliſh, that he might not leave them even the ſhadow of a plea for their ſtubbornneſs, by alleging that foreigners were made uſe of, to drive them into a compliance with the will of a foreigner; he therefore reſolved to make the Engliſh cut each other's throats, and, oh, ſhameful to be told! they themſelves aſſiſted him in his deſigns. Thus he at once ſpared his faithful Normans, and by thinning the number of the Engliſh, and, what was ſtill more to his purpoſe, by creating between two people of the ſame nation an irreconcilable animoſity, he by degrees attained every point he had in view.

He accordingly advanced againſt Exeter, A. D. 1068, with the Engliſh in the front of his army, when he prepared to lay ſiege to the town in form, which ſo intimidated the magiſtrates and perſons of property within the place, that they ſent a deputation to him, with offers of ſubmiſſion and hoſtages as pledges of their ſincerity. But the populace, who had more reſolution, becauſe they had leſs to loſe, refuſed to abide by the compact the deputies had made, ſhut the gates againſt the king juſt as he was preparing to enter and take poſſeſſion of the city, and declared they would defend themſelves therein as long as one ſtone remained upon another.

William was greatly exaſperated at this behaviour, and to revenge the affront, had recourſe to a cruel device, in order to ſtrike terror into the beſieged, for commanding one of the hoſtages to be brought out in view of the walls, his eyes were there inhumanly put out. This deed, however, had a different effect on the minds of thoſe within from what William had imagined, and only ſerved to make them more deſperate, upon which he found himſelf conſtrained to begin the ſiege in earneſt. Having carried on his approaches almoſt to the foot of the walls, he ordered his battering engines to play furiouſly upon them, and at the ſame time gave directions for undermining the ramparts. His orders were executed with the greateſt alacrity, and the townſmen, who had been before ſo inſolent, now ſtruck with the baſeſt fear, implored the compaſſion of the victor; but William, who was not to be eaſily appeaſed when once his reſentment was thoroughly rouſed, refuſed to hearken to any terms, and threatened to put to the ſword all thoſe who had ſhut the gates againſt him. However, the remonſtrances of the principal nobles and clergy in his camp, whom he did not care to diſoblige, added to the dictates of policy and a deſire to poſſeſs his ſubjects with a notion of his clemency, to which he was in his heart a ſtranger, got the better of his wrath, inſomuch that he not only pardoned them, but even prevented his ſoldiers from plundering their city. As to Githa, ſhe, upon the firſt approach of William, had found means to get on ſhip-board, with her effects, and eſcaped to Flanders. In order to prevent future inſurrections, he built a citadel in the place, which he filled with a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of Baldwin de Moles, on whom he likewiſe beſtowed the government of the county.

Having thus ſubdued Exeter, he marched into Cornwall, to quell the commotions there, in which he ſucceeded to his wiſh; and having provided for the future peace of that county, he returned to Wincheſter, ordered his army into winter-quarters, and in this city he paſſed his Eaſter. Hither his ducheſs Matilda, or Maude, came to him from Normandy, ſoon after the holidays; and was crowned on Whitſunday, by archbiſhop Aldred: and before the expiration of the year, was delivered of a ſon, who was named Henry, and afterwards filled the throne of England.

During theſe tranſactions, Aldred, the good archbiſhop of York, after in vain remonſtrating with William on the illegality and cruelty of his proceedings, anathematized him, and ſoon after died of grief; when William being releaſed from ſo troubleſome a monitor, gave way to the dictates of his imperious diſpoſition, perſecuted the Engliſh with the utmoſt rigor, confiſcated the eſtates of ſome, and loaded all with the moſt grievous burdens.

In this diſtreſs, the people naturally turned their eyes to Edwin and Morcar; they knew their valor, they confided in their popularity, and made no doubt of ſucceſs, if they could induce theſe noblemen to declare in their favor. The earls themſelves were already prepared for any deſperate attempt: if the diſtreſſes of their country had made no impreſſion on their minds, a motive equally ſtrong, though not equally laudable, we mean revenge, inſtigated them to take up arms againſt William; for the Norman, in order to ſecure theſe two noblemen in his intereſt, had, on his acceſſion, promiſed his daughter in marriage to Edwin; but either he had never ſeriouſly intended to perform his engagement, or having changed his plan of adminiſtration in England from clemency to rigor, he thought it was to little purpoſe, to gain one family, at the expence of enraging the whole nation.

When Edwin therefore renewed his application, he gave him an abſolute refuſal; and this diſappointment, added to ſo many other reaſons for diſguſt, induced that nobleman and his brother to concur with their enraged countrymen, and to make one effort for the recovery of their antient liberties. But before they took up arms, they wiſely ſtipulated for foreign ſuccours, from their nephew Blethyn, prince of North Wales, from Malcolm, king of Scotland, and from Swein, king of Denmark.

Far from being alarmed at theſe preparations and alliances of the inſurgents, William advanced by forced marches towards the north. He was already in poſſeſſion of the moſt important fortreſſes, and therefore had little to fear from the progreſs of the diſcontented Engliſh. He firſt viſited thoſe places of ſtrength, and put them in a condition to prevent a ſurprize. The caſtle of Warwick was new fortified, and committed to the cuſtody of Henry de Beaumont, a Norman nobleman, afterwards created earl of Warwick. William Peverel, another Norman, was intruſted with the important caſtle of Nottingham, the fortifications of which were alſo repaired.

Theſe precautions taken by William, and the great celerity of his march, by which he reached York before any of the foreign ſuccors arrived, except a ſmall reinforcement from Wales, ſufficiently convinced the two earls that they muſt either be reduced to the diſcouraging neceſſity of paſſing the approaching winter amidſt the faſtneſſes of the country, while William, poſſeſſing all the places of ſtrength, would be enabled to cut off their ſupplies, or have recourſe to conciliative meaſures with the conqueror. They choſe the latter; and William, not chuſing to exaſperate the Engliſh any farther, received them with ſeeming complaiſance. Archil, another nobleman of great intereſt in the northern parts, followed their example, and gave his ſon as an hoſtage to William for his good behaviour. Upon this, the inhabitants of York, a place at that time of great importance, ſent William the keys of their city. This ſubmiſſion was very agreeable to the conqueror, who immediately gave orders for building two forts, each of which were garriſoned with five hundred men. Egilwin, biſhop of Durham, now likewiſe made his peace; and had alſo the merit of prevailing on Malcolm to enter into a treaty with William, and to do him homage for Cumberland. The people thus deſerted by their leaders, were unable to make any farther reſiſtance. William religiouſly obſerved the terms granted to the chieftains, and allowed them for the preſent to keep poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but he extended the rigors of his confiſcations over their followers, and gave away their lands to his foreign adventurers, who being in poſſeſſion of the military power, and diſperſed through the whole country, left Edwin and Morcar, whom he pretended to ſpare, deſtitute of all ſupport, and ready to fall whenever he ſhould think proper to command their ruin. The Conqueror having thus weathered the ſtorm, renewed his application to erecting caſtles wherever they were wanting, or might be uſeful.

In the mean time all the Engliſh, from whoſe influence with their countrymen William had any thing to fear, ſuffered a kind of proſcription, by being either ſtripped of their eſtates or deprived of their liberty. The deſtruction of ſo many families was a ſufficient proof, that the king intended to rely entirely on the ſupport and affections of foreigners. Many of the Engliſh, therefore, fled into foreign countries, hoping to paſs their lives abroad, free from oppreſſion, or to return, on a favorable opportunity, to aſſiſt their friends in the recovery of their native liberties. Edgar Atheling himſelf, dreading the inſiduous careſſes of William, was perſuaded by Goſpatric, a powerful Northumbrian, to eſcape into Scotland; and he carried with him his two ſiſters, Margaret and Chriſtina. The ſentiments of common humanity prompted Malcolm to receive the illuſtrious fugitives with great civility. As he himſelf had been an exile, he was moved with compaſſion at their fate. This compaſſion, improved by intercouſe, at laſt begot an affection for the perſon of Margaret, whom he afterwards made his conſort.

Theſe proceedings alarmed William, who demanded the fugitives; and Malcolm, with a noble magnanimity which does honor to his memory, treated the meſſage with contempt. A war between the two nations was the conſequence; and the northern parts of the kingdom became again the ſcenes of horror and devaſtation.

Scotland was now crouded with Engliſh nobles; and the Northumbrians, ſure of being powerfully aſſiſted, committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the territories of the Normans; many of whom choſe to abandon their eſtates, and retire into their own country, rather than be perpetually harraſſed by the attempts of an exaſperated people. Nor were the Scots the only people that threatened to attack the Engliſh monarch; the Danes and the Iriſh had joined in the confederacy; and it was agreed to make the attack at the ſame time in different parts of the kingdom. Had this plan been executed with vigor, it would have ſhaken the foundation of William's power; but it was rendered abortive by the diſſentions that prevailed in their councils. The Danes, however, landed at the mouth of the Humber; and William thought it moſt adviſeable to purchaſe their abſence by a large ſum of money; an expedient, which had often been ineffectually uſed by former monarchs.

The want of unanimity in the confederates ruined their whole ſcheme, and, A. D. 1070, the Engliſh inſurgents, when deſerted by their foreign allies, were unable to ſupport themſelves againſt the Norman army: they were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force; and the Conqueror had now an opportunity of introducing into England the innovations he thought neceſſary to ſupport that deſpotic power by which he was determined to govern the kingdom. He had now the plea of rebellion to offer as a reaſon for his conduct; and he failed not to uſe it. He confiſcated the eſtates of the nobles, and gave them to the Normans and other foreigners who had aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of this unhappy country. For an Engliſhman to be poſſeſſed either of riches or power was conſidered as a ſufficient crime to render him obnoxious to government. The innocent and the guilty ſuffered equally under the rod of oppreſſion. The moſt antient and opulent families were reduced to indigence; they pined for want on the very eſtates which had deſcended to them through a long line of illuſtrious anceſtors.

Add to this the feudal polity, which had been long introduced into France and Normandy, was conſidered by William as the beſt, perhaps the only method of rendering the ſervitude, to which he had reduced his ſubjects, perpetual, by deſtroying the very idea of liberty, and rivetting the chains of ſlavery on a generous, though conquered people.

He accordingly divided the kingdom into ſeven hundred baronies, which he beſtowed upon his particular friends. No Engliſhman was ſuffered to enjoy that honor. Theſe baronies were ſubdivided into ſixty thouſand, two hundred and fifteen knights fees; which were diſtributed among their retainers, and a few Engliſhmen who had been fortunate enough to gain the favor of the Conqueror, by being baſe enough to deſert the cauſe of their country.

The clergy themſelves were not exempted from theſe arbitrary proceedings: they were obliged to furniſh a certain number of ſoldiers; and in caſe of refuſal, to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment. The temporalities of the eccleſiaſtics enjoyed no greater favor than the eſtates of the laity. The pope remonſtrated againſt theſe proceedings, but without effect. William no longer wanted his aſſiſtance, and was not to be intimidated by the thunder of the Vatican. Alexander II. who then filled the papal chair, perceived it would be in vain to contend againſt the power of William, and determined to accompliſh by policy what he could not effect by force: he flattered himſelf with being able to extend his ſupremacy over the Engliſh dominions; but this, he knew, muſt be effected by an artful conduct: William was too violent to be openly oppoſed. Ermefroy, biſhop of Sion, appeared well qualified for carrying on this difficult and delicate negociation; and accordingly Alexander ſent him into England with the character of legate. Several of the Engliſh clergy were become obnoxious to William: the arrival of the legate, therefore, was agreeable to the Conqueror, who now determined to puniſh them under the maſk of religion. Ermefroy, inſtructed to gain the favor of the Engliſh monarch, ſummoned a general council at Wincheſter, at which were depoſed Stigand, archbiſhop, Agelmar, biſhop of Helmham, Elgeric, biſhop of Durham, and ſeveral other prelates. Among other innovations at this council, William compelled all biſhoprics and abbies, poſſeſſed of baronies, to exchange their tenure, and inſtead of holding them free of all ſecular ſervitude, to hold them by knights ſervice, or military tenure. He likewiſe quartered the greateſt part of his troops upon religious houſes, by which thoſe communities were under the immediate eye of his truſty Norman officers, and his army coſt him little or nothing for a maintenance.

William's avarice encreaſed with his years, and his thoughts ſeemed wholly employed in accumulating treaſures. Being informed, that during the late tranſactions many perſons had lodged their plate, money, and other valuables in the monaſteries, he gave orders to ſearch thoſe places, when his emiſſaries being properly inſtructed, not only ſeized upon what had been concealed, but took away the church plate, and ſtripped the ſhrines of their offerings. Still unſatisfied, for the graſp of avarice is never full, he caſt a longing eye on the wealth of the depoſed archbiſhop, biſhops, and abbots, and determined, as he had wrongfully deprived them of their church livings, he would now with equal injuſtice ſtrip them of their money; which he did with a moſt cruel illegality, and without the leaſt apparent reaſon, as the Norman writers themſelves confeſs. Nor were the decrees of William more unjuſt than rigorouſly executed, indeed the property of ſome of the clergy did not content him, for he impriſoned their perſons, and the vacant livings of all were filled up by foreigners; in particular, Lanfranc, an Italian, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, was created archbiſhop of York; the dioceſes of Helmham, Selſey and Wincheſter, were filled by three of his own chaplains. It muſt, however, be confeſſed that though theſe foreigners were obtruded into the places of others, that they were men of real merit and abilities, and deſerved thoſe livings, had they been juſtly obtained.

William now, in order to prevent his officers of the revenue from defrauding him, eſtabliſhed the Court of Exchequer, wherein the accounts of all the officers employed in collecting the king's revenue were paſſed, and all actions relating thereto were heard. The exactions and irregularities of collectors, and the delays and defaults in payment from the perſons aſſeſſed, were particularly cognizable in this court. And it is proper to obſerve here, that the king's revenue at this time conſiſted of ſeveral branches beſides the old demeſne lands, which were reſerved for ſupplying the king's houſehold with oxen, ſheep, corn, hay, and all ſorts of proviſion, according to the nature of the lands, and in the quantities neceſſary; the overplus remaining being compounded for in money. One was a kind of land-tax, called Hidage, and which being levied to make good the ſums promiſed to the Danes, thence got the name of Danegelt; but collected (as appears from Domeſday Book) in William's time, as an ordinary tax, in all appearance at the rate of twelve-pence, though it had been aboliſhed by Edward the Confeſſor. There was alſo a quit-rent paid, before William's coming to the crown, out of all the lands of the ſubject throughout the kingdom, and continued likewiſe upon the knights fees eſtabliſhed afterwards. Another branch conſiſted in the profits of wardſhips, reliefs, and fines, as well for livery of hereditary lands, aſſignations of dower, licences of marriage, and leave to ſue in the king's courts, generally termed Oblata; as of a penal nature,

ture, for marrying without licence, and other miſdemeanors, which amounted to large ſums; beſides the forfeitures, mulcts, and pecuniary penalties with which all ſorts of crimes were before, and for ſome time after the reign of William, puniſhed. There were, likewiſe, an infinite number of tolls and cuſtoms paid for paſſage, pontage, freedom of fairs and markets, protection in going and coming, liberty of buying and ſelling, and duties laid upon merchandize, or paid for imports and exports.

This general revenue, with the occaſional aid due from the fees of thoſe that held of the crown by knights ſervice, and the taillages that the king had in his power to levy upon the ſoccage tenants in his own demeſnes, and upon the trading towns of the kingdom, produced an immenſe revenue to William. Ordericus Vitalis ſays, that, ſetting aſide the oblata, fines, and forfeitures, he had coming in near four hundred thouſand pounds a year, every pound being nearly equal to that weight of ſilver, conſequently the whole is to be eſtimated at twelve hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent computation; a ſum which, conſidering the difference of ſpecie between that period and the preſent, was equivalent to twelve millions of money of modern eſtimation.

This amazing revenue, and the vaſt ſtanding army that William kept, could not, however, ſecure him againſt the attempts of the Engliſh, who very naturally wiſhed to throw off a yoke which his tyranny had rendered inſupportable, and ſo far were the meaſures he had taken from anſwering his view of terrifying them into an abject ſubmiſſion, that, on the contrary, it made them deſperate, and many of them wiſhed rather to end their lives in aſſerting their privileges, than to live with the privation of them. Fretherig, the abbot of St. Alban's, exerted himſelf in a particular manner to cheriſh this reſolution in his countrymen, and his indignation at the calamities they ſuffered made him conſider how to remedy them; for this purpoſe he gave refuge and entertainment to all ſuch of the Engliſh who had been ouſted of their eſtates, and proſcribed by the Conqueror, on account of their oppoſition to his meaſures: and here they concerted matters ſo ſecretly and prudently, that they had aſſembled a conſiderable army before William had the leaſt intimation of their deſign. Fretherig, finding his ſcheme ſo ſucceſsful, ſent a meſſage to Edgar Atheling, then in Scotland, inviting that prince to come and put himſelf at the head of the malecontents: which propoſal he readily accepted, and, in a few days after, joined the abbot and his friends, who acknowledged him for their king, and cauſed him to be proclaimed in all the places they had ſeized.

As ſoon as William heard of theſe proceedings, not all his haughtineſs could keep him from trembling for the conſequences: conſcious of the provocations he had given to the Engliſh, he could expect nothing leſs than that they would, to a man, join in a conſpiracy againſt him, unleſs he could find ſome means to cruſh it in its infancy. In this dilemma he conſulted with his favorite and boſom-counſellor, Lanfranc, who adviſed him, on this occaſion, to conciliate the affections of the reſt of the Engliſh by every act of condeſcenſion and kindneſs that his own dignity and ſafety would permit: and in particular he repreſented to him the ſalutary effects that might ariſe from recalling the moſt popular of the proſcribed perſons, and reſtoring them to his favor and protection. William liſtened to this prudent advice, and followed it: he prevailed on the chiefs of the inſurgents to give him a meeting at Berkhamſtead, where, after many remonſtrances and expoſtulations, he, in the preſence of his archbiſhop, ſwore by all the relics of St. Alban, at the ſame time kiſſing the Goſpels, "That he would obſerve the good, approved, and antient laws of the kingdom, which the holy and pious kings, his predeceſſors, and particularly king Edward the Confeſſor, had enacted."

This condeſcenſion having quieted the malecontents, they returned to the army, in order to diſmiſs their troops, believing they ſhould have no farther occaſion for them. But as William had ſuffered the oath to be extorted from him, in regard to the exigence of affairs, ſo he thought of nothing leſs than keeping it; and he no ſooner ſaw his foes diſarmed, than he ſeized and impriſoned their perſons, confiſcated their eſtates, and filled them with Normans. Edgar, upon the firſt news of this treacherous conduct, fled to Scotland, and the reſt of the conſpirators took refuge in different countries. The abbot of St. Alban's, finding all his intentions for the delivery of his country baffled, retired to the Iſle of Ely, where he died ſoon after of grief.

Immediately upon his death, William ſeized on his abbey of St. Alban's, and ſtripped it of every thing that was valuable; and Matthew Paris, in his Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's, ſays, that the king would have wholly deſtroyed it, had he not been prevented by the remonſtrances of Lanfranc his favorite. The high hand which William carried over his Engliſh ſubjects, as it intimidated ſome into the moſt paſſive ſubjection, ſo it cauſed in others a reſolution to ſhake off their chains, or periſh in the attempt. A number of the diſcontented, of all ranks, repaired to the Iſle of Ely, and among the reſt the two earls Morcar and Edwin (which latter was ſet upon and murdered, as he was on his way to Scotland to engage Malcolm to aſſiſt the malecontents) and were afterwards joined from Scotland by Elgerick and Egelwin, biſhops of Durham and Hereford, Siward Bearn and the brave Hereward de Wake, ſon of Leofric, lord of Brunne, who was reputed the greateſt warrior and the braveſt ſoldier of his age; theſe great qualities and his known hatred to the Norman race, induced the malecontents to chuſe him for their commander. This diſtinction animated young Hereward with freſh ardor, and, in order to ſhew thoſe who had put him at their head, that they had not made an unworthy choice, he ſet about making all the preparations neceſſary for a vigorous defence, well knowing that William would not long let them remain unattacked.

William, alarmed at this inſurrection, reſolved to take the advantage of the ſummer, in which ſeaſon alone the place was acceſſible, being ſurrounded with a deep moraſs, which in winter was always full of water. The firſt thing he did was to build a ſtrong caſtle at Wiſbich, on the eaſt ſide, and to ſtop up all the outlets by which the rebels could make any incurſions. We are likewiſe told, that he built a bridge, two miles long, over the moraſs, on the weſt ſide. However, the beſieged were ſo well fortified, that he was obliged to convert his operations into a blockade, a tedious method of proceeding, and the more vexatious to William at this time, as he had received news of an irruption into the northern provinces by Malcolm, king of Scotland. One morning as the Normans were intent upon their works, the active Hereward ſallied out, engaged and routed the party he attacked, and returned with a conſiderable booty. The check which this ſucceſsful ſally had given to William's affairs, made that prince very uneaſy, and deſpairing of being able to make himſelf maſter of the place in any reaſonable time, he made a truce with the malecontents, which, as it was convenient to their affairs, they readily conſented to, and Hereward went over to the main land; but William ſoon broke this truce, by ſeizing and impriſoning Elgerick, biſhop of Durham, as he was attempting to paſs from the iſland. Hereupon hoſtilities were renewed, and Hereward returned to take upon him the command of the beſieged, bringing with him a ſtrong band of his countrymen, whom he had gathered together during his abſence from the iſland.

William, after having been repulſed in frequent attacks, bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem: Knowing that the monaſtery of Ely had ſeveral large poſſeſſions which lay on the main land; theſe he fell upon, and, after rifling them of their moſt valuable effects, gave the lands to his ſoldiers. This ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh; the brotherhood, touched to the quick with their loſs, began to make ſuch clamors, that Thurſtan, their abbot, was obliged to promiſe them that he would fall upon ſome method to get a reſtitution of their lands from William. Accordingly he privately ſent and offered him to betray the iſland into his hands, with all who were in it, and alſo to pay him a thouſand marks, on condition the lands, which had been ſeized, were reſtored to the convent. William gladly embraced this offer, and the abbot, faithful in his treachery, opened a paſſage for a party of the king's troops, who kept their poſt, notwithſtanding the efforts of thoſe within to diſlodge them, till the whole army entered the iſland. The gallant Hereward, finding himſelf betrayed, cut his paſſage through the Norman troops ſword in hand; but the reſt were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and great numbers of them were made priſoners, among whom was earl Morcar, brother to Edwin. The monks themſelves did not eſcape William's reſentment, for he not only ſtripped their monaſtery of all its rich effects, but ſaddled the brotherhood with the maintenance of forty horſemen, and when they came to pay him the thouſand marks agreed upon, a groat happening to be deficient in the ſum, he took advantage of that trivial circumſtance, and obliged them to double the original ſum.

During theſe tranſactions, the king of Scotland, hoping to profit by ſuch confuſions, had fallen upon the northern counties, but, on the approach of William, he retired; and when the king entered his country, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the uſual homage to the Engliſh crown. To complete the king's proſperity, Edgar Atheling, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and weary of a fugitive life, ſubmitted to his enemy, and, receiving a handſome allowance, was permitted to live in England unmoleſted. But theſe acts of generoſity towards the leaders were, as uſual, diſgraced by the rigor William exerciſed againſt the inferior malecontents. He ordered the hands to be lopped off, and the eyes to be put out, of many of the priſoners he had taken in the Iſle of Ely, and, in that miſerable condition, led them through the country as monuments of his ſavage diſpoſition.

The verv next year, which was A. D. 1073, Philip, king of France, either jealous of William's growing power, or hoping that the unſettled ſtate of his affairs in England would prevent his aſſiſting his ſubjects on the continent, attacked the dutchy of Normandy. This greatly embarraſſed William: he could truſt only to the Normans in ſubduing and awing the Engliſh, eſpecially when he himſelf was abſent. He therefore raiſed an army, wholly compoſed of the inhabitants of this kingdom, and paſſed over to the continent, where his Engliſh forces were joined by ſome troops levied in Normandy. Philip was, by this time, in poſſeſſion of the city of Mans, the capital of the province of Maine, which had ſome time before revolted from the Norman government. The Engliſh appeared ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves on this occaſion, and of recovering that character for valor, which had long been national among them; but which their late eaſy ſubjection by the Normans, had ſomewhat degraded and obſcured. Nor is it impoſſible but they might hope, by their zeal and activity, to recover the confidence of their ſovereign, as their anceſtors had formerly, by a ſimilar conduct, gained the affections of Canute; and to conquer his inveterate prejudices in favor of his own countrymen. The valor of the Engliſh, together with the king's military abilities, ſoon ſurmounted all difficulties in Maine: the city of Mans was re-taken, the inhabitants were obliged to ſubmit to William's government, and the king of France to give him peace upon his own terms.

William, during his ſtay in Normandy, A. D. 1074, received intelligence that a conſpiracy of a very extraordinary nature was formed in England, by perſons, whom, of all others, he imagined he had the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect of being diſſatisfied. Theſe were the very foreigners whom he had enriched with his bounties, and raiſed to the moſt eminent ſtations, from the love and eſteem he bore to their perſons. Robert, the youngeſt ſon of William Fitz-Oſberne, who ſucceeded to the engliſh eſtate, and earldom of Hereford had, either by way of compliment to his ſovereign, or in compliance with the forms of vaſſalage, applied to William for leave to marry his ſiſter to Ralph de Gauder, earl of Norfolk, and met with an abſolute denial. He, however, proceeded to finiſh the nuptials, and aſſembled all his friends together, with thoſe of Gauder, to attend the ſolemnity. The two earls, diſguſted with receiving a denial to their requeſt, and dreading William's reſentment for their diſobedience, now prepared matters for a revolt; and, during the gaiety of the feſtival, while the company were heated with wine, they opened their deſign to their gueſts. They inveighed bitterly againſt the arbitrary conduct of the king; his tyranny towards the Engliſh, whom they affected, on this occaſion, to commiſerate; his imperious behaviour to his barons of the nobleſt birth; and his apparent intention of reducing the victors and the vanquiſhed, to a like ignominious ſervitude. Amidſt their complaints, the indignity of ſubmitting to a baſtard was not forgot; the certain proſpect of ſucceſs in a revolt, by the aſſiſtance of the Danes and the diſcontented Engliſh, was inſiſted on; and the whole company, inflamed with the ſame ſentiments, and, warmed by the jollity of the entertainment, entered, by a ſolemn engagement, into the deſign of ſhaking off the royal authority. Even earl Waltheof himſelf, who happened to be preſent, inconſiderately expreſſed his approbation of the conſpiracy, and promiſed to aſſiſt in the execution to the utmoſt of his power. Waltheof had married Judith, the conqueror's neice, and at this time poſſeſſed the confidence and friendſhip of his ſovereign, who had lately inveſted him with the important earldom of Northumberland, in the room of Goſpatric, who, on ſome new diſguſt from William, had retired into Scotland, where he received the earldom of Dunbar from the bounty of Malcolm. It is indeed probable, that Waltheof was greatly affected by the tyranny exerciſed by the conqueror over the Engliſh, and which deſtroyed all the ſatiſfaction he could reap from his own grandeur and advancement. Animated by a deſire of relieving the oppreſſions of his countrymen, it is no wonder, when a proſpect was opened, of retrieving their liberty, that he haſtiliy embraced it; while the fumes of the liquor, and the ardor of the company, prevented him from reflecting on the conſequences that would certainly attend ſo raſh an attempt. But when his cool judgment returned, he eaſily foreſaw, that the conſpiracy of theſe diſcontented barons was not likely to prove ſucceſsful againſt the eſtabliſhed power of William; or, if their attempts ſhould be crowned with a favourable iſſue, that the ſlavery of the Engliſh, inſtead of being alleviated, would become more grievous, under a multitude of foreign leaders, factious and ambitious, whoſe union or diſcord would be equally oppreſſive to the people. Tormented with theſe reflections, he opened his mind to his wife Judith, on whoſe fidelity he thought he might ſafely depend; but who, having ſecretly fixed her affections upon another, took this opportunity of ruining her eaſy and credulous huſband. She conveyed intelligence of the conſpiracy to William, and took care to aggravate every circumſtance which ſhe believed would tend to enrage him againſt Waltheof, and render him abſolutely implacable. In the mean time the earl, ſtill unſatisfied with regard to the part it would be moſt prudent for him to act, diſcovered the ſecret in confeſſion to Lanfranc, on whoſe probity and judgement he placed the utmoſt confidence; and was perſuaded by the prelate, that he owed no fidelity to thoſe rebellious barons, who had, by ſurprize, gained his conſent to a crime; that his firſt duty was to his ſovereign and benefactor, his next to himſelf and family; and that if he neglected the opportunity of making attonement for his guilt by revealing it, the temerity of the conſpirators was ſo great, that they would give ſome other perſon the means of acquiring the merit of the diſcovery.

The earl followed his advice; and, when he came to the king, met with a moſt gracious reception. The diſappearing of Waltheof, and ſome ſteps taken by the regency, ſoon gave the conſpirators to know that they were diſcovered, and conſequently that no ſafety was left for them but in their ſwords. Upon this they ſent to the Welſh, who readily joining them, hoſtilities were begun; but, by the diligence of Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, the king's brother and chief regent of the kingdom during his abſence, the conſpirators found moſt of their ſchemes diſconcerted. Robert attempted to paſs the Severn, but was prevented by Wulfſtan, biſhop of Worceſter, and Urſo, high-ſheriff of the county. Ralph de Gauder advanced into the neighbourhood of Cambridge; but being defeated by Odo and Godfrey of Coutances, the juſticiary, retired to his caſtle of Norwich, from whence he went over to France, hoping to obtain aid from king Philip, whom he well knew bore ill-will to William, notwithſtanding the late pacification between them; and by that means he was in hopes to cut out ſufficient work for William till the Daniſh forces ſhould arrive, and throw the balance of power into the ſcale of the confederates; however, theſe towering proſpects were ſoon overturned by the ſudden arrival of William in England, who having ſettled the affairs of his dukedom, embarked about the middle of this autumn, 1074, and, landing ſafely in England, by the vigorous meaſures he took, ſoon put an end to the conſpiracy. The earl of Hereford, finding that he was unable to make head againſt the king's forces, ſubmitted; and, by William's orders, both he and Waltheof, notwithſtanding his diſcovery of the plot, were committed to cloſe impriſonment. The Danes, who, under Canute, the ſon of Sweyn, and earl Haco, were upon the point of making a deſcent in favour of the conſpirators, finding William prepared for their reception, or elſe being bribed by him, laid aſide their deſign, and retired with their ſhips to the ports of Flanders, where Ralph de Gauder went on board; and, being joined by his wiſe and family from England, repaired to an eſtate that belonged to him in France.

A parliament was now ſummoned by William to meet at Weſtminſter, where the caſe of thoſe concerned in the late rebellion came under conſideration; and they were proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity. Of the inferior rank, ſome were puniſhed with the loſs of their eyes, others had their hands or feet chopped off, ; but no one act of William's drew upon him ſuch deſerved reproach as his treatment of earl Waltheof, who, notwithſtanding the proof of fidelity which he had given in diſcovering the plot, was tried for being an accomplice; and upon the information of his own wife, ſentenced to loſe his head. Lanfranc in vain exerted all his intereſt with William to ſave him; the ſtern Norman was inflexible, he was determined to quench even the ſmalleſt ember of rebellion with blood: beſides, as Mr. Carte ſeems not unjuſtly to have obſerved, his being an Engliſhman of great power and property, and Ino de Taillebois and other Normans thirſting after his eſtate, added to the wickedneſs of his wife, who wanted to get rid of him as an obſtacle in the way to another match ſhe had in view, all theſe things made ſo againſt him, that his innocence proved inſufficient to protect him from the malice of his enemies; and he was accordingly beheaded at Wincheſter, very early in the morning, on April 29, A. D. 1075. He was the laſt Engliſhman who retained any conſiderable power or intereſt in the nation. His corpſe was at firſt thrown into a ditch, but a fortnight afterwards it was removed to Croyland abbey, where, by the monks and abbot, it was ſaid to work miracles. William, who had good ſenſe enough to laugh at theſe idle ſtories, and to reſent them when made uſe of againſt his intereſt or will, was ſo much incenſed at the abbot that he depoſed him, and made Ingulphus, the celebrated hiſtorian, abbot in his room.

William, having thus cruſhed the conſpiracy, and ſecured himſelf by the exemplary puniſhment of the conſpirators, determined to turn his arms againſt Ralph de Gauder, and deſpoil him of his eſtate in Brittany. With this view he paſſed over into that country with a large army, a ſhort time after the execution of Waltheof, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Dol, where Ralph then was, and who made ſo brave a reſiſtance on this occaſion, that William had it not in his power to effect his deſign againſt the place before Philip, king of France, marched to the relief of the beſieged, with a powerful army; and William, to his no ſmall vexation, found himſelf under the neceſſity of drawing off his forces, and returning, after an inglorious campaign, and with great loſs of men, to England; where, during the reſt of that and the following year, nothing remarkable happened, except a council held at London, to ſettle the precedency of biſhops.

But this vexation did not come alone; for ambition, more prevalent than the ties of blood and nature, occaſioned him new anxieties, and expoſed him to freſh dangers and difficulties, from a quarter whence he aſſuredly had the leaſt reaſon to expect them. In the beginning of the year 1077, Robert, his eldeſt ſon, called, on account of the ſhortneſs of his legs, Gambaron or Courthoſe, being privately inſtigated by the perſuaſions of Philip the French king, who promiſed him powerful ſuccours in caſe of neceſſity, called upon his father in a peremptory manner, to perform a promiſe he had made in the French council, when he was at that court ſoliciting ſuccours to carry on his expedition againſt England, that as ſoon as he ſhould be maſter of that kingdom, he would leave Robert in poſſeſſion of Normandy. It is certain, that William had made ſuch a promiſe, and had even renewed it in a dangerous fit of illneſs, declaring Robert heir to his hereditary dominions; but the diſreſpectful manner in which his ſon now reminded him of it, added to the natural diſlike we have to part with power when once in our enjoyment, made William return this anſwer: “ That he never uſed to ſtrip till he went to bed, and that his ſon ought to “ wait till his deceaſe.”

A reply of this kind could not but be deeply felt by one of Robert's temper, who was naturally turbulent, imperious, and reſtleſs, fond of power, and full of vanity; nevertheleſs, it is to be believed that he would not have proceeded to any open act of diſobedience, had it not been for the inſtigations of thoſe who deſired nothing ſo much as to ſet the father and ſon at variance; beſides, a trifling diſpute which happened about this time, between his brother William and him, and in which his father appeared to favor the former, ſo far inflamed his diſpoſition, that he broke out into open rebellion. The plauſibility of his claim to the dukedom, and the popularity of his perſon, ſoon gained him numerous adherents. His firſt ſtep was an attempt to ſurprize the caſtle of Rouen by night; but Roger Ivery, who had received ſome intimations of the deſigns that were hatching by the prince and his friends, had put the place in ſo good a poſture of defence, that Robert's project was rendered abortive.

William, apprized of this audacious attempt, immediately drew an army together, wholly made up of Engliſh, and paſſed over into Normandy, to put a ſtop to the proceedings of his rebellious ſon; and, with an expedition which is ſo peculiar to his character, advanced againſt him, and ſtraitened him ſo much, that Robert was forced to apply to the king of France for a place of retreat from his father's reſentment. This Philip readily afforded him, by engaging the Vidame Helie to admit the prince into Gerberoy, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Bovoiſis. Hither William followed him, and prepared to beſiege the place in form. While the operations were carrying on, a number of ſkirmiſhes happened on both ſides, which we ſhall paſs over, to take notice of that remarkable action which brought about a reconciliation between the father and the ſon. For Robert, having been joined by a great number of French noblemen and others, made frequent incurſions into the Norman Vexin and the Pays de Caux, levying contributions, and plundering the inhabitants with great cruelty. William, to put a ſtop to theſe outrages, took the reſolution to carry his approaches nearer to the place, in order to ſtraiten the beſieged, and keep them, if poſſible, within their walls. But Robert thinking it a diſgrace to be thus ſhut up within a town at the head of an army, drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The diſpute was bloody and obſtinate; and William, dreading to ſee his dear-earned laurels torn from his brow by his own ſon, exerted himſelf beyond his ſtrength; and his horſe being killed under him, ſome ſay by an arrow ſhot from the arm of Robert himſelf, fell to the ground almoſt breathleſs, and being very corpulent and unwieldy with age, would certainly have been trod to death by the preſs, had not Robert, either by the ſound of his voice, or from a glimpſe of his face as he lifted up his beaver to get air, luckily recognized him. This ſight awakened in the breaſt of the young prince all the ſentiments of filial reverence and duty; he threw himſelf precipitately from his horſe, flew to his father whom he lifted from the ground with infinite tenderneſs, and then, caſting himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon for the difficulties to which he by his inconſiderate conduct had ſubjected the author of his life, and offered to lay down his arms and return to obedience. This generous behaviour, however, had no effect on William, whoſe ſoul felt the affront done him too deeply to forget or to forgive it; nevertheleſs, as he himſelf had been greatly hurt by his fall, and his ſon William Rufus was wounded, and that the fate of the day was evidently againſt him, he took advantage of this circumſtance to draw off his forces and return to Rouen. During his ſtay in this place, he was, by the interceſſion of his queen, reconciled to Robert: however, not caring to truſt him in his abſence, on the continent, brought him over to England with him, on pretence of ſending him on an expedition into Scotland.

With reſpect to the Scotch, it ſeems the preceding year, taking advantage of William's abſence, they had, on what pretext is unknown, harraſſed the northern borders, and, at the latter end of Auguſt of this year (1079) Malcolm, with a royal army, fell upon Northumberland, and ravaged it as far as the Tyne. The Scots had been the more encouraged to this attempt, as that country was then in a ſtate of confuſion; but Robert marching againſt them, the Scots thought proper to retire, when a treaty was ſoon after concluded between the two kingdoms.

On Robert's return to court, William behaved to him with great indifferency, which determined that prince to travel; accordingly he ſet out A. D. 1080, and continued for the five ſubſequent years rambling from court to court, and ſquandering away whatever money he could procure in the company of Robert de Beleſme, a diſſolute young nobleman. At length he fixed his reſidence in France, where he continued till the death of his father.

A. D. 1081. William obliged the Welch to pay an annual tribute to England, on account of ſome incurſions which they had lately made into the Engliſh territories. Towards the latter end of this year, William laid the foundation of the Tower of London, which, ſays a late author, "ſome writers, over fond of " antiquity, will have to have been originally " founded by Julius Cæſar, but it would be very dif" ficult for them to prove that Cæſar ever was at " London, and ſtill more ſo to prove, that he under" took this work, ſince we do not find the leaſt men" tion of it in his commentaries, and certainly he " never would have omitted ſo material a fact."

Peace was now entirely re-eſtabliſhed, as the Engliſh were effectually ſubdued, and the greater part of all the eſtates in the kingdom poſſeſſed by Normans; ſo that, according to the emphatical expreſſion of William of Malmeſbury, "England was become an ha" bitation and dominion of ſtrangers." This interval of tranquillity enabled William to finiſh a ſurvey of the kingdom, begun by Edward the Confeſſor. In this ſurvey an account was taken of all the lands in England, their extent in each diſtrict, their value, their quality, and the number of the tenants, cottagers, freemen, ſockmen, and villeins, ſlaves; black cattle, ſheep, hogs, cattle for draught, and other animals, with the names of thoſe to whom they belonged; and the number of mills and fiſheries. This work was ſix years in compiling; and was at firſt called, The Roll of Wincheſter, becauſe originally kept in that cathedral; but it was afterwards named Domboc, or Domeſday-book, becauſe there was no appeal from its authority; its evidence was deciſive. It is ſtill preſerved in the exchequer by the chamberlain, and conſiſts of two books, a larger and a leſſer one.

During the time that the proper commiſſioners were engaged in making the above-mentioned ſurvey, William, in A. D. 1082, viſited his Norman dominions, and, during his abſence, a very remarkable affair was tranſacting in England. Odo, his uterine brother, biſhop of Bayeaux, and earl of Kent, who, from being chief juſticiary of the kingdom, and generally regent during William's abſence, had amaſſed immenſe ſums, by the moſt illegal and oppreſſive methods; and, from an idle prediction, made by ſome itinerant aſtrologer, that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, would ſhortly die, and be ſucceeded by one Odo, reſolved to employ his treaſure in obtaining the papacy. Accordingly, he now purchaſed a magnificent palace at Rome, furniſhed it in the moſt ſuperb manner, and employed a number of agents in that city, to engage the cardinals, and other great men, to favor him at the next election: but judging his preſence would be neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſs of his deſigns, he propoſed to withdraw privately from the kingdom, and repair to Rome, where he intended to reſide, till the death of Gregory ſhould leave vacant the papal throne. He took all his meaſures with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and even perſuaded Hugh d'Avranches, earl of Cheſter, as well as ſeveral others of his tenants and partizans, to follow him into Italy, promiſing to beſtow on them more conſiderable eſtabliſhments in that country.

But theſe ſiniſter proceedings were not, however, ſo effectually concealed as Odo imagined. William received intelligence of the deſign, and juſtly apprehending, that both himſelf and his kingdom might ſuffer for this chimerical project of his brother, he determined to cruſh the aſpiring hopes of Odo, who had now repaired to the Iſle of Wight, where he propoſed to embark for Italy. William accordingly ſailed immediately to that iſland, and commanded his followers to ſeize the biſhop's perſon; but they were ſo impreſſed with his character as a prieſt, and his power as a nobleman, that William could not prevail on them to lay hands on Odo, who ſtrongly inſiſted on his ſacred function, and that he was accountable to no power on earth but that of the pope. William, who well knew how to diſtinguiſh on ſuch occaſions, ſeeing the arrogance of his brother, and the timidity of his own followers, boldly ſeized the delinquent himſelf, telling him, that he was determined to bring him to juſtice, not as biſhop of Bayeaux, but as earl of Kent. This diſtinction reconciled his ſervants to their duty; Odo was ſeized, tried, and convicted of extortion in matters of government, and of ſeducing the great peers of the realm to leave the kingdom. Upon which his eſtates and treaſures were confiſcated, and himſelf ſent priſoner to Rouen, where he continued till the death of the conqueror, notwithſtanding all the efforts of pope Gregory, who had recourſe to both flattery and threatenings in his behalf. This ſpirited behaviour of William did infinite honor to his adminiſtration, in the opinion of all the chriſtian princes, who were then very little better than ſlaves to the Roman pontiff.

William did not return to Normandy ſo ſoon as he intended, on account of an epidemical diſorder which broke out at this time in that dukedom. In order, therefore, to amuſe himſelf during this conſtrained abſence from his native country, in favour of which he was warmly prepoſſeſſed, he ſpent great part of his time in hunting, a diverſion of which he was fond to infatuation; and the meaſures he took to gratify that paſſion were at once abſurd and tyrannical. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts, poſſeſſed by former kings, in different parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence, without diminiſhing his own revenue. Accordingly he laid waſte the county of Hampſhire, for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and even demoliſhing the churches and convents, without making the unhappy ſufferers the leaſt compenſation for the injury. This cruel tranſaction gave riſe to ſeveral bitter invectives from the ſufferers, who ſtiled him the father of wild beaſts: but he was ſo far from endeavouring to conciliate the minds of his people, by acts of kindneſs and benevolence, that he enacted the moſt rigorous laws relating to foreſts, claiming an abſolute right over thoſe diſtricts, and forbidding all his ſubjects, under the moſt ſevere penalties, from hunting in any of them, without his expreſs permiſſion. Laws like theſe could not fail of being conſidered as oppreſſive both by his Norman and Engliſh ſubjects, particularly by the nobility, who were now deprived of purſuing their favorite diverſion, the only one they could have recourſe to in that illiterate age, for paſſing away the tedious hours. Theſe and many ſimilar oppreſſions which the Engliſh ſuffered under this prince, ſufficiently demonſtrated, that their complaints were not without foundation, though perhaps their impatient behaviour might ſometimes exaſperate William to have recourſe to harſher meaſures than he would have purſued, had they ſeemed more ſubmiſſive.

Hiſtorians likewiſe aſſert, that William even endeavoured to aboliſh the Engliſh tongue and introduce his own in its place. He did not, indeed, dare abſolutely to abrogate the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, but he introduced divers alterations in the modes of adminiſtering juſtice. He ordered all the laws to be publiſhed in the Norman tongue; and no other was heard at court. He erected ſchools in all the towns and boroughs of the kingdom, the maſters whereof were Normans, and taught in that language; and all parents were commanded to ſend their children to theſe ſeminaries, under ſevere penalties.

Add to this, A. D. 1084, he impoſed a tax in England of no leſs than ſix ſhillings upon every hide of land, which was three times as much as Danegelt uſed to be. This brought a prodigious ſum of money into his coffers; and one would be tempted to think that William had acted from ſome ſecret preſage, ſince he ſoon found occaſion to employ the monies he had thus raiſed, in preparations againſt an invaſion he was threatened with from Denmark, which happened in the year following.

William was, in the latter end of the autumn, called over into Normandy, by the ſickneſs of his queen Matilda, or Maud, of whom he was tenderly fond, and who reſigned her breath in his arms ſoon after his arrival. He was ſo much afflicted at her death, that he abſtained from his uſual diverſions for ever after. Her funeral he celebrated with great magnificence in the nunnery of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, where he himſelf was afterwards buried.

Much about this time an inſurrection broke out in le Maine, and was fomented by the nobility, who were not reconciled to the Norman government. Theſe diſturbances laſted upwards of three years, and many perſons of noble birth and exemplary valor loſt their lives on both ſides, till at length William, finding he could not quell the diſaffected party by force, made a treaty with the chief of them, by which matters were again ſettled on a quiet footing. But from William's known military ſkill, and the great number of veteran troops he had at his command, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe that he would have reduced the inſurgents much ſooner to obedience, had he not been called off the very next year after his going over to Normandy, by advices that the Danes were actually ready to make a deſcent upon England with a ſtrong naval armament, which was to be joined by the forces of Robert, earl of Flanders.

Upon the firſt notice of the ſtorm that threatened him, William croſſed over to England with a numerous army of mercenaries from Spain, France, and Germany, well knowing that he could expect little aſſiſtance from the Engliſh whom he had lately governed with ſuch an iron ſway; on the contrary, he dreaded, with reaſon, that they would by a general inſurrection favor the attempts of the enemy.

The king of Denmark was no ſooner ſettled on the throne than he began to form a deſign of aſſerting his right to the crown of England, which his predeceſſors had always kept alive ſince the firſt conqueſt of this kingdom by Canute the Great. In this preſent deſign, however, the Dane appears to have been guided chiefly by the inſtigation of his father-in-law, the earl of Flanders, between whom and William, it is neceſſary to obſerve, there had for ſome time been an animoſity, and who promiſed to aſſiſt in the expedition with all his forces. The preparations made by Canute on this occaſion were very extraordinary, and had taken him up no leſs than two years. He had a formidable fleet, amounting to near a thouſand ſail, on board of which he embarked a prodigious quantity of warlike ſtores, with proviſions ſufficient for the maintenance of an hundred thouſand men. He had aſſembled all his forces, and his fleet lay ready to ſail, when William returned to his Engliſh dominions and took thoſe precautions we have already related. Whether the knowledge of theſe, or the diſagreement between himſelf and his brother Olaus, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, or elſe a mutiny among his ſailors, might be the occaſion, it ſo happened, that Canute was obliged to abandon his deſigns againſt England, and William was rid of an enemy, of whom he was peculiarly apprehenſive on account of his connections and intereſt with the natives of this iſland. When he had certain intelligence that the Daniſh expedition was laid aſide, he diſbanded one half of his troops, but kept the remainder together till winter, to prevent a ſurprize.

The enſuing year, A. D. 1086, according to Florence of Worceſter and others, it was that the king knighted his ſon Henry, at Weſtminſter, in Whitſun-week; and on this occaſion ſummoned all his prelates, nobility, and the moſt conſiderable of his military tenants throughout the kingdom, to attend him, on the firſt of Auguſt, at Saliſbury, there to take an oath of fidelity to him before his intended voyage to Normandy, and at the ſame time obliged them to enter into an aſſociation to defend his perſon and government againſt all attempts of his enemies. No ſooner was this ceremony performed than he gave them a ſpecimen of what they were to expect from the engagements they had ſo lately entered into; for while he was waiting in the Iſle of Wight for a fair wind, he iſſued out his warrants for levying money upon his ſubjects, on account of the order of knighthood he had conferred on Henry, it being a Norman cuſtom to make their prince preſents when he knighted any of his ſons; and this cuſtom was too flattering to William's avaricious diſpoſition not to be introduced by him into England on the very firſt opportunity.

At length departing for Normandy, he took Edgar Atheling with him, whom he ſtill looked upon with a jealous eye, notwithſtanding the conduct of this prince plainly ſhewed him to be diveſted of every ſpark of ambition, and fitted, both by talent and inclination, for the humble ſtate of a private nobleman, rather than the exalted dignity of an Engliſh monarch. Edgar, on his ſide, could not forbear entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of William; and knowing his fiery and revengeful temper, trembled for his own ſafety, in caſe his lordly keeper ſhould take it into his imagination that he was engaged in deſigns againſt his perſon or authority; he, therefore, applied to him for leave to go to the Holy Land, in company with Robert, the ſon of Godwin, to fight the infidels. This requeſt was muſic to the ears of William; he immediately conſented to his propoſal, and, to cover the joy he conceived at his removal, under a ſhew of regard to his perſon, he loaded him with preſents; and Edgar ſet out with a ſplendid equipage, and accompanied by two hundred Engliſh gentlemen, who, having been deprived of their eſtates in their own country, reſolved to try their fortunes in other climes. At the ſame time Edgar's unmarried ſiſter, Chriſtina, who had all along lived with him, in order to remove every cauſe of jealouſy from William, took the veil in the monaſtery of Bermondſey.

A. D. 1087 was remarkable for a dreadful famine which raged in England, and was one of the melancholy conſequences of that general deſpondency which had ſeized on the oppreſſed Engliſh, who, having no longer any property they could call their own, loſt the ſpirit of induſtry, neglected the culture of the lands, as they knew they worked only for others, and thought that ſcarcity was at leaſt as tolerable an evil as ſlavery: this univerſal neglect begat famine, famine diſeaſes, and both of them jointly, mortality; ſo that an incredible number died in the ſpace of a few months. To add to their calamities, almoſt all the chief cities in England were, at different times, partly conſumed by fire, amongſt which the greateſt part of London, and the cathedral of St. Paul were burnt.

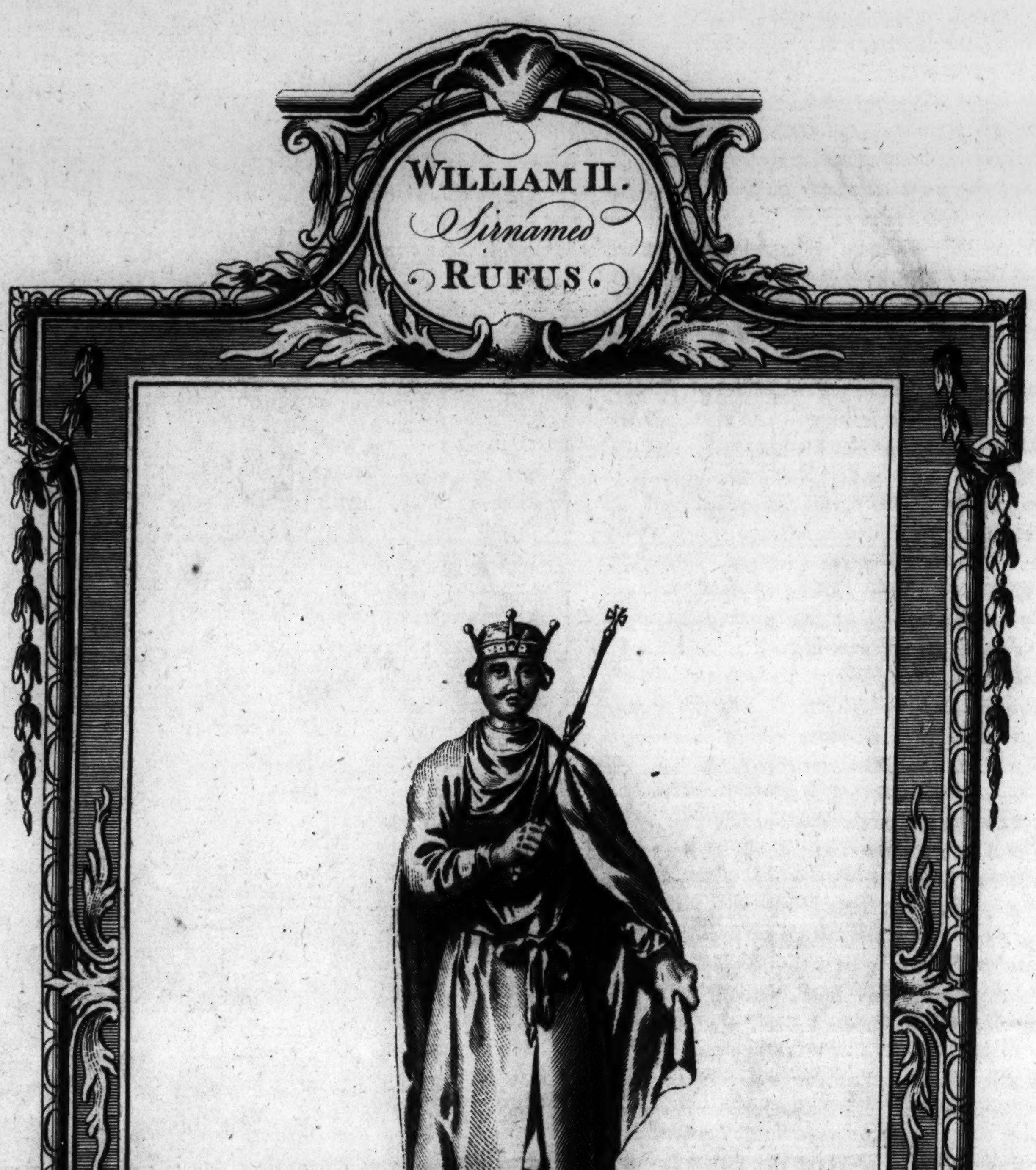
Dreadful as theſe diſaſters were, they ſeem to have made little impreſſion upon the heart of William, for we do not find him remitting any part of the burthens he had laid upon his people; on the contrary he began to make preparations for invading the dominions of Philip, king of France, on ſome diſputes which had happened between them. Raiſing, therefore, a great army, of ſuch who choſe rather to die by the ſword in any country, than periſh by want in their own, he entered the Iſle of France, which he waſted for ſome time in a furious manner; but finding himſelf oppreſſed with years and corpulence, he accepted certain propoſals of peace made to him by Philip. But ſoon after falling ill, he was conſtrained to keep his bed at Rouen: the news of this being carried to Philip, he, who had ſo lately ſpoke the language of a ſuppliant, now gave a looſe to the moſt unmanly exultation; and William having been adviſed to go through a courſe of phyſic in order to reduce his corpulency, which detained him longer than he either expected or intended, Philip one day aſked, in a ſcoffing manner, "Whether the good woman of England was ſtill in the ſtraw?" which unſeaſonable ſarcaſm being reported to William, it raiſed all his indignation, and he ſwore by the brightneſs and reſurrection of God, that, as ſoon as he was on foot again, he would preſent the taunting French-man with ſuch a number of candles as ſhould make his reſidence too hot for him to continue in it.

At length reſentment getting the better of his diſtemper, about Auguſt William was able to take the field; and putting himſelf at the head of a great army, he re-entered France, where he left no kind of ravage uncommitted, in order to fulfil the promiſe he had made: towns and churches, the nobleman's palace, and the labourer's hut, alike felt his fury; and death, deſolation, and flames, marked his progreſs whereſoever he went. The city of Mantes particularly experienced his rage; for having made himſelf maſter of it, he gave directions that it ſhould be burnt to the ground, and during the conflagration, rode about the ſtreets in a kind of triumphant exultation.

But his triumph was of no long continuance; his horſe, terrified by the ſmoking ruins, ſuddenly ſtarted aſide, and bruiſed his belly againſt the pommel of the ſaddle. A rupture attended by a fever was the conſequence. He was carried to Rouen; and ſenſible that his end was approaching, he was ſtruck with remorſe for the many violences and cruelties he had committed to ſatisfy the cravings of an unbounded ambition. He laviſhed donations on churches and monaſteries, and practiſed all the external acts of religion, which in that bigotted age were conſidered as the higheſt, and moſt powerful acts of religion. He gave Normandy and Maine to Robert his eldeſt ſon, and named William his ſecond ſon, as his ſucceſſor to the crown of England. Henry, his youngeſt ſon, he left only the portion of his mother Matilda; but foretold, that he ſhould one day ſucceed to the undivided inheritance of his father, and ſurpaſs his brothers in power, in prudence and in riches. He paid the debt of nature on the ninth of September, A. D. 1087, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, the 52d of his reign over the Normans, and the 21ſt of his reign over the Engliſh.

As ſoon as his attendants perceived that the ſtroke of death was over, and had heard the groan of expiration, they immediately deſerted the lifeleſs body to plunder his coffers and ſeize on his valuable effects. They even ſtripped his

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



WILLIAM II. Sirnamed RUFUS.

Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

corpſe of the rich mantle with which it was covered, and left the remains of this mighty conqueror, whoſe nod had decided the fate of thouſands, naked and expoſed. A country gentleman beheld this ſcene of rapacity, and was touched with compaſſion. He cauſed the body to be embalmed at his own expence, and made the neceſſary preparations for interring it in the church of St. Stephen in Caen, purſuant to William's own requeſt. The proceſſion was awfully ſolemn, and an elegant funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert, biſhop of Evreux, who, with ſix other prelates, attended this mournful ceremony. But juſt as they were going to depoſit the body in the earth, one Anſelm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, preſſed forward through the croud, and with an audible voice, forbad the prelates to inter the body. "That ſpot," ſaid he, "was once the floor "of my father's houſe, which was unjuſtly ſeized by "William, who I now ſummon before the tribunal "of the moſt High, to anſwer for that flagrant act of "tyrannical oppreſſion." The people trembled, and the biſhops were ſtruck with terror at the ſolemnity of this invocation. At laſt it was agreed to give thirty ſols for leave to bury the royal body, and Henry promiſed, if his claim ſhould appear to be well founded, to make him a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the eſtate of which he had been deprived.

Such was the death of William I. who has been uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of *The Conqueror*, the tracts of whoſe character may be thus marked. He had many ſhining qualities, but his paſſions rendered his virtues uſeleſs: his genius was great for conqueſt, but ſtill greater for command; and by ſeeking to live and reign over ſlaves, his life was unhappy, and his reign a continued ſeries of trouble. Both were without that even tenor of government, which diſtinguiſhes the father of a people from the tyrant. Glory, not virtue, was his aim, therefore power, without happineſs, was his reward; and when he went to the grave, his fortune was admired, while his memory was curſed. He was not, however, without private virtues: he was a tender huſband, an indulgent parent, and a generous maſter, when matters of ſtate did not interpoſe. His attendance at the ſacred ſervices of the church were remarkable and regular; and we ought, in charity, to believe, that ſome of the many iniquities he was guilty of, rather flowed from the exigences of his ſituation, than the cruelty of his nature.

His majeſty, however, proves how little he regarded all laws, when they obſtructed his rapacious deſires; and how unlamented he died, even among his natural ſubjects, who were ennobled by his conqueſts, and rendered happy by his labours. And hence we may conclude, that true fame can only attend the memory of a prince, whoſe munificence is directed by wiſdom, his ſeverity by juſtice, and his conduct by reaſon. William undoubtedly poſſeſſed munificence and magnanimity, but was certainly deſtitute of equity and humanity.

With reſpect to exterior qualifications, he was of a graceful perſon, and had great dignity of aſpect; but towards the latter part of his life, he grew corpulent, and had a protuberance of belly, which appeared diſguſtful to beholders, and was diſagreeable to himſelf. His ſtrength was amazing, ſo that few men could be found who were able to draw his bow.

William had three ſons, viz. Robert, William, and Henry; he left Normandy and Maine to his eldeſt ſon Robert: he wrote to Lanfranc, deſiring him to crown William king of England. He bequeathed to Henry nothing more than the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda; but foretold that he would one day ſurpaſs both his brothers in opulence and power.

Beſides theſe ſons he had five daughters, namely, Cicily, firſt a nun in the monaſtery of Feſchamp, afterwards abbeſs in the Holy Trinity of Caen, where ſhe died in 1127. Conſtantia, married to Allen Fergeant, earl of Britany. She died before William's expedition to England. Adela, married to Stephen, earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had four ſons, William, Theobald, Henry and Stephen. Agatha, betrothed to the king of Gallicia, but died on her journey before ſhe reached her bridegroom.

WILLIAM II. SURNAMED RUFUS.

SECTION II.

WILLIAM, ſurnamed Rufus, was his father's great favorite, and the ſon whom the conqueror deſigned ſhould ſucceed him on the throne of England. It is true that Robert, by the right of primogeniture, had a greater claim to that dignity, but the conqueror never loved him, and determined to the laſt to promote the intereſt of William, on which account he had always earneſtly recommended to the latter to make a friend of Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe great power, he had no doubt would firmly eſtabliſh him upon the throne, and overcome the difficulties * which would certainly oppoſe him.

William, when he received the news of his father's death, determined to act conformable to the counſel of the deceaſed monarch; with this view, he repaired immediately to the archbiſhop Lanfranc, accompanied only by Bloet, the deceaſed king's chaplain, and Eudo his treaſurer.

The vanity of Lanfranc was highly gratified by this immediate application, and he inſtantaneouſly determined to attach himſelf entirely to the intereſt of William, for whom he had a natural affection, on account of his having educated him from his earlieſt youth. But although the confidence William placed in him, the love he had always borne him, and the gratitude due to the late king, whoſe deſire it was for William to ſucceed him, were ſtrong motives to incline him towards young Rufus, yet honor and a regard to juſtice were powerful conſiderations with him, and he would not abſolutely promiſe to eſpouſe his cauſe till he had firſt given him his oath, in the moſt ſolemn manner, "that, in caſe through his agency he ſhould obtain the throne of England, he would govern with equity and moderation, maintain the liberties of the people, and behave like a dutiful and obedient ſon to the mother-church." This promiſe being agreed to on the part of Rufus, the archbiſhop ſet himſelf heartily to work, in order to remove every obſtruction in his way to the diadem, and ſo very great were the eſteem and credit in which Lanfranc ſtood with the Engliſh, that in a ſhort time he gained over to his party the leading men of both nations; and, effectually to work upon the minds of the populace, a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that William had reſolved upon a plan of government entirely different from that of his father; that he had a natural affection for the Engliſh, whoſe ſufferings he had often commiſerated, and was determined to alleviate, if ever it was in his power; and, in particular, that it was his intention to aboliſh the very rigorous laws relating to the game then in force; in fine, that he would be the reſtorer and defender of thoſe rights and privileges which his predeceſſor had wreſted from them. Thus much for the Engliſh. As for the Normans, they were taught to believe that their intereſts were inſeparably connected with thoſe of Rufus, and that they had no other chance for continuing in poſſeſſion of what they had got in England, but by ſupporting the cauſe of the young prince to whom his father had, in his dying moments, bequeathed the ſucceſſion.

---

* An excellent writer ſays, Rufus, at the time of his father's death, had many diſadvantages to ſtruggle with, which to any genius but his own, muſt have been unſurmountable. Addreſs without courage, could never have conquered them; and brutal courage, the only quality which our hiſtorians allow to this prince, without the moſt conſummate addreſs, muſt have proved ineffectual. He was the younger brother of a prince, noble, generous, and popular through ſufferings. He was the eldeſt brother to another prince of great addreſs, great courage, and ſolid wiſdom. He was beloved by neither, and deſpiſed by both. His father, whoſe darling he was, died hated by his own natural-born ſubjects, and this hatred fell ſtrongly upon his favorite: but theſe were not the chief diſadvantages Rufus had to encounter. He had a nomination, and that too little more than verbal, to a kingdom, the nobility of which, in another capacity, owed their allegiance to his eldeſt brother. The military tenures, by which they held in both kingdoms, rendered their duties to both incompatible. in caſe of any difference, ſince the ſame nobleman or knight, who was obliged perſonally to attend William, at the head of his tenants in England, was perſonally obliged to attend Robert, in like manner, in Normandy. Robert's right to Normandy was undiſputed, and undiſputable; but that of William's to England was diſputed and doubtful.

After all, it is imagined that William's deſign would have proved ineffectual, and theſe lenient and perſuaſive arts have failed of the deſired effect, had not the inactivity of Robert given them a force much greater than their own. Rufus owed the Engliſh crown to the indolence of his brother. Robert was ſo ſure of the affections of the people, that the ambitious deſigns of his brother gave him no uneaſineſs; and when his friends adviſed him not to truſt his intereſt wholly to precarious hope, probably founded on deception, but to croſs over immediately into England, and conciliate, by his preſence, the affections of that generous people; he anſwered, with a haughtineſs which nothing but the moſt ſuperlative vanity could inſpire, "That precipitation was unneceſſary: "the ſcepter was his undoubted right; the Engliſh "were his inſeparable friends, and would never pre"ſume to appoint a ſucceſſor to the throne in his "abſence." He was, however, for once, miſtaken, and became the dupe of his own vanity. Lanfranc's unwearied application in favor of Rufus, prevailed over the intereſt of an abſent prince; and William was crowned by that prelate on the ſeventh of September, which was only eighteen days ſubſequent to the death of his father.

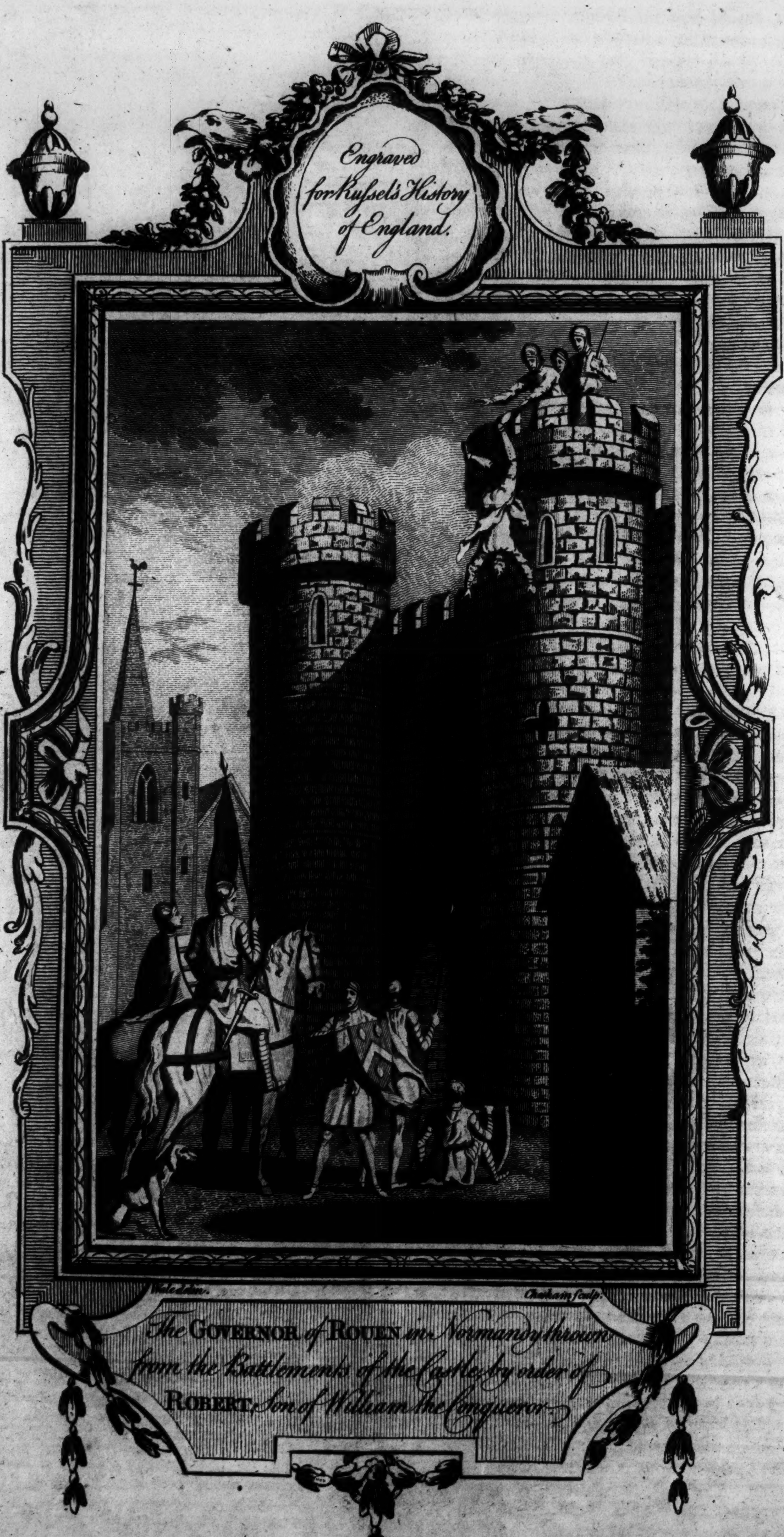
In the mean time, Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, the chief miniſter and favorite of Robert, jealous of the authority of Lanfranc, whoſe great abilities and high ſtation he envied, paſſed over into England, under pretence of ſoliciting the reſtitution of an eſtate he formerly poſſeſſed as earl of Kent, and which had been confiſcated by the Conqueror. He was received with great affection, and reinſtated in his former poſſeſſions. But the recovery of an eſtate was not the principal deſign of Odo's viſit: he intended to wreſt the ſcepter from the hand of Rufus, and give it to Robert, as the undoubted heir of the Conqueror. He according applied to ſeveral of the principal barons, and found them ready to ſupport the pretenſions of his patron, provided they could be aſſured of a ſufficient force from Normandy to ſecond their attempt.

Having met with ſuch ſucceſs in his intrigues, Odo ſent an account of the conſpiracy to Robert in Normandy, aſſuring him, that nothing but his preſence, at the head of a reſpectable body of Norman troops was wanting, to recover that throne from which he had been excluded by the unjuſt caprice of his deceaſed father; and Robert, though of an indolent diſpoſition, had a ſoul not inſenſible to the call of ambition: he received this news with great ſatisfaction, and informed Odo, that as ſoon as his friends were in a condition to declare in his favor, they might depend upon being powerfully aſſiſted by an invaſion from Normandy, upon which the conſpirators repaired to their reſpective caſtles, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for taking the field, expecting ſoon to hear, that the Norman army was landed in England. The biſhop of Coutances, and his nephew, Robert de Mowbray, ſtruck the firſt blow, by ſeizing upon Bath, Berkley and Briſtol, whence they made excurſions, and ruined eſtates of thoſe noblemen who had embraced William's party. Their example was ſoon followed by Roger Bigod, who raiſed a conſiderable party in the county of Norfolk, while Hugh de Grentmeſnil made himſelf maſter of moſt of the fortreſſes and ſtrong holds in Leiceſterſhire. The earls of Hereford and Shrewſbury raiſed the Welſh, and all their own tenants, at the head of whom they over-ran the whole country, between the frontiers of Wales and Worceſter. The behaviour of the good biſhop Wolſtan, on this occaſion, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity. Though he had many perſonal cauſes of diſlike to archbiſhop Lanfranc and his clergy, he made private injuries ſubmit to the love he bore his country: he refuſed to admit the forces of the malecontents into Worceſter; and when at length he was obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperiority of numbers, and abandon the city, he retired into the caſtle, where he made ſo noble a defence, that he obliged the inſurgents to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with the utmoſt precipitation.

In the mean time William, fully ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, endeavoured to engage the affections of the native Engliſh; and as that people were now ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that they no longer aſpired to the recovery of their antient liberties, and were contented with the proſpect of ſome mitigation in the tyranny of the Norman princes, they zealouſly embraced William's cauſe, upon receiving ſome general promiſes of good treatment, and of enjoying the licence of hunting in the royal foreſts. By their aſſiſtance, he was enabled to take the field, when he immediately entered upon action, by making an attempt to ſurprize Rocheſter, where he had been informed Odo, with a choſen band of the malecontents, had taken up their ſtation; but, on his arrival before the place, he not only found it in an excellent poſture of defence, but alſo that Odo was removed to Pevenſey, another of his caſtles. This was no ſmall diſappointment to William, who thought if he could ſecure the perſon of that arch-rebel, he ſhould ſtrike at the very root of thoſe commotions that diſturbed his reign: he therefore, leaving Rocheſter, marched to Pevenſey, where Odo had fortified himſelf, expecting the arrival of ſuccors from Robert. The king, without loſing a moment's time, cloſely inveſted the place, and carried on his attacks with ſuch fury, that Odo, ſeeing no probability of relief, and dreading the fatal conſequences that might follow an obſtinate reſiſtance, made an offer to capitulate; but William would hearken to no other terms than thoſe of ſparing his life, and that only on condition that he ſhould abjure the realm, and prevail with the garriſon of Rocheſter to ſurrender. Hard as theſe conditions were, Odo was glad to comply with them: he gave the king admittance into Pevenſey; and then, going along with an eſcorte, appointed by William for that purpoſe, he preſented himſelf before the gates of Rocheſter, ſummoning the town and thoſe within to ſurrender to the king at his requeſt. The garriſon of Rocheſter was at this time compoſed of the flower of the Norman party in England, with many other of

the

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. Chesham sculp.

The GOVERNOR of ROUEN in Normandy thrown from the Battlements of the Castle, by order of ROBERT, Son of William the Conqueror.

the principal French and Engliſh nobility: Euſtace, count of Boulogne, was there alſo, who gueſſing the ſtate of affairs from the countenance of Odo, and that he acted only upon compulſion, got together a ſtrong party, and making a ſudden ſally, took Odo, and the perſons who were with him priſoners, and retired with them into the city.

This diſappointment did not damp the ſpirits of William, for on receiving information of the matter, he determined to ſeize by force what he could not gain the poſſeſſion of by treaty. In conſequence of which reſolution, he marched his forces thither, and ſat down before the city, which was ſo vigorouſly defended that he began to deſpair of ſucceſs; but an epidemical diſtemper having got among the beſieged, which carried off great numbers, they were at length compelled to propoſe terms of ſurrender, offering to take an oath of allegiance to William, and to ſerve him ever after with all duty and ſubmiſſion; but William, with a ſtroke of policy, affected for a while to treat theſe offers with great diſdain, by which he had opportunity of obliging thoſe of his party who petitioned for their friends and relations in the town: at length, ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed on by their intreaties, he gave the beſieged leave to enjoy life and limbs, but no manner of hopes that they ſhould ever be reinſtated in their fortunes. As to Odo, he found means to eſcape by ſhipping to Normandy, where Robert made him lieutenant of his duchy; but all his great eſtates and poſſeſſions in England were ſeized upon by Rufus, who diſtributed them amongſt thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their fidelity and ſervices.

All unſucceſsful attempts to overturn a government, revert with tenfold loſs upon the authors, and ſtrengthen in proportion the hands of thoſe in power. Robert's party was now entirely broken; and William, having no longer any thing to fear, thought himſelf at liberty to diſpenſe with the performance of thoſe promiſes which the former exigence of his affairs had prompted him to make; and the honeſt Engliſh, who, from their late ſervices, thought themſelves juſtly entitled to every reaſonable mark of favor from a king whoſe throne they had ſo loyally and bravely upheld, found themſelves cruelly diſappointed, by his enacting ſeveral rigorous laws concerning foreſts. Lanfranc could not behold ſuch proceedings in ſilence, but, with a becoming boldneſs, remonſtrated to him how very inconſiſtent they were with the ſacred promiſe he had made to him, when only a candidate for the crown. William's haughty ſoul was ſtung to the quick with this freedom of the archbiſhop's; but not judging it politic to break with a perſon of his great influence in the kingdom, he affected to laugh it off, by ſaying in a jeſting manner, "Piſh! man, doſt think kings can keep all their promiſes?" It was not long, however, before William was delivered of this too honeſt counſellor, who died within a few months afterwards, juſtly regretted by the good men of both nations.

The exhortations of this venerable man being no longer a check to the king's inclinations, he began to indulge himſelf without reſtraint in that thirſt for money-getting, which ſeems to have been the prevailing paſſion of his father and himſelf, but with this difference, that the firſt William always took care to keep his coffers well ſupplied againſt any ſudden emergency; whereas this prince, avaricious without frugality, ſquandered the immenſe ſums he drained from his ſubjects in idle expences, to gratify his own vanity, or ſatisfy the cravings of his favorites.

It was now that the kingdom felt all the weight of arbitrary power; the Engliſh were at once inſulted and oppreſſed: even the privileges of the church, ſo ſacred in early times, proved a feeble rampart againſt his uſurpations. Mitres and croſiers were put up to ſale, and the higheſt bidder was ſure to be the purchaſer. Nor were theſe illegal methods ſufficient to ſatiſfy his avarice; the appointing of ſucceſſors to vacant benefices was delayed by this all-graſping monarch, that he might ſeize their revenues. The alarm occaſioned by this tyrannical adminiſtration was univerſal; but the terror of his authority ſtifled the voice of complaint.

A. D. 1090. Robert's ſupineneſs, which had loſt him the Engliſh crown, threatened alſo to deprive him of his Norman dominions. Robert was valiant, and at the head of an army prudent and intrepid; but he was a ſtranger to policy; he had no talents for holding the reins of government. The reſtleſs and independent ſpirit of his vaſſals was greatly increaſed by his looſe and negligent adminiſtration. The ſword of civil diſcord was drawn, and Normandy felt all the horrors of an inteſtine war. Robert had mortgaged the Contantin to his brother Henry for three thouſand pounds. Perhaps a leſs degree of natural affection never ſubſiſted than between the three ſons of William the Conqueror. Henry, fearful of loſing the dominions he had obtained, applied to William for aſſiſtance; and adviſed him to attack the Norman dominions of his brother, where he could not fail of the greateſt ſucceſs. Rufus, whoſe avaricious ſoul was never ſatiſfied, paſſed over to Normandy, at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppoſe his brother; he beheld with aſtoniſhment his towns ſucceſſively taken, and even the capital itſelf on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, by the treachery of the governor. He applied in vain to the king of France for aſſiſtance; that monarch was attached to the intereſt of William. Henry now ſaw his error, and trembled for his own dominions. He deſerted the party of Rufus, and joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. The two brothers arrived juſt ſoon enough to ſave the capital; and Robert, exaſperated at the perfidy of the governor, cauſed him to be thrown headlong from the battlements of the caſtle, when he was daſhed to pieces.

A. D. 1091. The king of England having thus miſcarried in his attempt upon Rouen, laid aſide his deſign of making himſelf maſter of Normandy, and returned to England. Perhaps he did not think it prudent to engage the combined army of his two brothers: a defeat might have been attended with the loſs of his crown. His tyranny had rendered the Engliſh ripe for a revolt, and they would gladly have joined the victorious army to hurl him from the throne. A peace was, ſoon after, concluded between Robert and William; by which it was ſtipulated, that on the death of either, without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to both dominions.

In this treaty, not the leaſt care had been taken of the intereſts of Henry, which ſo much exaſperated that prince, he retired to St. Michael's mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, and infeſted the neighbourhood with his incurſions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, beſieged him in this place, and reduced his forces to great ſtreights for want of water. Robert hearing of his brother's diſtreſs, granted him permiſſion to ſupply himſelf, and alſo ſent him ſome pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generoſity, he replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my "brother to periſh with thirſt? Where ſhall we find "another when he is gone?" The king alſo, during this ſiege, performed an act of generoſity, which was leſs ſuitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a ſurvey of the fortreſs, he was attacked by two ſoldiers, and diſmounted. One of them drew his ſword in order to diſpatch him, when the king exclaimed, "Hold, fellow! I am the king of England." The ſoldier ſuſpended his blow, and raiſing the king from the ground, with great marks of reſpect, received a handſome reward, and was taken into his ſervice. Prince Henry was ſoon after obliged to capitulate; and being deſpoiled of all his eſtates, wandered about for ſome time, with few attendants, and often in great poverty.

Much about this period Edgar Atheling returned to Normandy from Paleſtine, and was kindly received by Robert; but Rufus, who entertained ſome diſagreeable apprehenſions of that prince, inſiſted on his brother's obliging him to quit his dominions, which he accordingly did; and William having ſeized upon the eſtates he held in England, Edgar found himſelf once more obliged to have recourſe to Malcolm, king of Scotland, to whom he repreſented his hard treatment, in ſo affecting a manner, that the Scot reſolved to revenge his cauſe on William, and to march at the head of a powerful army into England, in order to place him on the throne of his anceſtors. And accordingly, taking advantage of William's abſence in Normandy, he entered Northumberland, in May, ravaged the whole country, which was in a defenceleſs ſtate; and, having made a conſiderable booty, retired again into his own country.

On receiving the news of this invaſion, Rufus immediately made preparations to attack the Scots, both by ſea and land; but the ſucceſs of the war was far from being favorable to the Engliſh, for the fleet, which had been deſtined to make a deſcent on the Scottiſh coaſt, was moſtly deſtroyed by a tempeſt, ſo that it could effect nothing of any conſequence.

In the mean time, Robert, at the invitation of Rufus, came over from Normandy, to aſſiſt him in his land expedition againſt the enemy; and both brothers advanced with their joint forces as far as Scotwater, where they were met by an envoy from Malcolm, with this meſſage to William, "That as he neither did nor would acknowledge him as king of England, conſequently he could look on him only as the invader of his kingdom; but that if his brother Robert was with him, he was ready and willing to do that prince homage for Cumberland, as the eldeſt ſon of William I. his lord paramount."

The receipt of this meſſage induced William to call a council of war, to conſult upon the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued; when Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, a wiſe and experienced general, repreſented the neceſſity there was of coming to an accommodation, as the Engliſh were greatly weakened and diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the enemy having ravaged the country ſo entirely, that there was neither forage for their horſes nor food for the men. Theſe ſage remonſtrances had the deſired effect, and Robert was pitched upon by the council to go to the Scottiſh camp with propoſals to Malcolm, by whom he was received with the greateſt complaiſance; and his offers being ſeconded by the perſuaſions of Edgar Atheling, whom Mowbray had ſecretly found means to perſuade that he would get him reſtored to his eſtates in England, and who had none of the ambition of a crown about him, Malcolm conſented to a peace with Rufus, on the following terms: that William ſhould reſtore to Malcolm twelve manors, which the latter had held under the firſt William, and pay him annually twelve marks of gold; and that Malcolm ſhould do homage to William in the ſame manner as he had done to his father. At the ſame time William was obliged to receive Edgar Atheling into favor, and reinſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his eſtates.

Affairs being thus amicably adjuſted between the two ſovereigns, though, it muſt be confeſſed, in a manner not very glorious to William, this latter retired, with the ſhattered remains of his army, to England. And now Robert thought it was a ſeaſonable opportunity to remind his brother William of the treaty that had been made between them, and to require to be put in ſeizin of the eſtates which were to be given him in England by virtue of that treaty. William, however, only amuſed him with flattering promiſes, without ſhewing the leaſt inclination to perform his contract; upon which Robert, in a pique, quitted England, and took Edgar Atheling with him.

Soon after William's return to England, he received the agreeable intelligence of the conqueſt of the county of Glamorgan and Morganwye, by Robert Fitz-hamon, a Norman, and his ſubject. The hiſtory of his conqueſt is a melancholy proof how fatally civil diſſention operates to ſubjection; and how dangerous it is for a prince to attempt to aſſert his right, by calling in a foreign power ſuperior to his own. One Jeſtyn, the ſon of Gurgant, poſſeſſed, as is ſaid, by rebellion, the territories of Glamorgan and Morganwye. A war breaking out between him and Reis ap Tudor, who was prince of South Wales, Jeſtyn, finding himſelf too weak for his adverſary, reſolved to apply to the Engliſh for aid. Accordingly he diſpatched one Enion ap Kadivor, his ſon-in-law, a nobleman of great intereſt in the country, to ſollicit aids. Enion applied to Robert Fitz-hamon, a warlike Norman, whoſe eſtate bordered upon Wales. This ſervice, of itſelf, being of too important a nature, he imitated the conduct of the Conqueror: he took along with him twelve knights, who were to ſerve under him, and ſhare in the profits of the expedition. Having ſtipulated with Enion what their pay ſhould be, Fitz-hamon and his twelve knights, with as many men as they could raiſe, ſet out. The names of the twelve were as follow: 1. William of London, or de Londres. 2. Richard Granvil. 3. Pain Turbervil. 4. Oliver St. John. 5. Robert de St. Quintin. 6. Roger Bekeroul. 7. William Eaſterling, (ſo called becauſe he was of German deſcent) whoſe poſterity were called Stradlings. 8. Gilbert Humfranvil. 9. Richard Siward. 10. John Fleming. 11. Peter Soore. 12. Reginald Sully. It was not long before both parties came to a deciſive battle on Black-hill, where Reis was killed by the Normans, and Jeſtyn remained maſter of the field. Fitz-hamon and his knights, ſoon after demanded from Jeſtyn their ſtipulated wages, which occaſioned ſome diſpute between the principal and his auxiliaries. Enion, who had made the bargain, was appealed to, and gave it in favor of the Normans. Fitz-hamon, glad of this handle, and allured by the fertility of the ſoil, made a new agreement with his knights, to which Enion was invited; and, all together, they reſolved to attempt the conqueſt of the country for themſelves. In this they ſoon ſucceeded, not ſo much through their own prowess, as through the civil diviſions then prevailing all over Wales. The country contained, in length, according to Stow, from Rimid-bridge on the eaſt-ſide, to Pallekinan on the weſt-ſide, ſeven and twenty miles; the breadth, from the haven of Aberthaw on the ſouth-ſide, to the confines of Brecknockſhire about Morley's caſtle, is two and twenty miles. The barren part of it was granted to Enion, and the fertile part divided among the twelve knights (whom he called his peers) and himſelf, on this condition: that they ſhould hold their land, in fee and vaſſalage of him, as their chief lord to aſſiſt each other in common, and that each of them ſhould defend his ſtation in his caſtle of Cardiff, and attend him in his court for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

When Robert returned to Normandy, A. D. 1092, he found his brother Henry in poſſeſſion of Danfront, a ſtrong ſea-port town in Normandy, which had been delivered into his hands by Robert de Belleſme, together with the whole province of the Contantin. William now thought proper to ſupport Henry ſecretly, not chuſing to appear openly in this conteſt; ſo that Robert found it impoſſible to reduce his brother,

ther, or diſpoſſeſs him of the territories he had ſeized. Nor was this the only inſtance which Rufus gave of his inſincerity with regard to the treaty concluded with Robert: he was continually endeavouring to draw off the Norman barons from their allegiance, hoping to weaken his brother ſo effectually by degrees, as to be able to make himſelf maſter of Normandy with very little trouble, and no great expence.

In the enſuing year, the clergy were grown very uneaſy with regard to the long vacancy in the ſee of Canterbury, and renewed their ſolicitations to have it filled; but William, who entertained a hearty contempt for the whole order, diſregarded their remonſtrances, till the affair was likely to take a very ſerious turn, the clergy having long maintained a powerful influence over the common people. At laſt one of the nobility propoſed Anſelm, abbot of Bec, as a perſon of unexceptionable character, and every way qualified to fill the archiepiſcopal chair. But while this propoſal was under conſideration, William fell dangerouſly ill at Glouceſter: and, as none but the truly virtuous are truly brave, William betrayed, on this occaſion, all the ſigns of puſillanimity and terror. He had now recourſe to the prayers and counſels of that order of men he had always before affected to treat with contempt; while they, true to their grand principle, the acquiſition of power, embraced the preſent opportunity of improving the fears and terrors of the monarch, in order to gain their purpoſe. They ſucceeded, and the archbiſhopric of Canterbury was beſtowed upon Anſelm, who was then in England, on a viſit to his friend the earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time Robert Bloet, one of the king's chaplains, was created biſhop of Lincoln.

Rufus alſo promiſed Anſelm to reſtore all the revenues of the archiepiſcopal ſee, part of which had been given, at the death of Lanfranc, to perſons in civil employments. But his diſeaſe had no ſooner taken a favorable turn, and the king found himſelf freed from the immediate terror of a ſpeedy diſſolution, than he repented of the conceſſions he had made, and diſregarding, on his recovery, all the promiſes he had made in his ſickneſs, gave the clergy to underſtand, that they had taken unfair advantages of his weakneſs, and therefore countermanded ſeveral orders he had iſſued in their favor. Theſe proceedings gave occaſion to a conteſt between him and Anſelm, which proved the ſource of many troubles to the nation.

Upon William's recovery, Malcolm, king of Scotland, ſent ambaſſadors into England, to demand the performance of that part of the late treaty, which regarded the twelve Engliſh manors. William, inſtead of giving a direct anſwer to the demand, deſired that Malcolm would repair in perſon to him at Glouceſter, where juſtice ſhould be ſpeedily done him. Malcolm accepted the invitation, but was received in ſo haughty a manner by Rufus, that he returned in a tranſport of rage to his own country, where he immediately aſſembled a powerful army, at the head of which he entered Northumberland, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, collected what forces he could to oppoſe the invaſion, but could not prevent Malcolm's beſieging the caſtle of Alnwick, which had been ſeized by the Engliſh. Mowbray, unable to meet the Scottiſh army in the open field, came ſilently, by night, to the enemy's camp, and fell upon the Scots with ſuch fury, that both [*] Malcolm and his ſon were ſlain.

In the beginning of the year 1094, William paſſed over to Normandy with a ſtrong army: but, in order to give ſome colour to ſuch unnatural hoſtilities, he ſent to propoſe an interview with his brother, at which Robert made ſome propoſals that were rejected with great diſdain by king William. Robert then propoſed a ſecond conference, at which were preſent all the barons and great men who had ſworn to guarantee the treaty; but numberleſs difficulties being ſtarted in the courſe of the negociation, it was finally broke off, and both ſides prepared to purſue coercive meaſures.

William, ſoon after the commencement of hoſtilities, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, the governors whereof he had bribed, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of quickly ſubduing the whole dutchy. But the king of France, whoſe intereſt it was ever to keep the two brothers at variance, without ſuffering either to become too formidable, marched with an army to the aſſiſtance of Robert, and immediately changed the ſcene. The towns and caſtles, which Rufus had gotten poſſeſſion of, were reduced one after another, and garriſoned with a mixture of Normans and French: and the affair became ſo ſerious, that William found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſending to England for a reinforcement of troops.

Upon the receipt of William's meſſage, levies were made, and twenty thouſand men being raiſed, a general muſter was appointed at Haſtings; and as the men were to be employed in foreign ſervice, the ſeveral barons or knights, under whom they had been raiſed, furniſhed each man, in compliance with an antient cuſtom, with ten ſhillings towards defraying their expences during the campaign; this made in all the ſum of ten thouſand pounds of the money of thoſe times, equal to nearly two hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent currency. William, who had expended vaſt ſums in corrupting Robert's officers and governors, began to find his coffers almoſt exhauſted, and therefore put in practice an expedient to recruit them, that muſt call the bluſh upon the face of any private man of the leaſt honor, but ſtamps indelible infamy on the character of a king. He, either by the perſuaſions of ſome of his favorites, or of his own adviſement, diſpatched directions to Ralph Flambard, his prime miniſter and high-treaſurer, to get this money, if poſſible, out of the hands of the ſoldiers, and tranſmit it over to him in Normandy. The miniſter meanly complied with this order; and having cauſed the troops to be drawn up on the ſea-ſide, he there made a ſpeech to them, in which he told them that the king his maſter having more occaſion for money than for recruits, every man might be excuſed from the expedition upon paying the bounty-money he had received into his hands, for the king's uſe. The men, whoſe livelihood and that of their families depended chiefly on their labour, readily embraced the compoſition, and having paid their money to the treaſurer, the whole body was diſbanded, and the men had liberty to return to their reſpective habitations.

In Normandy, however, William's affairs bore but an indifferent appearance. Moſt of his towns were now reduced, and he himſelf ſhut up in the city of Eu, waiting for ſupplies from England. Robert had formed a plan for terminating the war, by attacking Eu, and taking his brother priſoner. In this critical

---

[*] The Scotch writers give a different account of this tranſaction, for they tell us, "That the governor of the place, whoſe name was Morel, having demanded a capitulation, on pretence of preſenting the keys to Malcolm on the point of a ſpear, thruſt the weapon into his eye, and killed him on the ſpot. Edward, Malcolm's ſon, ſeeing his father fall, called out, Treachery! and prepared with his followers to revenge his death; but, being at ſome diſtance from their camp, they were all cut to pieces by the beſieged, who immediately on ſeeing the fate of Malcolm, and the motions made by Edward, ſallied out furiouſly upon him and his party. Thus fell the gallant king of Scots and his ſon, by one ſtroke of unexampled treachery.

moment William received the money, and well knowing, that the ruling paſſion of Philip, the French king, was avarice, he was perſuaded that he might be induced, by a handſome ſum, to deſert Robert's party. William was not miſtaken. Philip accepted the offer; and though he did not immediately withdraw his forces from Robert's army, yet he propoſed ſo many difficulties, and occaſioned ſo many delays in the operations propoſed by Robert, that no tranſaction of conſequence happened during the remainder of the campaign; and William was ſoon after prevented from proſecuting the war, by an inſurrection in Wales, which called him back to ſecure his kingdom.

On his arrival he found no difficulty in repelling the enemy, but was not able to make any conſiderable impreſſion on a country, guarded by its mountainous ſituation. He, therefore, contented himſelf with giving ſtrict orders to the wardens of the marches to guard the borders with the greateſt care, and to build ſtrong forts, in proportion as they gained ground on the enemy.

About the year 1095, ſubſequent to his return from the frontiers of Wales, William received advice that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, and that all his perſonal and political abilities would be wanting, to prevent the conſequences. The Normans ſettled in England were perſuaded that the conteſts, in which William was engaged on the continent, tended only to exhauſt England of her money and beſt troops; and conſidering themſelves as Engliſhmen, had formed a deſign, during William's abſence, of bringing about a total revolution in the government. At the ſame time, Robert de Mowbray thought, that his merit in defeating the Scottiſh army had not been properly rewarded. This nobleman, having great power and intereſt in the north, his diſcontent ſoon infected William count D'Eu, Richard de Tunbridge, Roger de Lacey, and ſeveral other noblemen and gentlemen.

The recent invaſions of the Scots were of great uſe to the conſpirators; they furniſhed Mowbray with a pretence for building ſeveral forts, filling magazines, raiſing troops, and making other military diſpoſitions, without giving the leaſt ſuſpicion of the real uſe intended to be made of theſe preparations. William, however, was perſuaded that this exceſs of public ſpirit aroſe from ſome private views, and therefore ſent ſeveral meſſages to Mowbray, requiring him to attend him at Wincheſter, to anſwer for his plundering four merchant ſhips, which had put into an Engliſh port under his juriſdiction. Robert, conſcious of his guilt, or vain of his ſervices, refuſed to obey the royal mandate. William, therefore, marched immediately againſt him; and Mowbray, being in no condition to give William battle, ſhut himſelf up in Bamborough-caſtle, which the king immediately inveſted. Mowbray knowing that the fortreſs, though impregnable, muſt, for want of proviſions, be forced to ſurrender, found means to eſcape from the caſtle. He repaired to Tinmouth, and endeavoured to corrupt the governor; but before he could effect his purpoſe, a detachment of William's army followed him, and took him priſoner. The caſtle of Bamborough ſurrendered, and the governor impeached all the conſpirators. Mowbray was ſentenced to be confined for life in Windſor-caſtle, ſeveral were executed, and the eſtates of the greater part of them confiſcated.

In the mean time, William count D'Eu was impeached by Geoffrey Baynard of high treaſon, in being privy to the late conſpiracy. He denied the charge, and offered to vindicate himſelf by ſingle combat; but being defeated by his antagoniſt, he was condemned to be caſtrated, and loſe both his eyes. His couſin William D'Alderi, was ſentenced to be publicly whipped, and afterwards hanged on a gallows thirty feet high. He ſuffered the whole puniſhment with the greateſt intrepidity, and, with his dying breath, declared himſelf innocent of the crime laid to his charge.

The famous quarrel between Anſelm archbiſhop of Canterbury, and king William, renders the year 1096 very remarkable, the particulars of which are as follow: William had ſome time ſince appointed Anſelm to the ſee of Canterbury, and as it was cuſtomary, at that time, for perſons raiſed to any place of dignity to make preſents to the king proportional to the value of the poſt; William, in conſequence, expected a very conſiderable ſum from Anſelm. But, to his aſtoniſhment, the prelate's offering amounted to no more than five hundred pounds. Enraged at this parſimonious gift, the king refuſed to take it, and treated Anſelm with great indignity. The archbiſhop left the preſence, carrying the money with him; and could not be prevailed upon to furniſh any aid towards the expences of government.

About this period a ſchiſm happened in the Roman church. Two prelates claimed the pontifical dignity. Odo, biſhop of Oſtia, under the name of Urban II. was acknowledged pope in Italy and France; while his competitor, Gilbert, archbiſhop of Revenna, under the title of Clement III. was conſidered as the ſucceſſor of Peter, by ſeveral of the European powers, and particularly by the king of England. Anſelm oppoſed his ſovereign. The haughty prelate diſdained to ſubmit to any temporal authority. He even determined to mortify William, and accordingly demanded leave to repair to Rome, and receive his archiepiſcopal pall from the hands of Urban II. adding, that he regarded him as the true head of the church. Provoked by this inſolence, William was with the utmoſt difficulty prevented from laying violent hands on the churchman; and Anſelm, perceiving that he ſhould not be ſupported by the prelates and clergy, retired out of the kingdom, when William ſeized immediately on the temporalities of the archiepiſcopal ſee.

It hath been juſtly obſerved, that ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſm formed two of the principal features of theſe times, and produced ſuch conſequences as have aſtoniſhed people of more enlightened ages. A monk of Picardy, known by the name of Peter the hermit, having made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, repreſented, at his return, in ſuch ſtrong colours, the outrages and oppreſſions exerciſed by the Turks on the Chriſtian pilgrims, that Urban II. conſidered him as a proper inſtrument to exhort the ſovereigns of Europe to undertake the conqueſt of the Holy Land. Peter was accordingly ſent from province to province, in order to rouſe the people to action.

While pope Urban II. perceiving that the ſtrong paintings of Peter began to produce the deſired effect, held a council in the open fields near Placentia, at which above thirty thouſand ſeculars, beſides eccleſiaſtics, were preſent. The project of invading Paleſtine was univerſally applauded; but none engaged in the enterprize. Urban, therefore, held a ſecond council at Clermont in Auvergne, where he made a ſpeech in the market-place, in which he expatiated on the miſeries ſuffered by the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, and painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the ſcandal that was daily offered to the Chriſtian princes by the Turks, in not ſuffering their ſubjects to viſit a city, where the great author of their religion had laid down his life for the redemption of the human race. This ſpeech, exactly calculated to the meridian of the times, produced the deſired effect. The Italians wept over the miſeries of the Chriſtians in Aſia; the French took up arms in their defence. That country was then peopled with a great many new lords, reſtleſs, independent, and fond of a life of war and diſſipation.

The pope promiſed them the remiſſion of all their ſins, and to open to them the gates of paradiſe, on the eaſy conditions of gratifying their predominant paſſion for war and tumult. No wonder that ſuch terms were readily embraced by a multitude of enthuſiaſtics. An infinite number of perſons took the croſs, and were ready to precipitate themſelves upon Aſia. Many even forgot, on this occaſion, the duties they owed to themſelves, to their families, and to their country. The glory of the undertaking baniſhed all other conſiderations. They reflected not on the fatigues, the obſtacles, and the dangers they muſt meet with before they trod the plains of Paleſtine. The churches and cloiſters made their advantage of this enthuſiaſtic madneſs; they purchaſed, at very low rates, many of the eſtates of the barons, who imagined that a little money and their arms were ſufficient for them to conquer kingdoms in Aſia. Every thing conſpired to fill their minds with the moſt chimerical ideas. The glory of the enterprize, the piety which it indicated, the advantages that might reſult from it to religion, the honor of extirpating the infidels, and the brilliancy of an eaſtern conqueſt, acted too powerfully on the minds of a ſuperſtitious people to be withſtood. The meaneſt lords of manors ſet out at their own expence, and the poor gentlemen followed them as ſquires.

Though this fanatical fury robbed Europe of millions of inhabitants, it had alſo its advantages. It tended greatly to eſtabliſh the peace of nations. Great part of the turbulent barons with their vaſſals were removed to a diſtance, and their eſtates reſted in the hands of more peaceable proprietors. The ſovereigns enjoyed their crowns, and the people their eſtates in more tranquillity: they were no longer alarmed with the fury of thoſe reſtleſs ſpirits that had often ſpread the horrors of civil diſcord over their reſpective kingdoms. The French monarchy recovered its luſtre by this enthuſiaſtic inſanity: the principal part of the large eſtates of the moſt opulent and powerful barons being purchaſed by the crown. But no prince gained more, or deſerved it leſs than Henry. Robert, his brother, infected with the enthuſiaſm of the times, and impatient to undergo all the fatigues of a holy war, took the croſs, and applied himſelf to make preparations for leading an army into Paleſtine. But he ſoon perceived that the revenues of his dutchy were too ſmall to anſwer this purpoſe: they were not ſufficient to enable him to appear in a manner ſuitable to his rank and ſtation at the head of his vaſſals. He had therefore recourſe to his brother, and mortgaged his dutchy for three years to Rufus, for the trifling ſum of ten thouſand marks. William raiſed the money by contributions on his ſubjects; and Robert, after putting him in poſſeſſion of Normandy, ſet out at the head of his vaſſals to gather laurels in Aſia.

By this occurrence and acceſſion of territory, which happened in the year 1099, William was conſidered as one of the moſt powerful princes of his time. England and Normandy were once more united, and the many contentions that had ſubſiſted between the barons of the two provinces entirely laid aſide. Both were ſubjects to William, and both felt the weight of his tyranny. But notwithſtanding the great power of Rufus, a ſingle baron dared to ſet that power at defiance. Helie, earl of la Fleche, a ſmall town in Anjou, alarmed the monarch of England. That nobleman made ſo many inroads into William's dominions, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, bordering on his dominions, that Rufus was obliged to croſs the ſeas ſeveral times, in order to drive him out of his territories. But Helie was not to be intimidated; he embraced the firſt opportunity of William's abſence to renew his incurſions, and this year laid ſiege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the new foreſt when he received advice of this tranſaction; when, turning to his attendants, he aſked them in what direction the city of Mans lay from them. He was immediately anſwered, and turning his horſe's head towards the place, rode full ſpeed to the ſea ſide, calling to thoſe that were about him, "Let him that loves me, follow me." Dartmouth was the firſt ſea-port town, and there they found only an old and crazy veſſel, which William entered notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions of his attendants to the contrary. The maſter of the veſſel declared, that the tempeſtuous weather rendered it madneſs to put to ſea, it was nothing leſs than running into unavoidable deſtruction. "Set ſail, replied William; didſt " thou ever hear of a king that was drowned?" None daring to diſpute his peremptory command, he arrived next morning at Barfleur in France. He then diſpatched ſummonſes through all Normandy, for his officers to repair to his ſtandard at Mans; but the enemy, ſurprized at this prodigious diſpatch, raiſed the ſiege, after a few ſkirmiſhes, and made a precipitate retreat, in which the earl of Fleche was taken priſoner. Being brought into William's preſence, the latter could not help reproaching him for his conduct, not without a mixture of inſult. But the earl fiercely replied, "That he had but little cauſe for " triumph, for an advantage owing not to valor, but " to fortune. Were I but at liberty once more, con" tinued he, I know what I ſhould do." William was glad of this opportunity to make amends for his inſult on ſo brave a man: "And what would you do, " ſir, ſaid he, were you at liberty? Haſte! begone! " fly! you are at liberty to do what you will; and, " by the face of St. Luke, continued he, if ever it " ſhall be your chance to conquer me, I ſhall de" mand nothing for this favor." "His actions, ſays " Malmeſbury, equalled his words; and he diſmiſſed " his foe, with admiration of his valor, rather than " enmity to his perſon. William, continues the ſame " excellent hiſtorian, was not a man of letters, and " therefore we cannot ſuppoſe that, in this action, " he followed a like inſtance of magnanimity record" ed of Julius Cæſar, by Lucan. No, it was the " effect of his own generous, uninſtructed ſentiments; " they were ſuch as were born with him; but, were " there any ground for the Pythagorian transforma" tion, we might be tempted to believe, that the ſoul " of Cæſar animated the body of William."

William returned to England about September, after having reſtored peace and tranquillity to Normandy and Maine. Soon after his arrival the great biſhopric of Durham, which had been for ſome time vacant, was beſtowed upon Ranulph, who had long acted as firſt miniſter in England. This perſon, from a mean original, advanced himſelf by his eloquence and bold meaſures, to the office of lord ſteward of the kingdom, the moſt conſiderable poſt in England.

The ſame year is alſo diſtinguiſhed by the taking of Jeruſalem by the chriſtian forces. Robert, duke of Normandy, being the moſt illuſtrious adventurer, as well as the greateſt warrior in the whole army, was elected king of Jeruſalem by the unanimous voice of the confederate princes. But the great reputation he had gained in the fields of Aſia, filled him with the fond idea that it would now be eaſy for him to recover his dutchy, and even get poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown. He therefore declined the ſceptre of Jeruſalem; upon which Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince of inferior rank, but ſuperior virtues, was elected, and while he lived, the city was governed with great juſtice and wiſdom. But there is ſufficient reaſon to believe, that Robert's declining this honor, was ever after attended with very fatal effects to his intereſt.

A. D. 1100. William, earl of Poictiers, and duke of Guienne, inflamed with the glory without being diſcouraged by the misfortunes which had attended former adventurers in the cruſades, had put himſelf at the head of an immenſe multitude, ſaid by ſome hiſtorians to amount to ſixty thouſand horſe, and a much greater number of foot, and propoſed to lead them into the Holy Land againſt the infidels. But wanting money to forward the preparations requiſite for this expedition, he offered to mortgage his dominions to William, without entertaining any ſcruple of that rapacious hand into which he was going to conſign them. Rufus, who deſpiſed and ridiculed the enthuſiaſtic madneſs of the time, had kept his kingdom free from thoſe bigotted expeditions; and, for ſome years paſt had been amaſſing large ſums, from a perſuaſion that he ſhould have an offer of making another purchaſe as valuable as that of Normandy. This offer of the earl of Poictiers convinced him he was not miſtaken, and William readily accepted the offer; agreeing to pay down the ſum demanded, provided he was put into immediate poſſeſſion of the eſtates. This being complied with, a great army was raiſed, and a powerful fleet fitted out in England, the king intending to carry over the money in perſon, and take poſſeſſion of the provinces of Poictou and Guienne, celebrated for their riches and fertility.

Theſe proceedings joined to the aſpiring ſpirit of Rufus, alarmed all Europe, then mad with religious rage, and weakened by unprofitable expences. A prince in the flower of his age, of great experience in war, of unbounded ambition in peace, maſter of England, and of the richeſt provinces of France, muſt have ſoon given laws to Europe; nor was it poſſible to ſee what was capable of reſtraining his ambition. But when every thing was ready for this important expedition, an accident happened which put an end at once to his life, and all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting, the favorite, and indeed almoſt the ſole diverſion and occupation of princes in that rude and barbarous age, when ſociety was little cultivated, and the arts afforded few objects worthy of attention. Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his addreſs in archery, attended him in this recreation, of which the new foreſt was the ſcene; and as William had diſmounted after the chace, Tyrrel, impatient to ſhow his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a ſtag, which ſuddenly ſtarted before him. The arrow glancing from a tree ſtruck the king in the breaſt and inſtantly killed him; while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put ſpurs to his horſe, haſtened to the ſea ſhore, embarked for France, and joined the cruſade in an expedition to Jeruſalem; a penalty he impoſed upon himſelf for this involuntary crime. The body of William was afterwards found in the foreſt by the country people, and buried without any pomp or ceremony in the cathedral church at Wincheſter. His courtiers were negligent in paying their laſt dues to a maſter who was ſo little beloved; and every one was too much occupied in the intereſting object of fixing his ſucceſſor to think much about the dead ſovereign's burial.

In this manner, in the year 1100, fell William Rufus on the ſecond of Auguſt, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twenty days. In his perſon he was of a middle ſtature, but appeared ſhorter than he really was, on account of his being very fat. His complexion was florid, his hair of a yellowiſh red, and one of his eyes ſpotted, which rendered it unlike the other. In bodily ſtrength he exceeded moſt men of his time; his manner of ſpeaking was diſagreeable, from an impediment in his ſpeech. His countenance was ſevere and his voice ſtrong, which he frequently exalted in order to intimidate thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking; though he was remarkably affable in private converſation with his nobles.

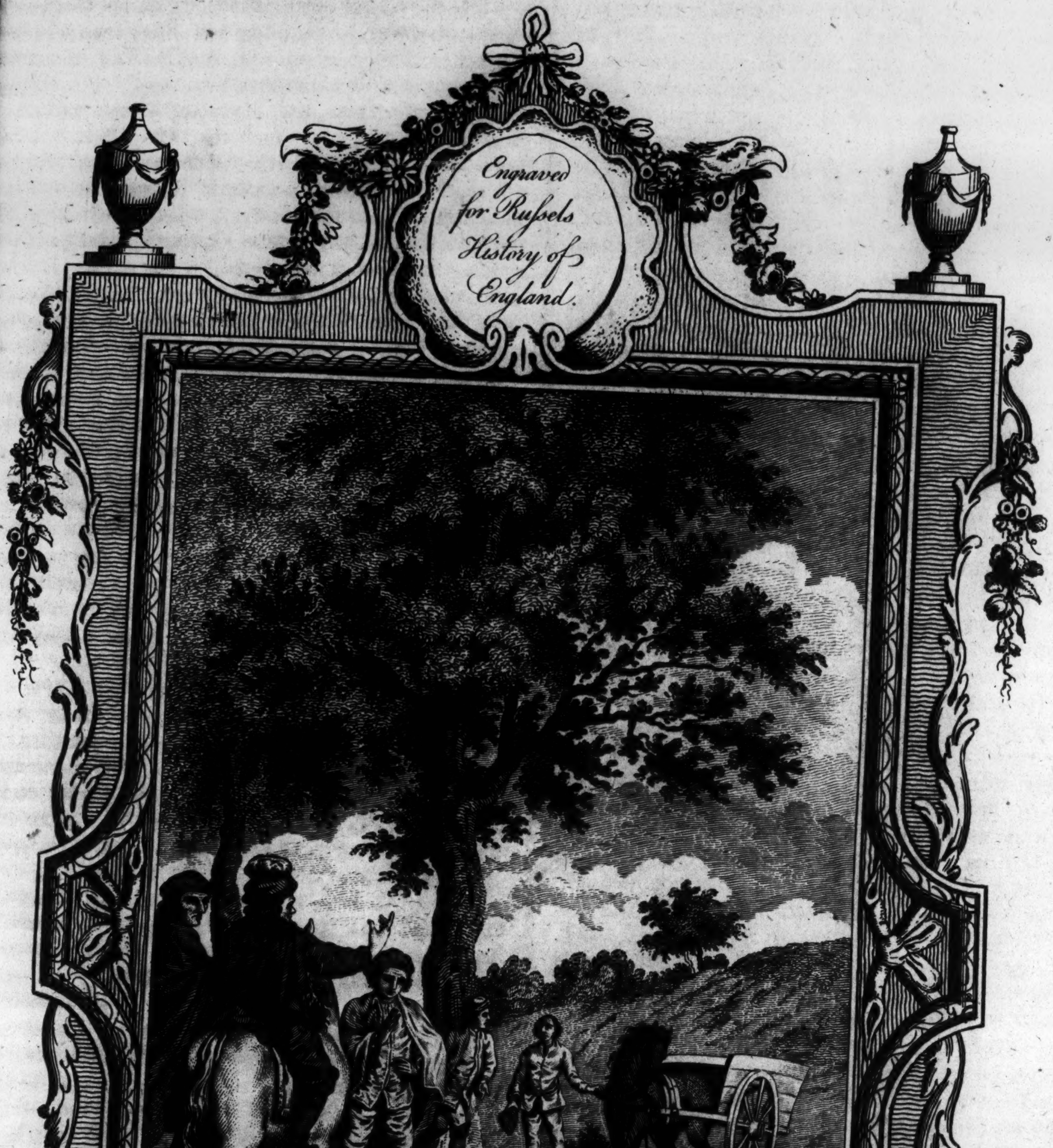
With reſpect to the character of this monarch, William's courage was ſuch that he thought it a ſtain upon his honor, if, on any occaſion, he was not himſelf the firſt who drew his ſword, or ſuffered the meaneſt of his ſubjects to ſurpaſs him in time of danger. His magnanimity declared itſelf on many occaſions, in a manner becoming the greateſt of princes. He was a profeſſed patron of perſons of merit, in all profeſſions, to whom his court was always open, and whom he always encouraged in proportion to their talents. He had the higheſt ideas of grandeur, and an extraordinary genius for architecture. But all theſe virtues were more than balanced by his vices. He was a violent and tyrannical prince; and a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treaſury; and the abilities he poſſeſſed were ſo confined under the government of impetuous paſſions, that they were of little uſe in his adminiſtration; governing his whole kingdom by that domineering policy, which, being blended with courage and vigor, was well ſuited to the age.

We ſhall corroborate this character by what William of Malmeſbury, an accurate judge, and an excellent hiſtorian, ſays, of this monarch, "William Rufus, ſays that hiſtorian, was born in Normandy, long before his father invaded England. He was moſt carefully educated by his parents; and, by the pregnancy of his genius, he attained the higheſt pitch of power. He was, without all doubt, a prince not to be matched in his age, had it not been that he was overſhadowed by the greatneſs of his father's reputation, and was hurried off the ſtage of life before he had corrected the errors of unbridled power and overboiling youth. When he ceaſed to be a boy, his youth was ſpent in military exerciſes, in riding, ſhooting, in rivalling the old in judgment, aud the young in activity. He thought it a ſtain upon his courage, if, on any warlike occaſion, any one had a ſword in his hand ſooner than him; and if he was not the firſt, either to challenge the foe, or, if himſelf challenged, to fight him."

He again adds, "That William's exceſſes this way, were in a great meaſure owing to his neceſſity at the commencement of his reign, to get the army, at any rate, on his ſide, by great largeſſes, and greater promiſes. His performance of thoſe were punctual, till what was at firſt habitual became at laſt natural. Thus things with him were eſtimated not by the value, but by their price." Of theſe he gives an apt inſtance: "One morning, ſays he, as he was putting on a pair " of new boots, he aſked his gentleman of the bed- " chamber in waiting, what they coſt? He was an- " ſwered, three ſhillings. You ſcoundrel, ſaid the " king, did you ever hear of a king wearing ſuch " pitiful boots as thoſe? Go, bring a pair of a merk " of ſilver. The bed-chamber-man went, and brought " a pair much worſe; but told his maſter they coſt " what he had ordered. Ay, replied William, theſe " are boots fit for a king to wear! and ſo put them " on."

With reſpect to remarkable occurrences which happened, during this monarch's reign, we are told, that in the ſecond year after he came to the crown, a dreadful earthquake ſhook the whole kingdom, which was followed by a great ſcarcity of fruit, and ſo late a harveſt, that corn was not full ripe at the end of November.

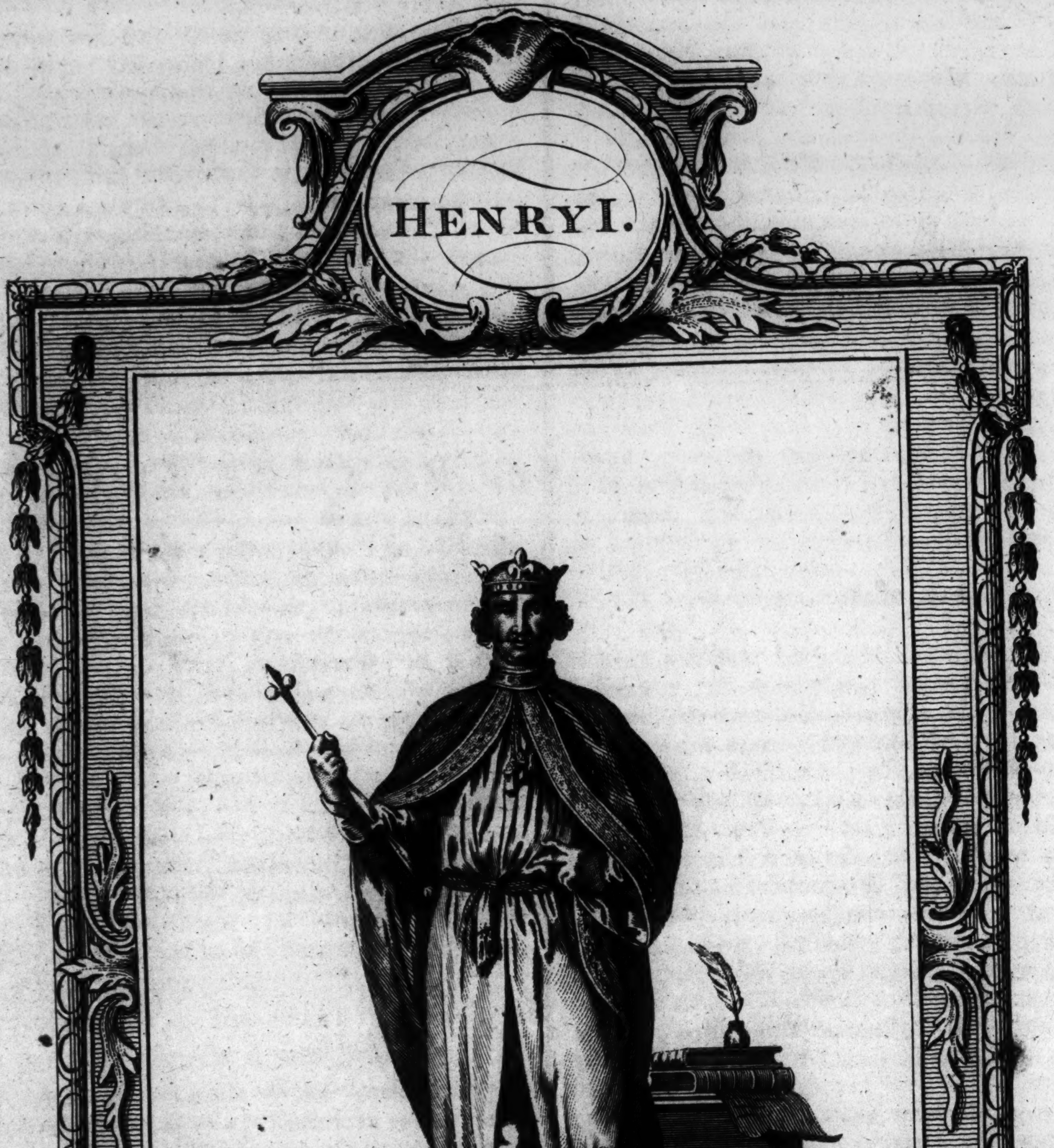
On the 5th of October, A. D. 1091. A violent ſtorm happened in ſeveral parts of England, particularly at Winchelſcomb, in Glouceſterſhire, where the ſteeple of the church was thrown down by thunder and lightning, and the crucifix with the image of the


Engraved
for Rußels
History of
England.

WILLIAM II *Killed*
in New Forest Hampshire
by Sir Walter Tyrrel.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



HENRY I.

Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

Virgin Mary was broken to pieces; this hurricane was ſucceeded by a noiſome ſtench and thick ſulphureous air. On the 17th of the ſame month another ſtorm blew * from the ſouth-weſt, threw down above 500 houſes, and blew off the roof of Bow-church, n Cheapſide, London; and at Saliſbury, it not only deſtroyed many houſes, but blew off the ſteeple belonging to the cathedral.

And to conclude, A. D. 1094 was remarkable for ſo great a mortality of men and beaſts in England and Normandy, that the ground remained untilled, and a very ſevere dearth enſued.

William was never married, and conſequently left no legitimate iſſue; and hence the crown became conteſted between his two brothers.

HENRY I. SURNAMED BEAUCLERC.

SECT. III.

INTELLIGENCE of the death of William was immediately carried to his brother Henry, who, at the time was alſo hunting at ſome diſtance in the ſame foreſt. The idea of ſeizing the crown to the injury of his elder brother Robert, directly ſtruck his imagination; but at the ſame it occurred to him that nothing could ſo effectually facilitate ſuch a deſign as the immediate ſeizure of the deceaſed king's treaſures, which were depoſited at Wincheſter. He accordingly poſted away to that city with the utmoſt expedition to make himſelf maſter of the defunct's riches, conſidering them as the ſtrongeſt ſinews of war, and the greateſt ſecurity of peace. When he arrived at Wincheſter, however, William de Bretueil, a Norman nobleman, and eldeſt ſon to William Fitzoſbern, the favorite companion and general of the Conqueror, who was keeper of the treaſury, flatly refuſed to give Henry admittance, pleading in excuſe, that as he had ſworn fealty to Robert, who had the right of primogeniture, he looked upon himſelf as much bound in duty to own him for his liege lord, as if he was perſonally preſent; intimating at the ſame time, that this demand of Henry carried with it ſtrong marks of a treacherous deſign. This altercation was on the point of becoming very ſerious, and might have had fatal conſequences, had not Robert de Meulant arrived in a lucky minute with a number of the late king's attendants, and declared in favor of Henry, obliging Bretueil to deliver up to him the treaſures, the poſſeſſion of which was to Henry almoſt as deſirable an object as the crown itſelf.

The prince having now a ſufficient fund to reward the ſervices of thoſe who ſhould eſpouſe his cauſe, he ſoon found his party conſiderably increaſed; and in leſs than four days after his brother's death, his friends having aſſembled a council in London, of the principal nobility that could be gotten together at ſo ſhort a warning, Henry was, by the majority of voices, declared king; and the ceremony of his coronation was performed the following day (Sunday, Auguſt 5) by Maurice, biſhop of London, who had been one of the firſt William's chaplains. And thus, by a moſt ſurpriſing and unparalleled diſpatch (if not previouſly concerted) a total revolution was brought about in the affairs of the nation: a king in the flower of his age, and in the zenith of his power, was cut off by an inſtantaneous death, the cauſe of which was never judicially enquired into; the true ſucceſſion was ſet aſide, the treaſures of the kingdom ſeized by a perſon who had not the leaſt claim to them; and all this in leſs time than is commonly taken up to deliberate upon affairs of the moſt private concern, or of the leaſt conſequence.

Henry, immediately after his coronation, acted with great policy, for the ceremony was no ſooner over, than to ingratiate himſelf into the affections of the people, he ordered a charter to be proclaimed and publiſhed, to ſecure to them their liberties; which, on account of its great importance, and its having been the baſis of many other charters obtained from ſucceeding monarchs, we ſhall here inſert:

1. Henry's charter to all his faithful ſubjects.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of the Engliſh, to all his barons and faithful ſubjects, both French and Engliſh, greeting.

" Know ye, that, by the mercy of God, and by
" the common counſel (with the (1) aſſent) of the
" barons of the kingdom of England, I am crowned
" king of the ſaid kingdom; and becauſe the king-
" dom has been oppreſſed with unjuſt exactions, I,
" from the love of God, and the regard I bear you
" (all) in the firſt place, free the holy church, ſo as
" that I will neither ſell nor farm it out; nor, upon
" the death of an archbiſhop, or a biſhop, or an ab-
" bot, will I accept of any of the churches property,
" nor aught from any of its tenants, until a ſucceſſor
" enters upon the ſame. And I baniſh all the evil
" uſages with which the kingdom of England has
" been (unjuſtly) oppreſſed, part of which evil uſages
" I here ſet down. If any of my barons, earls, or
" of my tenants, holding of me, ſhall die, his heir
" ſhall not redeem his land, as was the cuſtom in the
" days of my brother; but ſhall relieve the ſame by
" a juſt and lawful relief. In like manner ſhall the
" tenants of my barons relieve their lands from their
" lords by a lawful (certain) juſt relief. And if any
" of my barons, or other my ſubjects, have a mind to
" give a (their) daughter in marriage, or ſiſter, or
" niece, let him treat with me; but I will neither
" accept any part of his fortune for ſuch licence, nor
" will I prohibit his diſpoſing of her, unleſs it be to
" my enemy. And if any of my barons, or ſubjects,
" ſhould, at his death, leave a daughter his heir, I
" will diſpoſe of her with advice of my barons, toge-
" ther with her lands. And if, upon the death of
" the huſband, a wife ſhall ſurvive without children,
" ſhe ſhall have her (own) dowry and marriage-
" portion; neither will I give her to a huſband, but

---

* This was the very ſame point from which the dreadful tempeſt blew in the reign of queen Ann, and to which Mr. Addiſon alludes in his admirable poem, called the Campaign:

" So when an angel by Divine command,
" Spreads all his terrors o'er a guilty land;
" Such as of late o'er pale Britannia paſt,
" Calm and ſerene he drives the furious blaſt,
" And pleas'd th' Almighty's orders to perform,
" Rides in the whirl-wind and enjoys the ſtorm.

"with her own conſent. But if the wife be left with children, ſhe ſhall then have her dower and marriage-portion; nor will I give her to a huſband, but with her own conſent; provided the wife ſhall keep her body in chaſtity: and either the wife, or ſome other relation, who is to deal juſtly, ſhall be guardian of the children and the eſtate. And I command my barons, that they act conformably hereunto, towards the ſons, daughters, and wives of their tenants. The common mintage (2) money, which was taken throughout cities and counties, and was not in uſe under king Edward, I abſolutely forbid to be taken for the future. If any minter, or other perſon, be taken with falſe money, let right juſtice be done upon him. (3) All fines and debts due to my brother, I forgive; excepting my juſt farms, and thoſe bargains which concerned the inheritance of others, or for thoſe effects which juſtly concerned other perſons. And I forgive all bargains which any man has made with regard to his right of inheritance. And if any (of my barons or tenants) ſhall lie ſick, ſo as that he ſhall give or diſpoſe of his money, I will, that ſuch diſpoſition ſtand good; but if he, prevented by war or ſickneſs, ſhall not give or diſpoſe of his effects, let his wife, children or parents, or his lawful tenants, divide it among themſelves, as ſhall ſeem beſt to them. If any of my barons, or tenants, ſhall forfeit, he ſhall not give a pledge for favor of the (whole) fine, as he did in the time of my father and brother; but, according to the meaſure of the forfeit, ſo ſhall he be fined, in ſuch manner as fines were laid on, under thoſe, my predeceſſors, who reigned before my father and brother: but if he ſhall be convicted of treaſon, or wickedneſs, let him make ſatisfaction, as ſhall ſeem juſt."

2. Concerning the confirmation of king Edward's laws.

"I pardon all murders committed before my coronation; and thoſe which ſhall be hereafter committed, ſhall be ſatisfied for, according to the law of king Edward. I have by common conſent of my barons, retained in my hand the foreſts, in like manner as my father had them. I alſo grant, of my own free gift, to my knights (i. e. tenants by knight-ſervice) who defend their lands by their habergeons, that their demeſne lands ſhall be free from all unjuſt guilds or taxes, and all works (that their fidelity may be in proportion to my kindneſs;) that, ſince they are eaſed of ſo great a burden, they may the better provide themſelves with horſes and arms, and ſo be made fitter and more ready for my ſervices, and for the defence of my kingdom. I reſtore to you the laws of king Edward, together with thoſe amendments which my father made by the advice of his barons.

"If any one has taken any thing from me, or from any other perſon, he ſhall forthwith reſtore the ſame, without making ſatisfaction; and he, upon whom any ſuch thing is found, ſhall make ſtrict ſatisfaction to the owner.

"Given in preſence of the archbiſhops, biſhops, barons, earls, ſheriffs, and nobles of all the kingdom of England, on the day of my coronation."

N. B. The words incloſed within bracked, thus ( ), are the ſupplements taken from Matt. Paris, the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Rocheſter copy, and others.

There were as many copies of this charter as there were counties, and one of them was lodged in the moſt eminent abbies in each county; nevertheleſs, there was ſcarce one to be found in the reign of king John, whoſe Magna Charta was founded upon it. There is a copy at this day in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and Matthew Paris has given us a tranſcript of that which which was ſent into Herefordſhire, which has been tranſlated by Mr. Tyrrel.

This charter was not the only inſtance he gave the people, that he was deſirous of rendering them happy: he committed Ranulph, biſhop of Durham, the inſtrument of all the oppreſſions in the late reign, priſoner to the Tower, with an intention of giving him up to the juſtice of his country. The charge againſt him was, his adviſing the late king, whoſe confidence he had abuſed, to oppreſs his ſubjects with many unjuſt impoſitions. But the artful prelate found means of eſcaping into France, where he endeavoured to embroil England in trouble, ſince he could no longer direct the meaſures of its adminiſtration.

Henry being ſenſible of the great authority Anſelm had acquired by his character of piety, and by the perſecutions he had ſuffered from William, ſent repeated meſſengers to him at Lyons, where he now reſided, inviting him to return, and take poſſeſſion of his dignities. The prelate, at laſt, accepted the offer, and, upon his landing in Kent, was received with extraordinary joy and reſpect. But when the king propoſed to him the renewal of that homage which he had done his brother, and which had never been refuſed by any Engliſh biſhop, Anſelm gave an abſolute refuſal: declaring, that ſo far from doing homage for his ſpiritual dignity, he would not even communicate with any eccleſiaſtic who paid that ſubmiſſion, or who received inveſtitures from laymen. However provoked Henry might be at this behaviour of the haughty prelate, he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment, and only deſired, that meſſengers might be ſent to Rome, to accommodate matters with the pope, and to obtain his confirmation of the Engliſh laws and cuſtomary privileges.

The prelate Anſelm had not been long in England, before an affair happened, which obliged Henry to have recourſe to his authority. Matilda, daughter to Malcolm, the third king of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, had, on her father's death, and ſubſequent revolutions of the Scottiſh government, been brought to England, and educated under her aunt, in the nunnery of Rumſey. This princeſs Henry propoſed to marry. She was not only accompliſhed with all that could render a woman deſirable, but unexceptional in point of intereſt; her uncle Edgar having no children, and the old Engliſh party conſidering her as the only remains of the Cerdic race, from whom they were to expect the continuance of that venerable line. But as ſhe had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might ariſe with regard to the lawfulneſs of this action; and it was abſolutely neceſſary for Henry, not to ſhock the religious prejudices of his ſubjects. Recourſe was therefore to be had to Anſelm, whoſe authority was deciſive in this particular; but the prelate would do nothing of himſelf. He ſummoned a ſynod to meet at Lambeth, where Matilda proved, that ſhe never intended to embrace a religious life, and had worn the veil, merely in imitation of a cuſtom familiar to the Engliſh ladies, who protected their chaſtity from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking ſhelter under that habit, which, amidſt the horrid licentiouſneſs of the times, was generally revered. The ſynod, ſenſible that even a princeſs, could have recourſe to no other method for the ſecurity of her honor, admitted the plea as valid, and declared that Matilda was free from all religious engagements, and ſtill at liberty to marry. Anſelm, acquieſcing with his clergy, her marriage with Henry was celebrated by the archbiſhop, with the moſt ſolemn pomp.

During the interim, Robert returned from his eaſtern expedition, and took poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Normandy without oppoſition. On his return from the Holy Land, he paſſed through Italy, where he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter to the count of Converſana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he eſpouſed; and indulging himſelf in this new paſſion, as well as fond of enjoying eaſe and pleaſure, after the fatigues of ſo many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelve-month in that delicious climate. By this delay, he loſt the crown of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the cruſades, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth, and the treaty formerly made with his deceaſed brother, would, had he been preſent, have infallibly ſecured to him; thus did he a ſecond time prevent himſelf from being a king.

A. D. 1101. His arrival, though too late to aſcend the throne of England, without meeting with a powerful oppoſition, revived at once the hopes and fears of the Normans of his party, who had poſſeſſions in France. He ſaw himſelf, contrary to his expectations, prevented from ſucceeding to the crown of England, and complained loudly of the injuſtice of his younger brother. Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, having ſucceeded to the great eſtates of his family, both in England and Normandy, was, at this time, one of the moſt conſiderable of Henry's ſubjects. His genius was enterprizing, his behaviour arrogant, and his principles entirely in favour of Robert. He was joined by his two brothers, Roger and Arnulf, William de Warenne, earl of Surry, Robert de Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmeſnil, and many others of the principal nobility, who entered into an aſſociation, for inviting Robert to make an attempt upon England, and promiſed to join him with all their forces. Robert accepted the invitation, and applied himſelf cloſely to make preparations for invading England and aſcertaining his right.

Henry was greatly alarmed at the defection of ſo many of his nobles, and ſtill more at the great popularity of his brother, who was become the idol of the people, on account of his having ſo greatly contributed to reſcue the holy city of Jeruſalem out of the hands of infidels. Perſuaded of the power of popular bigotry, and dreading the conſequences of his injured brother's obtaining the crown, he had recourſe to Anſelm, whoſe ſanctity and wiſdom he now pretended to revere. He conſulted him in all difficult emergencies, ſeemed to be governed by him in every meaſure; promiſed a ſtrict regard to eccleſiaſtical privileges; profeſſed a great attachment to Rome, and a reſolution of perſevering in an implicit obedience to the decrees of councils, and to the will of the ſovereign pontiff. By theſe careſſes and declarations he gained entirely the confidence of the primate, whoſe influence over the people, and authority with the barons, was of the greateſt ſervice to him in his preſent ſituation. Anſelm became ſurety for the king, pledging his faith, that he would govern the kingdom, as long as he ſat upon the throne, by juſt and equitable laws. By this means, the king was in a condition to oppoſe the great intereſt of his brother, which had already induced many of the ſailors to declare in his favor, and even to carry over to him the greater part of a fleet, which had been fitted out to oppoſe his paſſage, and prevent his landing.

With a greater degree of aſſiduity than uſual, Robert ſeized this favorable opportunity to put to ſea with a fine fleet, and landed at Portſmouth about Midſummer, A. D. 1101. Immediately upon the news of his debarkation, Henry, who had a ſtrong army poſted at Pevenſey, on the Suſſex coaſt, advanced to intercept him in his march to London, and prevent him from being joined by ſuch of his adherents as had already ſhewed themſelves inclinable to eſpouſe his cauſe. Nothing could at this time have kept up the drooping ſpirits of Henry but the fidelity and ſteadineſs of Anſelm, who attended him ſtep by ſtep, and, with unwearied aſſiduity, harangued, flattered, and threatened by turns thoſe of whoſe attachment he was moſt doubtful, repreſenting in ſo lively a manner the heinouſneſs of breaking their oath of allegiance, that all the principal officers ſwore to a man to ſtand by their ſovereign againſt all invaders. To crown his labours in Henry's behalf, Anſelm publicly declared his intention to excommunicate Robert, in caſe he perſiſted in his deſign of driving his brother from the throne. Eccleſiaſtical cenſures were, at that time, more formidable to the vulgar, than the moſt powerful armed force; and Robert ſoon found that his party, inſtead of increaſing upon his arrival in vigor and numbers, daily grew weaker and dropped off. However, both armies continuing to march forwards, they came in ſight of, and encamped over againſt each other on a plain not far from Wincheſter, in which ſituation they remained for ſeveral days, without either ſide offering to come to action; Robert declining the battle on account of his not being joined by the reinforcements he expected from his friends on this ſide the water, and Henry, from an apprehenſion that his ſoldiers would fail in their fidelity in the day of battle, and, by going over to his brother, put him in danger of loſing his life and crown.

Thus were things ſituated, when the two brothers being equally deſirous to come to a treaty, many meſſages paſſed between them, and many propoſals were made and rejected on both ſides; at length, by the mediation of Anſelm, and ſome of the moſt prudent of the nobles in each army, an accommodation was effected on the following terms.

I. That the king ſhould reſign to the duke the Contantin, together with all the other places and ſtrong holds he was then in poſſeſſion of, in Normandy, excepting Donfront, which he could not cede without violating the oath he had given to the inhabitants when they admitted him into their town, that he would never give it up but with his life.

II. That the friends of each party ſhould have full reſtoration of all their lands and eſtates, both in England and Normandy.

III. That Henry ſhould pay to Robert the yearly ſum of three thouſand marks of ſilver; and that if either of the two brothers died without lawful iſſue, his demeſnes ſhould be inherited by the ſurvivor, as well in England as Normandy.

This agreement being ſigned and ſworn to by twelve lords on each ſide, as guarantees for its faithful execution, both armies were diſbanded, and Henry carried his brother Robert with him to court, where they lived together in the greateſt apparent harmony for the ſpace of two months, at the end of which term duke Robert took his leave, and embarked for Normandy.

Henry, being now delivered from his formidable rival, and firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne by the late accommodation, reſolved to take ſevere revenge on ſuch of the great men who had ſhewn themſelves moſt zealous in the cauſe of his brother Robert. Opportunities of being revenged are ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the power in their own hands: accordingly, ſoon after the departure of his brother, he ſeized on the eſtates and perſons of Hugh de Grentmeſnil, Robert de Pontefract, and Rober de Mallet, on various pretences; but of all thoſe who had eſpouſed his brother's cauſe, no one was ſo particularly the object of his indignation and revenge as Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, on account of his having openly (and, indeed, with an unpardonable imprudence) declared, "that Henry was an uſurper, and that it would be an eternal diſgrace to all, of the Norman or Engliſh nations, who ſhould permit, much more aſſiſt, him in holding the crown in prejudice of his elder brother." Accordingly Henry ſummoned this young nobleman to appear before him at his court, and anſwer to five and forty articles of impeachment which he publiſhed againſt him, the leaſt of which was ſufficient to bring him to the block. The earl, conſcious that, by his unguarded behaviour, he had given the king too fair a handle to ruin him, aſked leave for time to prepare his anſwer; which being granted him, he made uſe of the interval to fortify his caſtle of Shrewſbury, determined to defend himſelf to the laſt, rather than, by a tame ſubmiſſion, to encounter that fate which he knew was unavoidably prepared for him: at the ſame time he had recourſe to his friends in Normandy, where he had a great eſtate, and ſent his brother Arnulph to ſolicit aid from the Welſh.

A rebellious act of this nature gave Henry the moſt plauſible excuſe for effecting his total ruin. According he ordered him to be publicly proclaimed a traitor, for having refuſed to appear before his peers in the king's court when duly ſummoned; and iſſued out commiſſions for a general array of all the militia in England; and taking the field in perſon, went and laid ſiege to the earl's caſtle of Arundel, in Suſſex: but he found it ſo ſtrongly fortified, that he was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. While this was doing, he ordered the biſhop of Lincoln to beſiege Teckhill, another ſtrong fortreſs of the earl's, lying a few miles from Doncaſter, while he himſelf advanced into Shropſhire, the greateſt part of which belonged to Robert de Belleſme. Here he attacked Bridgenorth, accounted the ſtrongeſt place in England, the earl, who was the moſt excellent engineer of his time, having exerted his utmoſt ſkill in fortifying it. This ſiege coſt Henry ſome time and trouble, and it is more than probable that he would have found himſelf baffled in his attempt had he not had recourſe to money to bribe the garriſon, which conſiſted of a body of Welch, under Cadogan and Gervith, the two chief princes of Wales. This method proved effectual, and the Welſh ſurrendered the place after having defended it three weeks. Almoſt at the ſame time Henry received advice, that the officer he had left before Arundel, had compelled that caſtle to ſurrender; and that the biſhop of Lincoln had proved no leſs ſucceſsful in his operations againſt Teckhill, ſo that Shrewſbury was now the only place of any conſequence left in the hands of Robert: the roads to it were bad, narrow, and very fatiguing to an army in its march, the country being over-grown with thick woods, which the enemy had lined with archers to gall the ſoldiers in their paſſage; but Henry, with admirable preſence of mind, employing his men in cutting down the woods and opening the roads, ſoon got over theſe difficulties.

The deſperate ſituation of his affairs ſtruck Robert with diſmay; he plainly ſaw it would be impoſſible for him to make head againſt ſo powerful a force as Henry was bringing againſt him; and, therefore, as the king drew near the town, he went forth to meet him, acknowleged his crimes, and, preſenting him with the keys of the place, threw himſelf upon his mercy. The king accepted his ſubmiſſion, and thus this dangerous inſurrection was quelled in little more than a month from its firſt breaking out. The earl and his followers were diſſeized of all their eſtates in England, and obliged to quit the kingdom.

Henry by this ſucceſs, and the deſtruction of the great family of Belleſme, ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of his kingdom: before this time he had never conſidered himſelf as a real king; he now reſolved to be ſo, by making himſelf independent of all powers abroad, and of every claſs of his ſubjects at home. It muſt be obſerved, that the moſt conſiderable power now left in the nation, diſtinct from that of the crown, was lodged in the biſhops and abbots; and Henry could not, without a mixture of indignation and apprehenſion, perceive the attempts they were continually making to circumſcribe the regal prerogative: the inſolent and ambitious diſpoſition of Anſelm, not a little heightened by conſcious merit of the late ſervices he had done the crown, threatened Henry with little leſs than annihilation of all his authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. That haughty prelate had two favorite points in view; the one was to oblige the clergy to celibacy, and the other to wreſt from the crown the right of giving the inveſtiture to biſhops and abbots. In the midſt of his ambition he had, however, ſufficient diſcernment to know that the compaſſing his deſigns could not fail of being attended with many and great difficulties; but, nothing daunted at the proſpect of the obſtacles in his way, he convened a ſynod, in which a ſentence of excommunication was fulminated againſt married prieſts. Pleaſed with this ſucceſs, Anſelm determined to proceed, notwithſtanding he perceived he ſhould be oppoſed by the whole power of the crown. Nor was he contented with depriving Henry of a prerogative enjoyed by all the monarchs that had filled the Engliſh throne from the firſt eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity; he propoſed, that all the biſhops who had received the inveſtiture from the king, ſhould immediately reſign their ſees, or ſtand abſolutely excommunicated. Exaſperated at this inſolent attempt, Henry ſummoned Anſelm to appear in the king's court. He obeyed; and was commanded inſtantly to do homage to the king, to conſecrate ſuch perſons as had been nominated to vacant ſees, or to depart the kingdom immediately; the king declaring, in expreſs terms, "That no perſons ſhould reſide in any parts of his dominions, who refuſed to pay the allegiance due to a ſovereign." But Anſelm deſpiſed the threats of royalty; and with the reſolution of a man conſcious of his power, told the court, "That he was not to be intimidated from doing his duty; that he ſhould immediately retire to Canterbury, where he ſhould continue to exerciſe his archiepiſcopal functions, and wait the iſſue with reſignation and tranquillity." As Henry was determined not to part with ſo valuable a branch of his prerogative, and the prelate not to recede from the cauſe he had undertaken, there remained no hopes of an accommodation. At laſt it was agreed by both parties to ſend a deputation to Rome, in order to lay the whole diſpute before his holineſs; and that in the mean time the biſhops and abbots ſhould continue to exerciſe the functions of their reſpective offices.

A. D. 1103. This eccleſiaſtical diſpute did not, however, divert Henry's attention from his intereſt in other particulars. He had already greatly reduced the exorbitant power of the nobility, and reſolved to purſue that intention ſtill farther. William de Warrenne, earl of Surry, who retired into Normandy on the accommodation between Robert and his brother, had been diſſeiſed of his Engliſh eſtate; but was continually importuning the duke to uſe his good offices with Henry, in order, if poſſible, to procure his being reinſtated in his lands. Robert, whoſe heart glowed with the benign warmth of humanity and compaſſion, determined to pay a viſit to his brother in order to ſollicit in perſon the reſtitution of the earl of Surry's poſſeſſions. Previouſly informed of the deſign of Robert's viſit, Henry was fully prepared for his reception, and immediately on his arrival, pretended to be highly diſpleaſed at his brother's entering his kingdom without permiſſion, and bringing with him, in his retinue, thoſe whom he well knew to be enemies to his perſon and government. At the ſame time the king charged Robert with a breach of the late treaty, by giving refuge and encouragement to the rebellious earl of Shrewſbury, and putting him in poſſeſſion of his father's demeſnes in Normandy. Robert now perceived the wrong ſtep he had taken, by thus putting himſelf in the power of his brother; but it was too late to recede. He therefore remonſtrated boldly with his brother, in behalf of the earl of Surry, but met with ſo bad a reception, that Robert began to apprehend his own liberty was in danger, and was therefore glad to purchaſe an eſcape, by reſigning his penſion. The earl of Surry was, however, reſtored to all his poſſeſſions, and remained ever after a faithful and uſeful ſubject to the king of England.

A. D. 1104. Henry purſued his deſign of wreaking his vengeance on the Engliſh nobles, whom he ſuſpected of not being cordially attached to his intereſt. About the ſame time, William count de Mortaigne, in Normandy, and earl of Cornwall in England, the king's couſin German, claimed the earldom of Kent, as heir to Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, who had accompanied the duke of Normandy in his expedition to the Holy Land, and died at Palermo in Sicily. This claim he preſſed in a manner rather too peremptory for a ſubject; but as it happened in the time of the public commotions, and that Henry ſuſpecting him of favoring the rebellious earl of Shrewſbury in his heart, he was not willing to weaken his own intereſt, and ſtrengthen that of his enemy, by the defection of a nobleman of ſo great power and intereſt; therefore he amuſed him with ſpecious promiſes, which kept him quiet; but as ſoon as Henry found himſelf ſecurely eſtabliſhed on the throne, he thought it high time to take down his towering ſpirit, and make him an example to others of his ſubjects, who, preſuming too far on their weight and importance, might be tempted to fly in the face of majeſty. Accordingly, when the earl, upon finding the affairs of the kingdom ſettled upon a quiet footing, took an opportunity of repeating his claim, and demanding to be put in poſſeſſion of the whole county of Kent, the king not only gave him a flat denial, but alſo exhibited againſt him a charge for divers maleverſions in the government of thoſe counties committed to his care, and, at the ſame time, with ſeveral miſdemeanors againſt the ſtate; and the different articles being proved to the ſatiſfaction of the judges, the earl was declared guilty, upon which he immediately fled over to Normandy.

Hence it is pretty apparent, that the juſticiaries were the king's creatures, and ready to give any ſentence that they thought agreeable to his ambition or avarice; for, upon the earl's withdrawing himſelf out of the kingdom, they condemned him not only to loſe the lands which it may be preſumed he had, like other rapacious Normans, uſurped, but (what is utterly inconceiveable) the earldom of Cornwall and all the great eſtates in Suſſex and other counties, of which his forefathers were juſtly poſſeſſed, according to Domeſday Book, and which he inherited from them by an undoubted title.

Hence, according to Florence of Worceſter and the Saxon chronicles, we learn that William, who had retired to his eſtate of Mortaigne, in Normandy, hearing of theſe tranſactions, and incenſed at the ingratitude, perfidy, and avarice of king Henry, fell upon thoſe lands belonging to him and his partizans, that lay contiguous to his own, and had not been delivered up to Robert purſuant to the firſt article of the peace concluded between the two brothers. In theſe operations he was ſoon joined by a number of the exiled noblemen, who were all greedy of plunder; but what greatly ſtrengthened his party was, the alliance between de Belleſme and him. This latter nobleman was in poſſeſſion of no leſs than thirty four ſtrong caſtles in Normandy, in which he had placed all the wealth he had amaſſed, and which were provided with good garriſons; ſo that theſe two turbulent chieftains and their adherents harraſſed their native country with continual devaſtations, while Robert, either deſpiſing the world, and given up to devotion, or, as Ealmer obſerves, amuſing himſelf in plays and feaſting, took not the leaſt ſtep to oppoſe their progreſs; and his indolence ſeeming to increaſe in proportion to the calamities of his country, he at length, without the privity or conſent of his brother Henry, patched up an infamous peace with the rebels, which exaſperated his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that they determined to throw themſelves into the arms of Henry, for the protection of their lives and properties.

During all this time Henry had been acting the moſt crafty part. Ever ſince he had found himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of England, he began to look with a wiſhful eye upon Normandy, and was greatly deſirous of annexing that dutchy to his crown. Robert's ill conduct had confirmed him in the hopes of one day compaſſing his end, and he waited only for a favorable opportunity to put his deſign in execution. With this view he made not the leaſt effort towards chaſtiſing the rebels for their depredations on his Norman lands, either in perſon or by application to his brother. He knew full well that Robert's power was more to be feared than that of the malecontents, and therefore, with an unnatural and deteſtable policy, he ſuffered them to oppreſs his brother without offering the leaſt aſſiſtance. This neglect of Henry's concurring with Robert's indolence, had been the chief inducement to the latter's having concluded the late diſgraceful peace with the malecontents.

The opportunity which Henry had been impatiently waiting for now offered itſelf, and he did not fail to make the moſt proper uſe of it. Salo, biſhop of Sens, and Robert, abbot of the ſame place, were the firſt who broke forth into open diſcontent, (A. D. 1105) and publicly declared themſelves, by excommunicating Robert, and flying over to England, where they were received with open arms by Henry, who now ſaw himſelf on the point of having his ſecret wiſhes fully ſatisfied. However, he had not as yet any juſtifiable pretence for coming to a rupture with his brother Robert; and moreover, he was fearful that if he ſhould too prematurely declare himſelf, it might be a means of making the duke and the rebels join together for their mutual ſecurity.

Senſible of the blackneſs of his deſign, he thought it neceſſary to give it the face of juſtice, by yet appearing to act from a motive the very reverſe of what really inſpired his proceedings. With this view he wrote a letter to his brother Robert, reflecting in the ſtrongeſt terms, that his conduct lately had given juſt ground of complaint to all degrees of his ſubjects, who could not, without great concern, behold the indolence and inactivity of his diſpoſition, and the little care he took either to redreſs their grievances, or ſecure their properties; and that the late infamous peace he had made with the enemies of the public, and the deſpoilers of his country, had given thoſe under his rule but too ſtrong reaſons to believe that they had little cauſe to look to him for protection. He entreated him in the moſt preſſing manner to reſume the ſentiments of the prince and the common parent of his people, and inſtantly to ſet about redreſſing the grievances of which his ſubjects complained, or otherwiſe not to think it ſtrange that, in caſe he turned a deaf ear to theſe remonſtrances, he himſelf ſhould be obliged to eſpouſe the cauſe of the diſtreſſed Normans. This artful letter, however it might be varniſhed over with the pretence of love and kindneſs, was, in fact, intended only as a libel to inflame the minds of the Normans to a greater pitch of diſcontent againſt their duke. Henry took eſpecial care to have it made as public as poſſible, and the iſſue fully anſwered his expectations; for, in a very ſhort time afterwards, he received a general application from the Norman nobility, beſeeching him to have compaſſion on the miſeries of their church and ſtate, and take them under his immediate care. This was what Henry aimed at; and accordingly he no ſooner received the invitation, than he haſtened to comply with it; and, about the autumn of the ſame year, he paſſed over to Normandy with a powerful armament.

Henry's conduct muſt appear to every unprejudiced perſon a downright violation of every civil and political tie; and, there is no doubt to be made but that Henry would have loudly complained of, and ſeverely reſented, the duke his brother's attempting to intermeddle in his government of the Engliſh, which, indeed, there ſeems to have been an equal reaſon for, ſince we find Henry, at the very time he was thus rebuking his brother for mal-adminiſtration, and aſſuming the character of protector of the diſtreſſed Normans, ſaddling his own ſubjects with exorbitant impoſitions, in order to defray the expences of his expedition to Normandy, in which this country certainly could have no concern; and this tax was levied with all the aggravating circumſtances of rigor. But, indeed, we ſeem to have been fated, ever ſince our exiſtence as a people, to be the dupes either of quarrels or alliances with the continent, for the moſt part equally frivolous and diſadvantageous, notwithſtanding that nature, by our inſular ſituation, deſigned us to be exempt both from the one and the other.

As ſoon as it was known that Henry had landed at Barfleur, his court was filled with the Norman nobility, who all repreſented their real or fancied grievances in the moſt ſpecious manner, imploring the king of England to take them under his protection. It required no great rhetoric to perſuade Henry to gratify the principal wiſh of his ambition; but as the ſeaſon of the year was too far advanced to admit of any military operations, he contented himſelf with having an interview with his brother Robert, which paſſed in recriminations on both ſides: Robert, on his part, accuſed Henry with a deſign to ſtir up his ſubjects againſt him, and deprive him of his dominions. Henry charged his brother with having not only given aſylum to rebels and the betrayers of their king and country, but with having made allies of thoſe very peſts to ſociety, by agreeing to an infamous peace with them. This altercation would have grown very warm, had it not been for the interpoſition of ſome of the moſt moderate noblemen on each ſide, who pacified matters ſo well, at leaſt in appearance, that Henry and his brother parted ſeemingly good friends; and the former returned to paſs the winter in England, after having firſt made a kind of progreſs through thoſe parts of his own eſtate in Normandy which he thought required his preſence, and which he put in the beſt poſture of defence he could againſt the enſuing ſpring. However, while he remained in Normandy, he, againſt all the laws of nature and nations, ſeized into his hands the ſtrong towns of Bayeux and Caen, belonging to his brother Robert, and garriſoned them partly with his own Engliſh troops, and partly with Norman malecontents.

A. D. 1106. The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Tenchebray; and it now became ſufficiently evident, both from his preparations and progreſs, that he intended to uſurp the entire poſſeſſion of Normandy. Robert was at laſt rouſed from his lethargy, and being joined by the earl of Mortaigne, and Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury, the king's inveterate enemies, he raiſed a conſiderable army, and approached his brother's camp, intending to finiſh, by one deciſive battle, the quarrel between them. He was now entered upon that ſcene of action, in which alone he was qualified to excel; and, accordingly, he ſo animated the Norman troops by his example, that they made a great impreſſion on the Engliſh, and had nearly obtained the victory, when the flight of Belleſme threw the whole army into diſorder, and occaſioned a total defeat. Henry, beſides making a great ſlaughter among the enemy, took near ten thouſand priſoners, among whom was duke Robert himſelf, together with moſt of the conſiderable barons, who adhered to his intereſt.

Hence this victory was followed by the entire reduction of Normandy: Rouen immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror: Falais, after ſome negotiation, opened its gates; and by this acquiſition, beſides rendering himſelf maſter of an important fortreſs, Henry got into his hands the perſon of prince William, the only ſon and heir of Robert. He now aſſembled the ſtates of Normandy; and, having received the homage of all the vaſſals of the dutchy, ſettled the government, revoked his brother's donations, and diſmantling the caſtles lately erected, he returned to England, carrying with him the duke as a priſoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in cuſtody during the remainder of his life, which was no leſs than twenty-eight years, when he died in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire: happy, if, without loſing his liberty, he could have relinquiſhed that power, which he was not qualified to hold or exerciſe. Prince William was committed to the care of Elias de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of more probity and honor, than was common in thoſe ages, executed the truſt with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in his expedition to Jeruſalem, and who had ſince reſided with him in Normandy, was another illuſtrious priſoner, taken in the battle of Tenchebray; but Henry gave him his liberty, and ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, with which he retired, and lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This prince was diſtinguiſhed by great probity; but nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the mediocrity of his talents, in every other reſpect, than that, notwithſtanding he poſſeſſed the affections of the Engliſh, and enjoyed the only legal title to the crown, he was allowed, during the reigns of ſo many violent and jealous uſurpers, to live unmoleſted, and deſcend to his grave in peace.

In the year 1107, the famous controverſy between king Henry and the primate was brought to a concluſion. The deputies who, as we have already obſerved, had been ſent to the court of Rome, were now returned to England. Their ſucceſs with the haughty pontiff had been very indifferent. His holineſs had behaved with great decency, but with remarkable firmneſs. He wrote two letters, one to Henry, and the other to Anſelm, both of them condemning all lay-inveſtitures, in direct terms. That directed to Henry was delivered into his own hands, and conſequently the contents of it were known only to himſelf, and perhaps to the prelates who had been ſent on this embaſſy, and who were entirely in Henry's intereſt. Anſelm made no ſecret of the contents of his letter; he imparted them to all, and applauded himſelf for acting ſo agreeably to the ſentiments of his holineſs. Vexed, and diſdaining to be defeated in a cauſe ſo intimately connected with the dignity of his crown, Henry had recourſe to a ſubterfuge, which, to this enlightened age, will perhaps appear ſomething extraordinary. He again ſummoned the archbiſhop before his court, and inſiſted on his immediately complying with his will, in regard to inveſtitures, or quitting the kingdom. Anſelm was aſtoniſhed at this peremptory demand, ſo directly contrary to what he had reaſon to expect. He repreſented to the king, that the letter with which the pope had honored him, left him no room for compliance, and intreated his majeſty to impart to him the contents of the letter he had received, ſince he was both ready and willing to obey the will of his ſovereign, as far as his own conſcience, and the commands of his holineſs would give him leave. But this Henry abſolutely refuſed; and plainly told Anſelm, that the pope's determination had very little influence with him; that he did not think himſelf obliged to produce his letter, and that if he did produce it, the contents would, perhaps, be very far from anſwering the primate's expectations: in ſhort, that the queſtion now ſolely regarded his ſubmiſſion, and that he expected his direct compliance. This anſwer ſavored too much of abſolute power. Anſelm appealed to the contents of his own letter, for a vindication of his conduct; and Henry was obliged to have recourſe to another expedient. He appealed to his deputies, who now declared, that with regard to the letters in queſtion, they were entirely ignorant of what they contained; but that they were perfectly acquainted with the pope's ſentiments, and that they had verbal inſtructions, to inform both the king and his court, that, provided the king behaved with proper ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, in other reſpects, he would diſpenſe with the matter of inveſtitures. With regard to the letters, they obſerved, that it would have been extremely improper for the pope to have given any ſuch indulgence under his hand, ſince it might have encouraged other princes to expect the ſame favor. Anſelm's two meſſengers, who were both monks, affirmed, that it was impoſſible this ſtory could have any foundation; but their word was not eſteemed equivalent to that of three biſhops; and the king, as if he had entirely gained his cauſe, proceeded to fill up the ſees of Hereford and Saliſbury, and to inveſt the new biſhops in the uſual manner. But Anſelm, who, from ſufficient reaſons, gave no credit to the aſſeverations of the king's meſſengers, not only refuſed to conſecrate theſe prelates, but even to communicate with them; and the biſhops themſelves, finding how odious they were to the people, returned back to Henry the enſigns of their dignity. The quarrel every day increaſed between the king and the primate: the former, notwithſtanding his great prudence, and the moderation of his temper, threw out menaces againſt all ſuch as ſhould pretend to oppoſe him in exerting the antient prerogatives of his crown: and Anſelm, ſenſible of his diſagreeable and dangerous ſituation, deſired leave to undertake a journey to Rome, in order to lay the caſe before the ſovereign pontiff. Henry, well pleaſed with being freed, without having recourſe to violence, from ſo inflexible an antagoniſt, readily granted him permiſſion; and Anſelm ſet out on his journey. He was attended to the ſea-ſhore by an infinite number of people of all ranks, who regarded his departure as the final diſſolution of religion and piety in this kingdom. But the king, though he had granted Anſelm leave to repair to Rome, immediately confiſcated all the revenues of his ſee, and ſent William de Warelwaſt to negociate with pope Paſcal, and ſo find ſome means of bringing this delicate affair to an accommodation.

Anſelm and the envoy had an audience at the ſame time. Warelwaſt, preſuming upon the experienced compliance of the Roman ſee, when it was treated with any degree of firmneſs, opened his maſter's cauſe with great ſpirit, and boldly told the pontiff, "That "whatever opinions might be entertained abroad, he "knew his maſter would as ſoon part with his kingdom, as with his right of inveſtitures." The pope, who was then in full conſiſtory, could not bear this freedom. He liſtened very attentively to the beginning of Warelwaſt's harangue; but now interrupted the ambaſſador, crying out in a vehement manner, "Your maſter will part with his kingdom, as ſoon as "with the right of inveſtitures! Know then, that "while Paſcal is pope, he ſhall never quietly enjoy "them." All the cardinals preſent applauded this reſolute anſwer, which greatly diſconcerted Warelwaſt, who relied principally upon their friendſhip. Anſelm himſelf did not ſpeak a ſingle word on this occaſion. He was too well pleaſed with the manner of proceeding, to offer any thing to mitigate the pope's indignation. At laſt, both the prelate and ambaſſador had leave to return, after the pope had given ſentence in the moſt expreſs terms againſt lay-inveſtitures, and charged Anſelm with letters to Henry on the occaſion.

The ambaſſador now perceived, that any further application would be in vain, and therefore ſet out with Anſelm, whom he accompanied to Lyons. On their arrival in that city, Warelwaſt took an opportunity of hinting to the primate, that unleſs he would conſent to give up his claim to inveſtitures, he could not return with honor and ſafety to England. Anſelm was himſelf of the ſame opinion, and therefore contented himſelf with ſending Henry an account of the ſucceſs of his commiſſion, with the pope's determination, intimating, that he could not return to England, but upon the terms he himſelf had previouſly propoſed.

Obſerving the firmneſs of the two prelates of Rome and Canterbury, Henry proceeded with equal reſolution. He ſeized all the revenues of the vacant biſhoprics and abbies, and cauſed the rents of the archbiſhopric to be collected by two of Anſelm's tenants. This reſolute behaviour daunted his holineſs, notwithſtanding all his late ſhew of reſolution. The archbiſhop ſtill continued in exile, till Henry's intereſt made him lend an ear to the interceſſion of his ſiſter the counteſs of Blois, when matters were ſo far made up, that all farther talk of excommunication was laid aſide, and the archbiſhop, about the time of the battle of Tinchebray, returned into England, where he afterwards received a letter from Henry himſelf, with an account of that great ſucceſs; and, ſoon after, matters were made up amicably.

This year likewiſe died Edgar king of Scotland, brother-in-law to Henry, after a peaceful reign of nine years and ſix months, in which his gratitude to the Norman race appeared by his never giving, as was the manner of his country, any diverſion to the Engliſh arms, when embroiled either in foreign or domeſtic wars. In the next year Henry held a great meeting of the ſtates, in which he was importuned by his nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, to give way to the redreſs of many grievances which had crept in, to the great oppreſſion of the common people. His court and attendants had, for ſome time, claimed and practiſed a barbarous privilege of living upon free quarter in all places through which their maſter paſſed. This occaſioned the land to be abandoned by the inhabitants, when they ſuſpected a royal progreſs; for the inſolent attendants ſpoiled and plundered all that came in their way, while the people retired, with all the proviſions they could carry off, into woods and receſſes. An effectual ſtop was now put to this abuſe by the king's proclamation, which inflicted ſevere corporal penalties, ſuch as the loſs of eyes, hands, and limbs, upon all who were guilty, for the time to come, of the like depredations.

Adulterating and defacing the current coin of this kingdom was another grievance, which called aloud for redreſs. The loſs of eyes and other members was inflicted on all counterfeiters. Small money, ſuch as pence and half-pence, were often broken by the country people, for the conveniency of ſmaller pieces; by this means, when they were not broken in equal pieces, the ſmaller ones remained on the hands of the proprietor, to his great prejudice. This abuſe, which was grown to a great height, was remedied by coining pence in one round piece, with two creaſes interſecting it into four equal parts; ſo that, by breaking it according to thoſe creaſes, it might fall into two halfpence, or four farthings.

Beſides theſe, ſeveral other very uſeful regulations ſeem to have been made at this time, which we ſhall take notice of, the rather as they have been paſt over by our other hiſtorians. The barbarous cuſtom, which is a reproach even to later ages then prevailed, of the proprietors of thoſe ſhores where a ſhip happened to be wrecked, ſeizing on the wreck as their own property, while the poor ſailors were turned aſhore to hunger and miſery, and often met on land the fate they had eſcaped at ſea. This cuſtom was aboliſhed by Henry, who iſſued out a proclamation, that, in ſuch caſes, if one ſingle ſoul in the ſhip remained alive, the whole, including both the bottom and cargo, that ſhould be ſaved, ſhould belong to him. But this excellent edict was repealed under his ſucceſſor, to the reproach of his reign. The reader is here to obſerve, that Henry's making thoſe regulations by proclamation is far from being an argument that the royal proclamations in thoſe days had the force of an act of the ſtates. The regulations themſelves were no other than putting in force, reviving and recommending the laws which were already in being, but their execution neglected or perverted by inferior magiſtrates, and therefore a proclamation was ſufficient for all the purpoſes of the ſubject. The regulation of meaſures was the ſubject of another proclamation. A law had paſſed in the firſt year of Henry's reign, that every yard ſhould be the length of the king's arm. This regulation had been greatly neglected and abuſed, but was now revived and enforced by royal proclamation.

All theſe regulations could not fail of being very agreeable to the Engliſh nation; but Henry was not quite diſintereſted as to the motives of his patriotiſm. The heavy tax of Dane-gelt was now revived, at the rate of two ſhillings upon every hide of land; and many oppreſſive foreſt prerogatives, brought in by his father and brother, were continued.

In the interim, while Henry was making himſelf powerful at home, a ſtorm threatened to break upon his dominions abroad. Philip king of France being dead, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis. This prince, jealous of Henry's greatneſs, ſince he had re-annexed the dukedom of Normandy to the crown of England, took occaſion, upon ſome diſputes about the fortreſſes on both frontiers, to make great preparations for invading Normandy. Robert had left in France a young prince, his ſon, whoſe name was William, of promiſing capacity, and beautiful in his perſon. Henry, perceiving the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the king of France, grew apprehenſive leſt he ſhould tamper with this young prince, and prompt him to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions. About the beginning of Auguſt, therefore, in the year 1108, without diſcovering his real intentions, Henry, having nothing to fear in England, paſſed over to Normandy. At firſt he ſeemed to mind nothing but the putting his frontiers in a poſture of defence; but all of a ſudden he gave orders to Rober Beauchamp, viſcount of Arches, to ſeize the perſon of the young prince of Normandy, who was then in a caſtle belonging to his tutor, Elias count of St. Saen. This order was not kept ſo ſecret, but that the prince had timely notice of it, and made his eſcape into France; while Elias's caſtle was ſeized upon by Henry, and the cuſtody of it committed to William de Warren. As to William, his tutor carried him firſt to the court of France, and afterwards to thoſe of the neighbouring princes, whom the graceſulneſs of his perſon, and the ſweetneſs of his manners, diſpoſed to attempt ſomewhat in his favor. But the activity of Henry, at this juncture, prevented all endeavours of that kind. The party of Robert, however, were indefatigable in their ſolicitations. Robert earl of Shrewſbury ſtill retained an implacable enmity to Henry and his government, and, in conjunction with the young prince's tutor, applied not only to Lewis king of France, but to William duke of Poictou, Henry duke of Burgundy, and Alan duke of Britanny. Thoſe princes, all of them, diſcovered the beſt diſpoſitions towards the diſinherited prince; but all he could now obtain, were aſſurances of ſupporting him at a proper juncture. Henry, not ignorant of the diſpoſitions of his neighbours, redoubled his attention to the ſtate of his Norman territories and frontiers, and at the ſame time negociated an alliance which might counterbalance all the intereſt of his rival on the continent.

This alliance was with Henry, the fourth emperor of Germany. The territories of the two princes were too diſcontiguous for them to enter into any treaty, on account of mutual ſupport, againſt a third power; an alliance of blood was therefore neceſſary to cement their intereſts, ſo diſtant in point of territory. Henry had a daughter at this time, whoſe name was Maud, but of too tender years for a connubial ſtate; but this was no objection to a match of intereſt. A marriage between the young lady and the emperor was negociated, and agreed upon; and the imperial embaſſadors were to demand her in form for their maſter, as ſoon as Henry ſhould return to England.

Henry had put his affairs in Normandy upon ſo good a footing, that, notwithſtanding all the intereſt of his brother's family, he was able to hold a great council of his ſtates, on Whitſunday, 1109, at Weſtminſter.

Here the emperor's embaſſadors made their demand of his daughter, and the terms were finally agreed upon. It had been a cuſtom, in all countries where the feudal ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed, for the ſubjects to furniſh an extraordinary ſubſidy upon the marriage of their king's eldeſt daughter. Henry laid hold of this cuſtom for impoſing an extraordinary tax this year, of three ſhillings upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom; by which he raiſed a noble portion for the young lady, who continued in England till next year. This practice gathered ſtrength with time, and its veſtiges are ſtill diſcernable upon the like occaſion. But it muſt be owned, that the nation, is not now near ſo liberal that way as it was formerly, ſince, by a moderate computation, the money raiſed by Henry for his daughter's portion, amounted to the value of eight hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent money.

This year is memorable for the death of the famous Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of whoſe character it were ſuperfluous to ſay any thing in this place. It is likewiſe a celebrated æra of learning, by the revival of letters in the univerſity of Cambridge.

A. D. 1110, the bethrothed empreſs left England, with a noble retinue; and Henry's affairs were in ſuch tranquillity, that he was now at leiſure to proſecute ſeveral of his great barons, who had either openly or ſecretly favored the cauſe of his enemies. Of thoſe, we have the names of Philip de Brauſe, William Mallet, and William Bainart; but Huntingdon, who delivers the fact, neglects to inform us of the particulars of their impeachment; for he only tells us, that they loſt their eſtates for their treaſons. At the ſame time we learn, that Elias, the famous earl of Maine, was put to death by order of Henry, whoſe feodatory he was. The hiſtory of this prince's ſucceſſion is of importance to our hiſtory, and comes naturally in here. Henry wanted to ſeize into his own hands the earldom of Maine; but was prevented by Fulk, earl of Anjou, who had married the daughter of Elias, and who ſtrengthened his intereſt with the Normans, by openly eſpouſing the part of William, the prince of Normandy. Fulk, by the acquiſition of

Maine, became now a conſiderable power upon the continent, and entered into engagements with the king of France, Almeric earl of Montfort, nephew and heir to William earl of Evereux, and Robert the reſtleſs earl of Shrewſbury, for invading Normandy. To give the better colour to their cauſe, a treaty of marriage was opened between William the Norman prince, and the daughter of Fulk, and great preparations were made for ſupporting his intereſt; while Henry, on the other hand, accuſed Fulk of uſurping the duchy of Anjou, and declared his intentions of conquering it by force, though then too late in the year to open the campaign.

Henry croſſed over to Normandy in Auguſt, A. D. 1111, and continued two years abroad, during which time he proſecuted the war againſt the favorers of his nephew with various ſucceſs, and had no ſmall difficulties to encounter; however, by a perſeverance which would have done honor to a better cauſe, he at length ſurmounted all obſtacles. He found means, towards the end of the year 1112, to detach the earl of Anjou from the party of William and the French king, upon a promiſe of marrying his ſon to the other's eldeſt daughter, and beſtowing on him the earldom of Maine, for which he was to do homage. As to the earl of Shrewſbury, who was his moſt inveterate enemy, having been ſent by Lewis on an embaſſy, about a treaty or conference in order come to an accommodation, and coming to Bonneville on the Tonque, Henry cauſed him to be arreſted, and ſent to Cherbourg, and from thence into England, where he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment at Wareham-caſtle.

The apprehending of the perſon of Robert de Belleſme was attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences to Henry's Norman affairs; for the court of France, thus deprived of, or abandoned by, its moſt powerful friends, found itſelf too weak alone to ſupport prince William's pretenſions; and ſoon after, to the amazement of all the world, Lewis and Henry had an interview at Giſors, which was followed by a treaty of peace, in which the former agreed for ever to renounce his pretenſions to the dukedom of Maine and the ſovereignty of Bretagne. And the prince of Normandy, thus deſerted, was obliged to take refuge in the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who generouſly gave him protection, and a ſubſiſtence ſuitable to his birth.

Henry, having thus happily terminated theſe troubles, returned to England in July, 1113. Before he had undertaken his Norman expedition, he had admitted into England a great number of Flemings, who, by the inundation of the ſea on their own coaſts, had been obliged to emigrate in queſt of new habitations. They were kindly received by Henry, and firſt of all ſettled in the more barren parts of Yorkſhire; but were afterwards tranſplanted into Roſs and Pembrokeſhire, where they formed a ſtrong barrier againſt the neighbouring Welſh, who were every now and then diſturbing the frontiers between the two nations by their invaſions. Theſe latter, enraged to find themſelves thus bridled by a ſet of vagabonds, became ſo troubleſome, that Henry was reſolved to march againſt them in perſon, and make the entire conqueſt of their country. Accordingly he entered Wales in the year 1114, with a numerous army; but, after many vain endeavors to bring them to a general engagement, which they always eluded by retiring to the mountains on the king's approach to give them battle, he found his army ſo embarraſſed by the fatigues of their march through an almoſt impaſſable country, that they were in the greateſt diſtreſs; and as there appeared no likelihood of drawing the enemy out of their holes and lurking-places, he thought it moſt politic to liſten to terms of accommodation; a peace was made with them, and thus the expedition ended, with little advantage, however, to Henry.

Returning then to London, he yielded to the intreaties of ſeveral of his nobles, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, and filled up the vacant ſee of Canterbury, the revenues of which he had kept in his hands for five years. Ralph, biſhop of Rocheſter, was on this occaſion unanimouſly choſen archbiſhop, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, by whom he was highly eſteemed; and Thurſtan, one of the king's chaplains, was nominated to the ſee of York. At the ſame time all other vacancies were filled up, but with ſuch glaring partiality to the Normans, as made the Engliſh in general murmur loudly, and indeed not without juſt reaſon.

In the ſame year, Henry went over to Normandy, in order to get his ſon William, then only twelve years of age, recognized as his ſucceſſor in his Norman dominions. This point he effected, and all the great barons ſwore an eventual fealty to the royal minor; and Henry returned to England, where the year following he did the ſame, in order that nothing might be wanting, that human prudence could invent, to ſecure a long continuance of the ſceptre in his own line. In the month of September, he called a great council of his peers, both ſpiritual and temporal, at his palace of Weſtminſter, where ſeveral matters relating to the preſervation of the peace of the kingdom were diſcuſſed and provided for.

A. D. 1116, Lewis of France, ſtill jealous of Henry's riſing power, had reſumed his engagements with prince William of Normandy, ſon to duke Robert; and claiming, as ſovereign lord of Normandy, a right to diſpoſe of that duchy, he gave the inveſtiture of it to the young prince, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his power: he alſo found means to bring ſeveral of the French princes to join his army; and affairs put on ſo ſerious an aſpect, that Henry found it abſolutely neceſſary to paſs over into Normandy. But before he ſet out on that expedition, he ſummoned a great aſſembly of the ſtates at Saliſbury, on the thirteenth of March, in which he got his ſon William to be publicly acknowledged as his ſucceſſor, and all preſent took an oath to defend his right againſt all pretenders whatever.

The king of England paſſing over to Normandy, Rees, the prince of South Wales, redoubled his hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and the other ſubjects of Henry, lying upon the borders of Wales. In the firſt run of his ſucceſs, he took ſeveral of Henry's caſtles, which he burned and levelled with the ground. Encouraged by this, he entered Roſſe and Dyvent with great fury. The Normans and Flemings, inhabiting thoſe countries, upon this, met, and reſolved to call unto their aſſiſtance ſuch of the Welſh noblemen as remained ſtill firm to the Engliſh intereſt. The caſtle and town of Carmarthen were at that time of much importance, and in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. It was therefore propoſed, by Henry's ſubjects, that the Welſh in his friendſhip ſhould, by turns, garriſon the caſtle, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands. The Welſh, among whom we have the names of Owen ap Rytherech, and Rytherech ap Tudor, undertook this ſervice; but Rees, being informed of their determination, reſolved to prevent them. Underſtanding the caſtle to be but meanly garriſoned, he ſuddenly aſſaulted it. Owen ap Caradoc, who then commanded the place, hearing the ſhouts of the aſſailants, immediately attacked them; but found himſelf, all at once, abandoned by his men. Unwilling, however, or unable to retreat, he fell with his ſword in his hand; and Rees forced his way into the town, which he took, and laid in aſhes; the caſtle itſelf, which was likewiſe taken, ſuffering great damage. This ſucceſs gave ſuch encouragement to the other Welſh, that, in a few days after, a body of brave young men entered themſelves under the command of Rees.

Thoſe ſucceſſes of Rees raiſed him to the general command of the Welſh. They who had been diſpoſſeſſed of their habitations by the Normans and Flemings repaired to his ſtandard; the caſtles belonging to Strongbow were taken, and their garriſons put to the ſword; at laſt, laying ſiege to a caſtle, named Aberyſtyth, a party of his men were intercepted by the Engliſh, and drawn into an ambuſcade, in which moſt of them were cut to pieces. Henry, after this, ſent Robert, his natural ſon, to command againſt the Welſh. This nobleman was joined by another Owen ap Caradoc, Owen ap Rytherech, and Lhywarch ap Trahern. Gerad, ſteward of Pembroke, advanced likewiſe, at the head of the Flemings, to join the royaliſts; but an antient animoſity ſubſiſting between him and Owen ap Rytherech, who did not dream of being attacked by thoſe of his own party, the ſteward took advantage of Owen's ſecurity, and killed him, with many of his men. This diſguſted the Welſh in the king's intereſt to a great degree: however, they being at variance among themſelves, the government of England found means to ſecure the peace of the kingdom.

Henry, at the ſame time, was in Normandy, where the war again broke out between him and the king of France. The latter pretended a promiſe which Henry had made him, of demoliſhing, within a prefixed time, the important caſtle of Giſors, which was as it were a key for a paſſage either into Normandy or France. Henry being in poſſeſſion of it, was too ſenſible of its conſequence, to comply with the repeated demands of the French for its demolition. This exaſperated Lewis to the higheſt degree, and a ſtrong confederacy was formed for reducing Henry's exorbitant power in France. The contracting parties were the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Blois and the earl of Nevers.

The confederates, in the year 1116, attacked Normandy, and marched as far as the river Epte. Here they found Henry's forces drawn up on the oppoſite bank; but neither party was able to force its paſſage in the face of the other. Lewis, however, who was a prince of great ſpirit, and little command of temper, as the agreement between him and Henry, about demoliſhing Giſors, had been perſonal, and as they differed in facts, thought his honor obliged him perſonally to maintain his own reputation. He, therefore, ſent a ſolemn deputation to Henry, upbraiding him with breach of promiſe, and appealing him to ſingle combat. Henry, though perſonally very brave, not chooſing to forego an advantage for an idle point of honor, ſent his antagoniſt word, "That true valor was beſt ſeen by the conduct in field, at the head of their armies; and, in that character, he never would decline to meet him, when time, and proper place, and opportunity permitted." Though this reply greatly exaſperated Lewis, yet he found himſelf in no condition to paſs the river.

Thus both armies, for ſome days, lay facing one another, till the want of proviſions obliged the Normans to extend their line towards Giſors; and leaving the river unguarded a little above that fort, the French, early in the morning, took the opportunity of paſſing it without loſs. They were oppoſed by the Normans, and a bloody diſpute enſued. At laſt, the latter receiving conſtant ſupplies from Giſors, the French were repelled, though they were in great hopes of opening a paſſage into the caſtle by their ſwords. This defeat diſabled the French from making any farther progreſs this campaign, and they were obliged to retire into their winter quarters. The winter was ſpent in each party's endeavouring to fortify itſelf by new alliances. Great ſubſidies and great armies were paid, which were ſeverely felt by England. The earl of Britanny, however, was a powerful ſupport to Henry; and the French, in all their attempts, ſtill found him ſo well provided, that they were always diſappointed in their expectations: for Henry was contented to keep himſelf on the defenſive. He found the princes and noblemen of France growing every day more jealous of his power, and his brother's intereſt daily increaſing, not ſo much through an affection to his cauſe, as from their own averſion to Henry, whom they conſidered as aiming to give laws to the kingdom. In ſhort, freſh claims were made every day againſt Henry, and the confederacy againſt him became almoſt general. Almeric de Montfort reviving his claim to the earldom of Evereux, had that city delivered into his hands by Pointel, its governor. This ſucceſs encouraged other princes and great men, who had not yet ventured to declare themſelves, openly to eſpouſe the part of William, ſon to the then impriſoned duke. Stephen earl of Albemarle, and Robert de Gournay, were of this number; and Henry, on a ſudden, found himſelf attacked from all quarters. Had he been ſafe to depend upon the fidelity of the Normans, he might have made head againſt all his enemies; but he found the ſpirit of diſſatisfaction to his government ſo ſtrong among them, that he was obliged to garriſon ſome of his moſt important towns with Engliſh.

The earl of Flanders had attacked Normandy, upon the ſide of Tellau, with ſo much vigor, that he over-ran great part of the country, and burnt a great number of towns, even in ſight of the king, who durſt not truſt to the loyalty of his Normans to give him battle. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he laid ſiege to Bures, a ſtrong town garriſoned with Engliſh. The garriſon made a brave defence; and, in a ſally, not only cut off great part of the beſiegers, but mortally wounded the earl himſelf, and the ſiege was raiſed. In the mean time, the king of France and the earl of Anjou were carrying fire and ſword into other parts of Normandy, where duke Robert's party, or rather that of his ſon, became ſo ſtrong, that every day brought Henry accounts of ſome great nobleman's revolting from his intereſt, and being in arms againſt him. In this diſtreſs of his affairs, he ſummoned a council of his ſtates at Rouen, to conſult about reſtoring the peace of that country. It was now the beginning of October; and, we meet with many Engliſh noblemen, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſat in this aſſembly. From this circumſtance there is reaſon to believe, that the ſtate of England, as well as of Normandy, took up part of their time; and that the neceſſity of Henry's preſence in his ducal dominions prevented his holding any aſſembly of his ſtates in England. The deliberations of this aſſembly at Rouen ſeem to have produced but little effect, as we find the general diſcontent became rather greater than ever. Among others, Euſtace de Bretueil, who had married one of Henry's natural daughters, threw off his allegiance to his father-in-law, of whoſe ſituation he had taken the advantage, to perſiſt in ſome unreaſonable demands. His vaſſals, however, returned to their duty, and made their peace with the king. But it muſt be owned, that Henry, at this time, was obliged to purſue meaſures very mortifying to a high ſpirit. Almeric earl of Evereux was one of his moſt dangerous enemies; him Henry courted into his friendſhip, by offering to put him in poſſeſſion of the earldom of Evereux: but that nobleman, who had been highly exaſperated by Henry, continued faithful to his engagements with the other party. Henry, it is true, was ſomewhat more ſucceſsful with the earl of Anjou, for it had been agreed, that the young prince of England ſhould marry this earl's daughter. As the parties were then too young for a connubial ſtate, the marriage had been delayed; and views of intereſt intervening, very little regard was paid, by either party, to the agreement. Henry, however, at this time, ſecretly renewed this negociation; but the earl having experience of the king's intereſted politics, was very cautious of his artifices.

A. D. 1118 is diſtinguiſhed by the death of the excellent Matilda. This princeſs had lived in great harmony with her huſband; and the peace of England, during the long abſence of Henry, was, in a great meaſure, owing to her virtues and moderation. The reſpect which the old Engliſh ſtill retained for the blood of Cerdic, was, doubtleſs, of great advantage to Henry's government; and the iſſue of the royal pair was looked upon as ſo many ſhoots, ſpringing from that illuſtrious ſtem, which the fate of arms and invading ambition had cut down to the root. She was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey. One circumſtance relating to her burial muſt not be omitted here, as it concerns the antiquities of England. For it appears, by a famous roll (which formerly was miſtaken for a roll of the fifth of king Stephen; but has been, by a great antiquary, reſtored to the year and reign we now treat of) that the ſheriffs of London had the care of her funeral; ſince, in their accounts paſſed in the ſaid roll, they charge the crown with fifteen ſhillings and two-pence halfpenny, for oil expended in burning upon her tomb; and with three ſhillings, for cloth for covering the ſame. Her death happened upon the thirtieth of April, and her memory was celebrated in an epitath, ſome lines of which would do honor to the politeſt of later ages.

In the ſame year happened the death of Robert earl of Mellent. This nobleman, who was a foreigner by birth, connection, and intereſt, was Henry's firſt miniſter; and conſidering England only as a conquered province, he was the author of many pernicious ſchemes, for the ſupplying his maſter with the means of preſerving and acquiring his foreign territories. The war between Henry and Lewis continued to rage. The Normans began now to ſee, that, inſtead of England becoming an acceſſion to Normandy, Normandy, in fact, had become ſo to England. For though the Engliſh themſelves bled, yet Normandy had thereby no relief, her miſeries being encreaſed in proportion as Henry was ſupported by his regal dominions. As we have ſeen before, their greatneſs had introduced luxury, and luxury corruption; the ſources of corruption having been dried up, they became needy, and then factious. The court of France knew how to improve thoſe diſpoſitions; and nothing but the exceſſive ſums, with which Henry was ſupplied from England, could have prevented all Normandy, at this juncture, from falling into the hands of Lewis. For though the intereſt of duke Robert and his family was made the pretence of the war; yet it was plain, that, had the French arms ſucceeded, the duchy muſt have fallen into the hands of Lewis. Both parties, in the year 1119, exerted all their ſtrength. The Normans who continued ſtill faithful to Henry, were ſuch as had great eſtates in England, or were under ties of perſonal obligations. The names of the chief were Richard earl of Cheſter, Ralph de Conchis, William de Warren, William de Romara, William de Tancardi Villa, Ralph de Sancto Victore, Walter Giffart, Nigel de Albiney, with his brother William, with Waleran and William, the two ſons of the deceaſed earl of Mellent. Thoſe noblemen, though few, were firm and powerful. As they had but one point in view, which was the ſupporting their intereſt, their ſtrength was undiſſipated, and therefore conſiderable. On the other hand, the Norman party, though numerous, was divided. The French intereſt then grew to be viſibly ſuperior in the councils of the depoſed princes; and the earl of Anjou, dreading more the power of France than that of Henry, began now to lend a willing ear to the advances of the latter; but fearing leſt his giving any open encouragement to the Engliſh party ſhould alarm the French court, he ſtill continued to act with his allies. For Engeram de Chaumont having ſurprized the caſtle of Andely Sur Seine, which put the French in poſſeſſion of all the country, from the river Epte to the town of Pont St. Pierre; the French, at the ſame time, beſieged the caſtle of Alanſon, in Maine. As the loſs of this caſtle muſt have been attended with that of all Henry's intereſt in that county, he advanced in perſon to relieve it; but he was met by the earl of Anjou, who, after ſome action, obliged him to retreat, and then he himſelf forced the caſtle to ſurrender. This bad ſucceſs was, in ſome meaſure, repaired, by the earl of Flanders being at this time taken off from the confederacy. The late earl Baldwin had been mortally wounded at the ſiege of the caſtle of Ou, which he took from Henry, whoſe implacable enemy he was. He was ſucceeded by Charles, his nephew, and ſon to the king of Denmark, who being a prince of a more placable diſpoſition, ſtudied to preſerve his dominions in peace, and therefore left the allies. He was followed by Fulk earl of Anjou, whoſe late ſucceſſes in the county of Maine had rendered him more independent than he had hitherto been on' the French court. He, therefore, gave Henry to underſtand, that he was ready to conclude on the terms that had been offered; and it was mutually agreed, that William, the prince royal of England, ſhould come over into France immediately, to eſpouſe the earl's daughter. No ſooner was the prince arrived, which he did in May, than the earl ſent to acquaint Henry, that he was prepared to give him the laſt proof of his friendſhip; and all matters being made up, the marriage was celebrated, in preſence of the king and earl, in June following. At the ſame time we learn, that William Talvace, the ſon of the earl of Shrewſbury, was, through the mediation of the earl of Anjou, put in poſſeſſion of his father's Norman eſtate. The defection of the earls of Flanders and Anjou from the allies, changed the face of affairs greatly in Henry's favor. He had, for ſome time paſt, been contented with acting on the defenſive, being yet apprehenſive of a general defection of the places he ſtill held in Normandy; but he now took the field, and carried fire and ſword into the caſtles and poſſeſſions of his rivals. His firſt fury ſpent itſelf upon the more inconſiderable barons, who had been buſy againſt him during the late war. Thoſe he either ſeverely chaſtiſed, or effectually overawed. He next laid ſiege to the caſtle of Evereux, then in the hands of Almeric, the moſt implacable of all his foes, which he took and reduced to aſhes.

This progreſs alarmed the court of France. Lewis, who certainly knew little of Henry's character, imputed his late conduct either to weakneſs or cowardice, and dropped ſome inſolent expreſſions, intimating, that he ſhould have been pleaſed to have met his brother of England in the open field. But Henry, of all mankind, was the moſt inſenſible of that glory, which muſt be purchaſed by an equal venture. In contempt, therefore, of the romantic humour of the age, he even bore the reproaches of his friends, and coldly anſwered, That he had learned a maxim from his father, which was, to ſuffer the French to ſpend their firſt fury, and then they might be eaſily conquered. And it was not long before Lewis was convinced of the truth of this maxim; the king of England determined to give him battle, that he might have an opportunity of diſplaying his military abilities. The Engliſh army was divided into three bodies; the van conſiſted of the chief nobility, who ſerved on horſeback, with their military tenants; the main body was led by Henry in perſon, at the head of his guard and houſhold troops. And the rear, on which his chief dependence lay, was compoſed of Engliſh infantry, led by two of his own natural ſons.

On the other hand, Lewis, that he might retain the Normans in his intereſt, affected to ſhew great regard for their young prince. He gave him the ſecond command in his army, and ordered him to advance towards Audely on the river Sein; he himſelf propoſing to ſupport him with the main body, and to come up time enough to join him in caſe of a battle. William accordingly moved forward at the head of a large detachment, when he heard that his uncle had marched his army into the plain of Brenville, in order to give him battle. He immediately ſent an account of this intelligence to the king of France, who advanced without delay, and diſpoſed every thing for a general engagement. The French army was divided into two lines; the firſt was commanded by the prince of Normandy, and conſiſted of the flower of the Norman and French nobility, who all ſerved on horſeback; the ſecond line was headed by Lewis himſelf, and contained the allies and French infantry.

The Norman prince began the charge at the head of the French ſquadrons, with ſo much fury, that he broke through the firſt line of Henry's army. This diviſion, conſiſting wholly of cavalry, the diſorder was communicated to the ſecond line, where Henry himſelf commanded in perſon; and the French ſtill purſuing their advantage, the king was oppreſſed both by his friends and foes. Henry, however, maintained his poſt with great intrepidity, and rallied his men, but was in the utmoſt danger of loſing his own life; for when the engagement became cloſe, the French had the advantage, and William de Criſpin, a nobleman of Normandy, in the intereſt of Robert, cut his way even to the ſpot, where Henry was giving his orders. Perſuaded that the king's death would finiſh the diſpute, he attacked him with ſo much reſolution, that Henry owed his life to the temper of his helmet; for Criſpin ſtruck him twice upon the head, with ſo much force, that though he could not pierce the helmet, yet he bruiſed it ſo greatly, that the blood poured down the king's face. Henry, however, preſerved his uſual coolneſs, and, taking the advantage of an unguarded ſtroke, he aimed a blow at Criſpin ſo happily, that he fell, together with his horſe, at the monarch's feet, and Criſpin was immediately taken priſoner.

In the mean time the third line of Henry's army, conſiſting wholly of Engliſh, was drawn up at too great a diſtance, to aſſiſt the reſt of the army during the furious attack of the French cavalry; and Lewis marching up immediately with his ſecond line, ſo well ſupported the ſucceſs of the Norman prince, that the firſt line of Henry's army was very roughly handled, and on the point of yielding to the enemy. In this deſperate ſtate of the battle, the Engliſh flew to the relief of their ſovereign. The French, till then, ſure of the victory, had now a battle to fight, with inferior numbers, but with men, who would not ſubmit to be vanquiſhed. The fortune of the day was changed, and the French totally routed, without ſo much as daring to ſtand the charge of the Engliſh. A great number of priſoners were taken in the purſuit, among whom were many noblemen, and Henry returned to Rouen in triumph. Among other ſpoils of the day, was Lewis's ſtandard, which Henry redeemed from one of his own knights, who had taken it, for twenty marks. The Norman prince behaved with the greateſt intrepidity during the whole action. On the firſt appearance of the rout, he diſmounted and fought on foot; by which means his fine horſe, with his rich furniture, fell into the hands of Henry, who, when the battle was over, ſent it back to the young Norman, together with a noble preſent, by his ſon, the prince royal of England.---An act of true magnanimity.

A. D. 1120. As both parties were now heartily weary of the war, there was but little difficulty in bringing about an accommodation between them, which was ſoon after effected by the mediation of the pope; but the intereſts of young William were entirely neglected. Soon after the peace was concluded, the prince royal of England did homage to Lewis, king of France, for the duchy of Normandy, and received the proper inveſtitures. However, this public proſperity of Henry was ſoon over-balanced by a domeſtic calamity. Henry had ordered a numerous fleet to rendezvous at Barfleur, where he ſet ſail in a kind of triumph for England, and was ſoon carried out of ſight of land. The prince was detained by ſome accident; and his ſailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephen, having ſpent the interval in drinking, were ſo intoxicated, that being in a hurry to follow the king, they ran the ſhip upon a ſunken rock, where ſhe immediately foundered. The prince was put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ſhip, when hearing the cries of his natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Perche, he ordered the ſea-men to row back, in hopes of ſaving her: but the boat no ſooner came to the ſide of the ſhip, than the imminence of the danger, which had deſtroyed all reſpect to perſons, prompted every individual to take care of his own ſafety, and ſuch numbers crowded into the boat, that ſhe immediately ſunk, and the prince, with all his retinue, periſhed. Above an hundred and forty young noblemen, of the principal families in England and Normandy, were loſt by this accident. A butcher of Rouen was the only perſon on board who eſcaped: he clung to the maſt, and was taken up the next morning by ſome fiſhermen. Fitz-Stephen, the captain, took hold alſo of the maſt, but being informed by the butcher, that prince William had periſhed, he declared he would not ſurvive the diſaſter, and accordingly threw himſelf headlong into the ſea. Henry entertained hopes for three days, that his ſon had put into ſome diſtant port of England: but on receiving certain advice of the diſmal calamity, he fainted away; and it was remarked, that he never was ſeen to ſmile, nor ever recovered his former chearfulneſs.

A. D. 1121. The king now had not any legitimate iſſue, except Matilda, or Maud, who was betrothed in the year eleven hundred and ten, when only eight years of age, to the emperor Charles V. and ſent over to be educated in Germany. Henry, therefore, fearing her abſence from the kingdom, and her marriage into a foreign family, might endanger the ſucceſſion, reſolved to enter into a ſecond marriage, his queen Matilda having been dead ſome years. Accordingly he made his addreſſes to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, duke of Lovaine, and niece to pope Calixtus, a young princeſs of a very amiable diſpoſition, and beautiful perſon. Deputies were accordingly ſent to the court of Lovaine, and the young queen ſoon after arrived in England, where ſhe was crowned by Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Soon after the ceremony of the coronation was over, the earl of Anjou ſent to re-demand his daughter, the conſort of the late prince royal. She had fortunately come over with the king, and by that means eſcaped the fate of her huſband, when Henry complied with the demand, and ſent her back to her father.

A. D. 1122. The only material circumſtance which happened during the courſe of this year, was the death of Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of an excellent character, except in matters where he fancied his prerogative was concerned. He was ſucceeded in the archiepiſcopal ſee by William Corboil, abbot of St. Bennet's.

But A. D. 1123 the troubles of Normandy began to revive. The earl of Anjou being diſappointed of his ambitious expectations, by the death of his ſon-in-law, ſent over to England to demand back his daughter's portion, as the marriage between her and prince William had never been conſummated. Perhaps Henry would have readily agreed to this demand, had he not been convinced, that it was made only to furniſh a pretence for further commotions. He had diſcovered, that the natural inconſtancy of the Normans had again induced them to join with his enemies, and that a powerful confederacy was now already formed by the intrigues of the court of France. This confederacy conſiſted of ſome of the firſt perſons among the Norman nobility, who, from Henry's having no male iſſue, revived the claim of William, ſon to duke Robert. Theſe noblemen were ſupported by the earl of Anjou, who now gave his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy, and with her the duchy of Maine: aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he would aſſiſt him with all his forces, to recover his parental inheritance. Henry, not being in a condition of paſſing over into Normandy this ſeaſon, diſpatched thither his natural ſon Robert, and Ranulph earl of Cheſter, with what forces they could get together, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels. They accordingly croſſed the ſea, and were joined by all the king's troops in that duchy; but the inſurgents, not having committed any act of hoſtility, they contented themſelves with viſiting all the fortified places, and putting them in the beſt poſture of defence.

During all theſe tranſactions, cardinal de Crema was ſent by pope Calixtus into England, with a legantine commiſſion, in order to reform ſeveral abuſes that had crept in among the clergy. The legate was received in the moſt pompous manner, but at the ſame time given to underſtand, that he muſt not attempt to make innovations in the kingdom, or do any thing prejudicial to the royal prerogative.

A ſynod was, however, called at London, where, among other canons, a vote paſſed, enacting ſevere penalties on the marriage of the clergy; and the cardinal, in a public harangue, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity, that a prieſt ſhould dare to officiate immediately after he had riſen from the ſide of a ſtrumpet, the decent appellation he beſtowed upon the wives of the clergy. But it happened, that the very next night, the officers of juſtice breaking into a diſorderly houſe, found the cardinal in bed with a courtezan; an incident, which threw ſuch a ridicule on his legantine character, that he immediately ſtole out of the kingdom: the ſynod broke up abruptly, and the canons againſt the marriage of clergymen were executed with more remiſſneſs than before; but in order to prevent all diſputes with the holy ſee, for the future, Henry ſent William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to remonſtrate with the court of Rome againſt theſe legantine commiſſions, and to aſſert the liberties of the Engliſh church. It was a uſual maxim with every pope, when he found he could not prevail in any pretenſion, to grant princes or ſtates a power which they had always exerciſed, to reſume, at a more proper ſeaſon, the claim that appeared to be reſigned, and to pretend, that the civil magiſtrate had poſſeſſed the authority only from a ſpecial indulgence of the Roman pontiff. After this manner, the pope, finding that the French nation would not admit his claim of granting inveſtitures, had paſſed a bull, giving the king that authority; and he now practiſed a like invention to elude the complaints of the Engliſh monarch. He conſtituted the archbiſhop of Canterbury his legate, renewed his commiſſion from time to time, and ſtill pretended, that the rights which that prelate had always exerciſed as metropolitan, were entirely derived from the indulgence of the holy ſee.

A. D. 1124. While Robert, and the earl of Cheſter, were augmenting and repairing the fortifications in Normandy, Henry was providing both money and troops in England; and, about the middle of the ſummer, landed at Rouen, where he ordered a general rendezvous of his army. But no action of conſequence happened during the whole courſe of the campaign, both parties employing themſelves in ſtrengthening their reſpective intereſts with the people and nobles. In the mean time, the king of France ſupplied the conſpirators with all kinds of neceſſaries, though he had not yet declared himſelf in their favor. Henry, therefore, thinking it more for his intereſt to have an open than a ſecret enemy, declared war againſt France, and both parties made preparations for taking the field early in the ſpring.

Accordingly, in A. D. 1125, on the twenty-fifth of March, the army of the inſurgents advanced from Belmont to Watteville, with a deſign of penetrating into Henry's Norman dominions; but were met by the royal army, which had been increaſed by draughts from all the neighbouring garriſons, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. William, earl of Tankerville, who commanded Henry's army, concealed the greater part of his men in a bottom, where they could not be ſeen by the enemy. Having formed this ſtratagem, he charged the inſurgents, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, near the village of Teroud, about eight miles diſtant from Rouen. The French vivacity, at firſt, bore down all oppoſition, and Tankerville retreated, with very little loſs, towards the place where his men were planted in ambuſh, where the conſpirators ſoon found themſelves ſurrounded, without being able to form themſelves properly for making reſiſtance. The rout was general, and the number of priſoners more than double that of the ſlain. Henry took particular care to improve this victory, and accordingly marched againſt all the caſtles and forts belonging to the conſpirators, which generally ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, or, at leaſt, after a very feeble reſiſtance. Additional works were alſo raiſed round Rouen, and the fortifications of many other important places repaired and augmented. But notwithſtanding all his ſucceſs and precautions, Henry found it impracticable to conquer the averſion which the Normans ever retained to his title.

It is proper here to notice, that while Henry continued in Normandy, Alexander the Fierce, king of Scotland, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the throne by his brother David, earl of Huntingdon, who, with the crown of Scotland, inherited large poſſeſſions in the Engliſh dominions.

Henry, having thus terminated the rebellion in Normandy, paſſed over into England, in A. D. 1126, where he found the people in general very diſcontented, on account of the enormous taxes that had been impoſed upon them, for ſupplying the exigencies of the campaigns in Normandy; while the miſeries ſuffered by the populace had almoſt driven them to deſpair. The perſons intruſted with the government during his abſence had almoſt totally neglected the executive part of juſtice, by which means robberies, thefts, and murders, were become ſo frequent, and perpetrated in ſo daring and open a manner, throughout the whole kingdom, that neither the life or property of any perſon was ſecure. Henry, therefore, made it his firſt care to reform theſe abuſes, and enacted ſeveral ſevere laws againſt all diſturbers of the public peace: at the ſame time, he cauſed forty-four criminals, who had been convicted of enormous crimes, to be executed, and puniſhed others in a very exemplary manner. While Henry was employed in reſtoring juſtice, and protecting his people from violence, the emperor Charles V. died without iſſue, leaving Maud, the daughter of Henry, a young widow and the greateſt fortune in Europe. This princeſs, as ſoon as the laſt duties were paid to the remains of her huſband, came over to England, when Henry, who had now no proſpect of children by his conſort, aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdom at Windſor, where it was propoſed, that an oath ſhould be taken by all preſent, to receive the empreſs Maud as queen of England, in caſe the king ſhould die without male iſſue. The propoſal, after a ſolemn debate, was unanimouſly agreed to, and the oath was taken accordingly.

A. D. 1127. Henry flattered himſelf with having now ſecured the peace of his dominions, but a few months convinced him, that his hopes were deſtitute of foundation. Freſh diſturbances ſoon broke out in Normandy, which called for his preſence. Henry's treatment of his brother Robert was, at once, unjuſt and inhuman. His conduct with regard to France had ſo thoroughly diſguſted that court, that a ſincere reconciliation could hardly be expected; and the French lying more contiguous to the princes who were capable of giving Henry diſturbance, it was much eaſier for them to raiſe, than for him to quell any commotions excited in his dominions. Lewis had now a favorable opportunity for diſtreſſing Henry. Charles, earl of Flanders, who had long been a firm and uſeful ally to the latter, fell by a conſpiracy of his nobles, while he was at his devotions in the church of Bruges. The right of inveſtiture of this province belonged to France, and the earldom was claimed by William, duke of Normandy, in right of his grandmother Matilda, queen to William the Conqueror. Perhaps the French court would have paid little regard to William's right, had it not been ſubſervient to their own intereſts. But on William's reſigning into the hands of Lewis all the territories he before poſſeſſed in France, together with thoſe given him as a portion with his wife, he received from the French monarch the inveſtiture of the earldom of Flanders.

Henry feared that this acceſſion of power might render the young prince formidable to him in Normandy. He therefore reſolved to detach the count of Anjou from his alliance, by forming with him a nearer connexion than ever, and one more material to the intereſt of his family. Accordingly, he propoſed a marriage between his daughter the empreſs Maud, and Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldeſt ſon of Fulk, count of Anjou. This offer was readily accepted, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated by the archbiſhop of Rouen, the king himſelf aſſiſting at the ceremony in perſon.

Henry had flattered himſelf that the choice of this huſband would be more agreeable to all his ſubjects, than that of the emperor, as it ſecured them from the fears of falling under the dominion of a great and diſtant potentate, who might bring them into ſubjection, and reduce their country to the rank of a province: but the barons were diſpleaſed, that a ſtep ſo material to the intereſt of the nation, had been taken without conſulting them; and Henry had too ſenſibly experienced the turbulence of their diſpoſition, not to dread the effects of their anger.

A. D. 1128. Lewis of France openly declared his intention of putting William in poſſeſſion of the dukedom of his depoſed father. And Henry, in order to prevent his deſigns from being carried into execution, invaded the French king's territories, at the head of a powerful army, having previouſly excited the Flemings to a revolt againſt their new earl, in favor of Thierry, landgrave of Alſace, who alſo pretended a title to that province. Henry advanced as far as Eſpargne, where he offered Lewis battle for eight days ſucceſſively; but the French monarch, ſenſible that his army was greatly inferior to the Engliſh, declined an engagement, and exerted all his abilities to put himſelf in ſuch a poſture of defence, as would render it impoſſible for the enemy to force him to fight on unequal terms. During this ſituation of the two armies, the earl of Flanders was making prodigious efforts for recovering the town of Aloſt, which had revolted to his rival, the landgrave of Alſace. He had reduced the town to great extremities, when Thierry, at the head of an army, much ſuperior to that of William, came to its relief. A battle enſued, in which the landgrave was defeated, and forced to fly into Aloſt for ſuccour. William immediately returned to the ſiege, and would certainly have taken the place, and his rival priſoner, had he not been wounded in the ball of his thumb, by the thruſt of a lance, during a ſally made by the beſieged. The wound, though at firſt conſidered as of little conſequence, ſoon after mortified, and he died in a few days; which unhappy accident, together with the great ſuperiority of Henry's army, induced Lewis to conclude a peace with the king of England, who was now left the undoubted heir to the duchy of Normandy, which had ſo long been a bone of contention.

A. D. 1129. Henry having ſurmounted all oppoſition, began to taſte the ſweets of eaſe and tranquillity. He now ſuffered the milder ſentiments of mercy and forgiveneſs to ſucceed thoſe of fury and reſentment, which had ſo long ruled predominant in his breaſt. He extended his pardon to all who implored it, and attached ſeveral perſons of great credit and influence to his intereſt, by acts of generoſity and kindneſs: he releaſed many of the late conſpirators, and among the reſt Mellent and Fitzgervas, whom he reſtored to their Norman poſſeſſions. Theſe acts of mercy greatly increaſed his reputation both at home and abroad; and his ſituation with his neighbours was ſuch as promiſed, that his life, which had hitherto been tempeſtuous and cloudy, would cloſe in ſerenity. During A. D. 1133, alſo every thing in England continuing in the utmoſt tranquillity, Henry took the opportunity of viſiting Normandy, to which he was invited, as well by his affection for that country, as by his tenderneſs for his daughter, the empreſs Maud, who was always his favorite. Some time after that princeſs was delivered of a ſon, who received the name of Henry; and the king, in order to inſure her ſucceſſion ſtill farther, prevailed upon all the nobility of England and Normandy to renew the oath of fealty, which they had already ſworn to her. In the interim, while Henry was enjoying his eaſe in Normandy, his brother Robert, whom he had, for ſome years, treated with great cruelty, paid the debt of nature in the caſtle of Cardiff, after being confined twenty-ſeven years, and was buried in the cathedral of Glouceſter, A. D. 1134.

A. D. 1135. The ſatiſfaction Henry enjoyed in the company of his daughter rendered his reſidence in Normandy very agreeable to him; and he ſeemed determined to ſpend the reſt of his days in that country, when an incurſion of the Welſh obliged him to think of returning to England. He was accordingly preparing for the journey, when he was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at St. Dennis le Froment, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his conſtitution.

Henry now finding his diſeaſe was attended with mortal ſymptoms, became ſenſible, that his diſſolution was approaching. He therefore ſent for Hugh, archbiſhop of Rouen, his natural ſon Robert, earl of Glouceſter, William de Warrenn, and ſeveral other noblemen, then in Normandy, to receive his laſt commands. He recommended to them, in the moſt pathetic manner, the intereſts of the empreſs, without mentioning her huſband Geoffrey, with whom he was highly diſpleaſed; declaring her, and her children, by lawful ſucceſſion, to be the heirs of all his dominions, both in England and on the continent. He then ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſpoſed of in charitable uſes, and gave above ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling among his domeſtics. He ordered that all his debts ſhould be diſcharged; that all forfeitures and mulcts, lately fallen to the crown, ſhould be remitted; that all the exiles ſhould be reſtored to their country; and that all, who had been unjuſtly deprived of their eſtates, ſhould be reſtored to them, and ſuffered to enjoy them in peace and ſafety. Having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, he reſigned himſelf up to the care of the clergy, and expired on Sunday, the firſt of December, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. His body was carried the next day to Rouen, attended by a prodigious throng of people; and being there embalmed, was conveyed to Caen, and thence to England, where it was buried in a monaſtery, founded by himſelf at Reading, in Berkſhire.

Henry had many amiable qualities, both of mind and perſon. He was at once a warrior, a politician and a ſcholar. His ſuperior eloquence and judgment would have given him an aſcendant, had he even been born in a private ſtation; and his perſonal bravery would have procured him reſpect, even though it had been leſs ſupported by art and policy. By his great progreſs in literature, he acquired the name of Beauclerc; but his application to theſe ſedentary purſuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government. He was a tender huſband, an affectionate parent, and a generous maſter. He knew the true intereſts of his people better than any prince of his time; and though England ſuffered many oppreſſions under his government, yet it alſo enjoyed many advantages. The uninterrupted courſe of tranquillity, except from the incurſions of the Welſh, invited over great numbers of foreigners, eſpecially manufacturers, who diſſeminated their arts through the kingdom, and laid the foundations of a more extenſive commerce. At the ſame time, theſe virtues were ſullied by cruelty and avarice. The inhuman treatment of his brother affords a ſufficient inſtance of the former, and the groans of an oppreſſed and impoveriſhed people of the latter. Had he poſſeſſed leſs power, or could he have been perſuaded to reſign part of what he had acquired, he might have enjoyed the remainder in peace and tranquillity. But his conduct ſufficiently demonſtrated, that he was too much diſpoſed to ſacrifice all the maxims of juſtice and equity to his ambition.

With reſpect to his perſon, Henry was of a middle ſtature; his hair black, and towards his forehead buſhy; his eyes clear and penetrating; his cheſt broad and full. The affability of his addreſs encouraged thoſe who might be overawed by the ſenſe of his dignity or his wiſdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humor, he knew how to temper it with diſcretion, and always kept it a diſtance from indecent familiarities with his courtiers.

Henry's legitimate children were, 1. One ſon named William, the manner of whoſe death we have already related. 2. One daughter, generally known by the name of Maud the Empreſs, on account of her firſt marriage. Her ſecond huſband was Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, by whom ſhe had Henry, afterwards Henry II. king of England; and two other ſons, Geoffrey and William, that died without iſſue. The natural children of Henry were, 1. Robert, whom he created earl of Glouceſter in the ninth year of his reign, by Neſta, daughter of Rees ap Tudor, prince of Wales. 2. Richard, by the widow of one Anſkell, a baron in Oxfordſhire. He was drowned with his half-brother prince William. 3. Reynauld, created earl of Cornwall in the fifth of king Stephen, by Sibylla, daughter of Sir Robert Cabot, of Alceſter, in Glouceſterſhire. 4. Robert, by Editha, daughter of an Engliſh nobleman. 5. Gilbert. 6. Henry, by Neſta aforeſaid. 7. William de Tracy, ſo named from a town in Normandy; he died ſoon after his father. 8. Matilda, counteſs of Perche, who periſhed with her brother William in his fatal ſhipwreck. 9. Another Matilda, married to Conan, earl of Brittany. 10. Julian, married to Euſtace de Paiz, natural ſon of William de Breteuil, eldeſt ſon and heir of William, and elder brother of Roger, earl of Hereford, in England. 11. Another daughter, married to Matthew, ſon of Borchard de Montmorency, from whom are deſcended the antient family of that name. 12. Elizabeth, by Elizabeth, ſiſter of Walleran, earl of Meulant or Mellent, married to Alexander I. king of Scots.

The moſt remarkable occurrences of this king's reign are thus handed down to us by different hiſtorians: In the ſecond year of his reign, Glouceſter and Wincheſter were burnt. In his fourth, a comet appeared; and four circles were ſeen about the ſun. In his ſeventh, another comet was ſeen; and on Thurſday night before, two full moons appeared, one in the eaſt and another in the weſt. In his tenth, a third comet was ſeen, and an earthquake happened in Shropſhire. In his eleventh year, the river Trent, near Northampton, ceaſed to run its courſe for four and twenty hours, and ſo long the channel was dried up. There was, this year, a great mortality of men, a murrain among cattle, both domeſtic and of the field; the fowls alſo periſhed in abundance. In his thirteenth year, Worceſter city, the church, caſtle, and many citizens were burnt; and the water of the river Medway failed ſo much, for many miles, in the midſt of the channel, that the ſmalleſt boats could not float; and the Thames was ſo low, between the Tower and the Bridge, that many men, women, and children waded it over on foot, which was occaſioned, ſays Sir John Hayward, by reaſon of a great ebb in the ocean, that laid the ſands bare ſeveral miles from the ſhore, which continued for a whole day. The city and chief monaſtery of Chicheſter was burnt to the ground; and there were violent tempeſts, with a comet. During the next year, almoſt all the bridges in England, being then built with timber, were broken down by the ice, when it thawed after a ſevere froſt. In Henry's ſixteenth year, on the firſt of November, there fell a prodigious ſtorm of hail, accompanied with unuſual claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightning: in December a great earthquake happened, and the colour of the moon appeared like that of blood. In his ſeventeenth, the cities of Bath and Peterborough were burnt. In his twentieth year, there was an earthquake, in September. In his twenty-ſecond, the city of Gloceſter was burnt; and Lincoln the year following. Matthew Paris gives us the following hiſtory of founding the order of the knights templars of Jeruſalem under this year (1122.) "About this time (ſays he) ſeveral noble knights formed themſelves into a ſociety, obliging themſelves to celibacy, and to live after the manner of regular canons. The founders of this order were Hugo de Pagan and Godfrey of Eadmer, who were ſo poor that they had but one buckler and one horſe between them; in commemoration of which, the ſeal of the order has two knights mounted on one horſe. As they had no dwelling place, Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, aſſigned them an apartment in his own palace for their reſidence, and the canons of the Temple granted them an area near the palace to erect their offices. The king himſelf, as well as the clergy, granted them a daily allowance for their table and cloathing. The knights at firſt undertook to clear the roads towards Jeruſalem from the banditti and robbers, with which they were infeſted; and in a ſhort time the order was ſo reſpectable, that it ſpread all over Europe, and was embraced by perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed birth and abilities." In his twenty-third year Henry built or repaired the palace of Woodſtock, and adorned it with a park, the firſt that ever was in England. In his thirtieth year, Rocheſter was almoſt deſtroyed by fire: and London in his thirty-ſecond. In the year before he died, on the ſecond of Auguſt, juſt as he was about to take ſhipping for Normandy, an eclipſe of the ſun and moon appeared; at which time William of Malmeſbury, who was then living, writes that he ſaw the ſtars plainly about the ſun. This eclipſe was followed by a moſt horrid earthquake, in which the ſame author relates, the houſe wherein he ſat was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time ſettled again in its proper place.

STEPHEN.

SECTION IV.

THE uncertainty of human events was never in any inſtance more conſpicuous than in the ſucceſſion of Stephen to the throne of England. No prince could take more prudent meaſures for ſecuring the ſovereignty to his daughter and family, than did the late king; notwithſtanding which, it devolved on the very perſon whom Henry had the leaſt ſuſpected of making any pretenſions to the Engliſh crown.

Stephen, earl of Boulogne, was the third ſon of the earl of Blois, by Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror. His graceful perſonage, his courage, his affable demeanor, his liberality, and many other diſtinguiſhed qualities, had ſo endeared him to Henry, that he ſeemed to take pleaſure in making him rich and powerful, having beſtowed on him many valuable poſſeſſions, particularly the great eſtate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the earl of Mortaigne in Normandy. The king had married him to Matilda, daughter and heir to Euſtace, count of Boulogne, by which marriage he acquired a new connexion with the royal family of England; Mary, his wife's mother, being ſiſter to David, king of Scotland, and to Matilda, the wife of Henry, and mother to the empreſs Maud.

In return for the many favors received from Henry, Stephen profeſſed a great attachment to him, and appeared ſo zealous for the ſucceſſion of Maud (empreſs of Germany and daughter to the late king) that when the barons ſwore fealty to that princeſs, he contended with Robert earl of Glouceſter, the king's natural ſon, who ſhould firſt be admitted to give her this teſtimony of devoted zeal and fidelity.

Notwithſtanding theſe outward appearances of reſpect, Stephen had ſelf-intereſted views at heart; he took great pains to cultivate, by every act of popularity, the friendſhip and affection of the Engliſh nation, and the many virtues with which he appeared to be endued, favored the ſucceſs of his intentions. By his activity and vigor, he acquired the eſteem of the barons, and by his generoſity and familiar addreſs, he obtained the affection of the people, particularly the Londoners. And though he was fearful of taking any ſteps towards his farther grandeur, leſt he might expoſe himſelf to the jealouſy of ſo penetrating a prince as Henry, he ſtill hoped, that by accumulating riches and power, and by acquiring popularity, he might ſome time or other be able to wear that crown, which had adorned the brow of his greateſt patron.

The empreſs Maud had a great ſpirit, and was naturally of a very turbulent diſpoſition. She had been bred up in the arbitrary maxims of the family; ſhe poſſeſſed the Norman dominions of her father; ſhe was married to a foreign prince, a ſtranger to the cuſtoms and conſtitution of England; ſo that the clergy and people of that kingdom had no proſpect from her government, but a continuance of that mode which had been practiſed by her father.

We have already obſerved, that Stephen was the third ſon of the earl of Blois; and he had a brother ſtill younger than himſelf. His eldeſt brother was defective, and therefore incapable of managing any affairs of a public nature. His ſecond brother ſucceeded to his father as earl of Blois, and claimed in right of his mother the inveſtiture of the duchy of Normandy. Though this claim was neither founded on juſtice or policy, yet he ſoon found a ſtrong party in his favor, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral important places, before the earl of Anjou, (the ſecond huſband of Matilda or Maud, empreſs of Germany) could gain a footing there firm enough to prevent him. This prince appears to have been without the vivacity or ambition of his brother Stephen, but poſſeſſed of more honour than ſeems to have been common with the princes of that age.

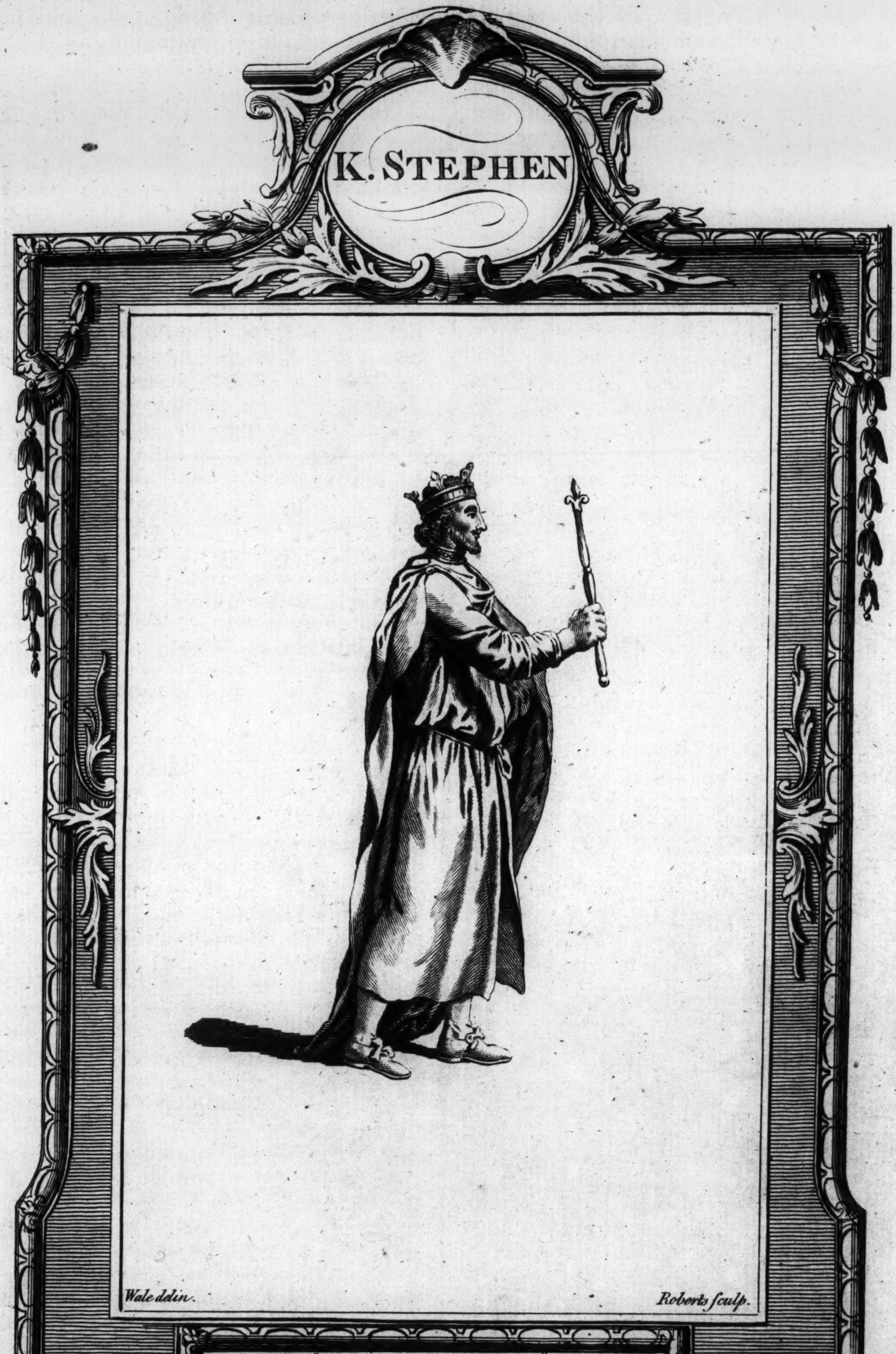
Very different was the character of Henry, the younger brother of Stephen. He had been bred in the monaſtery of Augny, and was made, by the late Henry, firſt abbot of Glaſtonbury, and then biſhop of Wincheſter.

His diſpoſition was turbulent, his ſpirit bold, his tongue voluble, and his morals faithleſs. He was inconſtant or reſolute, haughty or ſubmiſſive, a prieſt or a prince, juſt as objects appeared to his own confined views and narrow underſtanding. But, with all theſe faults, his learning and high quality, joined to an addreſs peculiar to his nature, had gained him a prodigious intereſt with the clergy; and he was, in conſequence of this, eſteemed one of the moſt conſiderable ſubjects in England.

Stephen, at the time of Henry's death, was in France; and no ſooner did he hear of the event, than, inſenſible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, and blind to every danger, he immediately embarked for England. On his landing, the inhabitants of Dover and Canterbury ſhut their gates againſt him, in conſequence of which he haſtily poſted to London, where his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and other noblemen of his party, had been ſo aſſiduous in promoting his intereſt, that he was received with the greateſt acclamations of the people, who univerſally announced him their ſovereign.

Elated with the ſucceſs he had thus met with, his next point was, to acquire the good will of the clergy, without which, he well knew it would be impoſſible to wear the crown of England, either with pleaſure to himſelf or advantage to the kingdom. His brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, had great weight with William archbiſhop of Canterbury; and Roger, biſhop of Saliſbury, who was rich and powerful, even to envy, was the profeſſed enemy of the empreſs and her party. Her ambition, her education, her principles, and her deſpotic ſpirit, were repreſented, on all occaſions, in the moſt aggravating terms; and it was every where inculcated, that it was mean and ſcandalous, for ſo many brave men to be ſubject to the commands of a woman and a child.

Thoſe, however, who had ſworn fealty to the empreſs and her family, were not to be moved by mere invective and ſurmiſe. It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome other artifice, to produce the



K. STEPHEN

Wale delin. Roberts sculp.

BRITISH MUSEUM
12 JY 73

deſired effect; accordingly, an expedient was found, though equally diſhonorable with the other ſteps with which this great revolution was effected. Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſhold, came before the primate, and voluntarily made oath, that Henry, on his death-bed, had expreſſed his concern for the ſettlement he had made of his crown; and, at the ſame time, declared his intentions of ſetting aſide the empreſs Maud and her children, if he ever ſurvived his ſickneſs. This depoſition, together with the perſuaſion of the biſhop of Wincheſter and others, ſo effectually prevailed on the credulous archbiſhop, that he readily embraced the intereſt of Stephen.

In conſequence of this a great council of the ſtates was immediately ſummoned, in which the party of Stephen appearing the moſt numerous, it was reſolved to exclude the empreſs and her children from the ſucceſſion, and ſet Stephen on the Engliſh throne. The archbiſhop accordingly anointed him, placed the crown upon his head, and declared him the rightful ſovereign of England. Stephen, however, was not inſenſible, that great oppoſition would ſoon be made by the empreſs and her party; he, therefore, the better to ſecure himſelf, paſſed a charter, in which he made liberal promiſes to all orders of men. He aſſured the clergy, that he would ſpeedily fill all the vacant benefices, and would never receive the rents of any of them during the interval: he promiſed the nobility, that they ſhould not be proſecuted for hunting in their own foreſts; and the people, that he would not only remit the tax of Danegelt, and reſtore the laws of king Edward, but would alſo grant them ſuch other privileges as ſhould make them happy under his government.

The Engliſh appearing ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, Stephen repaired to Wincheſter, where he ſeized upwards of one hundred thouſand pounds, which had been amaſſed by Henry, for the uſe of his daughter. By means of this treaſure, he inſured the compliance, though not the attachment, of the principal clergy and nobility. But not truſting to this frail ſecurity, he invited over from the continent, particularly from Britany and Flanders, great numbers of thoſe ſoldiers of fortune, who are always ready for any deſperate enterprize, and who, under Henry, had found no employment. With theſe, and the Engliſh mercenaries, he formed a powerful army, which ſtruck ſuch a terror in the empreſs Maud's party, that there were little hopes of any attempt being made in favor of that princeſs.

A. D. 1136. In the beginning of this year the corpſe of the late king was brought over from Normandy and interred at Reading, according to his own requeſt, Stephen himſelf walking as chief mourner on the occaſion. Thoſe noblemen, who ſtill adhered to the empreſs Maud, were ſo aſtoniſhed and diſguſted at the rapid ſucceſs of Stephen, that, unable to reſiſt the torrent of popular favor, they retired to Scotland, where they were kindly received by David the then king, who was an equal advocate for the party they eſpouſed.

During theſe tranſactions, Robert, the earl of Glouceſter, natural ſon to the late king, and a perſon of ſtrict honor and great abilities, was embarraſſed with regard to the meaſures proper for him to purſue in this difficult emergency. To ſwear allegiance to the uſurper appeared to him very diſhonorable, and a breach of the oath he had taken in favor of the empreſs: to refuſe giving this pledge of his fidelity was to baniſh himſelf from England, which muſt render him totally incapable of ſerving the royal family, or contributing to their reſtoration. He therefore reſolved to take the oath of allegiance to Stephen, but with ſuch expreſs conditions as he was perſuaded the uſurper would infallibly violate.

Fixed in his reſolution of having recourſe to this expedient, he came over to England, and offered to ſwear fealty to Stephen on this expreſs condition, that the king ſhould maintain all his ſtipulations, and never invade any of Robert's rights and dignities. Stephen, though ſenſible this reſerve, ſo unuſual in itſelf, and ſo unbecoming the duty of a ſubject, was intended only to afford Robert a pretence for a revolt on the firſt favorable opportunity, was, notwithſtanding, obliged to accept his terms, on account of the numerous friends and retainers of that popular nobleman.

The intereſt of Stephen was farther increaſed by the attachment of the Norman nobility, who no ſooner heard of his having taken poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown, than they transferred their allegiance to him, and put him in poſſeſſion of their government.

The great ſucceſs of Stephen ſo enraged that part of the nobility, who were advocates for the empreſs Maud, that they determined to make ſome attempt in her favor. Among theſe was Baldwin de Redveriis, earl of Devon, and lord of the Iſle of Wight. He had received many favors from the family of Henry I. and always objected to recognize Stephen's title to the crown. But not content with refuſing to take the oath of allegiance, he fortified the caſtle of Exeter, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the citizens, who were in Stephen's intereſt, and had applied to him for aſſiſtance.

Stephen loſt no time in protecting his friends; he marched at the head of all the forces he could collect, and beſieged the caſtle: but the place being ſtrongly fortified, the garriſon held out for three months, when they were obliged to capitulate for want of water, on condition of marching out with their baggage. In the mean time the earl, who was not in the caſtle, repaired to the Iſle of Wight, whither he was purſued by Stephen, who obliged him to fly to France, and afterwards ſeized on all his Engliſh eſtates.

This inteſtine commotion was immediately followed by another. Robert de Bathenton, a nobleman of a very debauched life, revolted, and fortified his caſtle. Stephen immediately made preparations for reducing him, and Robert, dreading the conſequence of a defeat, offered to deliver the caſtle into the hands of the king's officers. Accordingly a party was detached for that purpoſe; but Robert found means to intoxicate them with liquor, and then retired back into his caſtle, which he now determined to defend againſt Stephen.

Exaſperated at this behaviour, the king marched againſt Robert in perſon; and Bathenton, endeavouring to eſcape over the caſtle wall by means of a rope, was taken priſoner; when Stephen, contrary to his uſual diſpoſition, ordered him to be hanged up in ſight of his garriſon. The ſentence was accordingly executed, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the beſieged, that they immediately ſurrendered.

The Engliſh nobility, alarmed at theſe diſturbances, began to fortify their reſpective caſtles, and to garriſon them with their own vaſſals, or with ſoldiers of fortune, who flocked to them from all quarters. But as the barons could not procure them ſubſiſtence, they had recourſe to rapine, ſo that England ſoon became a ſcene of violence and devaſtation. Stephen, finding that the laws were incapable of curbing his licentious nobility, determined to make his own power the meaſure of his conduct; and to violate all thoſe conceſſions, which he himſelf had made on his acceſſion to the throne, as well as the antient and eſtabliſhed privileges of his ſubjects.

The earl of Glouceſter was ſo agitated at beholding the miſerable ſituation of his country, that he determined to attempt a revolution. Accordingly, he ſettled with his friends the meaſures neceſſary to be taken in forming a powerful inſurrection, retired to the continent, ſent the king a defiance, renounced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of thoſe conditions, which he had engaged to perform when he received the regal dignity.

A. D. 1138. The tranquillity of Stephen was now greatly interrupted by David king of Scotland, who entered England at the head of a powerful army, in defence of his niece's title to the throne, and penetrated into Yorkſhire, committing the moſt horrid devaſtations in all the country through which he paſſed. The fury of his maſſacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who determined to aſſemble their followers, and repel the army of thoſe cruel invaders.

David was no ſooner informed of this reſolution, than he retreated with his army, and beſieged Norham, a caſtle belonging to the biſhop of Durham. After a ſhort ſiege the caſtle was taken, and the biſhop refuſing to renounce his allegiance to Stephen, the Scottiſh monarch ordered it to be totally deſtroyed.

This ſucceſs ſo elated David, that he detached William, his grand nephew, at the head of a conſiderable army, into Yorkſhire, in order to attack the van of the Engliſh army, which was advanced to Clithero in Lancaſhire. William was ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſurpriſed this body of the Engliſh forces, cut great numbers of them to pieces, took ſome priſoners, and put the remainder to flight.

While William was employed in this buſineſs, David laid ſiege to the caſtle of Wark, the garriſon of which had carried off his proviſions, and routed ſeveral of his parties; but the fortreſs proving too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, and hearing of the ſucceſs of his arms at Clithero, he left ſome of his officers to continue the ſiege, and advanced at the head of his army to York, intending to give the enemy battle, as ſoon as he was joined by the detachment under William. He accordingly entered the biſhopric of Durham, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword; and being now joined by all his forces, found himſelf at the head of a very conderable army.

Though the Engliſh had been reinforced by a ſtrong body of horſe, ſent by the king, under the command of Bernard de Baliol, yet they were far inferior to the Scots in numbers, and therefore continued to act on the defenſive. They were ſoon after joined by ſeveral noblemen from the counties of Nottingham and Derby, and continued their march as far as Northallerton, where all the aſſociated barons agreed to ſtand and fall by one another; and in confirmation of this reſolution, they raiſed the famous ſtandard, which conſiſted of the maſt of a ſmall veſſel, erected on a wheel carriage, and having on the top of it a ſilver crucifix, while the pole was decorated with the banners of Beverley, St. Wilfred, St. Peter and St. John.

The Engliſh were drawn up in ſuch a manner as to ſurround this ſacred ſtandard; and the front was compoſed of pikemen and archers intermixed, to receive the firſt ſtroke of the enemy. The Scotch army was alſo drawn up in order of battle, and the Galloway-men, who were deſcended from the antient Britons, placed in the front line. The ſecond line, compoſed of a body of knights and archers, together with the militia of Cumberland and Tweedale, was commanded by the prince of Scotland; and the third, which conſiſted of Scotch Highlanders, and the forces of Lothian and Murray, was headed by the king himſelf.

The charge was begun by the Galloway-men, who fell with ſuch fury on the ſecond line of the Engliſh, that they at firſt gave way to their impetuoſity; but being ſupported by the firmneſs of the reſt of their body, and deriving great advantages from their armour in a cloſe engagement, they galled the enemy with continual flights of arrows, in ſuch terrible a manner, that having loſt their two leaders, Ulgric and Donald, they were ſo intimidated, that they fled with the greateſt precipitation.

Irritated at this, the prince of Scotland marched up to the attack, at the head of the ſecond line, and fell upon the enemy with ſo much fury, that he pierced to the rear of the Engliſh army, but met with ſuch reſiſtance, by the cloſing of the ſeparated troops on every ſide, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he retreated. A total route of the Scottiſh forces now enſued; and the king of Scotland, with his ſon, were left to maintain their ground, attended only by their own guards. They made a very reſolute reſiſtance, and for ſome time maintained the field againſt the united efforts of the enemy. But finding it in vain any longer to reſiſt the victorious Engliſh, the king made the beſt diſpoſition he could of his few remaining followers, and retired to Carliſle, where he continued for ſome days inconſolable, imagining he had left his ſon dead on the field of battle; but that prince, after breaking through a great body of the Engliſh, made his eſcape, and ſoon after repaired to his father at Carliſle. The loſs of the Scots in this engagement is ſaid to have been no leſs than 10,000, but that of the Engliſh is not mentioned.

When Stephen received information of this victory, and of the conduct of his generals, he was ſo well pleaſed, that he conferred on William, earl of Albermarle, the additional title of earl of Yorkſhire, and beſtowed the earldom of Dorſetſhire on Robert de Ferraris, theſe two noblemen having particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late engagement.

The king of Scotland, determined to perſevere in the buſineſs he had undertaken, renewed his incurſions, and took the caſtle of Wark, after an obſtinate defence made by the garriſon. The miſeries ſuffered by the inhabitants of the northern counties, induced Albert, biſhop of Oſtia, the pope's legate, to interpoſe his good offices for bringing about a peace between the two kingdoms: but all he could obtain was a truce for a few months, during which interval Stephen had leiſure to attend to the tranſactions in Normandy, where the friends of the empreſs, encouraged by the late commotions, had taken up arms, and were making great preparations for invading England. Stephen, therefore, found it neceſſary to ſend a body of troops over to Normandy, under the command of the earl of Mellent, and William de Ypres; but the two generals ſoon found that the enemy was too ſtrong for them to hope for ſucceſs, if they came to extremities. The defection, indeed, was ſo general, that the city of Rouen was the only place of importance that was left in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

It muſt be here obſerved, that Stephen, at the beginning of his reign, had granted liberty to all his ſubjects to build and fortify caſtles on their own eſtates. The great barons, particularly the biſhops, together with all thoſe who were ſecretly in the intereſt of the empreſs, made uſe of this indulgence, to multiply their caſtles to ſuch a degree, that Stephen found they had, in a manner, garriſoned the kingdom againſt himſelf.

The biſhop of Saliſbury had built two ſtrong caſtles, one at Sherborne, another at the Devizes, and had laid the foundation of a third at Malmſbury. The biſhop of Lincoln, nephew to the biſhop of Saliſbury, had alſo raiſed a ſtrong fortreſs at Newark.

The king now ſaw his error, and had recourſe to unpopular meaſures to correct it. He reſolved to begin with deſtroying the caſtles of the clergy, who, by their function, ſeemed leſs entitled than the barons to ſuch military ſecurities.

He did not wait long for a favorable opportunity of carrying his intentions into execution. A quarrel happened between the followers of the biſhop of Saliſbury, and thoſe of the earl of Britany, in which ſome of the latter were killed. In conſequence of this, the prelate was ſummoned before the council, to anſwer for the riotous behaviour of his men, who had been the aggreſſors. The biſhop obeyed the ſummons, and repaired to the council attended by his two nephews, Alexander, biſhop of Lincoln, and Nigel, biſhop of Ely. On their appearance, the king inſiſted on their making ſatisfaction for a breach of the peace within the verge of his own court. The biſhops abſolutely refuſed to comply; upon which the king ordered them to deliver up their caſtles, as a ſecurity for their future behaviour, and ordered their perſons to be taken into ſafe cuſtody. The biſhop of Ely had, however, the good fortune to eſcape, and immediately repaired to the caſtle of the Devizes, which he determined to defend till the laſt extremity. But William de Ypres, being ſent againſt the fortreſs, at the head of a powerful army, carried with him the two other biſhops. On his arrival before the caſtle, he cauſed a gallows to be erected in ſight of the garriſon, threatening to hang up both the prelates, unleſs the caſtle was immediately ſurrendered. This menace had the deſired effect; the fortreſs was ſurrendered, and the prelates were obliged to purchaſe their liberties, by delivering their other caſtles, and ſubmitting totally to the will of their opponents.

The whole body of the clergy were greatly alarmed at theſe proceedings. The principal ſecurity of that order, the privilege enjoyed by prelates of not being tried in the king's courts, was attacked. But the perſon who reſented it moſt was, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the king's brother, now armed with a legatine commiſſion, from whence he conceived himſelf an eccleſiaſtical ſovereign, equally powerful with the civil.

This prelate aſſembled a ſynod at Wincheſter, in order to vindicate the privileges of the church, which he pretended were now openly violated. In this aſſembly, he, forgetting the ties of blood, which connected him with the king, complained of the impiety of Stephen's meaſures, who had employed violence againſt the dignitaries of the church, inſtead of waiting for the ſentence of a ſpiritual court, by whom alone, he affirmed, they could lawfully be tried and condemned, if their conduct had merited cenſure or puniſhment.

The charge being thus exhibited, the ſynod ſent a ſummons to the king, requiring him to appear before them, and juſtify his conduct. Stephen, well knowing the conſequences of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, ſent Aubrey de Vere, to plead his cauſe before that aſſembly. That nobleman enlarged upon the inſolence and offences of the biſhop of Saliſbury, and the ſuſpicions he lay under of favoring the enemies of the crown. He gave ſeveral inſtances of his diſaffection, which, he ſaid, amounted to more than ſuſpicion: nor was his contempt of the great nobility forgotten. Aubrey alſo revived the famous diſtinction made by the conqueror, who ſeized Odo, as a peer of the court, not as a prelate of the church. But the ſynod refuſed to try the cauſe, or examine their conduct, till thoſe caſtles, of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed, were reſtored to them. Aubrey replied, that the biſhops were not allowed caſtles by the canons of the church; that they were repugnant to their functions, as the preachers of peace, and could be conſidered only as the ſanctuaries of diſloyalty, and the aſylums of rebellion.

This ſpirited anſwer ſo exaſperated the clergy, that they ſeemed determined to pronounce an eccleſiaſtical anathema againſt the king and his adherents; and the biſhop of Saliſbury appealed to the pope. But Aubrey, who came prepared for all events, reſolutely declared, that the firſt perſon who ſhould preſume to pronounce any ſpiritual interdict againſt his ſovereign, ſhould never live to behold the fruits of his inſolence; and that whoever dared to carry any appeal to the pope ſhould never again enter the kingdom. The aſſembly were ſo intimidated at this anſwer, that they began to reflect on the conſequences of laying a powerful kingdom under a ſpiritual interdict, without the knowledge of the pope: they were well acquainted with Stephen's reſolute ſpirit, and therefore dreaded, that their perſeverance might ſo highly exaſperate him, as to render both their functions and perſons unſafe. Theſe conſiderations prevented affairs from coming to extremity between the crown and the mitre; and the ſynod was diſſolved, without pronouncing any eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

This difference with the biſhops, however, had fatal effects upon Stephen's government. He principally owed the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown to them; and the great barons, who eſpouſed the intereſt of the empreſs, were now encouraged into more open declarations of their deſigns. The people were alſo greatly diſcontented at this quarrel, which, added to the grievances they had laboured under, now produced almoſt a general diſaffection.

A. D. 1139. The empreſs, availing herſelf of this opportunity, and ſecretly encouraged by the legate himſelf, landed in England, with Robert earl of Glouceſter, and a retinue of an hundred and forty knights. She took up her reſidence in Arundel-caſtle, whoſe gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen dowager, now married to William de Albini earl of Suſſex. The empreſs had hitherto made no public declaration, either of her own or her ſon's demands, upon the crown of England; but as her pretenſions were no ſecret, Stephen uſed every precaution in his power to prevent her intentions from being executed. He inſtantly marched with his army againſt the caſtle of Arundel. But the queen dowager, diſconcerted at his expedition, and being in no condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, ſent a meſſage to the king, aſſuring him, that ſhe was in no reſpect acceſſary to the landing of the empreſs, and that ſhe only entertained her from a reſpect to her birth and quality, augmented by a friendſhip long ſubſiſting between them.

Stephen readily accepted the queen's apology; and ordered, that the empreſs ſhould be ſafely conducted to any place in his dominions ſhe might chuſe for her reſidence. Briſtol was named on the part of the empreſs; and the king accordingly ſent his own brother, and Walleran earl of Mellent, to conduct her ſafely to that city, with an eſcort ſuitable to her quality. The earl attended her to Calne, in Wiltſhire, and the biſhop continued with her till the arrival of Robert, earl of Glouceſter, who came with a body of forces to her aſſiſtance.

The empreſs had no ſooner reached Briſtol, than ſhe openly declared her title, and aſſerted her claim to the crown of England, requiring all her ſubjects to come and pay their allegiance. This produced the deſired effect; the people flocked to her from every quarter, and ſeemed to vie with each other in duty and affection. But what was ſtill of more conſequence to her intereſt, was the acquiſition of Miles, high conſtable of England, who abandoned the party of Stephen, and declared for the empreſs. This nobleman was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and city of Glouceſter, one of the moſt important fortreſſes in the kingdom, as it commanded all the adjacent country to the borders of Wales. He had alſo great intereſt with many powerful noblemen, and was poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, which he freely gave the empreſs, for the ſupport of her intereſt and family. His example was ſoon after followed by many other barons; by which means, the party of the empreſs became ſo formidable as to be able to contend with Stephen for that crown, which he had ſo manifeſtly uſurped.

The military events that happened during the courſe of this year are of ſuch little conſequence in

themſelves, and related in ſo confuſed a manner, both with reſpect to time and place, that they neither afford inſtruction or entertainment. We ſhall therefore paſs them over, and only obſerve, that the war was ſpread in every quarter of the kingdom, and that thoſe turbulent barons, who had already, in a great meaſure, ſhaken off the reſtraint of government, having now obtained the pretence of a public cauſe, carried on their devaſtations with redoubled fury, exerciſed the moſt implacable vengeance on each other, and ſet no bounds to their oppreſſions over the people. The caſtles of the nobility were become receptacles of licenſed robbers, who ſallying forth day and night, committed the moſt cruel ravages on the open country, the villages, and even on many of the cities; put their captives to the torture, in order to make them diſcover their treaſures; ſold their perſons into ſlavery, and ſet fire to their houſes, after pillaging them of every thing valuable. The fierceneſs of their diſpoſition leading them to commit wanton deſtruction, their rapacity was fruſtrated of its purpoſe, and the property and perſons, even of the eccleſiaſtics, generally ſo highly revered, were, at laſt, from neceſſity, ſubject to the ſame outrages, which had laid waſte the reſt of the kingdom. The land was left untilled, the implements of huſbandry deſtroyed or abandoned, and a dreadful famine, the natural conſequence of theſe diſorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the inhuman ſpoilers, as well as the defenceleſs people, to the moſt abject ſtate of diſtreſs.

To remove the farther progreſs of theſe horrid devaſtations, in the following year, 1140, recourſe was had to negotiation, and treaties between the contending parties were frequently made, and as frequently broken. At laſt an event happened, which gave a new turn to political cabals. Ralph, earl of Cheſter, who had lately married the daughter of the earl of Glouceſter, was now firmly attached to the empreſs. This nobleman, aſſiſted by his half brother, William de Roumara, ſurprized the caſtle of Lincoln: upon which the citizens, who adhered to Stephen, invited the king to aſſiſt them in retaking it. The king readily accepted the invitation, and immediately advanced to beſiege the fortreſs.

The earl of Cheſter, apprized of the king's deſign, and finding himſelf in no condition to maintain a ſiege, left his counteſs in the caſtle, and repaired to his eſtate on the borders of Wales, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Welſh princes. He alſo applied to the duke of Glouceſter, and it was determined in the council of the empreſs, to come to a deciſive battle with Stephen, who was now carrying on the ſiege of Lincoln-caſtle.

A. D. 1141. Stephen having been informed of the enemy's intentions, determined to meet the forces of the empreſs in the open field Accordingly he raiſed the ſiege of the caſtle, drew off his troops, and put them in battle array.

The king's army was inferior in number to that of the empreſs, who depended chiefly on the Welſh, a people deſpiſed by Stephen. The army of the empreſs was divided into four bodies. The firſt was compoſed of Welſh, and headed by two of their princes; the earl of Cheſter led the ſecond, which was compoſed of his own tenants: the third conſiſted wholly of perſons whom Stephen had outlawed, and ſeized on their eſtates; and the fourth, compoſed of foreign mercenaries, and Engliſh forces, who had joined the empreſs, was led by the earl of Glouceſter.

Stephen alſo divided his army into four bodies; one of which was commanded by himſelf, another by the earl of Mellent, a third by William de Ypres, and the fourth by Allen duke of Britany.

The two armies being met, the battle was begun by William de Ypres, who attacked the Welſh at the head of his diviſion with ſuch vigor, that they were ſoon thrown into diſorder. At the ſame time, the diviſion of the outlaws fell with equal fury on the diviſion commanded by the duke of Britany, who, though ſupported by the earl of Mellent and his cavalry, was totally routed.

In the mean time, the earl of Cheſter, obſerving the diſorder of the Welſh, detached a body of forces to their relief. This aſſiſtance entirely changed the fortune of the day in favor of the empreſs. A total rout of the cavalry and the diviſion under de Ypres enſued; and that able general himſelf, together with the brave Albemarle, earl of Yorkſhire, who had alſo a poſt in the ſame diviſion, was obliged to abandon the field of battle.

The fortnne of the day now intirely depended on Stephen's own diviſion, which ſtill continued unbroken, and animated by his preſence and example, oppoſed the repeated attacks of the enemy. Armed with a battle-ax, and fearleſs of danger, he led them on, and performed wonders in his own perſon. Alone he was irreſiſtible, and excited admiration even in his enemies; but borne down by numbers, which preſſed him on every ſide, he was at length obliged to ſubmit. But even in this deſperate ſtate he refuſed to ſurrender to any ignoble hand: he called out for the earl of Glouceſter: the earl quickly appeared, and admiring the valor, while he was touched with the misfortune, of his enemy, he received the royal priſoner into his protection. The earl had too great a ſoul to treat Stephen with diſreſpect, he paid him every honour due to the character of royalty, while he continued in his cuſtody. This treatment was far different to that which Stephen received from the empreſs, for he was no ſooner delivered up to her than ſhe ordered him to be thrown into priſon.

Stephen's captivity threw a univerſal dejection over his party; and Maud muſt have remained the ſole and undiſputed miſtreſs of the Engliſh crown, had not her good fortune been blaſted by that impotence of mind which proſperity alone diſcovers. Tho' patient under misfortunes, her temper was froward and peeviſh, and her diſpoſition tyrannical. She endeavoured to arrive at power, that ſhe might be arbitrary; and ſought the crown that ſhe might exerciſe an uncontrouled and deſpotic authority. She was, however, convinced, that it was neceſſary to gain the confidence of the clergy, in order to ſecure ſucceſs, and therefore neceſſary to ſubmit, in appearance, before ſhe could ſecure the ſceptre of royatly.

The conduct of the legate had been, for ſome time, very ambiguous; and ſhewed that his intentions were rather to humble than ruin his brother. She therefore treated him with the greateſt reſpect, and had recourſe to every art to fix him in her intereſt. She held a conference with him in an open plain near Wincheſter; where ſhe promiſed upon oath, that if he would acknowledge her for his ſovereign, recognize her title as the ſole deſcendant from the late king, and return to the allegiance which both himſelf and the reſt of the clergy had ſworn to her, he ſhould, in return, be ſole miniſter, and diſpoſe of all vacant biſhopricks, and abbies, at his own pleaſure.

Theſe offers were too powerful to be rejected by the ambitious legate, who promiſed the empreſs his allegiance, on the conditions ſhe had propoſed. Accordingly the next day the empreſs was conducted to the cathedral church of Wincheſter in ſolemn proceſſion, the legate leading her by the right, and the biſhop of St. David's by the left hand, attended by a long train of nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal. The empreſs being ſeated, the legate denounced curſes againſt all her enemies, and poured out bleſſings upon her friends; excommunicated ſuch as were rebellious, and granted abſolutions to all that were obedient to her.

Though the empreſs had thus gained the protection of the legate, yet there was another important matter to be effected in order to ſecure her the throne; and this was to prevail on Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to recognize her title. This prelate, from a conſcientious ſcruple relative to the legality of ſwearing fealty to two competitors for the crown, had abſented himſelf from the conference held between Maud and Henry. This behaviour of the primate could not fail of giving uneaſineſs to Maud's party, and it was determined to gain the archbiſhop over to their intereſt. Accordingly, the court removed to the monaſtery of Wilton, where the legate required the attendance of Theobald, aſſuring him that ſuch arguments would be offered, as could not fail of removing effectually all his preſent ſcruples. The archbiſhop obeyed the ſummons of the legate; but when he was deſired to acknowledge the empreſs Maud as ſovereign of England, he declared that his conſcience would not permit him to comply, until Stephen, the ſovereign to whom he had already ſworn allegiance, ſhould abſolve him from his oath, and leave him at liberty to follow his own inclinations. He therefore requeſted permiſſion to viſit the unfortunate Stephen, in order to receive from his own mouth the anſwer that was to regulate his future proceedings. This requeſt was readily complied with, and the prelate, attended by moſt of the clergy, and a great number of the laity, repaired to Briſtol, where they found the monarch ingloriouſly fettered, like a common malefactor. Oppreſſed with the weight of his misfortunes, and knowing the conſequence of a refuſal in his preſent condition muſt be fatal, Stephen conſented to diſpenſe with the primate's fealty, and gave both him and the nobles who attended him, free liberty to comply with the neceſſities of the times. This conceſſion, which the exigence of circumſtances forced from Stephen, was conſidered as an act of free-will, and the archbiſhop ſo readily acquitted his conſcience, that immediately on his return, he joined the legate, and ſwore allegiance to Maud.

The only hopes the captive king now had depended upon the diſobliging imprudence and haughtineſs of the empreſs, which ſoon after gave her enemies advantages they could never have expected, either from their arms or their councils. She was, however, ſo deſirous of inſuring the attachment of the clergy, that ſhe was willing to receive the crown from their hands: and inſiſted on aſſembling an eccleſiaſtical council for that purpoſe. Accordingly, a general aſſembly of the clergy was ſummoned by the legate, who, well knowing that their importance would be greatly diminiſhed if they did not act unanimouſly, omitted nothing in his power to bring them over to the party of the empreſs. The night before the aſſembly met, the legate applied to ſeveral of the members, who were the moſt likely to make the greateſt oppoſition, and had the addreſs to perſuade them to revoke their former ſentiments.

All neceſſary precautions being thus taken, the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the legate, who, addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, told them, that in the abſence of the empreſs, Stephen, his brother, had been permitted to reign, and, previouſly to his aſcending the throne, had ſeduced them by many fair promiſes, of honoring and exalting the church, of maintaining the laws, and of reforming abuſes: that it grieved him to obſerve how much that prince had been, in every particular, wanting to his engagements; public peace was interrupted, crimes were daily committed with impunity, biſhops were thrown into priſon, and forced to ſurrender their poſſeſſions, abbies were put to ſale, churches were pillaged, and the moſt enormous diſorders prevailed in the adminiſtration: that he himſelf, in order to procure a redreſs of thoſe grievances, had formerly ſummoned the king before a council of biſhops; but inſtead of inducing him to amend his conduct, he had rather offended him by that expedient: that however miſguided that prince might be, he was ſtill his brother, and the object of his affections; but he could not help regarding his intereſts as much ſubordinate to thoſe of his heavenly father, who had now rejected him, and delivered him into the hands of his enemies: that it principally belonged to the clergy to elect and ordain kings; he had therefore ſummoned them together for that purpoſe; and having invoked the divine aſſiſtance, he now pronounced Matilda or Maud, the only deſcendant of Henry, their late ſovereign, the rightful heir to the Engliſh crown.

After the legate had finiſhed his harangue, he acquainted the aſſembly that he had taken care to ſummons the city of London, whoſe influence on public affairs was, at leaſt, equal to that of the greateſt noblemen, to ſend deputies to the council, and had furniſhed them with paſſports for that purpoſe: that he ſhould therefore ſuſpend the buſineſs till the next day, when he again expected their attendance.

The citizens of London were the only people capable of checking the preſumption of this aſſembly. Stephen had endeared himſelf to them by the openneſs of his conduct, by his royal qualities, and the virtues of his queen Matilda; and they ſtill retained that affection for him which is conſiſtent with the duties of loyal ſubjects.

When the city deputies entered the council, they were required not to give their opinion, but to ſubmit to the decrees of the ſynod. They were not, however, ſo paſſive; but on the contrary, inſiſted that their king ſhould be releaſed out of priſon. The legate anſwered, with all the contempt of pontifical arrogance, that it did not become the Londoners, who were regarded as noblemen in England, to take part with thoſe barons, who had baſely forſaken their maſter in battle; with thoſe by whoſe advice he had diſhonored the holy church, and who joined the citizens only to defraud them of their money.

The deputies finding all their oppoſition would be vain, left the aſſembly, fully determined to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſubvert ſuch meaſures as might be decreed by the ſenate againſt their king. But all their reſolutions proved abortive, and they were at length obliged to comply with the neceſſities of the times, and ſubmit to the empreſs, whoſe authority, by the prudent conduct of earl Robert, ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed over the whole kingdom.

Stephen's queen, ſeconded by many of the nobility, petitioned for the liberty of her huſband; and offered, that if her requeſt was granted, he ſhould renounce the crown, and retire into a convent. The legate deſired that his nephew, prince Euſtace, might inherit Boulogne, with the other patrimonial eſtates of his father; and the Londoners applied for the eſtabliſhment of king Edward's laws, inſtead of thoſe of Henry, which they conſidered as grievous and oppreſſive.

Theſe petitions were all peremptorily rejected by the empreſs, whoſe ambition ſeemed to be moſt gratified when ſhe had the opportunity by her power of perſecuting thoſe whom policy and humanity ſhould have directed her to protect. Theſe rebuffs, however, were productive of diſagreeable conſequences to herſelf: the haughty prelate (who had probably never been ſincere in complying with Maud's government) was ſo exaſperated at her refuſing the requeſt he had made, that availing himſelf of the ill humour excited by this imperious conduct, he ſecretly inſtigated the Londoners to a revolt; and a conſpiracy was accordingly formed for ſeizing the perſon of the empreſs. This deſign, however, was not kept ſo ſecret but the empreſs obtained ſome intelligence of it, on which ſhe retired haſtily to Glouceſter, in order to have recourſe to the counſel of the earl of Hereford, being diſguſted with her brother the earl of Glouceſter, who had adviſed her to purſue conciliating meaſures, contrary to her arbitrary inclinations After ſtaying here a few days, ſhe went to Oxford, where ſhe ordered a general rendezvous of her troops, and ſummoned together all thoſe who had profeſſed themſelves her adherents.

While things were in this ſituation, the earl of Glouceſter repaired to Wincheſter, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between the legate and Maud; but all his endeavours proving abortive, he returned to Oxford, where he found the empreſs preparing to ſet out at the head of her army, with a deſign of reducing the legate to reaſon. She was attended by the earl of Hereford, and expected the arrival of the earl of Cheſter, who had promiſed to march to her aſſiſtance; but he had privately made his peace with the legate and the royal party. She, however, repaired with her army to Wincheſter; but the biſhop found means to eſcape, and having aſſembled all his followers, he joined his force to that of the Londoners, and Stephen's mercenary troops, who had not yet evacuated the kingdom. With theſe reinforcements he marched againſt the empreſs, took the city of Wincheſter, and beſieged Maud in the caſtle. Before he reached that fortreſs he had been joined by the earl of Cheſter, who now openly declared in favor of Stephen. The ſiege of the caſtle was preſſed with remarkable vigor, and the empreſs ſoon reduced to great extremities. But as nothing but famine could force her army to ſurrender, her generals applied their whole attention to ſecure a communication with the adjacent country. For this purpoſe they detached a ſtrong party to ſeize and fortify the monaſtery of Warwell, which lay about ſix miles from Wincheſter. But William de Ypres, who had continued faithfully attached to Stephen's fortune, advancing at the head of a body of troops drove them from the monaſtery into the church, where, refuſing to ſurrender, he ſet fire to it, and every ſoul periſhed in the flames.

The caſtle was now become quite deſtitute of proviſions; and the generals of the empreſs, fearing the conſequence, thought no time was to be loſt in making the beſt retreat in their power. The diſpoſition was made by the earl of Glouceſter, whoſe chief care was the preſervation of his ſiſter's perſon. Accordingly he drew up his forces, and ſent off the empreſs with the main body under the command of earl Reginald his brother; while he himſelf, at the head of no more than two hundred choſen followers, engaged to make good their retreat, and give the empreſs ſufficient time for effecting her eſcape.

As ſoon as the king's troops perceived the flight of the empreſs, they attacked the rear of her army, where the earl commanded in perſon; and it was chiefly owing to the courage and example of this nobleman, aſſiſted by the king of Scotland, who ſerved under him as volunteer, that ſo ſmall a body of men made a vigorous reſiſtance till the empreſs had time to reach the caſtle of Luggerſhal in Wiltſhire, when each was obliged to take care of his own ſafety. The Scot eſcaped by the fidelity of David Oliphant; but the earl of Glouceſter was taken priſoner.

The empreſs finding it impoſſible to make any reſiſtance in the caſtle of Luggerſhall, dreſſed herſelf in the habit of a countryman, and fled on horſeback to the caſtle of the Devizes. But the legate was no ſooner informed of this flight, than he diſpatched thither a body of horſe to ſcour the adjacent country, and prevent her eſcape, till the main body of the army ſhould arrive to beſiege the caſtle. The empreſs was now reduced to the moſt dangerous ſituation, and in order to avoid being taken priſoner, ſhe was obliged to continue her flight to Glouceſter, where ſhe was joined by Miles, earl of Hereford, who had long been violently attached to her intereſt.

The earl of Glouceſter was carried back to Wincheſter, and preſented to Matilda, Stephen's conſort, who from the noble principles of generoſity and gratitude, treated him with all the reſpect due to his rank and merit; at the ſame time ſhe had recourſe to every method in her power to bring him over to Stephen's party; but the earl continuing inflexible to the cauſe he had embraced, was, at laſt, ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Rocheſter.

Though this nobleman was only a ſubject, yet he was as much the life and ſoul of his own party as Stephen was of the other: and the empreſs, ſenſible of his merit, conſented to exchange the priſoners upon equal terms. The earl was accordingly brought to Wincheſter, to which city the king alſo repaired on his obtaining his liberty. Stephen was a ſtranger to that jealouſy ſo common to thoſe who diſpute for empire, and therefore held a familiar and friendly diſcourſe with the earl; after which they took leave of each other, but with open proteſtations on both ſides, of each continuing his utmoſt endeavours to diſtreſs the other's intereſt by his ſword.

In the beginning of the year 1142, both parties prepared to carry on the civil war with greater vigor than ever: but it was eaſily foreſeen, that while the empreſs, by whoſe proud and arbitrary conduct, all the advantages gained by her friends had been loſt, continued at the head of her party in England, they could never hope for ſucceſs. A general meeting of her adherents was therefore ſummoned, to meet at the Devizes, where it was agreed, that Geoffrey Plantagenet, huſband to the empreſs, ſhould be requeſted to ſend over the young prince Henry, that he might appear at the head of his partizans in England. The earl of Glouceſter accordingly went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had ſubmitted to the earl of Anjou. The earl ſucceeded in his commiſſion, and accordingly brought over the young prince with him to England.

Stephen in the mean time had ſurprized the caſtle of Wareham in Dorſetſhire, taken the city of Oxford, and beſieged the caſtle, whither the empreſs had retired for ſafety. . But on the landing of the earl of Glouceſter, affairs put on a more pleaſing aſpect; he again reduced the cattle of Wareham, took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Purbeck, and advanced at the head of an army to raiſe the ſiege of Oxford caſtle. Stephen had for ſome time preſſed the ſiege with the greateſt vigor, but the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the winter being now far advanced, had ſo reduced his army, that he had not troops ſufficient to ſurround the place. The empreſs took the advantage of this and eſcaped to Wallingford, where ſhe was ſoon after joined by the earl of Glouceſter: and Stephen, after having reduced the caſtle, retired to London, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1147. From the time of the eſcape of the empreſs from Oxford, nothing material happened between the two contending parties; a few caſtles were taken, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from each army, but nothing deciſive. This year was, however, marked with an event of the utmoſt conſequence to the empreſs. The earl of Glouceſter,, the principal ſupport of her cauſe, died of a fever, and was buried at Briſtol. In this accompliſhed nobleman, the empreſs loſt the only perſon that deſerved her intire confidence, perhaps the only one that ſerved her without views of intereſt. He was prudent, intrepid, generous and ſincere; an enemy to tyranny, an enemy to injuſtice, an enemy to deceit. He was beloved by his friends, beloved by his ſoldiers, and beloved by his country. His death was lamented by the good and the virtuous, and even Stephen himſelf dropped a tear of reſpect to his memory.

The death of this gallant nobleman gave a mortal blow to the party of the empreſs. She ſaw it would be impoſſible for her to contend any longer for the crown. Her troops deſerted, her friends acted with coolneſs, and every thing indicated a ſad reverſe of fortune. She wiſely prevented the blow that was aimed at her liberty, by paſſing over to the continent, and leaving Stephen in the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 1150. Geoffrey Plantagenet, the huſband of Maud, now perceived his end approaching; and deſirous of ſettling the ſucceſſion of his dominions on the ſureſt foundation, inveſted young Henry with the honors and revenues of his duchy. In conſequence of which the prince, immediately after his death, took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Normandy, as alſo of the province of Anjou and Maine. About the ſame time he alſo contracted a marriage, by which he acquired a great acceſſion of power, and became very formidable to his rival. Eleanor, the daughter and heireſs of William duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou, had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a cruſade, which that monarch commanded againſt the infidels: but having there loſt the affections of her huſband, and even fallen under ſome ſuſpicions of gallantry with a handſome Saracen, Lewis, more delicate than politic, produced a divorce from her, and even reſtored to her thoſe rich provinces, which ſhe had annexed, by her marriage, to the crown of France. Young Henry, neither diſcouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantry, made his addreſſes to that princeſs, and married her in ſix weeks after her divorce, by which he attained poſſeſſion of all her dominions as her dowry.

A. D. 1152. Stephen had imprudently involved himſelf in a quarrel with the pope, at a time when his crown tottered on his brow. The holy father had, indeed, given him ſufficient reaſon for his reſentment. He had ſummoned a council to meet at Rheims; but inſtead of permitting Stephen, or even the church of England, to elect the five deputies required, the pope nominated them himſelf. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonſtrances. Enraged at this inſult, the king refuſed them permiſſion to attend; and the pontiff, in revenge for this interpoſition, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this ſentence all the offices of religion were ſuſpended; the churches ſhut up, and the dead were not ſuffered to be interred in conſecrated ground. An univerſal terror ſpread through the nation; and it became neceſſary to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, in order to procure a reverſion of the ſentence, which was at length happily effected.

A. D. 1153. The great power which prince Henry had acquired produced ſuch effects on his party in England, that they formed themſelves into confederacies, and determined to exert themſelves in defence of the lawful heir to the Engliſh crown.

Stephen, not imagining that this ſpirit of party could have any effect on his intereſt, and deſirous of inſuring the crown to Euſtace, required the archbiſhop of Canterbury to anoint that prince as his ſucceſſor. But the primate, to the aſtoniſhment of the king, refuſed to comply, and to avoid the violence and revenge of Stephen, made his eſcape to the continent. This flight rendered the king's attempt to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family abortive, it being then conſidered that the archbiſhop of Canterbury poſſeſſed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

The archbiſhop's refuſal of anointing the king's ſon his ſucceſſor, ſtill more animated the party of Henry, and meſſengers were ſent to that prince, requeſting his preſence in England. Henry, readily liſtening to their importunities, immediately embarked, and landed on the 6th of January, 1154, at the head of a very ſmall body of troops; but their number was ſoon increaſed by the greater and moſt reſpectable part of the nobility in the kingdom.

Stephen ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and laboured aſſiduouſly to break its force. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon had no effect to leſſen his ardor. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badneſs of the roads ſo greatly retarded his progreſs, that Henry made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles before Stephen could afford the garriſons the neceſſary relief. At laſt the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and made preparations for deciding, by a general action, the great conteſt for the Engliſh crown. But the nobles, unwilling to ſheathe their ſwords in the bowels of their countrymen, interpoſed their authority: a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed at the head of both armies, and ſoon after a general peace took place between the contending princes; by which it was ſtipulated, that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown during his life, and that Henry ſhould ſucceed him as lawful heir by hereditary right.

The chief perſon that appeared dejected on this occaſion was Euſtace, Stephen's ſon, who eaſily foreſaw that there could be no agreement between his father and a prince of Henry's ambitious temper, but what muſt be greatly to his prejudice. His late and near proſpect of being raiſed to the throne, embittered his reflections. He had warmly expoſtulated with his father not to aſſent to the terms ſtipulated; but Stephen, though far from being deficient of parental affection, was obliged to give way to the neceſſities of the times. Filled with rage and deſpair, Euſtace left the army and retired into Cambridgeſhire, where he took the field at the head of an independent body of troops, reſolving to lay the whole country waſte, without even ſparing the moſt ſacred edifices. But he did not long continue to exerciſe theſe acts of cruelty; for he died ſoon after at St. Edmundſbury, and was buried at Feverſham, near his mother, the excellent Matilda, who had paid the great debt of nature about three months before.

As ſoon as the treaty between the two princes was properly ratified, the barons did homage to Henry as lawful heir to the crown; and they both repaired to London, that Henry might receive the fealty of the citizens. They were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy by the people, who now hoped they ſaw a final period to all their miſeries; and Henry ſoon after embarked for Normandy.

Stephen being, by this reconciliation, freed from all apprehenſions of an enemy, employed himſelf to remove the ſufferings of the people, and heal the wounds of his bleeding country. He reformed many abuſes; he iſſued ſeveral wiſe and ſalutary edicts, and gave many ſtriking inſtances of his great abilities and love of juſtice. In a word, he ſeemed determined to devote the remainder of his days to the eaſe and benefit of his ſubjects; to purſue every method for ſecuring their properties, protecting their perſons, and diffuſing through the whole kingdom univerſal harmony and undiſturbed repoſe. But while he was employed in theſe offices of juſtice and humanity, he was ſeized with a diſorder called the illiac paſſion, of which he died on the 25th of October 1154, in the 50th year of his age, and in the 19th of his reign.

He was buried in the abbey church of Feverſham, which he had founded himſelf, and where the remains of his wife and ſon had been ſo lately depoſited.

Stephen was certainly, both in his perſon and qualities, the moſt amiable of all the Norman princes that had enjoyed the crown of England. He poſſeſſed, in a very remarkable manner, the talent of gaining mens affections; and the chief blemiſh he had was giving too great a looſe to ambition, of which he retained a very ample ſhare.

He was, however, a prince of great fortitude, courage, activity, prudence and generoſity. He harboured not the paſſion of revenge, and malevolence ſeems to have been a ſtranger to his breaſt. He diſpenſed juſtice impartially to his ſubjects, and cheriſhed the virtue of forgiveneſs. In a word, he was poſſeſſed of ſo many amiable virtues, that had he aſcended the throne by right of inheritance, and lived in more peaceable times, his name would have been tranſmitted to poſterity in much fairer characters than hiſtorians have thought themſelves authorized to give it:

> Or had kind fortune, in this vale of ſtriſe,
> Doom'd him to figure but in private life;
> Clear had each ray of ſocial merit ſhone,
> Obſcur'd by clouds that hover round a throne.

Stephen had three ſons and two daughters by his wife Matilda, or Maud, who was the daughter of Euſtace, earl of Boulogne, by Mary, ſiſter to Matilda, queen of Henry I.

Baldwin, his eldeſt ſon, was born in the reign of Henry I. but died an infant.

Euſtace, his ſecond ſon, and heir apparent of both him and his wife Matilda, was created earl of Boulogne when his father was made king, that dignity being the inheritance of his mother. He married Conſtantia, ſiſter of Lewis VII. king of France, and daughter of Lewis the Fat. He died on the 10th of Auguſt, in the year 1153.

William, his youngeſt ſon, married Iſabella, daughter and heir of William Warren, the third earl of Surry. After his father's death king Henry II. made him a knight, reſumed thoſe honors that he held of the crown, and reſtored him to all that his father had before he was king, namely, the honors of Boulogne, Surry and Mortaigne. He died without iſſue in the month of October 1160.

Matilda, Stephen's eldeſt daughter, was born before he was king, and died in her infancy.

Mary, the youngeſt, was a nun and abbeſs of the monaſtery of Rumſey in Hants, from whence ſhe was privately taken by Matthew, younger ſon of the earl of Alſace; and after cohabiting together ten years, they were divorced by ſentence of the pope, and the lady obliged to return to her monaſtery, where ſhe continued during the remainder of her life.

Beſides theſe, Stephen had two natural ſons, named William and Gervaſe. The former of theſe has been by ſome miſtaken for the ſame William that was earl of Boulogne; while others will have it that Stephen had no other ſon named William but the lawful one. The beſt authority we have to adjuſt this matter is from William earl of Boulogne himſelf, who, in an antient charter of his ſtill extant, not only mentions this William as a witneſs, but at the ſame time calls him his brother.

Gervaſe, Stephen's ſecond natural ſon, was begotten on a gentlewoman named Damiſetta, and born in Normandy. His father brought him over to England in the year 1140, and ſoon after made him abbot of Weſtminſter, which he retained for twenty years. He died in the year 1169, and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened in Stephen's reign were the following:

On the day he landed to take upon him the ſovereignty of England, there fell a moſt dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which being in the winter ſeaſon was conſidered by the people as an omen of thoſe troubles which afterwards attended the reign of their new monarch.

In his fourteenth year there fell ſo much rain in the ſummer ſeaſon, that all the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed, and a dreadful famine enſued, which laſted for ſome time, till relief could be obtained from foreign countries.

On the 9th of December, in the ſame year, began a very ſevere froſt, that continued till the 9th of February following, in which time the river Thames was entirely frozen over, ſo as to admit a ſafe paſſage not only for people, but alſo for horſes and carriages.

On the 21ſt of March 1140, there happened a prodigious eclipſe of the ſun, by which it was ſo dark, that candles were lighted at noon day, and ſeveral ſtars were ſeen near the ſun. This ſtruck a univerſal terror in the people, many of whom imagined a final diſſolution was at hand; which is a proof of the little progreſs the ſciences had made in this iſland at that period.

The hiſtory of learning, during Stephen's reign, is very ſhort and defective. The numerous rebellions and civil wars that deſolated the kingdom, diſturbed the repoſe of the ſtudious, and prevented the generality of the muſes from taking up their abode in Britain. The little learning that ſubſiſted was confined to the cloiſter, and chiefly employed in eccleſiaſtical controverſies, that had no other tendency than that of ſetting the nation in a flame, and exalting the authority of the mitre above the power of the crown; of rendering eccleſiaſtics independent of the laws of civil government, and of placing the obſervance of ſuperſtitious ceremonies above the practice of pure morality. A few, indeed, there were, who employed ſome part of their time in the ſtudy of hiſtory and the antiquities of their country, and to whoſe labours we are indebted for our knowledge of the tranſactions of theſe uncultivated ages. Their names and various productions are as follow:

Florence, a monk of Worceſter, (often called Florentinus Baronius) who compoſed a chronicle of the world, from the Creation, to the year 1118. He lived but a ſhort time after he had executed this performance, but his Chronicle was continued 50 years farther by another monk of the ſame monaſtery.

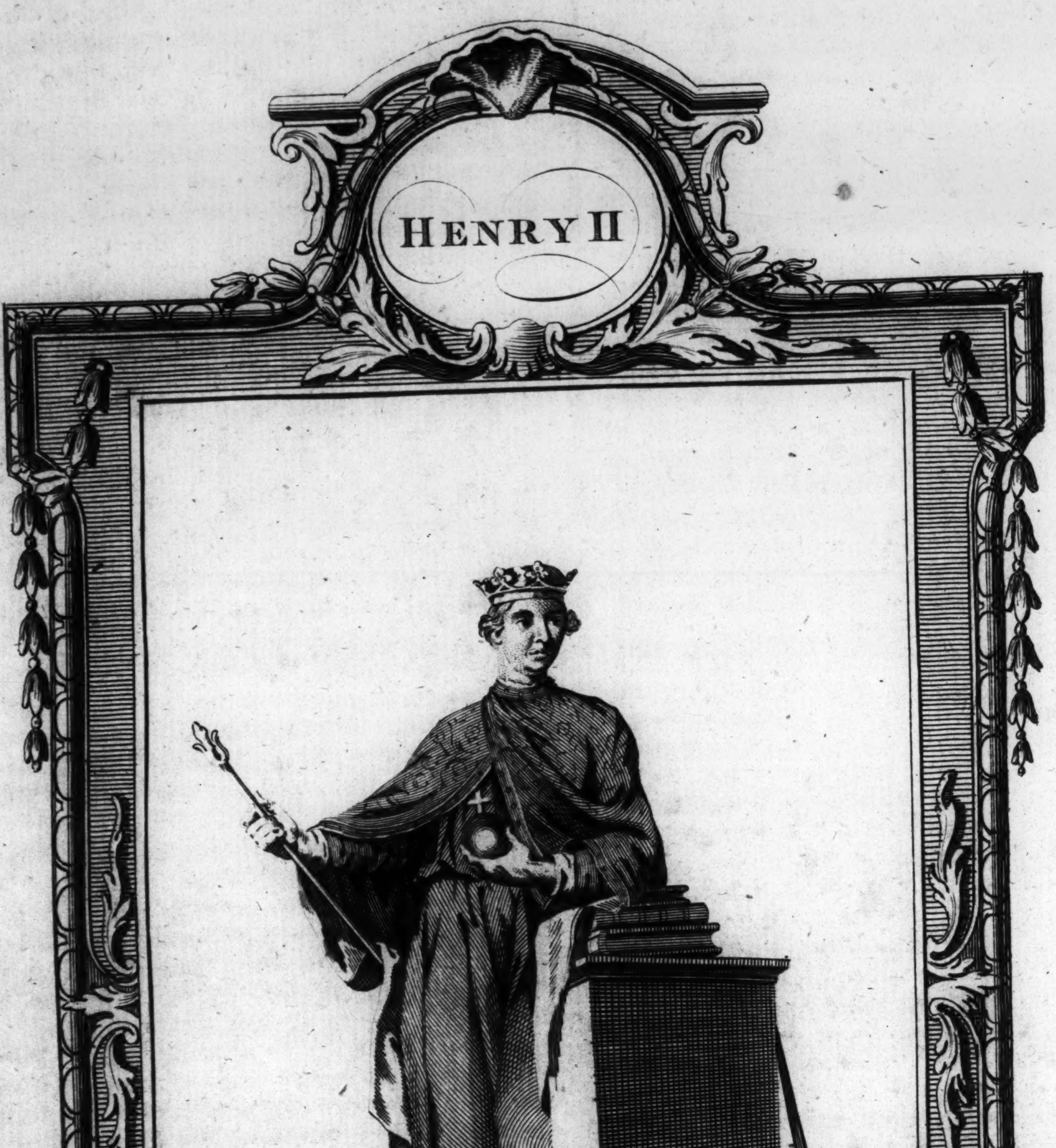
Alured, or Alfred, a prieſt of the college of Beverley, of which he was likewiſe treaſurer. This author, who was contemporary with the former, was born in the north of England, and educated at Cambridge. He appears to have been a writer of genius and abilities; but his works have ſuffered greatly by ignorant tranſcribers. He began his hiſtory during the difference between Henry I. and archbiſhop Anſelm. In his time no perſon was thought properly accompliſhed, who did not make the Britiſh hiſtory his ſtudy. This writer died in the year 1136.

Eadmerus, an author of ſenſe and gravity: he was cotemporary with Alfred, and intimately connected with the famous Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury. He wrote the hiſtory of William I. William II. and Henry I. His works may be admitted as impartially written, eſpecially when we conſider that he was a profeſſed advocate for the papal authority.

William of Malmeſbury, ſo called from his being a monk and librarian of the college of Malmeſbury in Wiltſhire. This writer is deſervely placed at the head of all the Engliſh hiſtorians of his time. His ſentiments are bold and manly; his ſtyle nervous and elegant; far ſuperior to what might have been expected from the barbarous age in which he lived. His chief work is intituled, "De geſtis Anglorum," written in five books, with an appendix in two more, which he calls "Hiſtoriæ novellæ."

Theſe

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



HENRY II

Wale delin. *Taylor ſculp.*

Theſe contain a judicious collection of whatever was to be found on record from the arrival of the Saxons till the reign of king Stephen. This writer died in the year 1142,

Simeon of Durham was a monk and preceptor of that place. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his indefatigable care and aſſiduity in collecting the monuments of Engliſh learning that had eſcaped the ravages of the Danes. He flouriſhed in the reign of Henry I. and Stephen.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed compoſition, however, of this age is that called the Saxon Chronicle, which begins with the birth of Chriſt, and ends with the death of Stephen. From the variety of ſtyle, and other circumſtances, it is evident that theſe annals were compoſed by different writers, and at various periods of time. Their authenticity, however, has ever been indiſputable, eſpecially with regard to the wars between the Anglo-Saxons and Britons; and they have been the foundation of all our hiſtories to the Norman conqueſt.-----An accurate edition of this celebrated Chronicle, with an elegant tranſlation, were publiſhed at Oxford in 1692, by Dr. Gibſon, afterwards biſhop of London.

BOOK VI.

From the Acceſſion of Henry II. *to the Death of* Henry III.

SECTION I.

HENRY II. SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.

NOTWITHSTANDING Stephen had, a ſhort time before his death, been very vigilant in endeavouring to reſtore peace and tranquillity to England, yet the troubles in which the nation had for a long time been involved were far from being intirely ſuppreſſed. The calamities, indeed, which he had juſt removed, rendered the moſt diſtant proſpect of peace ſo agreeable, that the people ſtrove to outvie each other in demonſtrating their attachment to Henry, who aſcended the throne with the important advantages of an indiſputable title, and an elevated reputation.

Henry, at the time he received intelligence of Stephen's death, was engaged in beſieging a caſtle on the frontiers of Normandy; but fearleſs of the efforts of William, the ſon of Stephen, who was too contemptible to form a party, he continued the ſiege till the garriſon ſurrendered. As ſoon as this was accompliſhed he embarked for England, where he landed on the 8th of December 1154, and was received by the nobility amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. On the 19th of the ſame month he was crowned at Weſtminſter, together with his queen Eleanor, by Theobald, then archbiſhop of Canterbury.

After the ceremony of his coronation was over, he retired to the abbey of Bermondſey, with an intention, as he pretended, of ſpending his Chriſtmas there, but in reality, to concert ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the intereſt and tranquillity of his people.

A. D. 1155. The firſt diſplay that Henry gave of his good wiſhes for the welfare of his country was, by diſmiſſing all thoſe mercenary ſoldiers, who had committed infinite diſorders in the kingdom. Theſe he ſent abroad, together with their leader, William de Ypres, the great friend and confident of Stephen. He then revoked all the grants made by his predeceſſors, and even thoſe which neceſſity had extorted from the empreſs his mother: and that princeſs, who had reſigned her rights in favor of Henry, made no oppoſition to a meaſure ſo neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the crown. He repaired the coin which had been ſhamefully debaſed during the late confuſions, and took proper meaſures for preventing a return of the like abuſes. He likewiſe, in order to preſerve a proper authority to the laws, demoliſhed all the caſtles that had been erected ſince the reign of Henry I. which had become the ſanctuaries of robbers and diſturbers of the peace, retaining only a few on account of their advantageous ſituation for the defence of the kingdom.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, he formed a council to aſſiſt him in the weighty concerns of government. The principal of theſe were Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, archdeacon of the ſame ſee, lately made chancellor, and Robert, earl of Leiceſter, high juſticiary of the kingdom.

Matilda, the king's mother, being a princeſs of natural ſagacity, improved by experience, was declared preſident of this council, by the advice of which, Henry convened a general aſſembly or parliament, where he cauſed the barons to take the oath of allegiance to his two ſons, Henry and William, though then in a ſtate of infancy. He alſo reſtored the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, confirmed the charter granted by Henry I. his grand-father, and made ſeveral regulations to the intereſt and welfare of the realm.

Theſe meaſures reflected great reputation on the new government, and ſo conciliated the affections of the people, that Henry enjoyed the crown in uninterrupted tranquillity. But a ſtate of inactivity was not agreeable to the inclination of Henry, and the conqueſt of Ireland ſoon employed his thoughts. A bull from pope Adrian was obtained for that purpoſe; but this expedition was poſtponed, according to ſome hiſtorians, becauſe the empreſs Matilda, who was now in England, diſapproved of it.

A. D. 1156. In the beginning of this year Henry embarked for Normandy, in order to oppoſe the attempts of his brother Geoffrey, who, during his abſence, had made an incurſion into Anjou and Maine, and taken poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of theſe provinces, to which he pretended a right. On the king's appearance, the people returned to their allegiance; and Geoffrey, finding it would be in vain to contend with the ſuperior power of his brother, reſigned his claim for an annual penſion of a thouſand pounds. But, at the ſame time, Geoffrey took poſſeſſion of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Noel, their prince, put into his hands.

When Henry had thus ſettled his affairs in Normandy, he returned to England, where he found that the reſtleſs Welſh had made ſeveral cruel invaſions during his abſence. On this occaſion Cadwalader, brother to Owen, one of the princes of Wales, applied to Henry for protection, and encouraged him to revenge the inſults of the Welſh, by invading their country. Henry accordingly marched at the head of a powerful army to Cheſter, where he received advice, that Owen had advanced as far as Baſingweark to meet him. Henry immediately reſolved to attack the Welſh prince, and accordingly ſet out, at the head of a detachment, conſiſting of the flower of his army, to give him battle; but in his march through a thick wood, he was attacked by the enemy, and the Engliſh, being pent up on every ſide, by eminences poſſeſſed by the Welſh, were very roughly handled. In the midſt of this confuſion, Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer, being ſeized with a panic, let the royal ſtandard drop from his hands, and betook himſelf to flight, exclaiming that the king was ſlain. But Henry ſoon appeared in perſon, rallied his troops, and brought them off with great honor, though, from the advantageous ſituation in which Owen had placed himſelf, he was obliged to retire to Rutland caſtle.

A. D. 1157. In the beginning of the ſpring, Henry again marched with his forces againſt the Welſh prince, and having experienced the danger of paſſing through moraſſes and unknown foreſts, ordered the woods to be cut down, and the roads to be opened, marching with the utmoſt caution, and ſending out parties to reconnoitre the country as they paſſed. By theſe means, he proceeded to Snowdon without interruption, where Owen and his barons, finding themſelves unable to oppoſe his progreſs, ſued for peace, ſwore fealty, delivered hoſtages, and reſtored all the caſtles and lands they had taken during the reign of Stephen.

Soon after the king's return from this expedition, Henry de Eſſex was accuſed, by Henry de Montfort, of treaſon and cowardice. As the fact was notorious, the accuſed had no other defence than that of ſingle combat, in which he was vanquiſhed by his accuſer. The king, however, thought proper to ſave his life, which was now forfeited, but confiſcated his eſtate, and ordered him to be ſhut up in a monaſtery during the remainder of his life.

A. D. 1158. The king's happineſs was this year increaſed by his queen being delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Richard, and afterwards ſucceeded him on the throne. And the following year his family was farther increaſed by the birth of a fourth ſon named Geoffrey, on which occaſion he and his queen were again crowned at Worceſter. At this ſolemnity the king and queen laid their crowns on the altar, and ſolemnly ſwore never to wear them again; and this is ſuppoſed to have aboliſhed the cuſtom of the kings wearing their crowns at the celebration of great feſtivals, as we do not find any inſtances of it in the ſucceeding reigns.

Geoffrey, the king's brother, who had lately taken poſſeſſion of Nantz, dying about this time, Henry, though he had no other title to that county, than the voluntary ſubmiſſion or election of the inhabitants, laid claim to the territory as devolved to him by hereditary right, and went over to ſupport his pretenſions by force of arms. Conan, duke or earl of Britany, pretended that Nantz had been lately ſeparated by rebellion from his principality, to which of right it belonged; and accordingly, on the death of Geoffrey, took poſſeſſion of the diſputed territory. Henry, in order to prevent Lewis the French king from interpoſing in this controverſy, paid him a viſit; and ſo allured him by careſſes and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between the two monarchs, and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the Engliſh crown, ſhould be betrothed to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age, and the latter ſtill in her cradle. Secure from meeting with any interruption from France, Henry now advanced at the head of his army into Britany; and Conan, deſpairing of ſucceſs againſt ſo powerful an enemy, delivered up the county of Nantz to the Engliſh monarch. But this incident procured Henry ſtill greater advantages than the ſurrender of Nantz. Conan, harraſſed by the turbulent diſpoſition of his adherents, was deſirous of procuring the ſupport of ſo powerful a monarch; and accordingly betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third ſon, who was then of the ſame tender years.

A. D. 1159. The acquiſitions thus obtained, were far from ſatisfying the ambitious temper of Henry, who now reſolved to carry into execution his grand project of entering the city of Tholouſe, with all its dependencies. Philippa, mother to his queen Eleanor, was the only iſſue of William IV. count of Tholouſe; and ſhould have inherited his dominions, had not that prince, deſirous of preſerving the ſucceſſion in the male-line, conveyed the principality to his brother, Raymond de St. Giles, by a contract of ſale, which, in that age, was regarded as fictitious and illuſory. By this means the county of Tholouſe came to be diſputed between the male and female heirs; and the one or the other, as opportunities favored their pretenſions, had obtained poſſeſſion. Alphonſo, the ſon of Raymond, was the reigning ſovereign; and on Henry's reviving his wife's claim, had recourſe for protection to the king of France. Lewis himſelf, when married to his wife, had aſſerted the juſtice of her claim, and, in conſequence, demanded poſſeſſion of Tholouſe; but his ſentiments changing with his intereſt, he now determined to defend, by his power and authority, the title of Alphonſo. Henry was therefore convinced that nothing but a powerful army could ſupport his pretenſions.

The feudal conſtitution required that each military tenant ſhould attend the prince, with a certain number of his vaſſals. But Henry, convinced from experience, that an army compoſed of ſuch troops was very untractable and undiſciplined, levied upon his vaſſals in Normandy and other provinces, remote from Tholouſe, a ſum of money inſtead of their ſervice; and this commutation, by reaſon of the great diſtance, was ſtill more advantageous for his Engliſh vaſſals. He therefore impoſed a ſcutage of three pounds on every knight's fee, a condition, which though unuſual, perhaps the firſt to be met with in hiſtory, the military tenants willingly paid; and with this money Henry hired an army that was more under his command, and on whoſe ſervice he could place a more certain dependance.

Beſides theſe precautions, Henry had taken care to gain over to his party, Berenger, count of Barcelona, and Trincavel, count of Niſmes. Aſſiſted by theſe princes he invaded the county of Tholouſe; and after taking Verdun, Caſtlenau, and other places, he beſieged the capital of the province, and was likely to ſucceed in his attempt, when Lewis, advancing before the main body of his army, threw himſelf into the place, with a ſmall reinforcement. Henry was urged by ſome of his miniſters to proſecute the ſiege, take Lewis priſoner, and impoſe his own terms in the pacification; but this he rejected, declaring that he would not attack a place defended by Lewis in perſon. He accordingly raiſed the ſiege, and a treaty of peace was ſoon after concluded between the two monarchs.

A. D. 1160. This peace, however, was but of ſhort continuance: ambition ſoon diſſolved the bands of amity. Henry's eldeſt ſon had, for ſome time, been affianced to Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, and it was agreed, by the marriage treaty, that the princeſs ſhould have the city of Giſors with part of

Norman Vexin, for her portion; and that theſe places ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the Knights Templars, till the marriage was celebrated. Deſirous of obtaining the poſſeſſion of thoſe valuable places, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Piſa and Pavia to grant him a ſynodical decree, diſpenſing with the nonage of the parties. The nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but ſeven, and the princeſs only three years of age; and the Templars, conſidering themſelves as free from their engagements, delivered up the caſtle of Giſors and the other places aſſigned as Margaret's dower to Henry.

It is little to be wondered at that ſuch conduct as this ſhould greatly exaſperate Lewis. His firſt reſentment fell upon the Templars, to whom the cuſtody of the caſtle had been committed, and who were baniſhed from his dominions. This would certainly have been ſucceeded by a war between the two monarchs, had it not been for Pope Alexander III. who, deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, interpoſed, and brought about a reconciliation. Alexander, who the preceding year had been driven from Rome, by the anti-pope Victor IV. had retired into France, Lewis as well as Henry having acknowledged him for the true ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and the pontiff in return was deſirous of bringing about a peace between the two princes, who were equally his friends. The contending monarchs met his holineſs at the caſtle of Torci on the Loire. They immediately diſmounted to receive him, and each of them holding one of the reins of his bridle walked on foot by his ſide, and in this manner conducted him into the caſtle. Such was the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the times!

This year William, earl of Blois, ſon to king Stephen, died in his return from the expedition of Tholouſe, in which he had accompanied the king.

A. D. 1162. Henry had been now ſo long in Normandy, that his affairs in England required his preſence. He accordingly embarked, and landed at Southampton, where he was received by all the nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, with great demonſtrations of joy. Soon after his arrival, he began to execute a project which he had a long time before concerted. The clergy had, for ſeveral years, been making gradual advances on the prerogative of the crown, and their power was now arrived to ſuch an amazing height, that it became doubtful, whether the king, or the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſhould be conſidered as the head of the kingdom. Henry had, for ſome time, determined to ſtop the rapid courſe of eccleſiaſtical ambition; but the mild character, and advanced age of Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with his merit, in refuſing to place the crown on the head of Euſtace, the ſon of Stephen, prevented Henry, during the life time of that prelate, from taking any meaſures againſt the multiplied encroachments of the clergy. That obſtacle was, however, now removed, the biſhop having, ſome time ſince, paid the debt of nature, and Thomas-a-Becket, the chancellor of ſtate and prime miniſter, placed in the archiepiſcopal ſee.

Henry now flattered himſelf with poſſeſſing a long ſeries of peace and tranquillity; but he was greatly deceived, and his life rendered unhappy by the very perſon who owed his whole fortune to his bounty. This was the celebrated Thomas-a-Becket, lately promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, whoſe conduct ſet the nation in a flame, and rendered abortive the ſcheme that Henry had formed for confining the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within proper bounds, and of repreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the clergy.

As this perſon makes a conſiderable figure in the preſent reign, we ſhall be particular in deſcribing the riſe and progreſs of his power, with the conduct he exerciſed after the various emoluments to which he was raiſed.

This famous eccleſiaſtic was the ſon of a citizen of London, and had ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the civil and canon law at Boulogne. He was poſſeſſed of very ſingular talents, and had a ſpirit not to be daunted even by the frowns of royalty. He had been raiſed by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to conſiderable preferments in the church, and on Henry's acceſſion to the crown, was recommended to him by that primate as a perſon worthy of his confidence and favor. Henry accordingly promoted him to ſeveral places of truſt, and ſoon after to that of chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom. After obtaining that high poſt, Becket was made provoſt of Beverly, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower: he was put in poſſeſſion of the honors of Eye and Berkham, two large baronies, which had eſcheated to the crown; and, to complete his grandeur, he was entruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir apparent to the crown.

The pomp of his retinue, the ſumptuouſneſs of his furniture, the luxury of his table, and the munificence of his preſents, were conformable to theſe great preferments, or rather exceeded any thing which England had before ſeen in any ſubject. A great number of knights were retained in his ſervice; the greateſt barons were proud of being received at his table; his houſe was a place of education for the chief nobility; and the king himſelf frequently condeſcended to take part of his entertainments. As his way of life was ſplendid and opulent, ſo his amuſements and occupations were gay and ſprightly. He employed himſelf, at leiſure hours, in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horſemanſhip; he expoſed his perſon in ſeveral military actions; he carried over, at his own expence, ſeven hundred knights to attend the king in his wars at Tholouſe; in the ſubſequent wars on the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained during forty days, twelve hundred knights, and four thouſand of their train; and, in an embaſſy to France, with which he was entruſted, he aſtoniſhed that court with the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Theobald, the late archbiſhop of Canterbury, being a ſtranger to ambition, had, like his immediate predeceſſor, lived in a good correſpondence with the ſtate, and all great points of controverſy between the royal and eccleſiaſtical powers, had lain rather dormant than explained. Becket had always behaved ſo little like a churchman, that Henry never imagined he would revive the controverſy, eſpecially as the former was well acquainted with the king's intention of retrenching, or rather of confining, within the antient bounds, all eccleſiaſtical privileges.

Becket, however, was no ſooner inveſted with this high dignity, which rendered him, during life, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, with ſome pretenſions of aſpiring to be the firſt, than his demeanor and conduct were both altered. He now endeavoured to reretrieve the character of ſanctity, which he had, in a great meaſure, loſt, by his buſy and oſtentatious courſe of life. Without conſulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commiſſion of chancellor, pretending, that he intended now to attach himſelf ſolely to the exerciſe of his ſacred function. He affected the greateſt auſterity, and moſt rigid mortification. He wore ſackcloth next his ſkin, which, by his affected care to conceal, was neceſſarily the more remarked by all the world. His uſual diet was bread, his drink water, which he rendered ſtill farther unpalatable, by an infuſion of bitter herbs. He daily, on his knees, waſhed the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards diſmiſſed with preſents. He gained the affection of his monks by his frequent charities to the convents and hoſpitals. Every perſon who made profeſſion of ſanctity was admitted to his converſation, and returned full of panegyrics on the humility, as well as the piety and mortification of the holy primate.

A. D. 1163. Becket, having by this conduct obtained the general applauſe of the people, determined to oppoſe the meaſures formed by Henry to reſtrain the eccleſiaſtical power: in the commencement of which he endeavoured to intimidate the king by the intrepidity and boldneſs of his enterprizes. He ſummoned the earl of Clare, a nobleman of great intereſt and reputation, to ſurrender the barony of Tunbridge, which had formerly belonged to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, but had been in the poſſeſſion of the family of that nobleman ever ſince the conqueſt. Becket alledged, that it was not in the power of any of his predeceſſors, to alienate lands in prejudice of the church. But the earl having received his eſtate from the crown, diſregarded the ſummons. The primate went ſtill farther, and claimed, upon the ſame principle, from the king himſelf, the cuſtody of the caſtle and tower of Rocheſter. He alſo claimed the right of preſenting to all the vacant churches belonging to the tenants who held of the archbiſhopric. In conſequence of this claim, the primate preſented one Lawrence, a prieſt, to the church of Eynesford; but the incumbent was violently expelled by William de Eynesford, a military tenant of the crown, and patron of the living in queſtion. The archbiſhop, who acted both as judge and party, in ſpiritual courts, excommunicated Eynesford, who complained to the king of the injury he had received, without the previous conſent of the ſovereign. The king immediately ſent the primate orders to abſolve the complainant: but received for anſwer, that it did not belong to him to command him, either to abſolve or excommunicate any perſon. Nor would he ſubmit to obey the royal mandate, till Henry was obliged to have recourſe to menaces.

Theſe proceedings were preludes to an open rupture between the king and archbiſhop, which was daily enlarged from various circumſtances. During the late reign a great number of perſons, abſolutely unqualified for the function, in order to enjoy the protection of the church, had received holy orders, through the indulgence and venality of the biſhop; and theſe, having no benefices, belonged to no dioceſe, in conſequence of which, not being ſubject to any juriſdiction, they committed the moſt flagrant enormities with impunity.

This perverſion of eccleſiaſtical power excited the reſentment of the whole nation, who had endeavoured, without ſucceſs, to ſuppreſs it. Henry himſelf had long determined to put an end to theſe atrocious diſorders, by puniſhing the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity; and a circumſtance now offered that gave him an opportunity of putting his deſign into execution.

A clergyman of inferior rank, having debauched the daughter of a gentleman in the county of Worceſter, was ſeized by the enraged father, whom the villain baſely murdered. The king inſiſted on the aſſaſſin's being tried in the ſecular court, but Becket, interpoſing his prerogative, objected, and committed him to the biſhop's priſon. The nobility, alarmed at this exceſs of inſolence, told the king, that unleſs preventive meaſures were immediately taken, his authority would be totally diſannulled, and the clergy uſurp abſolute deſpotiſm throughout the whole kingdom.

The king, therefore, to ſtem this growing evil, ſummoned an aſſembly of the prelates at Weſtminſter; and after enumerating the diſorders that daily reſulted from the perverſion of eccleſiaſtical power, and the iniquity of ſpiritual courts, inſiſted, that for the future, one of his judges might aſſiſt at the trial of every offender, where life was immediately concerned; and that every murderer (if of the church) ſhould be degraded from his prieſthood, and conſigned over to ſecular puniſhment. But the prelate alledged, in oppoſition to the remonſtrances of his ſovereign, the immunities of the church, and roundly aſſerted, in the hearing of the whole convocation, that a clergyman ought not to be put to death for any crime whatever.

Though the aſſembly endeavoured to ſet forth the evil conſequences that muſt ariſe from the admittance of ſuch a doctrine, the archbiſhop continued to enforce and vindicate it; ſo that their deliberations proved ineffectual, and they returned to the council without coming to any reſolution. The king, exaſperated at their obſtinacy, demanded, whether they would obſerve the laws and cuſtoms of the crown? to which the archbiſhop replied, in the name of the reſt, that they would obey them in all points, that did not infringe on the rights of their order.

The king, diſſatisfied with this evaſive anſwer, inſiſted on an abſolute compliance with the conſtitutional laws of the realm, and on the clergy perſiſting to refuſe, he left the aſſembly incenſed, and retired immediately to Woodſtock. The biſhops, alarmed at the abrupt departure of the king, began to reflect on their preſent critical ſituation. They knew the power of the archbiſhop at the court of Rome, nor were they inſenſible of the importance of a king, eſtabliſhed on the Engliſh throne, maſter of large revenues, and poſſeſſed of a powerful armament; they therefore thought it prudent to make their intereſt as barons, and to pay a proper obedience as prelates.

Various endeavours were uſed to bend the inſolent and haughty prelate; but he withſtood them all; till at length, Robert de Melun, his domeſtic chaplain, and Philip, abbot of Eleemoſina, ſent over by the pope in quality of a legate a latere, to compromiſe their differences, prevailed on him to conform to the king's pleaſure. He then viſited the king at Woodſtock, retracted the offenſive reſervation, and promiſed on the faith of an honeſt man, to maintain the ſtricteſt adherence to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom.

A. D. 1164. The king, in order to prevent any future infringement on the civil eſtabliſhment of the realm, aſſembled a general council of the prelates and nobility at Clarendon, in which the famous conſtitutions called by that name, were enacted into laws, the ſubſtance of which are as follow:

That all ſuits relative to preſentations, ſhall be preferred to the deciſion of the king's court; that all crimes committed by clergymen ſhall be cognizable in the king's court, without infringing on the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; but a clerk on conviction, ſhall forfeit his privilege, and the protection of the church; that no biſhop or other clergyman ſhall quit the realm, without obtaining the king's licence, nor procure that licence, without previous ſecurity, for abſtaining from every thing prejudicial to the king and kingdom during his abſence; that excommunicated perſons ſhall be exempted from oath, or giving ſecurity for remaining in the place of their reſidence; but at the ſame time be obliged to comply with the judgment of the church, in order to obtain abſolution; that accuſation ſhall be brought againſt no lay perſon in the eccleſiaſtical court without legal and reputable evidence in preſence of the biſhop; and if the perſon arraigned ſhould be ſuch as nobody would venture to accuſe, the ſheriff, at the inſtance of the biſhop, ſhould oblige twelve reputable men of the neighbourhood to declare upon oath what they knew of the matter: that no tenant in capite, or miniſterial officers of the king, ſhould be excommunicated, or his lands laid under an interdict, without the concurrence of the king, and in his abſence, of his juſticiary: that appeals in eccleſiaſtical cauſes ſhould be made from the archdeacon to the biſhop, from the biſhop to the archbiſhop, and laſtly to the king, to be determined by his precept in the court of the archbiſhop,

biſhop, but to proceed no farther without the king's conſent; that all ſuits between laymen and eccleſiaſtics about tenures, ſhould be tried before the king's juſticiary, by the verdict of twelve reputable men, and if the tenure ſhould be found Frank Almoine, the ſuit ſhould be referred to the eccleſiaſtical court; but if a lay fee determined in the king's court, unleſs both parties hold of the ſame lord, whether ſpiritual or temporal, in which caſe the ſuit ſhould be tried in his court; but the perſon ſeized of the tenement in queſtion, ſhould not, on account of ſuch verdict, be diſſeized till the determination of the ſuit: that any tenant of the king's demeſnes, ſummoned by the archbiſhop or biſhop, to anſwer for a miſdemeanor, that ſhould fall under their cognizance, might, for contempt of ſuch ſummons, be interdicted from divine ſervice, but not excommunicated till he ſhould be reſigned to that ſentence by the king's officer, in default of making proper ſatisfaction: that all archbiſhops, prelates and clergymen, where dignities and benefices ſhould depend on the king in capite, ſhould hold their poſſeſſions, as baronies, appear before the king, juſtices and miniſters, to anſwer the duties of their tenure, obſerve and perform all the royal cuſtoms, rights and ſervices, and like other barons ſit as judges in the king's court, until ſentence ſhould begin to be pronounced for the loſs of life or limb, and then they ſhould be at liberty to withdraw: that the king ſhould enter into poſſeſſion of all vacant ſees, abbeys and priories, of royal patronage and foundation, and that in filling up theſe vacancies, the chapter or convent ſhould be aſſembled, the election made in the chapel royal with the king's conſent, and the perſon elected ſhould, before his conſecration, do homage, and ſwear fealty to the king, as his liege lord of life, limb, and terrene honor, ſaving his order: that any nobleman, oppoſing or rejecting the legal deciſions of the eccleſiaſtical court, ſhould be compelled to ſubmit by the king's authority; and any perſon refuſing to ſtand to the award of the king's court, ſhould be proſecuted by the eccleſiaſtical authority, till the king's award ſhould receive ſatisfaction: that goods and chattels forfeited to the king, ſhould belong to his majeſty, whether found within or without the precincts of the church: that the king's court ſhould try all ſuits for debts due upon oath, ſolemn promiſe, or otherwiſe contracted; and that the ſons of copyholders ſhould not be ordained, without the conſent of the lord of the manor, in which they were born.

Theſe articles were conſidered by the aſſembly as containing the genuine ſenſe of the prelates and nobility of England, touching the ſubordination of the eccleſiaſtical to the civil power; but when, for their greater ſecurity, the prelates were deſired to affix their ſeals to them, Becket refuſed, and affected remorſe for having aſſented to articles, which, on reflection, he conſidered as dangerous encroachments on the prerogative of the church.

The pope, in order to prevent an open rupture between the king and the primate, ſent over the archbiſhop of Rouen, with a commiſſion to compromiſe the difference between them; but the king would hearken to no propoſals, unleſs the pope would conſent to confirm by bull, the conſtitutions of Clarendon; and in order to effect this, he ſent over one of his domeſtic chaplains, to ſolicit a grant of legation from his holineſs in favor of Roger archbiſhop of York: this the pontiff refuſed, but complimented the king with the offer of that power, on condition of its not being exerciſed to the prejudice of the primate.

Henry, however, was not to be caught with this bait; he declined the offer, and at the ſame time took care to expreſs himſelf in ſuch terms in relation to Becket, whenever the pope's ambaſſador was preſent, that it was generally apprehended by all Becket's friends, that the king was bent upon his ruin.

The archbiſhop, alarmed at this, applied to Henry for leave to go on a viſit to pope Alexander, whoſe advice he pretended to want in regard to ſome church affair, but was refuſed; whereupon he embarked privately on board a veſſel at Romney, in order to make his eſcape over to France; but being put back by contrary winds, he went to Woodſtock, where the king then reſided, in hopes of being able to mollify him; but Henry was by this time ſo thoroughly incenſed againſt him, that he refuſed him audience, and he was obliged to depart without an interview.

Though Henry was ſenſible that the late behaviour of Becket had ſubjected him to the moſt rigorous puniſhment that inſulted majeſty could inflict, yet he choſe to proceed againſt him by the moſt conſtitutional meaſures; he therefore called a new council at Northampton, about the beginning of October 1164, at which no leſs than four impeachments were preferred againſt the turbulent and haughty prelate.

The firſt was for contumacy, in not having appeared at the king's court in perſon, to anſwer a writ brought againſt him, by John, mareſchal of the exchequer, who had ſued the primate in the archiepiſcopal court for ſome lands belonging to the manor of Pagham; and who, thinking the determination illegal, had appealed from thence to the king's court for juſtice. The archbiſhop, ſtanding upon his defence, was convicted, and a fine levied on him of 500l.

The ſecond article was, his having embezzled 300l. he had received of the iſſues of the honors of Eye and Berkhamſtead. In anſwer to this article he alledged, that he had laid out a greater ſum in the repairs of royal caſtles, and wanted to wave the proſecution, becauſe he was not cited to the council on that account; but the king denying his firſt allegation, and demanding immediate judgment, he agreed to refund the money.

The third charge brought againſt him was for 500 marks which he had borrowed from the king. The archbiſhop pleaded, that he was unprepared to anſwer upon thoſe charges; but this plea was over-ruled, and Becket obliged to give ſecurity for the payment.

The laſt charge was of much greater importance, and of a more complicated nature than either of the other three. He was required to give in an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the biſhoprics, abbies, and baronies, which had, during that time, been ſubjected to his management. This was a charge that affected the whole body of the clergy. The prelates now ſaw their error; but they had gone too far to retreat. They were, however, greatly alarmed, and ſeemed well diſpoſed to join their archbiſhop. The primate anſwered, that it could not be expected he could come prepared to anſwer a charge of this complicated nature, as he had received no intimation of it in his ſummons; but promiſed to give the king ſatisfaction, if a proper time was allowed him for that purpoſe. The king inſiſted upon ſecurity; and Becket deſired leave to conſult his ſuffragans in a caſe of ſuch importance to the church in general, and to himſelf in particular. This requeſt was granted, and he accordingly retired to his lodgings.

He ſpent the whole night in cloſe conſultation with his ſuffragans, but had the mortification to find that he could not engage them in the ſame plan of refractorineſs and diſobedience with himſelf; on the contrary, they adviſed him to ſubmit to the king. Thus diſappointed, he had recourſe to another artifice; he pretended to be taken violently ill, and when the king ſent ſome of the temporal lords to demand of him peremptorily whether he would abide by the determination of the king's court, he returned for anſwer, that if he was better he would attend the king and his court on the morrow.

Accordingly the next day he repaired thither, but with a firm reſolution, inſtead of giving any account of his ſtewardſhip, to inſiſt on the privileges of the church; and thinking that ſome religious ſolemnity might attract the notice of the people in his favor, he propoſed to walk to the court bare-footed, attired in his pontifical robes, and to carry in his hand the croſs of Canterbury. His clergy, however, diſſuading him from this deſign, he laid aſide his pall and mitre, and wearing his other ſacred veſtments, with the cope above them, the croſs being carried before him, proceeded in that manner, on horſeback, to the king's court. When he came into the outer court he alighted, and taking the croſs into his own hand, proceeded thus into the king's chamber, where he ſat down, holding his croſs out before him.

Every perſon preſent was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at his inſolence and folly; the biſhops in particular were aſhamed and confounded; they told him, that it looked as if he came prepared to ſet the whole kingdom in a flame, and to put his ſovereign at open defiance: they repreſented to him the ill conſequences of ſuch vain-glorious and inſulting conduct, and tried to perſuade him to deliver the croſs to the biſhop of Hereford, who offered to carry it for him; but this was all in vain, for the haughty prelate would not comply. At length the archbiſhop of York, no longer able to bear with his obſtinate inſolence, told him, that notwithſtanding the croſs was in his hand, he would find that the king carried much ſharper weapons. Becket replied, it was true, the king's weapons could kill the body, but his deſtroyed the ſoul.

This anſwer, which ſeemed to threaten the king and the court with excommunication, was carried to Henry, then ſitting in an inner chamber, who was ſo provoked at ſuch a traiterous menace, that he ſent for all the nobles and prelates to attend him, and complained loudly of Becket's intolerable inſolence in entering his court in ſuch a preſumptuous manner. The whole council joined in condemning this inſtance of his pride; and the prelates gave the king to underſtand that the archbiſhop had notified to them his intent of appealing to the pope for protection.

Henry, willing to avoid a rupture with the pontiff, though at the ſame time deſirous of puniſhing the inſolence of the prelate, remonſtrated himſelf with Becket concerning his conduct, and reminded him that he had aſſented to the articles of Clarendon. Becket replied, that the cauſe of God and the church had rendered his conſent to thoſe articles of no force; and that he put himſelf under the protection of the Roman pontiff, the ſupreme head of the church, to whom he appealed againſt the ſentences that either had or might be pronounced againſt him, and ſtrictly inhibited his ſuffragans not to join in any enterprize contrary to the immunities of the church.

The barons were ſo exaſperated at this, that they determined to commit him to priſon; but Becket refuſed to hear the ſentence pronounced, left the aſſembly abruptly, and retired, with his croſs erect before him, to the monaſtery of St. Andrews.

A few days after Becket ſent three biſhops to aſk a licence and ſafe-conduct for his departure: this, however, was denied, and the prelate, fearful of being arreſted, retired privately in the night, attended only by two ſervants, and eſcaped to the continent. He was received by Lewis, king of France, and pope Alexander, who was then at the court of that monarch, with every mark of reſpect and eſteem. By the patronage of the former he lived with the utmoſt magnificence in the monaſtery of Pontigni, and the latter prepared to iſſue bulls to revenge his diſgrace.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of the eſcape of Becket, he immediately diſpatched a very reſpectable embaſſy to the pope, to ſolicit the depoſition of the primate: but the pope was inflexible; he refuſed the offer, and the ambaſſadors immediately returned to their maſter. On their arrival, Henry ſummoned an aſſembly of the nobles, where it was determined to ſequeſter all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy, who adhered to Becket; and all the primate's relations and domeſtics, both clergy and laity, were baniſhed the kingdom.

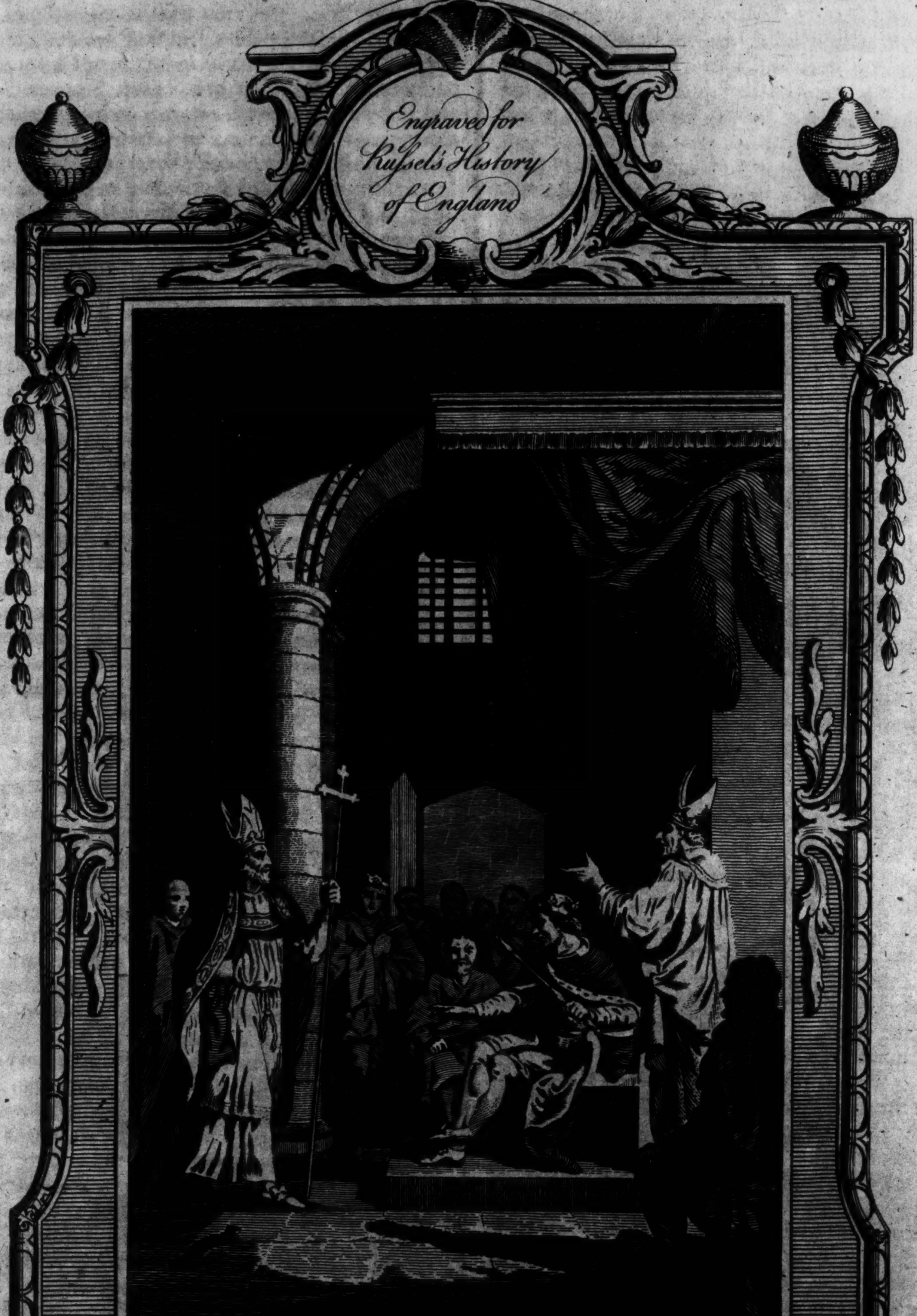
Henry was now greatly alarmed at the troubles excited in Germany and Italy by the thunder of the Vatican; and therefore paſſed over to the continent, in order, if poſſible, by a perſonal conference with the pope, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom. An interview was accordingly propoſed, and it was agreed that Becket ſhould not be preſent. The archbiſhop was alarmed at this excluſion; he feared that the pope, on hearing a fair account of the whole proceedings, would withdraw his protection, and abandon him to the vengeance of an enraged monarch. He therefore ſuggeſted to his holineſs, "that he might be impoſed upon by the fluent and plauſible ſpeeches of Henry, unleſs he himſelf was preſent to interpret their meaning by what he knew of the inward ſentiments of his heart." The weak pontiff liſtened to this artful ſuggeſtion of the prelate; he gave up his own infallibility to depend upon that of Becket, and inſiſted on the archbiſhop's being preſent at the interview. Henry diſdained to ſubmit to this propoſal, and immediately embarked for England.

As it was now reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the pope would exert all his power in favor of Becket, Henry took every precaution he could project to render the attempt abortive. He prohibited all his ſubjects, under ſevere penalties, from receiving any mandates either from his holineſs or the archbiſhop, and from making any appeals to them. Becket, on the contrary, uſed all his efforts to oppoſe the meaſures of Henry; he thundered out anathemas againſt his enemies, and at laſt denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all that adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon; and abſolved every one from the oaths which they had taken to obſerve them.

A. D. 1167. The diſpute between Henry and the archbiſhop ſtill continuing with great rigor, Lewis, king of France, interpoſed his good offices to bring about an accommodation. Becket declared he was ready to put an end to all diſputes; and to ſubmit to the king, ſaving his honor, the poſſeſſions of the church, and the the rights of others. At laſt an interview was agreed on, and Becket met the kings of France and England at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris; but the primate was ſo unreaſonable and haughty, that Lewis was perſuaded it would be impoſſible to bring about an agreement. Henry, deſirous of a pacification, ſaid to Lewis, "There have been many kings of England, and there have alſo been many archbiſhops of Canterbury; let Becket act towards me with the ſame ſubmiſſion which the greateſt of his predeceſſors have paid to the leaſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." But Becket refuſed to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a propoſal. Lewis was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, diſguſted, and the two kings departed without taking leave of the archbiſhop; but the correſpondence and friendſhip between the monarch of France and the prelate was ſoon after renewed.

A. D. 1168. Becket, by various artful ſtratagems, was now in greater favor than ever with the courts of Rome and France, and excommunications ſucceeded each other with ſuch amazing rapidity, that the king had hardly a ſervant about his perſon, who was not under an interdict.

A. D. 1169. Theſe thunders, from the eccleſiaſtical


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England

Wale delin.

Debrocke sculp.

The Haughty Entrance of Archbiſhop Becket into the presence of HENRY II.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

tribunal of Rome, ſhook the fortitude of Henry and his miniſters; and ſeveral conferences ſucceeded each other, in order to terminate this unhappy diſpute. In a fourth treaty, when all the terms were adjuſted, and when the primate expected to be introduced to the king, and to receive the kiſs of peace, which was uſual for princes to give in thoſe times, and which was conſidered as a ſure pledge of forgiveneſs, Henry refuſed him that honor, upon pretence, that during his anger, he had made a raſh vow never to give the prelate ſuch a teſtimony of his friendſhip. This formality ſerved among ſuch jealous ſpirits to prevent the concluſion of the treaty; and though the difficulty was attempted to be removed, by a diſpenſation from the pope, yet Henry could not be prevailed upon to depart from the reſolution he had formed.

A. D. 1170. At length, however, all difficulties were removed, and a treaty was ſigned between the king and the prelate, who was permitted to return to his see on the following conditions. He was not required to give up any of the rights of the church, or reſign any of thoſe pretenſions which had been the ground of the controverſy: all thoſe queſtions were to be buried in oblivion; but that Becket and his adherents ſhould, without making farther ſubmiſſions, be reſtored to all their livings, and that even the poſſeſſors of ſuch benefices as depended upon the ſee of Canterbury, and had been filled during the primate's abſence, ſhould be expelled, and Becket have full liberty to ſupply the vacancies. In return for theſe conceſſions, which intrenched ſo deeply on the honor and dignity of the crown, Henry reaped only the advantage of ſeeing his miniſters abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt them, and of preventing the interdict, which, if theſe hard conditions had not been complied with, was ready to be laid upon all his dominions.

The affairs of England rendering it neceſſary for Henry to return home, he endeavoured to guard againſt all accidents on the continent during his abſence; and for this purpoſe viſited the chief caſtles in his dominions, obliging all his ſubjects without exception, who had not yet ſworn fealty and allegiance, to make their ſubmiſſions. This being accompliſhed, he ſet ſail for England about the beginning of March; but happening to be overtaken in his paſſage by a violent ſtorm, was in the moſt imminent danger of his life. He, however, happily eſcaped, but ſeveral of his ſhips were loſt, and between four and five hundred of his retinue periſhed.

Henry, a few days after his arrival in England, ſummoned a parliament, or great council of the nation, to meet at Windſor. In this aſſembly the kingdom was divided into circuits; and certain earls, knights, and clergymen, appointed commiſſioners, to make a progreſs through theſe diviſions, in order to take cognizance of all abuſes committed by the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquiſition produced the moſt ſalutary effects; the ſubject was eaſed of many exactions, various grievances were redreſſed, and peace eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom.

Though theſe acquiſitions were of conſiderable importance, yet Henry had a ſtill greater object in view; and this he thought proper to conceal till the very moment of its execution, leſt the turbulent primate ſhould find means to render the whole abortive. He had not forgot the little regard the Engliſh had paid to their oaths of eventual fealty in the caſe of his mother, and was therefore determined not to ſubject his own children to the ſame misfortune, by placing the crown on the head of Henry, his eldeſt ſon, then in the ſixteenth year of his age. He accordingly adjourned the national aſſembly from Windſor to London. No perſon, not even the young prince himſelf, was acquainted with the real intention of Henry. The aſſembly was, however, remarkably full, in order to receive the report of the commiſſioners. As ſoon as the report was read, Henry related to them the reſolution he had formed with regard to the coronation of his ſon, and was pleaſed to find it received with univerſal approbation. The only difficulty conſiſted in finding a prelate who was properly authorized to perform the ceremony. It was generally underſtood to be a prerogative peculiar to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but on this occaſion it was performed by Roger, archbiſhop of York, who had lately been inveſted with a legatine authority for Scotland; together with a bull, which granted him the eventual priviledge of crowning the king of England, an immunity which ſome of his predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed. Accordingly that prelate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London and Durham, placed the crown upon the head of young Henry; and immediately after the ceremony, William king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls, barons, and frank-tenants of England did him homage.

The younger Henry was of a haughty and imperious diſpoſition, and a ſtranger to generoſity and gratitude. His father, deſirous of diſplaying, before this auguſt aſſembly, every mark of paternal love and diſtinction for his favourite ſon, ſerved the firſt diſh at his table with his own hands, ſaying, with an endearing ſmile, "You may now boaſt, my ſon, of "being as honorably ſerved as any monarch upon "earth." But the ſoul of young Henry was too haughty to make a proper return to this engaging condeſcenſion in a parent. He turned to the archbiſhop of York, and whiſpered, with a contemptuous ſneer, "That he thought it no great degradation for the ſon "of a petty count to ſerve the heir of a great king." Henry heard not the ungenerous reflection of his ſon; he was yet a ſtranger to his ingratitude.

This coronation, however, gave great offence to the king of France, becauſe his daughter Margaret, who had a ſhort time before been married to the young prince, was not crowned with her huſband. Henry therefore promiſed Lewis that the ceremony ſhould be ſoon repeated, and his daughter receive both the crown and the royal unction, together with her huſband.

Becket highly reſented the invaſion that had been made on his office; but Henry endeavoured to appeaſe him, by aſſuring him, that beſides receiving the acknowledgments of Roger, archbiſhop of York, and the other prelates, for the ſeeming affront put upon the ſea of Canterbury, he ſhould, as a farther ſatisfaction, recover his rights by officiating in the ſucceeding coronation. But this ſubmiſſion was far from quieting the violent ſpirit of Becket. Elated by the victory he had ſo lately obtained over his ſovereign, he applied to the court of Rome for powers ſufficient to make all his enemies feel the weight of his vengeance.

Henry was now returned to Normandy, and Becket was preparing for his journey to England, in order to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe, and light up afreſh the torch of civil diſſention in his country. On his arrival in England, he met the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy; and immediately notified to the archbiſhop the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, and to the two biſhops that of excommunication, which, at his ſolicitation, the pope had pronounced againſt them. Reginald de Warren and Gervan de Cornhill, two itinerant juſticiaries, who were making their circuit in Kent, aſked, on hearing of this bold attempt, whether he meant to bring fire and ſword into the kingdom? but the primate, heedleſs of the reproof, proceeded, in the moſt oſtentatious manner, to take poſſeſſion of his dioceſe. In all the towns through which he paſſed, he was received with the ſhouts and acclamations of the people. The clergy and laity of all ranks came out to meet him, and celebrated his triumphant entrance with hymns of joy. Elated with this triumph, he launched the ſpiritual thunders againſt Robert de Broc, and Nigel de Sackville, with many of the moſt conſiderable prelates and miniſters, who had aſſiſted at the coronation of the young prince.

In the mean time, the archbiſhop of York, and the prelates of London and Saliſbury, continued their journey to Normandy, where they threw themſelves at Henry's feet, complaining of the violent proceedings of Becket. Henry immediately perceived, that the dangerous conteſt, between the civil and ſpiritual powers, muſt now come to a ſpeedy and deciſive iſſue, and was thence thrown into very violent agitations. The archbiſhop of York remarked, that while Becket lived, the king could never hope to be in ſafety, nor his kingdom in peace. Upon this Henry gave a looſe to his indignation, and cried out aloud, in all the anguiſh of affronted majeſty, that he was unhappy in having ſupported a number of ungrateful, indolent cowards, who had not the courage to vindicate his honor from the inſults it ſuffered from one haughty, bigotted prieſt. Four gentlemen of his houſhold, viz. Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Traci, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, conſidered theſe paſſionate expreſſions to be at once a hint for Becket's death, and a reproach upon themſelves, who had been brought up in the king's ſervice. They immediately communicated their thoughts to each other, bound themſelves ſolemnly by an oath, to perpetrate the primate's deſtruction, and ſecretly withdrew from court. But ſome menacing expreſſions, which they dropped at their departure, gave a ſuſpicion of their deſign, and the king immediately diſpatched a meſſenger after them, with expreſs orders not to attempt any thing againſt the perſon of the primate. Theſe orders, however, arrived too late to prevent the execution of their fatal purpoſe: they had all ſailed, in different ſhips, landed ſoon after in England, and arrived about the ſame time at Saltwood, near Canterbury. Here they were joined by ſeveral of Henry's ſervants, whom they knew were firmly attached to his intereſt; and their party ſtrengthened by ſeveral perſons, whom the primate had excommunicated for the moſt frivolous offences.

In the mean time, the archbiſhop conducted himſelf in a very oſtentatious manner, and took every opportunity of increaſing his popularity, by magnificent progreſſes through different parts of the country, where he was very diligent in affecting to appear as a martyr for the church. Young Henry, who thoroughly hated him, immediately, upon hearing he intended to come to his court, ſent him an expreſs order to reſide at Canterbury; which the prelate, who well knew the diſpoſition of the young prince, and thoſe in the adminiſtration, unwillingly obeyed. But to make the beſt uſe of his time he did not fail, by repeated ſermons, to animate the people againſt his enemies, and to expoſe the dangers to which he was daily liable for the cauſe of the church.

It was but a ſhort time before Becket had occaſion for all his patience and fortitude. The four gentlemen, who had conſpired againſt him, came with their party to Canterbury. They went to the archbiſhop's palace, and having got admittance to the apartment where he was, firſt expoſtulated with him, and then pleaded the king's commiſſion for what they did. They earneſtly requeſted him to take off the ſentence of ſuſpenſion and excommunication, which he refuſing, they attempted to make him priſoner in the king's name: but Becket, who was a man of undaunted reſolution and courage, made ſo forcible a reſiſtance, that the noblemen, thinking themſelves in danger, thought proper to diſpatch him.

The circumſtances attending Becket's death are variouſly related by different writers; but thoſe that appear the moſt to be depended on, are the following, which we have borrowed from the works of a gentleman who took great pains to collect them: “ The four knights, ſays he, after having landed privately at Dover, raiſed a pretty large company of men, partly of the king's officers, and partly of thoſe whom the archbiſhop had excommunicated. When they had done this, they made all the haſte they could to Canterbury, where being arrived on the 30th of December in the afternoon, they entered the palace, came into the archbiſhop's chamber, and there ſat down without ſpeaking a word; till the archbiſhop aſking them the occaſion of their coming, one of them (Fitz-urſe by name) told him, That they came from beyond ſea, with a meſſage from the king: upon which the archbiſhop commanded his domeſtics to withdraw; but when the other ſaid, That he deſired all there preſent ſhould hear, they ſtaid in the room. Then Fitz-urſe, in the name of the reſt, delivered his meſſage, the ſubſtance of which was, That he had as good have taken the crown from the king his maſter's head, as thus to excommunicate the biſhops, and then refuſe them abſolution. But the archbiſhop ſaid, He was ſo far from taking the crown from the king's head, that he wiſhed with all his heart he could put another on (God's honor and his own ſoul being ſtill ſafe;) and that, not himſelf, but the pope, had excommunicated and ſuſpended their biſhops, and it was not in his power to abſolve them. They anſwered, It was all one as if he had done it, ſince it was done by his procurement. To which the archbiſhop replied, That indeed he was much obliged to the pope for thus vindicating the injury done to God, as well as to himſelf: then making a large recital of all the wrongs he had received, he appealed to themſelves as witneſſes, whether the king had not granted him leave to proceed by eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt thoſe who had diſturbed the peace of the church; nor could he paſs it by, without betraying his paſtoral charge. At which they all cried out, That they were never witneſſes of any ſuch thing; and called to the monks and others there preſent, to ſecure him on the king's behalf; and that, if he eſcaped, he ſhould be required at their hands. So preſently going out, the archbiſhop, following them to the door of the outward room, ſaid, No, I come not hitherto to fly, I value not your threatenings. To which they replied, They are not bare threats, and ſo you ſhall find. Then going out of the abbey, they brought thoſe of their guard into the court, whom they had before left at the gates while they talked with the archbiſhop: but, during the time that they were gone away, the monks, hearing that the knights with their men were returning, would fain have perſuaded the archbiſhop (being near veſpers) to go along with them into the church; but he being unwilling, they were at laſt forced to haul, rather than lead, him thither, through a private door out of the cloiſters, which was broken open on purpoſe to let him in. He had not been there very long, and was but juſt got upon the ſteps of the high altar, when the four knights returned again, being now armed; and finding the doors of the monaſtery ſhut, they broke a window, and Roger de Broc getting in, opened the doors to them; and he being their guide, they entered the church by the ſame way the archbiſhop had before; yet would not he permit the other door to be faſt at all, ſaying, It was the church, and all men were free to enter into it; God's will be done. As ſoon as they came in, they cried out, Where is the archbiſhop? where is the traitor? He coming down from the ſteps of the altar, to a pillar not far off, ſaid, Here am I, no traitor, but a prieſt. They then laid hands on him, to try if they could pull him out of the church, that (as they afterwards confeſſed) they might either kill him without, or carry him away priſoner; but when they could not eaſily get him from the pillar, Reginald Fitz-urſe came up nearer; to whom the archbiſhop ſaid, I have done thee many favors, and doſt thou, who oweſt me faith and homage, now come to kill me? The former then laying hold of the archbiſhop's cope, ſaid, Thou ſhalt go forth, for that now thou ſhalt die: but he, pulling it out of his hand, anſwered, I will not go out. Then the other cried, Fly. No, replied he, I will never fly; but I command you, in the name of God, and under an anathema, that you do none of mine any harm. He then thruſt that knight from him, calling him Pimp! at which he being much provoked, ſtepped back, and ſeeing his companions behind him, he ſtruck at the archbiſhop with his ſword, and wounded him in the crown of the head, where it was ſhaven; the archbiſhop, ſeeing his time was come, cried out, Lord, I commend myſelf, and the cauſe of the church of God, to St. Mary, St. Dennis, and all the ſaints patrons of his church. Then another of the knights wounded him in the ſame place, to the very brain. The archbiſhop falling on the pavement, the reſt ſtruck him on the head ſtill in the ſame place; and one of them, Richard Brito, cut off a piece of his ſkull, where the reſt had already began. Then another of their followers, called Hugh the all-clerk (for he was a ſub-deacon) not content with what had been done, ſet his foot upon the biſhop's neck, and with his ſword's point flung the brains and blood about the pavement, crying out, Let us now be gone, he will riſe no more. So that all of them hitting him (which was very ſtrange) in the ſame place, all his brains fell upon the ground. When they ſaw he was dead, they went out in great triumph at the ſame door they came in; and, in the mean time, their accomplices without, breaking open the doors and locks, plundered the apartments of the archbiſhop, and took away the charters and monuments belonging to the church. As ſoon as the people heard of it, they all grievouſly lamented him, and running thither, deſired to ſee his body, dipping their fingers in his blood, and therewith making the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads. The monks afterwards laid the corpſe before the high altar, where it remained all night; but as ſoon as it was day, hearing that the murderers intended to return and abuſe the body, they ſhut up the church doors, and putting it in a ſtone coffin, buried it privately in a vault adjoining to the place where he was killed."

Such was the tragical end of Thomas Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of the moſt imperious and inflexible ſpirit. He fell a victim to his own pride, and obſtinacy in a cauſe which he fancied juſt, and in which he was guided by the moſt deſtructive prejudices. Unable to bear the leaſt contradiction, and fond of directing affairs of every kind, he treated all that oppoſed him with a virulence of behaviour, and a ſeverity of vengeance, which neither ſuited the character of a chriſtian biſhop, or a decent member of ſociety. When he had any point to gain, he advanced without ſcruple the moſt infamous falſhoods, and vouched them as truths under the ſanction of the moſt ſacred oaths. Such, however, was the blind ſuperſtition of thoſe days, that notwithſtanding all this and his having been publicly condemned as a traitor by all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, yet he was canonized and revered as a martyr, about two years after his death. This was done by order of pope Alexander, who alſo, by a bull directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointed the 30th of December to be kept annually as a feſtival, in commemoration of Becket's martyrdom.

But to return to our narration. The conſpirators, after the fact, reflecting on the nature and conſequences of it, retired to the caſtle of Knareſborough in Yorkſhire, belonging to Hugh de Moreville, where they continued near a year without converſing with any ſtranger whatever. At length, tired with their ſolitude, and in obedience to the king's command, they ſubmitted to the pope's judgment, repaired to Rome, and afterwards made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem to expiate their offence.

A. D. 1171. Henry was greatly affected at the death of Becket. He dreaded the conſequences of the papal thunder, and knew that his enemies would exert all their influence with the pontiff to launch the flaming bolt of interdiction on his dominions. He feared the ſpiritual much more than the temporal ſword. He diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to Rome, to clear him of all ſuſpicion of being concerned in the death of Becket, and to avert the thunders of the vatican. Alexander, at firſt, refuſed an audience to Henry's ambaſſadors; but by the proper diſtribution of large ſums among the members of the ſacred college, the intention of Henry was fully anſwered. The pope, however irritated againſt Henry, contented himſelf with iſſuing general denunciations againſt the principals and accomplices of Becket's murder. The archbiſhop of Sens, who had always been an implacable enemy to the Engliſh monarch, laid an interdict upon all the French provinces ſubject to Henry; but the pope prevented the conſequences that might have reſulted from that ſentence. Two cardinals were ſent with legatine powers into Normandy, in order to examine into the king's conduct with regard to the murder of Becket, and a conference was opened at Avaranches, where Henry and his eldeſt ſon aſſiſted, together with all the clergy of Normandy. After long debates the whole affair was ſettled, and all differences between Henry and the pope were terminated.

A. D. 1172. Henry, having now no enemy to fear, determined to put in execution a ſcheme he had ſome years before projected for obtaining a conqueſt of Ireland. Adrian IV. who at that time filled the papal chair, deſirous of augmenting the power and revenue of the holy ſee, encouraged Henry to purſue the plan he had formed, and granted him a bull with ample privileges. But the diſturbances that happened between Becket and the king had prevented the latter from putting his deſign into execution.

Before we proceed any farther, it will be neceſſary to give the reader ſome account of theſe people, the conqueſt of whom was attempted upon the ſlighteſt foundations, and effected with an eaſe that borders almoſt upon romance.

The Iriſh at this time were ſo unpoliſhed as to be little better than ſavages: they were even ignorant of agriculture; no traces of the arts were found among them; they were deſtitute of laws, of manners, and of learning. The iſland was divided into a number of ſmall principalities, each governed by its own prince, but all forming a political confederacy, though they exerciſed perpetual violences againſt each other. They were incapable of making any defence againſt regular forces; but it was no eaſy matter to unite them into one body or nation, and govern them by wholeſome laws. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they oppoſed every attempt to civilize them; and, like the antient Britons, when attacked by a ſuperior force, fled to their foreſts, mountains and caverns, for ſafety.

A circumſtance now happened which gave Henry a favorable opportunity of claiming the pretended title he had derived from the bull of Adrian. Dermot, one of the petty kings of Ireland, being driven out of his dominions by a neighbouring chief, whoſe wife he had carried off, applied to the Engliſh monarch for aſſiſtance to recover his territories. Henry liſtened to the Iriſh chief, and empowered him to levy troops in England. He alſo gave a general leave to his ſubjects to aſſiſt the prince in perſon, but declined to embark himſelf in the enterprize. The romantic notions of valor that then prevailed, excited the ambition of ſeveral of the Engliſh barons to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince. Among theſe, Richard, earl of Striguel, ſurnamed Strongbow, called by ſeveral of our hiſtorians Richard earl of Pembroke, was the chief. That nobleman, whoſe ambition was boundleſs, enjoyed ſeveral large eſtates in Wales, where his tenants were numerous, and the ſituation of his territories very convenient for paſſing over into Ireland. Strongbow undertook to aſſiſt the Iriſh chief, on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, and leaving him his dominions. Accordingly theſe adventurers, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, landed in Ireland, defeated very numerous armies of the wild Iriſh; and, not content with recovering the territories of Dermot, meditated the reduction of the whole iſland.

Henry, being informed of the great progreſs the barons had made, was jealous of their ſucceſs, and deſirous of acquiring the honor of being the conqueror of Ireland, he paſſed over in perſon, at the head of a powerful army; but the Iriſh were already conquered; there remained nothing for him but to receive the ſubmiſſion of a vanquiſhed people. Henry, without the effuſion of a ſingle drop of blood, became maſter of Ireland in leſs time than would have been neceſſary to travel over it. Moſt of the tributary princes attended his court at Dublin, and ſwore allegiance to the Engliſh monarch. The clergy, who had laboured to render their country ſubject to England ever ſince Adrian had iſſued a bull for that purpoſe, met in a general aſſembly at Waterford, where they ſigned their ſubmiſſion, and delivered the inſtruments to Henry, who tranſmitted them to Rome; and Alexander, pleaſed with acquiring ſo conſiderable an addition of power and intereſt to the ſee of Rome, readily confirmed the title.

Henry now flattered himſelf with enjoying a ſeries of happineſs and tranquillity; but theſe expectations ſoon proved deceitful. His children produced a ſource of the moſt ſevere diſquietude. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, a prince of a very haughty and inſolent temper, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France; and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated, in order that his conſort might be included in the ſolemnity. He had alſo been permitted to pay a viſit to his father-in-law, and continued ſome time at the court of France. Lewis, ever attentive to excite commotions in England, took the opportunity of kindling the flames of domeſtic diſcord in the family of Henry, by perſuading the prince, that in conſequence of the ceremony of the coronation, he was intitled to an immediate poſſeſſion of a part of the dominions of his father.

Imperious by nature, and full of this extravagant idea, young Henry returned to England, and demanded from his father, either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy. Henry was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected requeſt, and began to fear that his hopes of happineſs were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his ſon of the extravagance of his demand; and painted in proper colours the folly of a requeſt which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But his endeavours were in vain; the prince diſcovered the higheſt diſcontent, blended with inſolence, at his father's refuſal; retired to France, and put himſelf under the protection of Lewis, whoſe deſire of leſſening the power of Henry had given riſe to this domeſtic diſcord. But the diſobedience of his eldeſt ſon was not the only misfortune that diſturbed the happineſs of Henry. His queen, Eleanor, encouraged Richard and Geoffrey to follow the example of their brother, fly to the court of France, and inſiſt upon being put into actual poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned them by their father.

Some hiſtorians impute this undutiful conduct of the queen to her jealouſy of the king's amour with the fair Roſamond, daughter of lord Clifford. But whatever might be her motive, it is certain that ſhe perſuaded her ſons Richard and Geoffrey to eſcape into France, and attempted to follow them diſguiſed in man's apparel: before, however, ſhe could accompliſh her deſign, ſhe was taken in that diſguiſe, and committed to cloſe cuſtody, when ſhe was confined many years as the principal cauſe of the whole conſpiracy.

A. D. 1173. The French king was not the only monarch that conſpired againſt Henry. William, king of Scotland, followed young Henry to France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottiſh and French nation; but in reality to concert proper meaſures for diſtreſſing the king of England. Several of the moſt powerful barons alſo, both in England and Normandy, joined in the unnatural alliance for ſupporting the unreaſonable claim of an undutiful ſon, on the dominions of an indulgent parent.

Henry, alarmed at the departure of his ſon, demanded him from the court of France, but received a very inſolent anſwer. He now found himſelf ſurrounded with innumerable difficulties, from which nothing but the moſt prudent and at the ſame time reſolute policy could poſſibly extricate him. The deſertion of many of his powerful barons gave him reaſon to fear, that his own ſubjects would deſert him in the day of battle; and he was therefore determined to have recourſe to foreign mercenaries for aſſiſtance. He accordingly took twenty thouſand Brabanders, all of them veteran troops, into his pay, and by his liberality attached them firmly to his perſon and fortunes. Theſe Brabanders, ſometimes called Routiers, and Colleraux, were a kind of banditti, or freebooters, who lived upon plunder; they infeſted, at that time, all the ſtates of Europe, defied the cenſures of the church, and engaged in the ſervice of any prince who could pay them punctually. But though they were mercenaries by profeſſion, yet, when well paid, no troops could behave with greater fidelity: and though accuſtomed to plunder, yet, in time of action, they were rigid obſervers of military diſcipline.

Reduced to this dangerous and diſagreeable ſituation, Henry had recourſe to the court of Rome; and though ſenſible of the danger attending the interpoſition of eccleſiaſtical authority in temporal diſputes, applied to the pope, as his ſuperior lord, to excommunicate his enemies, and by theſe cenſures, to reduce to obedience his undutiful children, whom he found ſuch a reluctance to puniſh by the ſword of the civil magiſtrate. Well pleaſed to exert his power in ſo plauſible a cauſe, Alexander iſſued the bulls required of him: but it was ſoon found, that theſe ſpiritual weapons had not equal force, as when employed in a ſpiritual controverſy; and that the clergy were very negligent in ſupporting a ſentence, which had not the leaſt tendency to promote the immediate intereſt of their order.

But Henry was far from placing his whole dependence on the ſpiritual arm of the Roman pontiff; his own abilities, and the powerful aſſiſtance of his foreign forces, rendered him ſuperior to all his enemies. His virtues never ſhone with ſo much luſtre as in this alarming criſis. The ſight of impending dangers animated him with freſh courage. Bleſt with the moſt aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and wholly a ſtranger to fear, he viewed, with the moſt intrepid coolneſs, the many dangers with which he was ſurrounded, and planned the moſt prudent meaſures to render them all abortive.

The operations of the confederate princes were begun by Richard, who repaired into Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms againſt his father. Geoffrey ſtirred up a rebellion in Britany, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, aſſiſted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. The Scottiſh monarch led an army into the northern parts of England. And the earl of Leiceſter, landed in Eſſex at the head of a large body of Flemiſh troops, to excite an inſurrection among the Engliſh.

The ſoul of Henry now towered above misfortunes. He ſaw his dangers; but was not intimidated. He had taken ſuch precautions in providing for the defence of the frontiers, that the French monarch, after loſing the greater part of his army, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thouſand Brabanders, ſent by Henry into Britany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. The army of Leiceſter was routed at St. Edmundſbury, in Suffolk, and above 10,000 Flemings ſlain on the ſpot. Henry advanced at the head of his army againſt the inſurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had ſeized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his authority.

A. D. 1174. The Scottiſh army having threatened deſolation to England, Henry haſtened over to defeat their intentions. He landed at Southampton, and in order to gain the affections of his people, ſubmitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not impoſe upon him. He knew the powerful effect of ſuperſtition over the minds of the vulgar; he knew that many ridiculous ſtories which had been propagated of Becket's miracles were firmly believed by a weak and bigotted people; and that he himſelf lay under very ſevere ſuſpicions of being acceſſary to his death: he therefore determined to remove every ſhadow of complaint, by joining in the reigning devotions of the times. He ſet out immediately for Canterbury, and as ſoon as he perceived the cathedral, though three miles diſtant, he alighted from his horſe, and walked barefoot to the tomb of the ſaint; proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of Becket, continued the whole day in prayer, and watched all night the holy relicks. When the morning appeared he aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put ſcourges into their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the diſcipline and laſhes of theſe eccleſiaſtics. He afterwards made a ſolemn proceſſion to all the altars in the cathedral; and, retiring to the ſhrine of the canonized prelate, made an offering of forty pounds per annum to ſupport a number of lamps kept continually burning before his tomb. Henry was deſirous of acquiring the affections of a ſuperſtitious people, and he was ſenſible that a ſecret penance, however ſevere, would not have produced thoſe ſalutary effects that were naturally to be expected from one of ſo public a nature.

Henry had left the cathedral but a ſhort time before he received advice that a deciſive victory had been obtained over the Scottiſh army, and their king taken priſoner. Such remarkable ſucceſs was immediately attributed to the protection of the ſaint; and this opinion ſpreading through the whole kingdom, tended greatly to ſoften and repreſs the ſpirit of rebellion. Many of his reſtleſs barons were, however, ſtill in arms, and Henry marched immediately to chaſtiſe them, and reſtore that peace to his kingdom which their unnatural rebellion had deſtroyed. He firſt inveſted the caſtle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, one of the moſt powerful of the Engliſh malecontents. Bigod was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Henry to attempt defending his fortreſs to extremities; he opened a negotiation, and obtained his pardon on condition of delivering up his caſtles of Framlingham and Bungay. The biſhop of Durham, who had effected an entire independence, delivered up the caſtles of Norham and Alverton. The officers of the earl of Leiceſter followed the biſhop's example; they gave up the caſtles of Montſorrel, Groby and Leiceſter. Mowbray delivered up the caſtle of Thirſk, and the earl of Ferrers thoſe of Stotville and Duſelde.

While Henry was thus ſucceſsful in ſuppreſſing the rebellion in England, the French king had laid ſiege to Rouen, and was now joined by the earl of Flanders. This reinforcement enabled the French monarch to puſh the ſiege with great vigor; and he flattered himſelf with being able to make himſelf maſter of the place before the arrival of Henry. He was, however, deceived. The garriſon made a noble defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could ſubdue even the outworks. The preſence of the Engliſh monarch ſtruck the enemy with terror; the ſiege was immediately raiſed; and the combined forces fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving all their baggage and ſtores in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh monarch.

Both ſides were now ſufficiently tired of the war, and a conference was propoſed by Lewis for bringing about a general peace. This propoſition was readily approved of by Henry's firſt and third ſon, as alſo by the Engliſh monarch himſelf; but the impetuous Richard, ſecond ſon to Henry, was ſtill in arms in Poictou, committing acts of hoſtility on all the inhabitants who favored the intereſt of his father, and refuſed to come to any accommodation but upon his own terms. Exaſperated at his obſtinacy, the younger Henry, with the king of France, gave him up to the reſentment of his father, to whom they ſwore, not to give any diſturbance, while he reduced this ſtubborn youth to reaſon. Richard, depending upon the ſupport of the French king and his brother, was amazed, when he found himſelf deſerted by both. Reduced to this dangerous ſituation, he delivered up all the caſtles he had taken, and fell immediately at his father's feet. He had no reaſon to repent of the ſtep he had taken: his father received him with the ſame parental affection as if he had never offended.

A conference was now agreed to be held between Tours and Amboiſe, where all the three ſons made ample ſubmiſſions to their father, who pardoned them, together with all their adherents.

William, king of Scotland, was the greateſt ſufferer of all the parties that eſpouſed the cauſe of the young princes. Henry the elder delivered from confinement, without exacting any ranſom, above nine hundred knights, whom he had taken priſoners; but it coſt William the antient independency of his crown as the price of his liberty. He ſtipulated to do homage to Henry, as his liege lord, for Scotland, and all his other dominions: he engaged that all the barons and nobility of his kingdom ſhould alſo do homage; that the biſhops ſhould ſwear fealty; that both ſhould ſwear to adhere to the king of England againſt their native prince, if the latter ſhould break his engagements; and that the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxborough and Jedborough, ſhould be delivered into Henry's hands as ſecurities.

This ſevere and humiliating treaty was executed in its full rigor. The Scotch king releaſed from his confinement, brought up all his barons, prelates, and abbots; and they all did homage to Henry in the cathedral church of York, and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord. Nor did the Engliſh monarch reſt ſatisfied even with this. He engaged the king and the ſtates of Scotland to make a perpetual ceſſion of the fortreſſes of Berwick and Roxborough, and to allow the caſtle of Edinburgh itſelf to remain for a limited time in his hands. This was the firſt great aſcendant which England obtained over Scotland, and indeed the firſt important event, which had paſſed between theſe kingdoms.

A. D. 1176. Henry now applied himſelf to cultivate the arts of peace, and gain the affection of his Engliſh ſubjects. He ſummoned a general council of the barons and prelates at Northampton, at which the laws of Edward the Confeſſor were revived, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the people: and in order to carry thoſe laws into execution, he cauſed the kingdom to be divided into ſix parts, and aſſigned to each three itinerant juſtices. Henry alſo reſtored the barons, who had joined his rebellious ſons, to their eſtates. But as he had learned from experience the danger of ſuffering ſo many caſtles to ſubſiſt in the very heart of his kingdom, he ſeized many of them into his own hands, and demoliſhed others.

A. D. 1177. Henry, by theſe and many other wiſe regulations, became the favorite of his people. All Europe, from hating and dreading, now began to admire and revere him. His abilities were ſuperior to envy; his power was guarded beyond inſult; and his clemency now made more conqueſts in peace, than his arms had ever done in war. His people were protected, contented and happy.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, the French king, now worn out with years, was deſirous of reſigning his crown to Philip his ſon; but that young prince falling ill, on the day appointed for his coronation, his father, contrary to the advice of his council, undertook a pilgrimage for his recovery to the ſhrine of Thomas-a-Becket. He was very cloſely watched, during his ſtay in England, by Henry the elder, who, out of ſeeming reſpect, ſcarcely left his perſon; and Lewis, after ſtaying four days at Canterbury, and paying moſt religiouſly his devotions to ſaint Thomas, returned to his own country.

While Lewis was ſettling his ſucceſſion, Henry the elder was regulating his government. He had for ſome time made it a rule, to be directed by the advice of his parliament, and felt the good effects of this conduct in the proſperous condition, both of his own revenue, and the circumſtances of his people. For England was, at this time, in perfect tranquillity; the people were well affected to the government, becauſe the government was directed by law. Henry ſaw, that the troubles of his predeceſſors had been occaſioned by a contrary conduct; and was ſoon ſenſible, that a king of England, directed by his people, can aſk nothing for the advancement of his glory and power, which will not be granted. Richard de Lacy had been long his firſt miniſter; not diſtinguiſhed by his power, but his authority; not by the affections of his maſter, but by the veneration of the people; not by pre-eminence in dignity, but by painfulneſs in office. He had always the courage to remonſtrate ſeverely, when the king aimed at any arbitrary act of government; and Henry had ever the virtue to continue the miniſter, however his pride or paſſion might have been diſguſted with the man. He found the effects of his ſalutary counſels, and that the eaſieſt and ſureſt method to preſerve his own power, was to ſecure the people's rights. But Lacy was now ſtooping under the weight of years and fatigue, and therefore choſe to retire, as a canon regular, into an abbey at Lewes, of his own founding. Henry, upon the reſignation of this able miniſter, held a great council of his ſtates at Windſor, where he made a new partition of the judges circuits all over England, dividing the whole into four parts, and aſſigned proper judges to each.

Lewis, the French king, a ſhort time after his return home, was ſeized with an apoplectic diſorder, of which he died in a few days, and left his crown to his ſon Philip, a young but ambitious and politic prince, who ſoon ſhewed his intentions of taking every opportunity that offered whereby he could leſſen the power of the Engliſh monarch.

A. D. 1180. Henry ſtill applied himſelf to the due adminiſtration of juſtice in England. He appointed Ralph de Glenville, who had been a very uſeful aſſiſtant to Ricard de Lacy, both in war and peace, to be juſticiary of all England. This celebrated lawyer adhered ſtrictly to the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, as they were collected in the reign of William the firſt. To this great man, is likewiſe attributed a treatiſe upon the laws and cuſtoms of England, ſo celebrated among our lawyers. But however that be, it muſt be owned, that the Engliſh government never made ſo noble a figure as it did now; the courts of juſtice began to proceed by forms favorable to the ſubject, without being inconvenient for the government, and too ſtrong to be broken through, even by the hand of power itſelf. The public money, which had been remarkably adulterated, was now recoined; and the laws ſtrictly put in execution againſt all falſifiers, or debaſers of the current ſpecies, which was put under the inſpection of Philip Amayri, a native of Tours.

A. D. 1182. Henry was deſtined to experience all the calamities that can ariſe from undutiful children. Young Henry (who was at this time with his queen at the court of France) renewed his pretenſions, again unſheathed the ſword of rebellion againſt his father, and was protected by Philip in his unnatural deſigns.

The diſobedient intentions of this young prince, were, however, ſoon fruſtrated; for while he was preparing to commence hoſtilities, he was ſeized with a violent fever at Martel, a caſtle in the neighbourhood of Limogn. Finding himſelf paſt all hopes of recovery, he diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, intreating the favor of a viſit, that he might die with the ſatiſfaction of having procured the forgiveneſs of a parent he had ſo groſsly offended. Henry, however, fearful of truſting himſelf in the power of thoſe about the perſon of his ſon, refuſed to viſit him; but ſent one of his prelates, together with a ring, as tokens of his bleſſing and pardon. The biſhop found him tottering on the brink of eternity; and received his dying requeſt, that his father would forgive his undutiful behaviour; that he would pay his knights and attendants their ſalaries; and pardon the barons of Guienne, whom he had excited to rebellion. The biſhop promiſed to relate his requeſts to his father. He faithfully performed his promiſe; but before any anſwer could be returned, the prince paid the debt of nature, on the 11th of June, in the 28th year of his age.

A. D. 1185. In the beginning of this year Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, arrived in England, attended by the grand maſters of the knights templars and hoſpitallers, as an embaſſy from Baldwin king of Jeruſalem, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Henry againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. The patriarch preſented the Engliſh monarch with the keys of the holy ſepulchre, in token of their deſire of placing the crown of the holy city on his head. Henry, however, refuſed the offer, but promiſed to give the Chriſtians all the aſſiſtance that laid in his power.

It was now ſuppoſed that the two ſons of Henry (Richard and Geoffrey) had entirely laid aſide all rebellious intentions againſt their father. The Engliſh monarch, however, found himſelf miſtaken; for, in the year 1187, Richard, diſguſted at a deſign formed by his father of ſettling Guienne upon John, his youngeſt brother, departed the kingdom, and prepared to ſeize by force thoſe dominions which he thought belonged ſolely to himſelf. His brother Geoffrey demanded of his father that Anjou ſhould be annexed to his duchy of Britany. This demand was abſolutely refuſed by Henry; on which Geoffrey repaired immediately to the court of France, to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt his father: but before Philip had given any anſwer to his requeſt, Geoffrey was killed in a tournament at Paris.

By the death of this prince, Henry was delivered from the enterprizes of the moſt vicious of his ſons. Geoffrey was a prince in whom pride, diſſimulation, and perfidy were equally united. No principle of honor could bind, no precept of religion could reſtrain, that headlong prince. He was acquainted with every vice, and for that reaſon was generally diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of "The child of perdition."

A ſhort time after Geoffrey's death, Henry received advice, that the city of Jeruſalem was taken by the valiant and politic Saladine, ſultan of Egypt; and that Guy de Luſignan, the laſt prince that ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom, was in the hands of the infidels. This melancholy intelligence rekindled at once the ardour and enthuſiaſm of the warriors of Europe. Philip and Henry, for a time, ſuſpended their quarrels, and vied with each other in their readineſs to ſuccour Paleſtine. They both took the croſs; and both ordered, that ſuch of their ſubjects as did not chuſe to engage in the cruſade, ſhould pay the tenth part of their revenues and moveable effects to defray the expence of the armament. This impoſt was called "Saladine's tax." The clergy were the chief people that objected to this tax, and inſiſted that they ought to be excepted, notwithſtanding they were the principal inſtigators of theſe religious enterprizes.

A. D. 1188. The king of France, by his conduct, ſoon evinced how much more deſirous he was of enlarging his own dominions than of recovering Paleſtine; he took advantage of a quarrel that happened between Richard, and Raymond count of Thoulouſe; he led his army into Berry, burnt Mount Richard, and took ſeveral towns in Auvergne. Henry upbraided him with this flagrant breach of faith. He had not only ſworn to ſuſpend all hoſtilities till the cruſade was over, but alſo to undertake the protection of Henry's foreign dominions.

Henry, enraged at the proceedings of the French king, went immediately into Normandy, and put himſelf at the head of a powerful army. His ſon Richard, who had taken ſome umbrage at Philip, joined him; and the great ſucceſs they met with ſoon obliged Philip to ſolicit a conference, which was accordingly held, and terminated by a reconciliation between the contending monarchs.

A. D. 1189. Peace was no ſooner reſtored between Philip and Henry, than the former ſecretly and treacherouſly brought over young Richard to his party, and he once more unſheathed the ſword againſt his father. Henry's mighty genius was now checked under that of Philip and Richard; for thoſe two princes ſoon made themſelves maſters of many diſtinguiſhed places belonging to Henry, who haſtily left England in order to ſtop their farther depredations.

The two kings now became greater enemies than ever. Philip, elated with the ſucceſs he had met with, advanced into Maine, and made a feint as if he intended to proceed in his route to Tours; but turning ſhort, he attacked the city of Mans, which was abandoned by Henry, who, on this occaſion, ſeems to have loſt all his ſpirit with his fortune; for though the city was well provided for defence, he declined ſtanding a ſiege, and ordered Simon de Tours to ſet fire to the ſuburbs, but the flames ſoon catched the city and reduced the whole to aſhes. While every thing was, by this incident, thrown into confuſion, Philip defeated a party poſted by Henry to guard the bridge or break it down, and forced his way with the fugitives, into the city itſelf. This heightened the panic which had before ſeized Henry's army, and before they had time to recover themſelves, were charged with great fury by the French. Henry himſelf fled with the utmoſt precipitation, at the head of ſeven hundred horſe, leaving his infantry to be cut to pieces by the enemy. Some battalions of Welſh, who generouſly made a ſtand, ſuffered moſt upon this occaſion. Henry himſelf narrowly eſcaped falling into the hands of the French; but being better mounted than his purſuers, he paſſed a ford through which they did not venture to follow him, and reached, with a few followers, the caſtle of Chinon. As the principal deſign of the French was to ſeize the royal perſon, they had neglected to follow thoſe who had fell off from Henry's retinue during the purſuit. Theſe therefore rallying themſelves, entered the caſtle of Mans, which ſtill held out. In the mean time Henry fortified himſelf in the caſtle of Chinon, where he had conſiderable treaſure.

The two princes, Philip and Richard, returned to Mans, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of the caſtle, as they had before of the city; and the other caſtle of Maine likewiſe fell in a ſhort time into their hands. They next marched into Tourain, and by the help of a great drought, which had rendered the river Loire very low, they took the city of Tours. This was followed by the reduction of all that country; ſo that Philip and Richard were now maſters of all Tourain and Main; while Henry, after fortifying Chinon, retired to Saumur. It is probable that even his perſon might have fallen into their hands, had not the neutral princes, who were feudatories to the crown of France, thought it high time to interpoſe. Accordingly the earl of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, applied to Henry, and after making him ſenſible of the deſperate ſituation of his affairs, prevailed on him to conſent to an accommodation. The place appointed for holding the conference lay between Tours and Araſie. Several pretenſions and claims were here to be ſettled. Henry had undertaken the cruſade. The diſappointment of his fulfilling this engagement had irritated the court of Rome to a high degree, and was, perhaps, one of the principal ſources of his calamity. But he was now too old, and too diſpirited, to undertake the expedition in perſon. As the performance of this was held ſacred by Philip and Richard, both of them young men, and very deſirous of acquiring military glory, it was therefore reſolved, that Richard ſhould perform in perſon, the vows of his father. The other articles of this treaty were all of them left to the arbitration of the king of France, who ſeems to have acted with great moderation. It was agreed that Richard ſhould receive the oath of homage and fealty of all his ſubjects, both in England and his foreign dominions; that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to the king of France, as a compenſation for the charges of the war; that his own barons ſhould engage to make him obſerve this treaty by force, and in caſe of his violating it, ſhould promiſe to join Philip and Richard againſt him; and that all his vaſſals, who had entered into a confederacy with Richard, ſhould receive an indemnity for their offence.

When Henry reflected on the diſadvantageous and humiliating treaty he had ſigned, his mortification was ſo ſharp that he could hardly bear it. But how much more was his unhappineſs increaſed, when, on demanding a liſt of thoſe barons, to whom he was to grant a pardon for their connexions with Richard, he found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favorite, whoſe intereſt he had ever anxiouſly at heart, and who had even, on account of his aſcendency over him, excited the jealouſy of Richard.

The wretched Henry, already overloaded with cares and ſorrows, finding this laſt diſappointment of his domeſtic tenderneſs, broke out into expreſſions in the utmoſt deſpair, curſed the day in which he received his miſerable being, and beſtowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children, a malediction, which he could never be prevailed upon to retract. The more his heart was diſpoſed to friendſhip and affection, the more he reſented the barbarous return which his ſons had ſucceſſively made to his paternal care; and this finiſhing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his ſpirits, and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he ſoon after expired, at the caſtle of Chinon, near Saumur, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, after reigning thirty-four years, ſeven months, and four days.

No ſooner had the breath left the royal body, than Henry's corpſe was treated in the like indecent manner with that of his great grandfather, the conqueror of England, and even with ſtill more aggravating circumſtances; for his ſervants, after rifling his wardrobe and treaſures, ſtripped the royal corpſe naked, in which indecent manner it continued, till one of the pages, leſs brutal than the reſt, threw over it a ſhort mantle. In this condition, it was viſited by his *natural* ſon Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutiful towards him, and who attended the corpſe to the nunnery of Fontevrault, where it lay in ſtate in the abbey-church. The next day Richard, who came to viſit the dead body of his father, and who, notwithſtanding his criminal conduct, was not altogether deſtitute of generoſity, was ſtruck with horror and remorſe at the ſight; and, as the aſſiſtants obſerved, that, at that very inſtant, blood guſhed out of the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed, according to a vulgar ſuperſtition, that he was his father's murderer; and expreſſed, though too late, a deep ſenſe of that undutiful behaviour, which had ſo greatly contributed to the death of an indulgent parent.

Such was the end of Henry II. one of the moſt illuſtrious princes of his time, both for greatneſs of genius and extent of dominions. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and pleaſing; his elocution eaſy, perſuaſive, and always at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; he was provident without timidity; ſevere in executing juſtice without rigor; and temperate without auſterity. He preſerved an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, and, at the ſame time, kept himſelf from corpulency, to which he was ſomewhat inclined, by an abſtemious diet, and frequent exerciſe, particularly hunting. When the affairs of his kingdom permitted him to enjoy leiſure, he had always recourſe to books, or the converſation of learned and ingenious men. His palace was a kind of academy, and his table a ſchool, where the moſt obſtruſe points of government and learning were debated. Nor was his reading of that wordy and uſeleſs kind, which forms the pedant; to letters he joined erudition, to erudition knowledge. His affections, as well as his enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men, never deſtroyed the natural ſenſibility of his temper, which diſpoſed him to friendſhip and ſociety. He was wiſe in council, moderate in proſperity, and firm in adverſity. Not ſatisfied with forming good and wholeſome laws, he took care to ſee them executed with the greateſt punctuality: for this purpoſe he made frequent progreſſes through all the different parts of his dominions, inſpecting the behaviour of his officers and magiſtrates, and ſeverely puniſhing thoſe, who were either negligent or unjuſt in the performance of their duty. In a word, he was the king, the prieſt, and the father of his people.

Henry had five legitimate ſons by his queen Eleanor, namely,

William, his eldeſt ſon, who died an infant in the ſecond year of his father's reign.

Henry, his ſecond ſon, who when a child was married to Margaret, daughter of the king of France. He died a ſhort time before his father.

Richard, born at Oxford in 1157, and ſucceeded his father on the throne.

Geoffrey, who was born the year following, and was, in right of Conſtance his wife, earl of Britany and Richmond; by whom he had a daughter Eleanor, and a poſthumous ſon called Arthur.

John, (ſurnamed Lackland, on account of the little proviſion made for him during his father's life) who mounted the throne on the death of his brother Richard.

King Henry had likewiſe three daughters, viz.

Maud, or Matilda, the eldeſt, born in the year 1156, who was married to Henry duke of Saxony in 1167; but ſhe died ſoon after her father.

Eleanor, born in 1162, and married to Alphonſo king of Caſtile, in 1176.

Joan, or Joanna, born in 1165, and married to William ſurnamed the Good, king of Sicily, in the year 1177.

Henry, beſides his lawful iſſue, had two natural ſons by his miſtreſs Fair Roſamond, viz.

William Longue Eſpee, to whom Richard I. gave the earldom of Saliſbury, with Ela, daughter and heireſs of William d'Evreux. And

Geoffrey, who was firſt biſhop-elect of Lincoln in 1174, and continued ſo till 1181; and in the reign of his brother Richard, he was elected archbiſhop of York.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened in the reign of Henry II. were as follow;

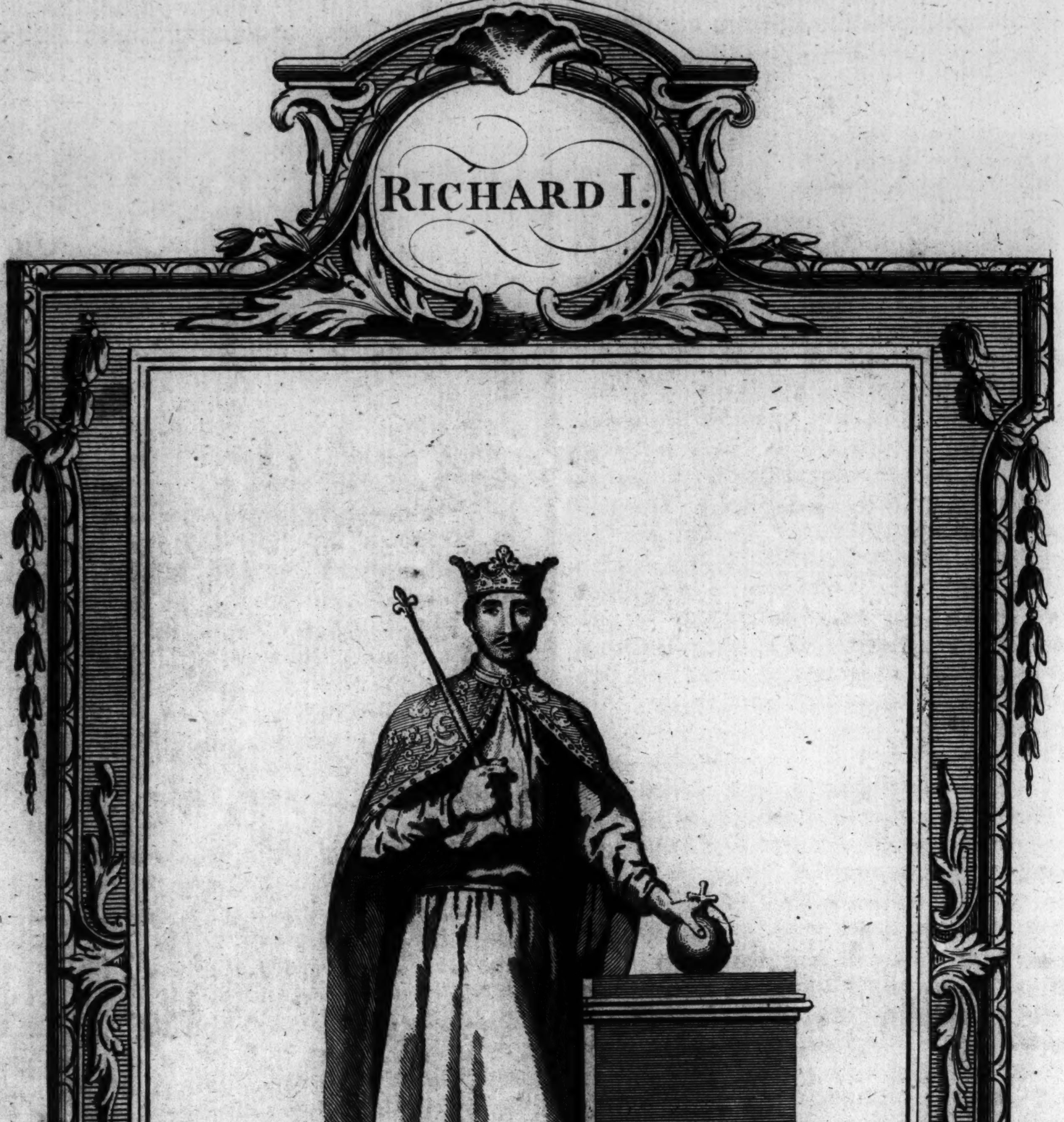
In 1176, London-bridge was begun to be built with ſtone by Peter Coleman, a prieſt. The king contributed to the advancement of ſo good a work; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury gave 1000 marks towards it. The courſe of the river Thames was, for the time, turned another way by a trench dug for that purpoſe, beginning at Batterſea and ending about Rotherhithe. The bridge was about thirty-three years in building.

In the twenty-third year of his reign he laid the foundation of Warwick-caſtle.

In the following year the Jews obtained permiſſion to have a burial-ground near every town where they dwelt. Before, they had but one in England, which was at London.

In 1185 there happened a violent earthquake, which threw down many churches in various parts of England; and at the ſame time there was almoſt a total eclipſe of the ſun.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



RICHARD I.

Wale delin. *Taylor sculp.*

SECTION II.

RICHARD I. SURNAMED COEUR DE LION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the little affection Richard had ſhewn for his father during his life, yet he was no ſooner informed of his death, than he teſtified a deep contrition for his paſt conduct. At the firſt ſight of the dead body of the king he felt the whole force of the ſtings of a guilty conſcience, and exclaimed, that he had been the means of haſtening his father's death. He now ſaw in a very different point of light the ſervices of his pretended friends, who had inſtigated him to draw the ſword of rebellion, and lift his hand againſt the life of an indulgent parent. Theſe he diſcharged from his ſervices, and inſtead of rewarding, as they expected, loaded them with reproaches. He looked with contempt on the courtiers who had baſely deſerted the intereſt of their maſter, and gave his confidence to thoſe who had ſerved his father with zeal and fidelity. Happy would it have been for himſelf, and happy for his people, had theſe prudent meaſures flowed entirely from wiſdom and virtue: but it ſoon appeared, that Richard was governed only by the ſallies of paſſion; his conduct was founded on no ſettled principles; he formed no regular plan for the government of his people.

Richard, at the time of his father's death, was on the continent, where he ſtayed near ſix weeks to ſettle his affairs in that quarter; which plainly evinced that he was not under any of thoſe apprehenſions about the ſucceſſion in England, which he had, during his father's life-time, ſo often uſed as a pretext for his refractorineſs and rebellion.

Richard's firſt act of regal power while on the continent was, the releaſing of his mother from her confinement, and beſtowing on her the adminiſtration of affairs in England during his abſence. He remembered not the unnatural part ſhe had acted in arming children againſt their father, and ſacrificing the lives of thouſands at the altar of jealouſy.

As popularity was of the utmoſt conſequence to Richard's views, Eleanor had orders to begin her adminiſtration with an act of general indemnity. The priſons now gave up their captives, and the laws their forfeits.

The nature of this indemnity leads us to the knowledge of many particular acts of oppreſſion, into which Henry's government had degenerated during the latter part of his reign. For Richard's orders were, That all treſpaſſers upon foreſt laws ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that all who were out-lawed for miſdemeanors in foreſts, ſhould be freed from their forfeits, and have liberty to return home. But what is ſtill more remarkable, it appears that Henry and his miniſters had, contrary to law, or the conſtitution of England, committed a great many to priſon, where they either lay without any trial, or, if tried, were likely to be condemned on falſe evidence. All theſe had their liberty, and none were confined but thoſe who had been the vile inſtruments of their perſecution.

This ſtep had the deſired effect on the people; and Eleanor exerted herſelf ſo warmly in favor of Richard, that ſhe ſecured for him the oaths of allegiance from all orders of the ſtate; ſo that nothing was wanting but his preſence to have them properly ratified.

Richard, having ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked at Barfleur, and ſoon after landed in England, where he was received by the people with great demonſtrations of joy. On his arrival he proceeded to Wincheſter, where he continued to reſide till the 2d of September, when he repaired to London, and was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter the following day.

The ceremony was performed by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and celebrated with great magnificence; but it gave riſe to a ſcene of the moſt horrid barbarity. The expeditions to the Holy Land, and the cruelties inflicted on the chriſtians by the infidels, had filled the minds of the people with a kind of enthuſiaſtic madneſs. Whatever had even the moſt remote connection with this ſpiritual warfare, was ſufficient to ſet the whole nation in a flame. The Jews had long been a deſpiſed people, and the ſufferings of the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem now raiſed the hatred of the people againſt them to the higheſt pitch. Richard knew this, and prudently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any of them to appear at Weſtminſter during the ceremony of the coronation. That deſpiſed people had long endeavoured, by their aſſiduous application to traffick, to compenſate for the infamy with which they were treated. But their riches, inſtead of procuring them favor, excited the avarice, as much as their religion did the fury of the people. Deſirous of obtaining the protection of the new monarch, the Hebrews collected among themſelves a very conſiderable ſum of money, which they were deſirous of preſenting to Richard on the day of his coronation. Several of the moſt eminent among them were accordingly ſelected; and, thinking their buſineſs a ſufficient exemption from the general prohibition, waited at the gates of Weſtminſter-hall to tender him their preſent, and their compliments of congratulation. The ſight of theſe Jews, and their diſregard of the royal mandate, awakened in the people all the fury of reſentment. A tumult was immediately excited, and the poor defenceleſs Hebrews torn in pieces by the populace. But this ſacrifice was far from ſatisfying the fury of the multitude; they entered the city, and maſſacred all the Jews that fell into their hands, plundered their houſes, and laid them in aſhes. The conflagration and carnage continued the whole night, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the chief juſticiary to appeaſe the tumult. Several thouſands of theſe unfortunate people fell a ſacrifice to the enthuſiaſtic fury of a deluded multitude.

The king was ſo incenſed againſt the authors of this inhuman tragedy, that he cauſed ſeveral of the principal leaders of the tumult to be put to death, as a warning and terror to others. He alſo publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly forbidding any inſult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be equally under his immediate protection with the reſt of his ſubjects.

During the life of the late king, Richard had expreſſed the utmoſt jealouſy of his brother John, whom he conſidered as a very dangerous rival. But either this paſſion was now totally annihilated, or abſorbed in political conſiderations; for immediately after his coronation, he laviſhed his favors on a brother who deſerved not his confidence. He granted him the eſtate of William Peppetel, the caſtles of Marlborough, Luggerſhal, Le Pec, Balſover, Lancaſter, Nottingham, Tikhill, and Wallingford, with all the honors and foreſts annexed to them. Nor were theſe thought ſufficient by the imprudent Richard ; he gave him alſo the earldoms of Cornwall, Devon, Dorſet, Somerſet, Nottingham, Derby, Lancaſter, and Glouceſter.

This generoſity in Richard was at once profuſe and dangerous ; but his zeal againſt the infidels opened another, and more fruitful ſource of misfortunes. He had, a ſhort time before his acceſſion, taken the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop of Tours, and was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land in perſon. He was, indeed, more a ſoldier than a devotee ; and, to gratify his paſſion for military glory, and gather laurels in the fields of Paleſtine, he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice at once the intereſt of his crown, and the welfare of his people.

His whole attention was now engroſſed with forming ſchemes for raiſing money to defray the neceſſary expences of the expedition. He had already ſeized upon his father's treaſures ; and the biſhop of Ely happening to die without a will, Richard confiſcated his eſtate, which was very conſiderable. He laid the moſt rigorous impoſts on the people ; he expoſed the crown lands to ſale ; and even diſpoſed of the great ſeal of England to William Longchamp, his firſt miniſter. Ralph de Glenville, chief juſticiary, expoſtulated with Richard on theſe proceedings, at once ſo derogatory to his own dignity, and oppreſſive to the ſubject. The king replied, "That he would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer." This anſwer ſhocked the upright juſticiary ; he was alarmed for his country, and remonſtrated freely with the king on the conſequences that muſt attend ſuch precipitate meaſures. But Richard would not ſubmit to admonition; he ſo highly reſented the liberty taken by the juſticiary, that he deprived him of his poſt, and committed him to priſon ; nor would he ſuffer him to be releaſed, till he purchaſed his freedom at the price of fifteen thouſand pounds. At the ſame time, he ſold the poſt of juſticiary to the biſhop of Durham for a thouſand marks. He obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to diſcharge from the cruſade all who were unable to undertake the expedition ; and excuſe others who were unwilling to undergo the fatigues, on paying a proportional ſum of money. The king of Scotland purchaſed, for ten thouſand marks, his right of ſuperiority over that kingdom, together with the important fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Berwick ; acquiſitions of the greateſt conſequence ever made by his father.

In ſhort, Richard heſitated at nothing, however infamous, whereby he might raiſe money to anſwer his intended purpoſes. Beſides the means already uſed, he inſtituted offices of inquiſition into the enquiry of magiſtrates ; not for reformation, but oppreſſion. The innocent and the guilty ſuffered in common, and nothing but paying large ſums into the king's coffers gave ſafety to the one, or indemnity to the other. Such were the arts by which this brave, but ill-fated and worſe-judging prince, reduced the patrimony of the crown, exhauſted the ſubſtance of his people, and proſtituted the juſtice of his country, merely to procure a temporary ſupply for venting his religious rage, and ſatisfying his unbounded vanity.

While Richard was accumulating treaſures to defray the expences of the expedition, the clergy were zealouſly labouring to procure him ſoldiers. The pulpits reſounded with the great merit of ſerving in the holy war. The confeſſors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand deſign of recovering Paleſtine out of the hands of the infidels, and freeing the Chriſtians in that country from the dreadful burdens laid upon them by the declared enemies of the goſpel. The people were fired with enthuſiaſm ; the army ſoon became numerous ; nor was there an officer or ſoldier but what furniſhed himſelf with common neceſſaries, either from his own ſtock, or by the aſſiſtance of thoſe who were equally zealous as himſelf.

The ſame caprice and unaccountable ſpirit of deſpotiſm that had directed Richard in amaſſing treaſure, directed him alſo in the choice of perſons to conduct the adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence. He conſulted not his council, nor liſtened to the voice of the people. Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, and Pudſey, biſhop of Durham, were conſtituted regents of the kingdom. The former was a Norman of mean extraction, of a dangerous character ; and being inveſted with a legatine commiſſion, he ſeemed to be armed with authority for the deſtruction of England.

A. D. 1190. Richard having thus provided, as he thought, for the ſafety of his kingdom, paſſed over to the continent, and met Philip of France at Gue de St. Remi. Here the two monarchs ſettled finally their joint proceedings in the intended expedition. They appointed the firſt place of their rendezvous to be in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy. And it was alſo determined, in order to prevent the calamities which had hitherto attended all the cruſades, to conduct their armies to Paleſtine by ſea, to carry proviſions with them, and by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own ſtates, and with all the weſtern parts of Europe.

Every thing being ſettled in this conference, Richard, after receiving his pilgrim's ſtaff at Tours, repaired to Vezelay, where he met the king of France, and where they reviewed their armies, amounting to an hundred thouſand men ; a formidable force, animated by two warlike monarchs, provided with every thing which their ſeveral dominions could afford, and not to be overcome but by their own miſconduct, or the unſurmountable obſtacles of nature.

Here the two monarchs reiterated their promiſes of mutual friendſhip, pledged their faith, not to invade each others dominions, during the cruſade, exchanged the oaths of all their barons, and prelates to the ſame effect, and ſubjected themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the penalty of interdicts and excommunications, if they ever violated this public and religious engagement. It was ſo agreed between them, that in caſe either of them died during the cruſade, the other was to ſucceed to the command of his army, and become maſter of his treaſures, in order to carry on the war with ſucceſs againſt the infidels.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the continent, Longchamp was employed in raiſing farther ſupplies for his maſter ; who had but a ſhort time departed the kingdom, before the Jews were threatened with a general maſſacre. Mad with enthuſiaſm, and exaſperated at the cruelties exerciſed on the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, the people were perſuaded it was a meritorious act to extirpate every perſon who refuſed to believe the doctrines of the goſpel. Reaſon and humanity pleaded in vain ; the unfortunate Hebrews were deſtined to deſtruction. The maſſacre began at Lynn, where theſe diſtreſſed people were murdered, and their houſes burnt to the ground. A ſimilar fate attended thoſe who reſided at Stamford, Norwich, St. Edmundſbury, and Lincoln. But the moſt bloody perſecution raged at York, where five hundred men, beſides women and children, fell a ſacrifice to the barbarous fury of religious zeal. The deſpiſed Hebrews, dreading the fate of their brethren, prevailed upon the governor to admit them into the caſtle ; hoping, by that means, to avert the ſtorm of popular fury, which threatened their deſtruction. They were fatally deceived : the bigotted multitude ſurrounded the caſtle, and attacked the works with the utmoſt violence. The Jews offered to purchaſe the liberty of retiring at the price of all their riches; but they pleaded in vain! the ear of bigotry was deaf to the voice of compaſſion. Driven to deſpair, and finding it impoſſible to defend the place againſt ſuch multitudes of enemies, they murdered their wives and children; and after throwing the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, they ſet fire to the houſes, and periſhed in the flames. Longchamp made a ſtrict but fruitleſs inquiry after the authors of this horrid tumult. The laws wanted power to curb the licentiouſneſs of a ſuperſtitious people.

The two princes on the continent now divided their armies, and each proceeded with all expedition to the Holy Land. Philip took the road to Genoa, and Richard that to Marſeilles, their reſpective fleets having received inſtructions to rendezvous at theſe ports. Richard waited eight days at Marſeilles, when his fleet not arriving, he hired twenty gallies, and ten large veſſels, on board which he embarked for Meſſina in Sicily, leaving orders for the whole fleet to follow him with all expedition. This order was punctually obeyed, the fleet ſoon reached Meſſina, where they found the king of France with his whole navy, ready to join them. But contrary winds and other accidents occaſioned ſo long a delay, that they were obliged to winter at Meſſina. This delay proved fatal to the enterprize, by laying the foundation of animoſities, which could not afterwards be removed.

It was not, indeed, reaſonable to expect that two kings, in the flower of youth, haughty and violent, ambitious, valiant, competitors in power, and rivals in honor, would long continue to act in conſort, and ſacrifice their own paſſions to the intereſt of the cruſade. Could this, indeed, have been effected, the intention had been anſwered, and the Holy Land intirely recovered from the infidels. But it ſoon appeared that a mutual harmony was not to be expected; the torch of diſcord was lighted up by the hand of jealouſy, and threatened both armies with deſtruction. The power of Richard filled the breaſt of Philip with malignity, who could not behold, without envy, the forces of his vaſſal ſo much ſuperior to his own.

Tancred, the king, or rather tyrant, of Sicily, trembled for his dominions. He knew that his deſpotic adminiſtration had excited the hatred of his people, and dreaded the conſequences of their putting themſelves under the protection of either of theſe powerful princes. He therefore determined to ſow the ſeeds of animoſity between them; and prevent, by their diſcords, any application being made by the Sicilians. Richard had long been affianced to Alice, the ſiſter of Philip; and the princeſs had been ſent, when very young, to the court of England. The conſummation of this marriage, which had been delayed on various pretences, had furniſhed Philip with reaſons for quarrelling with Henry II. but the matter at this time ſeemed to be forgotten. Tancred revived the contention, by inſinuating to Philip, that his honor was concerned in the marriage of his ſiſter, and that there was room ſufficient to ſuſpect the ſincerity of Richard. Philip, alarmed at the ſuggeſtions of Tancred, immediately demanded that Richard ſhould conſummate the nuptials; but the Engliſh monarch furniſhed proofs that Alice had been with child by Henry. Philip was amazed; but thought it more prudent to bury in ſilence the diſhonour of his family, than inſiſt any farther on the performance of his rival's engagement.

Both princes now made preparations for the continuation of their voyages; but queen Eleanor arriving with the princeſs Berangera, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre, to whom Richard was afterwards married, he determined on this account to make a longer ſtay in Sicily; upon which Philip, being inceſſantly importuned by the Chriſtians of Paleſtine to come to their aſſiſtance, took leave of Richard, who attended him to the ſea-ſide, and the two monarchs expreſſed the greateſt terms of friendſhip on their parting.

Queen Eleanor gave her ſon a faithful account of the ſtate of affairs in England. Longchamp, diſdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had thrown the biſhop of Durham into priſon, and governed the nation by his ſole authority, with all the ſtate and tyranny of a deſpotic monarch.

The king was now convinced of his error, in appointing a perſon of ſuch mean extraction to direct the affairs of government. He ſigned a charter, appointing a council, without whoſe concurrence Longchamp was not to act. This charter Richard ſent to England by the archbiſhop of Rouen and the earl of Stiguel. But Longchamp was ſo confirmed in his power, that it was thought proper to conceal it from him for ſome time, and the only perſon informed of the commiſſion, was the king's brother.

A circumſtance, however, ſoon happened, which univerſally exaſperated the nobility, clergy, and people againſt this imperious miniſter. Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, had, ſome time before Richard's departure for the Holy Land, been elected into the ſee of York; but ſome diſputes ariſing between them, Geoffrey had promiſed his brother not to reſide in England during his abſence in Paleſtine. Queen Eleanor, however, having procured a diſpenſation of his promiſe, Geoffrey paſſed over into England to take poſſeſſion of his ſee. Longchamp ordered him to be arreſted; but the archbiſhop having received intelligence of his deſign, fled to the monaſtery of St. Martin, and took ſanctuary in the church. The regent's officers paid no regard to the ſanctity of the place; they dragged him from the altar in his ſacerdotal robes, and committed him to Dover caſtle.

All ranks of people looked on theſe proceedings in the moſt deteſtable light. The clergy were particularly alarmed. The biſhop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this ſacrilegious violence, and the ſentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The biſhops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately releaſed. The regent was now ſufficiently alarmed, and Geoffrey was ſet at liberty. But this did not ſatisfy the people: it was determined to put a final period to the deſpotic adminiſtration of Longchamp. A general aſſembly of the nobles and prelates was aſſembled at Reading, where the king's charter was read, and the legate ſummoned to attend. He promiſed to aſſiſt at the conference; but conſcious that his actions would not bear inſpection, he fled to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. He ſoon found that it would be impoſſible to defend the fortreſs any length of time, and therefore ſubmitted to appear before the great council of the nation, where he was deprived of his poſts; and finding himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had baſked in the ſun-ſhine of his greatneſs, he paſſed over to the continent, in order to apply to the pope for redreſs. The great ſeal of England was given to Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, a perſon of great prudence, modeſty and integrity. He always conſulted his colleagues in the affairs of government; and, by his prudent management, reſtored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom.

Every thing being now ready for Richard's departure, he left Meſſina on the 10th of April, his fleet conſiſting of 150 ſail of large ſhips, and 53 well armed gallies. Queen Eleanor returned to England, but Berangera, and his ſiſter the queen dowager of Sicily, attended him on the expedition.

Before Richard could reach the coaſt of Syria, a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated his fleet, and ſtranded three of his largeſt ſhips on the iſland of Cyprus. Iſaac, the emperor or tyrant of that iſland, though a profeſſor of the chriſtian religion, was ſo far from aſſiſting theſe diſtreſſed ſoldiers, who were paſſing into Aſia to defend the perſecuted followers of their common maſter, that he uſed them in a very cruel manner, and committed them to priſon.

Exaſperated at this ungenerous treatment, Richard, who had taken ſhelter in the harbours of Candia, ſent a meſſenger to the tyrant, demanding that his ſubjects ſhould be ſet at liberty, and their effects reſtored. Iſaac, however, inſtead of complying with ſo reaſonable a demand, returned an inſolent anſwer. On this, Richard immediately ſailed to Cyprus, landed his forces, and totally routed the tyrant's army. Iſaac, whom a ſingle ſtroke of adverſity humbled in the duſt, laid his crown at the feet of Richard, who ſent him, in ſilver chains, to Tripoli; and Richard, by the general conſent of the people, was placed on the throne of Cyprus.

While Richard was at Cyprus, he was married to Berangera, and they were both crowned at Limiſſo, the capital of the iſland. Soon after the ceremony was performed, Richard embarked for Paleſtine, carrying with him the daughter of the Cyprian prince. In his paſſage he took a very large ſhip belonging to Saladine, having on board proviſions and military ſtores for the garriſon of Acre, together with a reinforcement of 1500 men.

The Engliſh army landed time enough to ſhare in the glory of taking Acre. Since the arrival of Philip the ſiege had been carried on with great vigor; and the appearance of Richard inſpired the aſſailants with freſh courage.

Richard was welcomed to the chriſtian camp by Philip in perſon; and it was determined to preſs the ſiege of Acre with the utmoſt vigor. They alſo agreed that when the French monarch attacked the town, the Engliſh ſhould guard the trenches; and when the Engliſh prince conducted the aſſault, the French ſhould provide for the ſafety of the aſſailants.

By this conjunctive determination, the moſt amazing acts of valor were every day performed, and the beſieged ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Saladine, finding it impoſſible to ſuccour the city, gave the garriſon leave to ſurrender. The articles of capitulation were accordingly ſigned, and the city delivered up to the cruſaders, together with 500 chriſtian priſoners.

Richard and Philip, elated with this ſucceſs, formed the deſign of marching directly to Jeruſalem, in order to wreſt that city out of the hands of the Infidels. Every thing was ready for the march of the army, and the hopes of the cruſaders were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when a diſſention aroſe between the two chiefs, and fruſtrated all thoſe pleaſing expectations. The prodigious valor of Richard during the ſiege of Acre, his liberality to the ſoldiers, and the magnificence he diſplayed on every occaſion, procured him the hearts of the cruſaders, and filled the breaſt of Philip with malignant jealouſy. He, however, concealed his paſſion, till a diſpute, which now happened between Guy of Luſignan, and Conrade, marquis of Montſerrat, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, gave him an opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment. Richard eſpouſed the pretenſions of the former, and Philip thoſe of the latter. During this conteſt, which in reality had nothing more than an empty title for its object (that city not being yet in the hands of the cruſaders) ſeveral ſharp meſſages paſſed between them; and Richard complained that Philip obſtructed the progreſs of the confederate army; adding, that he was ready to ſacrifice every perſonal conſideration to the intereſt of the cauſe they had undertaken.

It ſoon appeared, however, that Philip was now determined to abandon the enterprize; but, aſhamed to avow his real motives, he had recourſe to artifice and deception. He pretended, that the climate of Paleſtine did not agree with his conſtitution, and therefore deſired Richard would permit him to return. The moſt ſolemn promiſe having been made between them not to abandon the expedition without their joint conſent; Richard, after exacting from him the moſt dreadful oath, that he would not attempt any thing againſt his dominions, but, on the contrary, protect and defend them to the utmoſt of his power, conſented to his departure, and even furniſhed him with two of his beſt ſhips for carrying him and his retinue to Europe.

Philip left the command of his army to the duke of Burgundy; and after giving him public orders to pay the ſame obedience to the king of England as to himſelf, he ſailed for his own dominions, to which he certainly ought not to have returned without bringing with him new acquiſitions of glory. Nor was Philip the only perſon who deſerted the enterprize; multitudes followed his example; ſo that the numerous army of the Chriſtians was very greatly reduced.

The aſpiring Richard, after being thus deſerted by Philip, determined to attempt ſome enterprize worthy the name of the leader of the Chriſtian armies. He accordingly made a general attack upon Saladine's camp; but met with ſo noble a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. This check, however, made no change in Richard's reſolutions: that martial ſpirit, which formed his ruling paſſion, ſupported him under every misfortune. He determined to march from Acre to Joppa, and fortify all the places that fell into his hands. Saladine poſted himſelf in the road, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand men, to oppoſe his paſſage. The martial ſoul of Richard glowed at this opportunity of ſignalizing his courage. He was alſo perſuaded, that by defeating the army of Saladine, he ſhould open to himſelf a free paſſage to Jeruſalem, and, perhaps, make himſelf maſter of that famous city in a ſhort interval of time.

Both armies prepared for a general engagement, which was to decide the fate of thouſands, and, poſſibly, of Paleſtine itſelf. The right wing of the Chriſtian army was commanded by James d'Aveſnes, the left by the duke of Burgundy; while Richard in perſon led the center, or main body. Saladine had concealed part of his troops on the right behind ſome hills, which covered them from the ſight of the Chriſtians. On this body of reſerve he placed his greateſt hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering his poſition, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens ſupported the ſhock with great reſolution; and, by the ſuperiority of their numbers, put that body into great diſorder. Their leader, James d'Aveſnes, was ſlain, in endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and lead them once more againſt the infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a furious attack upon the right of the enemy. The Saracens, for ſome time, ſupported themſelves with great reſolution; but on receiving orders from Saladine to retreat as they fought, the duke was deceived, and followed them a conſiderable way beyond the body of the army. Saladine perceiving that his left wing ſtood firm, and that the duke of Burgundy was ſeparated from the reſt of the army, ordered the body that lay concealed behind the hills to move forward. Theſe troops deſcending the eminences in prodigious numbers, ſurrounded the dukes forces, and made a dreadful ſlaughter.

The fate of the Chriſtian army now depended on the valor and conduct of Richard. He had been very ſucceſsful where he had made his attacks; and though he met with a ſtout reſiſtance, had compelled the troops that oppoſed him to retreat in diſorder. He was ſtill purſuing the broken forces, when he was informed of the diſorder of his right wing, and the danger of his left. He immediately gave over the purſuit; and marching to the duke of Burgundy's aſſiſtance, fell upon the victorious troops of Saladine with ſuch impetuoſity, that he ſoon wreſted from them the palm of victory, which they thought they had obtained. Richard, on this occaſion, performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valor; and thoſe who before were filled with envy, were now ſtruck with admiration. He is ſaid to have met the famous Saladine, and to have diſmounted that celebrated leader, who muſt have fallen into the hands of the Engliſh monarch, had not the Saracens uſed more than common efforts to reſcue him from his dangerous ſituation. But however that be, the valor of Richard entirely changed the fortune of the day, and Saladine was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his victorious troops on the left. This motion, which cauſed ſome diſorder in that part of the Saracen army gave the right wing of the Chriſtians time to recover themſelves; and finding the oppoſition they had before met with to grow weaker and weaker, they quickly rallied; and falling with the utmoſt fury on the Saracen troops that oppoſed them, forced them to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight.

Notwithſtanding the enemy, who was very ſuperior in number, now directed their whole force againſt the Engliſh monarch, yet Richard ſtill maintained the battle with the moſt diſtinguiſhed intrepidity. He would, however, in all probability, have been overpowered, had not his right wing advanced to his aſſiſtance. The Saracens, finding themſelves attacked in flank by a freſh body of forces, began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladine, though he exerted his utmoſt endeavours, to rally them. The Chriſtians took advantage of the diſorder, and preſſed the Saracens with ſo much vigor, that they betook themſelves to flight, and above 50,000 of the infidels were left dead on the field of battle.

This defeat threw the Saracens into the utmoſt conſternation: they abandoned the maratime cities of Aſcalon, Cæſarea, and Joppa, after demoliſhing the fortifications. Richard marched directly to Joppa, where he ſtaid ſome time to repair the fortifications; that if he ſhould be obliged to retreat, he might have a ſecure port to embark his forces for Europe.

While Richard continued at Joppa, he frequently amuſed himſelf with hunting in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chace, with only ſix perſons in his train, he alighted from his horſe, laid himſelf down under a tree, and fell aſleep. He was, however, ſoon rouſed by the approach of a ſmall party of Saracen horſe, paſſing by the place. Richard immediately mounted his horſe; and as the Saracens were few in number, purſued them to ſome diſtance. The enemy pretended to fly before him, but artfully drew him into an ambuſcade, where he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a ſquadron of horſe. He defended himſelf for a conſiderable time with great bravery, without the leaſt thought of retreating, notwithſtanding the prodigious diſparity of numbers. But even the valor of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable preſence of mind, ſaved him from the impending danger. Four of his attendants were already ſlain, when William Deſpreaux, the only ſurviving friend of Richard, cried out, in the Saracen language, "Hold! "I am the king of England!" Every eye was now directed to Deſpreaux; and thoſe who were engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might have a ſhare in ſeizing the perſon they imagined to be the Engliſh monarch. This ſtratagem gave Richard an opportunity of eſcaping from the enemy. Deſpreaux did not diſcover himſelf till he came before Saladine; when falling at his feet, he ingenuouſly confeſſed the deception he had made uſe of to ſave his maſter. Saladine commended his fidelity, and treated him with the utmoſt reſpect; but ſenſible that Richard would never ſuffer a perſon who had ſo ſignally aſſiſted him to remain in confinement, demanded ten Saracen emirs, or princes, in exchange for ſo faithful a ſervant.

When Richard had finiſhed repairing the fortifications at Joppa, he began his march towards Jeruſalem, fully determined to wreſt that famous city out of the hands of the Infidels. Saladine drew up his army on the plains of Rama, to oppoſe his paſſage. A ſecond battle enſued, and Saladine was a ſecond time defeated. Nothing now oppoſed his march to Jeruſalem; but the Knights Templars, who were in the intereſt of Philip of France, and therefore envious of the glory which Richard muſt obtain by the conqueſt of the Holy City, perſuaded the Engliſh monarch to lay aſide his deſign till the enſuing ſpring, and take up his winter quarters at Aſcalon. Richard, who ſuſpected not the real motive of the knights, followed their advice, marched directly to Aſcalon, and repaired the fortifications which Saladine's forces had demoliſhed.

During theſe tranſactions in Paleſtine, Philip of France made uſe of every inſidious art to blacken the character of Richard, and, if poſſible, make himſelf maſter of his dominions on the continent. He firſt attempted to carry an open war into Normandy; but the French nobility refuſed to follow him in the invaſion of a ſtate they had ſworn to protect. The pope alſo, who was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the croſs, threatened him with eccleſiaſtical cenſures. He was therefore obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, and have recourſe to ſecret policy and intrigue.

While he was thus employed in ſecretly undermining the fortunes of Richard, the news of that prince's victories filled every corner of Europe; and when compared to Philip's own behaviour, in deſerting the popular cauſe he had undertaken, ſhone with double luſtre. His envy, therefore, prompted him to tarniſh that fame which he could not equal; and he accordingly embraced every pretence of throwing the moſt violent and moſt improbable calumnies on the king of England.

A. D. 1192. The contention which had ſome time before commenced between Guy de Luſignan and Conrade, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, was now revived; and the duke of Burgundy refuſed to act any longer in conjunction with the Engliſh. The French troops retired into places of ſafety, and paſſed their time in luxury and indolence. Still deſirous of making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem, the great object for which the cruſade had been undertaken, Richard put an end to the diſpute, by declaring Conrade king of Jeruſalem. But at the ſame time, he indemnified Guy for the loſs of a nominal, by preſenting him with a real crown. He beſtowed upon him the kingdom of Cyprus. Pleaſed with obtaining the honor he had ſo long deſired, Conrade, who was now at Tyre with his fleets, made preparations for joining the Chriſtian army at Aſcalon. But before he could embark, he was ſtabbed in the ſtreets of that city by two aſſaſſins ſent for that purpoſe by a Saracen prince, generally ſtiled The Old Man of the Mountains. The ſubjects of that chief eſteemed aſſaſſination meritorious, when ſanctified by his mandate: they courted death, were it even in the extremities of Europe, in the execution of his orders. The prince juſtified this cruel proceeding,

ceeding, in a letter he wrote to the duke of Auſtria, ſome time after; and declared, that the marquis fell by the poniards of his ſoldiers, in revenge for his having put to death one of his merchants, whoſe ſhip was forced into Tyre by a ſtorm.

The progreſs of the Chriſtian army was for ſome time obſtructed by the death of the marquis; but his widow being ſoon after married to Henry, count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jeruſalem; and, at his inſtances, the French conſented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched towards the capital of Paleſtine, which he was determined to beſiege. But juſt as he reached the neighbourhood of that city, he fortunately met the caravan paſſing from Babylon to Jeruſalem. The whole conſiſted of three thouſand camels, and four thouſand mules, loaded with the rich merchandize of the Eaſt, and eſcorted by ten thouſand horſe. The Saracens no ſooner perceived the Chriſtian army than they began to retreat; but Richard, at the head of five thouſand cavalry, attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were put to flight, and the whole caravan fell into the hands of the Chriſtians. Richard, who was equally generous and brave, diſtributed the whole booty, which was very conſiderable, among the ſoldiers.

Richard, immediately after this ſucceſsful incident, marched his army to the neighbouring eminences, from the ſummits of which they had a fair proſpect of the celebrated city of Jeruſalem, and the reduction of which was the great object of all their labour and toil. But when Richard thought himſelf ſure of conqueſt, and of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by diviſions among the leaders of the confederate army. It was urged, in a council of war, that the ſcarcity which then reigned in the neighbouring countries, would render it difficult, if not impoſſible, to procure proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. Theſe reaſons were far from convincing Richard; he was determined to beſiege the city, which was now almoſt deſtitute of troops, the greater part of the garriſon having been drawn out to reinforce the army of Saladine. The duke of Burgundy, perceiving it would be impoſſible to divert Richard from his purpoſe, and envious of the glory which the Engliſh monarch would acquire by the reduction of Jeruſalem, ſeparated his forces from the allied army, and marched directly to Tyre. The duke of Auſtria followed the example of the French general, and abandoned Richard at a time when fortune offered them the palm of victory.

The deſire of reducing Jeruſalem was ſtill the darling paſſion of Richard's ſoul. He even ſubmitted to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, and the king of Jeruſalem himſelf undertook the office of ambaſſador. But every attempt was made in vain. Steady to his purpoſe of depriving Richard of the glory of taking the capital of Paleſtine, the duke refuſed to join the Chriſtian army, under pretence of his having no authority to expoſe the troops of his maſter in ſuch deſperate ſervice. The Engliſh monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had hardly reached the neighbourhood of that city, before advice arrived that Saladine had taken Joppa, and was preſſing the ſiege of the caſtle with ſo much fury, that the garriſon muſt ſurrender, unleſs ſpeedily relieved.

Richard, who never abandoned his ſoldiers in diſtreſs, ordered his army to march to the relief of Joppa; while he himſelf, at the head of a ſmall body of choſen troops, embarked at Acre, and reached Joppa ſome time before his army. The name of Richard was terrible to the Infidels: he fell immediately on the beſiegers with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the Saracens, who were very ſlightly armed for defence, abandoned the enterprize, and retreated with the utmoſt precipitation.

Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, yet it was impoſſible for Richard, aſſiſted only by a handful of followers, to defeat the numerous armies of Saladine, and carry his victories to the gates of Jeruſalem. At the ſame time, the enthuſiaſm of the cruſaders began to yield to time and fatigue: they were now more deſirous of viſiting their own country than the capital of Paleſtine. Richard was no ſtranger to their wiſhes, and therefore determined to ſeize this favorable opportunity of coming to an accommodation with Saladine. Accordingly, a truce was concluded between them; by which it was ſtipulated, that Acre, Joppa, and other ſea-port towns of Paleſtine ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, and that every one of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem unmoleſted. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been deviſed by the Europeans, and which was ſuggeſted by a ſuperſtition well ſuited to the object of the war.

Saladine did not long enjoy his mighty empire: he died at Damaſcus ſoon after the concluſion of the truce with the princes of the cruſade; and it is worth remembering, that before he expired, he ordered his winding ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through every ſtreet of the city; while a crier went before, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "This is all that "remains to the mighty Saladine, the conqueror of "the eaſt." By his laſt will, he ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian or Mahometan.

The truce being thus ſigned, no buſineſs of ſufficient importance remained to detain Richard any longer in Paleſtine: he therefore determined to haſten with all expedition to England, where his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, to regulate the affairs of government. Knowing that it would be impoſſible to paſs through France, he embarked on board a large veſſel bound for the iſle of Corfu. He ſailed from thence in order to land on the coaſt of Italy; but was unfortunately ſhipwrecked near Raguſa in the gulph of Venice. He knew the danger of croſſing ſo large an extent of territory with his attendants, and therefore diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a pilgrim, intending to travel through Germany, as the ſafeſt way, to his own dominions. He was unable, however, to conceal himſelf from the piercing eye of curious enquiry. Some German officers, who had ſerved under the duke of Auſtria at the ſiege of Acre, knew the royal pilgrim, and gave their maſter the pleaſing information. Leopold, rejoiced at having it in his power to retaliate the affronts he had received from Richard in the Holy Land, cauſed him to be ſeized in the night, at a village near Vienna, and ſent him in chains to the emperor Henry VI. with whom, for the preſent, we ſhall leave this great but captive monarch.

We have already obſerved, that Longchamp was obliged to quit England for his mal-adminiſtration. Practiſed in the paths of vice, and a ſtranger to every ſentiment of juſtice, he exerted all his abilities to excite the reſentment of the Roman pontiff againſt the Engliſh. He repreſented them as a rebellious generation, ready to trample upon the ſpiritual authority of St. Peter's ſucceſſors; and that their proceedings againſt him were nothing more than a prelude of attempts of a much higher nature, the deſtruction of the pontifical dignity. Caleſtine III. who now filled the papal chair, was alarmed for his power. Without making any inquiry into the truth of Longchamp's report, he furniſhed the prelate with letters to the Engliſh biſhops, commanding them to

excomommunicate prince John, and all who were con- ned in the deprivation of the late chancellor. But people of England no longer trembled at the al thunder; they had learned to diſtinguiſh be- en fanaticiſm and a reaſonable ſubmiſſion to the ers of the church: they firmly defended the con- ution of their country, and looked with contempt the flaming bolt of ſpiritual tyranny.

This oppoſition, however, though virtuous in its ure, was exerted in defence of a perſon who me- d not the care of the Engliſh. John never upled to trample upon the laws of equity and reli- n, when impelled by his own intereſt. Ambitious power, and careleſs of the means by which he at- ed it, he exerted all his abilities to pave his way he crown, ſhould any accident happen to his bro- r during his abſence. He was, indeed, ſenſible t he had no claim either to the ſceptre of England, the foreign dominions of Richard, while Arthur, ke of Britany, ſon to his elder brother Geoffrey, ed; and therefore had recourſe to every artifice depriving the legal heir of his juſt rights, and rping a throne to which he had no pretenſions. He ited Longchamp, whom he had formerly baniſhed m the kingdom, to return, hoping, that by joining ir intereſt, they ſhould be able to diſtreſs an ad- niſtration that had ſo nobly defended the liberties England.

Pleaſed with the acquiſition of ſo powerful a pro- ctor, the biſhop landed in England, and diſpatched meſſenger with the news of his arrival. But the iniſtry were not to be intimidated; they informed e prelate, that unleſs he immediately left the king- m, they would ſeize his perſon as a traitor. Long- amp, whom vice had rendered timorous, waited not e conſequences; he embarked directly, and re- rned to the continent.

Soon after his departure, the news of Richard's priſonment reached England, and cauſed a general nſternation. John conſidered it as a very fortu- te event, and determined to improve it to his own vantage. He paſſed over into France, and threw mſelf into the arms of Philip, the ſworn enemy of s brother. Queen Eleanor, on the other hand, erted herſelf in the cauſe of Richard; and conjured e council to take every precaution to prevent the tal conſequences that might attend this alarming ac- dent.

A. D. 1193. In conſequence of the alliance rmed between John and Philip, the latter invaded ormandy; and by the treachery of John's emiſſaries ade himſelf maſter, without oppoſition, of ſeveral rtreſſes, Neuf-chatel, Neufle, Giſors, Pacey, and vrée: he ſubdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; nd advancing to the ſiege of Rouen, he threatened put all the inhabitants to the ſword, if they dared make the leaſt reſiſtance. Fortunately, Robert arl of Leiceſter, appeared in this critical moment; gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honor uring the cruſade, and who, being more ſucceſsful an his maſter in finding his paſſage homewards, took n him the command of Rouen, and by his preſence nd example, infuſed freſh courage into the diſmayed Normans. Philip was repulſed in every attack; the me of his vaſſals ſervice expired; and he conſented o a truce with the Engliſh regency, on condition of is being paid twenty thouſand marks, for the ſecurity f which four caſtles were put into his hands.

During theſe tranſactions, the unfortunate Richard as ſuffering, in a German priſon, every kind of inſult nd indignity. A warrior, who, at the head of his rmy, made even the mighty Saladine tremble, was ow treated with contempt by a petty prince of the mpire. He was brought before the diet, and ac- uſed of ſeveral crimes, which had no exiſtence but in the malignant minds of his enemies. He juſtified himſelf with an eloquence that confounded his perſecutors, and covered them with confuſion. He remonſtrated againſt the ungenerous treatment he had met with from thoſe whom he had reſcued from the power of the Infidels before Acre; and complained, that after demonſtrating his zeal in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, he had been confined in a priſon, and experienced a treatment hardly proper for ſlaves, in a country that had expreſſed the utmoſt ardour for the cruſade.

Pope Celeſtine III. now interpoſed in favor of Richard, threatening to lay the whole empire under an interdict, if Richard was not releaſed. The princes of the diet were aſhamed of the emperor's conduct, and loudly declared, that they could not ſuffer the Germanic body to be ſtained with the imputation of violating the laws of nature and nations, by detaining in priſon, without any juſt cauſe, the perſon of a great king, who had ſo nobly ventured his life in the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The emperor was alarmed, and offered to ſet Richard at liberty; but demanded one hundred and fifty thouſand marks, about three hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money, for his ranſom; of which one hundred thouſand were to be paid before he was releaſed from priſon, and hoſtages delivered for the payment of the remainder.

No ſooner was this demand known in England, than every method was put in practice for raiſing the enormous ſum. Twenty ſhillings were levied on every knight's fee, and the money already paid into the treaſury applied to purchaſe the liberty of a prince, who had ſo nobly reſiſted the power of the Infidels. The churches and monaſteries melted down their plate; the nobles, biſhops, and abbots, paid a fourth part of their annual revenues, and the parochial clergy a tenth of their tythes. William, king of Scotland, contributed two thouſand marks towards the king's ranſom. The neceſſary ſum being thus raiſed, queen Eleanor, and Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, paſſed over to the continent, paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Auſtria; and Richard was ſet at liberty, in preſence of the archbiſhop of Mentz and Cologne, and moſt of the German nobility.

Richard very fortunately eſcaped the perfidy of the emperor. Ambaſſadors from Philip of France arrived ſoon after his deliverance, offering prodigious advantages, if the emperor would confine the Engliſh monarch one year longer. The baſe ſoul of Henry embraced the offer, and diſpatched meſſengers to arreſt Richard, and bring him back to the Imperial court. But his treacherous deſigns were rendered abortive by the agility of Richard, who embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and loſt ſight of the German ſhore before the emperor's meſſengers arrived at Antwerp. Philip was aſtoniſhed when he heard that Richard was ſet at liberty; and wrote a letter to John in the following terms: "Take care of yourſelf; "the devil is broke looſe."

A. D. 1194. On Richard's arrival in England, he was received by his ſubjects with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy and affection. They beheld with rapture a prince, who had ſuffered ſuch a dreadful captivity, after ſo nobly defending the Chriſtians, and cauſing the name of an Engliſhman to be revered in nations before unacquainted with the appellation. This endearing behaviour of the people baniſhed from the mind of Richard the idea of all the indignities he had experienced during his impriſonment; all his alarms, his fatigues, and his ſufferings, were buried in oblivion. He ſeemed even deſirous of wiping off the ignominy of his captivity, by ordering the ceremony of his coronation to be repeated. He ſoon after declared his intention of making a reſumption of all the crown revenues, and annulling all the contracts he had made before his departure for the Holy Land. He alledged, that the purchaſers had already indemnified themſelves by the profits of the eſtates; that neceſſity had compelled him to make theſe grants; that the money had been ſpent in an expedition favored both by the clergy and laity; and that therefore it was unjuſt the crown ſhould bear the whole burden.

Theſe reaſons were unneceſſary; none diſputed the juſtice of this reſumption. All the purchaſers gave up the poſſeſſions they had obtained from the king, and ſeemed to vie with each other who ſhould be the firſt to make the required ſurrender.

Richard now called a parliament at Northampton, at which he demanded juſtice againſt his brother John, and his principal abettor, Hugh, biſhop of Coventry. They were both cited to appear within forty days, and anſwer the charge exhibited againſt them. They refuſed, however, to obey the ſummons; on which John was attainted of high treaſon, and the prelate was ordered to be tried by the biſhops in the king's court.

A. D. 1195. Richard, ſince his arrival in England, had formed the reſolution of ſeeking ample vengeance on the perfidious Philip, king of France. A monarch leſs paſſionate and haughty than Richard, could not have been eaſily prevailed upon to pardon the deteſtable conduct of that prince. Richard raiſed a powerful army and paſſed over into Normandy, determining to execute the moſt dreadful revenge againſt the faithleſs Philip, who, contrary to the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, had invaded his territories, and endeavoured to prolong the time of his captivity. But the hoſtilities between two ſuch powerful monarchs, thoroughly exaſperated againſt each other, produced no memorable events. A few caſtles taken, a few ſtraggling parties ſurpriſed, and a rencounter of horſe, form the principal actions of this campaign. The only action of any conſequence happened at Fretteval, between the French and Engliſh cavalry, when the former were totally routed; and Philip loſt his chartulary, or regiſter of charters, which he always carried with him, containing the ſeveral particulars of the revenues of the prince, a liſt of his vaſſals, and the ſtate of the ſlaves and freemen. This misfortune obliged Philip to make a new regiſter, in which his prerogatives were rather increaſed than diminiſhed.

During this war, prince John, who was deſtitute both of honor and integrity, deſerted the king of France, as he had formerly done his brother. Having invited to dinner all the officers of the garriſon of Evreaux, where he commanded, he cauſed them to be maſſacred, put the whole garriſon to the ſword, and delivered up the place to the king of England, of whom he craved pardon for his offences. Queen Eleanor interceded, and the king received him into favor. “I forgive him,” ſaid Richard, “and hope to forget his injuries as eaſily as he will my clemency.”—This pardon, however, extended only to his life; it being ſome time after before he was reſtored to his eſtates.

A. D. 1196. Richard now formed an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Tholouſe, Boulogne, Champaigne, and other conſiderable vaſſals of the crown of France, imagining that by theſe means he ſhould have an opportunity of ſtriking a ſevere blow on his rival. But he ſoon experienced the inſincerity of theſe princes, and was unable to make any impreſſion on that kingdom, while governed by a prince of ſo much vigor and activity as Philip.

About this time the duke of Auſtria, having cruſhed his leg by a fall from his horſe at a tournament, was ſeized with a fever; and finding his end approaching, was ſtruck with remorſe for his cruel behaviour to Richard. An entire reſtitution was not in his power; but he ordered, by his will, that all the Engliſh hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the king's ranſom remitted. The duke's ſon refuſed to obey his father's orders, but by the interpoſition of the clergy he was obliged to ſubmit, and they were fully diſcharged.

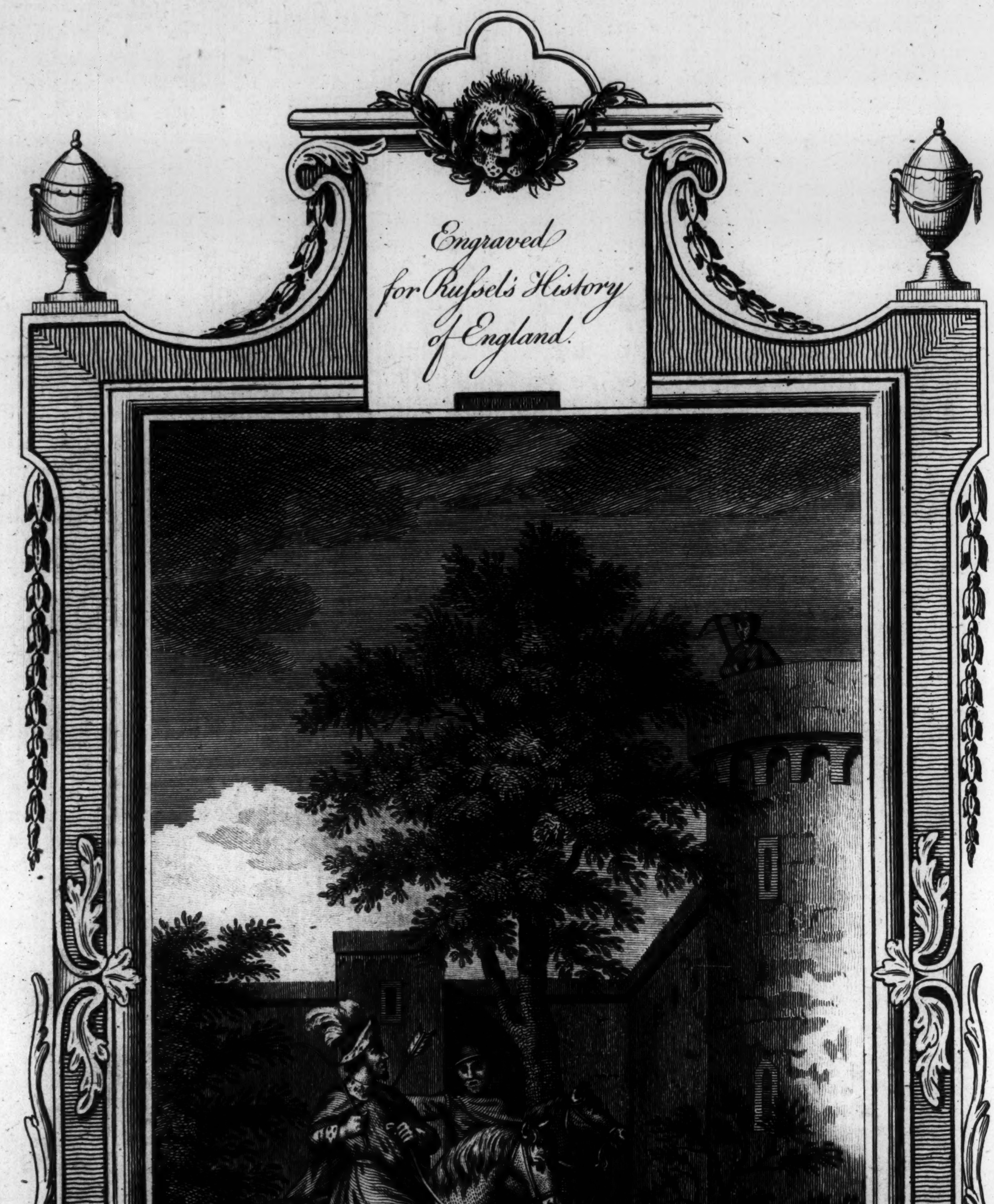
Richard, to ſupport his military expeditions againſt Philip, was obliged to load the Engliſh with taxes, which excited a univerſal complaint among the people; and the great talents of Hubert, the chief juſticiary, were hardly ſufficient to prevent the general diſcontent from becoming of the moſt ſerious conſequence.

Every day produced ſome freſh diſturbance, which were greatly facilitated by the harangues of one William Fitz-Oſbert, a perſon of mean birth, and ſtill meaner appearance. He was a lawyer by profeſſion, but pretended to be the advocate of the poor; and in order to render himſelf ſtill more remarkable, he ſuffered his beard to grow to an enormous length, from which circumſtance he acquired the appellation of Longbeard. He was continually exciting the ſpirit of reſentment in the poor againſt the rich, by the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches; pretending there was a colluſion among the great to eaſe themſelves of the load of public taxes, and throw the whole weight on the ſhoulders of the labouring people, who were conſidered in no better light than that of beaſts of burden. Theſe inſinuations produced the deſired effect; the fury of the people was raiſed to a height bordering upon madneſs; and a tumult enſued in St. Paul's church, where ſeveral perſons loſt their lives, and many others were dangerouſly wounded.

Hubert, the juſticiary, was ſo alarmed at this dangerous inſurrection, that he ordered Longbeard to appear before him; but he was ſo far from obeying the ſummons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more rational part of his followers were ſtruck with horror at this inhuman action: they abandoned the pretended advocate for the rights of the people, and a few of the loweſt of the rabble only now followed Longbeard. He ſaw the deſertion of the greater part of his advocates, but continued, for ſome days, to rob and murder his fellow-citizens with great barbarity. It was now time for the government to interpoſe, in order to prevent an open rebellion. A ſtrong party of ſoldiers were accordingly ſent into the city, with ſtrict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. The rioters were ſtruck with terror, and retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary-le-bow, where they ſhut themſelves up, hoping that a general inſurrection would be excited in their favor. They were deceived; the citizens ſaw their error, abandoned the wretch, who had deceived them, to puniſhment. Longbeard, however, refuſed to ſurrender; and being driven from the body of the church, he retreated, at the head of his followers, into the ſteeple, from whence they diſcharged a ſhower of ſtones, darts, and other miſſiles, on the heads of his aſſailants. Unwilling to expoſe the lives of his ſoldiers to the attacks of a company of deſperadoes, the officer cauſed a large quantity of wet ſtraw to be carried into the body of the church, and ſet on fire. The ſmoke effectually put an end to all oppoſition; and the inſurgents, to avoid ſuffocation, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Longbeard was ſentenced to be drawn at a horſe's tail through the principal ſtreets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains: but this ſentence was altered, and he, with nine of his principal accomplices, were hanged at Tyburn.—Such was the ſuperſtitious veneration the people had for this man, and ſo devoted were they to his memory, that they ſtole the gibbet, conſidering the wood as a ſacred relick; and they even pretended that many miracles were performed by it.

A. D. 1197. Theſe commotions, together with the king's abſence, and his engagements in foreign wars, encouraged the Welſh to invade the Engliſh dominions.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Wale delin.
White sculp.

RICHARD I.
Mortally wounded by an Arrow from a Croſs Bow

dominions. Rees, prince of ſouth Wales, collecting a conſiderable number of forces, laid ſiege to the town and caſtle of Caermarthen, which he took, and laid in aſhes. Roger Mortimer and Hugh Say, two noblemen of the greateſt intereſt in theſe parts, attempted to check his progreſs, but were themſelves, routed with great loſs. The caſtles of Culn, Radnor and Payn then fell into the hands of Rees; but the laſt was delivered to its owner, William de Brouſe, on certain conditions. The progeſs of the Welſh drew the regent himſelf into the field, at the head of a powerful army. But the Welſh were wiſe enough not to hazard a battle, ſo that all Hubert could do was to take a few of their caſtles, which, as ſoon as the ſeaſon obliged Hubert to retire, fell again into the hands of the Welſh.

While theſe things were tranſacting in England, Richard marched his army into Auvergne and Berry, where he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places, which were ſoon after retaken by Philip. But John, who had for ſome time been harraſſing the people of Beauvois, being now reinforced by a conſiderable body of Brabanders, advanced to the very gates of the city. Peter de Dreux, biſhop of Beauvois, was a prince of the blood royal of France; he had ſpent more time in the field than in the college, and diſdaining to be inſulted at the gates of his own capital, ſallied out, at the head of a choſen number of forces, in order to drive the enemy from their poſts. In this attempt, however, he failed, for his army was totally defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner.

John knew that Richard mortally hated the biſhop, and therefore ſent him to his brother, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper. Richard immediately gave orders that he ſhould be conveyed to a dark dungeon in Rouen, and loaded with irons. Soon after ſeveral of the biſhop's friends interceded with Richard for a mitigation of the prelate's ſentence. "You yourſelves," ſaid the king, "ſhall be judges of my reaſons for this ſeverity. When I was taken priſoner in Germany, the emperor treated me, at firſt, with good manners and civility; but within a few days arrived the biſhop of Beauvois. Next morning he had his audience of the emperor, and a few hours after, I was chained like a ſlave, and more irons heaped upon my limbs, than a horſe could have carried. Can you therefore condemn me for treating the biſhop in the ſame manner?" This ſilenced all the prelate's advocates; but the pope ſoon after, demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon. The king ſent his holineſs the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all beſmeared with blood; replying to the pontiff, in the terms employed by Jacob's ſons to their father, "This have we found: know whether it be thy ſon's coat or not." This laconic anſwer put a ſtop to the interceſſion of his holineſs, who replied, "that the coat ſent by the king did not belong to a ſon of the church, but to a ſon of the camp; therefore Richard was at liberty to treat the priſoner as he thought proper." The prelate, thus abandoned, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty at the price of 10,000 marks.

Philip, finding no advantage could be gained over the Engliſh monarch by arms, and being weary of a war which exhauſted his country, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his requeſt; and ſent cardinal Peter into France, to act as mediator between the contending parties. A negotiation was accordingly begun, and a conſiderable progreſs made in a treaty for a durable peace; when the death of Richard put a final period to the labours of the pontiff.

A. D. 1199, Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, became poſſeſſed of a very conſiderable treaſure, which was found by a peaſant plowing a field in his lordſhip. Vidomar ſent a part of this treaſure to Richard, who, not being ſatisfied, demanded the whole, as ſuperior lord of the ſoil. The viſcount not readily complying with his demand, Richard, at the head of his Brabanders, inveſted the caſtle of Chaluz near Limoges, where the nobleman reſided. The garriſon, terrified at the preſence of Richard, offered to ſurrender, upon aſſurance that their lives and perſons ſhould be ſafe. But Richard refuſed to grant them any capitulation, declaring his intention was to take the place by ſtorm, and hang up the whole garriſon. This declaration rendered the beſieged deſperate, and they reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Soon after Richard, accompanied by Marcadée, the leader of the Brabanders, approached the caſtle in order to reconnoitre its ſituation and avenues, when one Bertram de Gourdon, armed with a croſs bow, took aim at the king, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. Richard inſtantly mounted his horſe, and returning to his quarters, gave orders that Marcadée at the head of his Brabanders ſhould begin the aſſault, and after taking the place, hang up all the garriſon, except the perſon who had given him the wound. Theſe orders, however barbarous, were punctually executed; and Bertram reſerved as a farther victim to Richard's reſentment.

The wound which Richard received was not of itſelf dangerous; but the ſurgeon by his prepoſterous treatment, rendered it mortal. Richard, ſenſible that his life was drawing towards a period, ſent for Gourdon, and, on his approach, ſaid, "Wretch, what injury did I ever do to you, that you ſhould endeavour to deprive me of my life?" "What have you done to me," replied the priſoner coolly: "you killed, with your own hands, my father and my two brothers; and myſelf you intended to have hanged. I am now in your power; you may ſatisfy your revenge: I ſhall ſuffer all the tortures you can inflict with pleaſure, provided I can enjoy the ſatisfaction of knowing I have given a mortal wound to a tyrant, who has been ſo long a nuiſance to the world."

Richard, ſtruck with remorſe at the boldneſs and juſtneſs of this reply, ordered the priſoner to be ſet at liberty, and a ſum of money to be given him; but Gourdon falling ſoon after into the hands of Marcadée, he ordered him to be flead alive, and afterwards hanged.

Richard did not long ſurvive the death of Gourdon; for the mortification encreaſed ſo faſt, that he paid the debt of nature on the 6th of April, in the 10th year of his reign, and the 42d of his age. He died without iſſue.

A few hours before he reſigned his breath, he made his will, in which he deviſed his kingdom, with all his other dominions, to his brother John, to whom he had been for ſome time perfectly reconciled; reſerving the reſt for alms for the poor, and legacies among his domeſtics. It is ſaid that the archbiſhop of Rouen, preſuming upon the privilege which a death-bed gives to clerical intruſion and inſolence, adviſed Richard, with whom he had ſeveral ſharp diſputes, to put away his three daughters, "Daughters! replied the king, why you know I have none." "Yes, ſaid the prelate, you have three, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Luxury." Then, ſaid Richard, that I may diſpoſe of them where I know they will be cheriſhed, I leave my pride to the Knights Templars, my Covetouſneſs to the Ciſtercians, and my luxury to the Prelates."

Such was the death of Richard I. who, in perſonal bravery and proweſs, excelled all the princes of that age; from whence he obtained the ſurname of Cœur de Lion, or Lion's-heart. War was to him a paſtime, and danger a ſpur to freſh atchievements. In his perſon he was ſtrong and well proportioned; his arms were long; his eyes blue and full of vivacity; his hair was of a yellowiſh colour, his countenance fair and comely, and his mein grand, noble and truly majeſtic. Few perſons were poſſeſſed of a greater ſhare of underſtanding, a more ſolid judgment, or more perſuaſive eloquence: he had a ready wit, and was maſter of a delicate keen vein of ſatire, the latter of which qualification was evinced in the famous repartee he made to the archbiſhop of Rouen, when on his death-bed.

The private character of this monarch has been ſo variouſly pourtrayed by different writers, that it is very difficult to ſay any thing on that head with tolerable conſiſtency. He ſeems, like moſt other great men, to have had a mixture of ſhining qualities and deſtructive vices. His ingratitude and want of filial affection are unpardonable. He was proud, haughty, ambitious, choleric, cruel and vindictive: he was at once meanly avaricious and idly profuſe. During his reign the people were burthened with ſeveral very heavy taxes; but then it cannot be ſaid that he hoarded up his money like a covetous miſer, for he employed the chief of it in defraying the expences of a war, which, however ridiculous it may appear in modern times, was certainly held laudable in that period.

Upon the whole, Richard's inveterate enemies muſt confeſs, that had he lived longer, the natural rivals of this country, the French, would never have been able to extend their territories as they afterwards did; nor would England have been reduced to the miſerable ſtate in which ſhe appeared under the reign of his ſucceſſor.

Richard in the ſhield of his coat of arms, bore three lions paſſant guardant; which bearing has been ever ſince continued by the Engliſh monarchs.

In his reign coats of arms came alſo to be hereditary in families. Theſe owe their origin to the badges, which knights and other military perſons, painted, for diſtinction-ſake, on their ſhields or banners, in thoſe expeditions into the eaſt, called the cruſades.

The other remarkable occurrences in this reign were as follow: In the firſt year of king Richard, A. D. 1189, the citizens of London obtained the liberty of being governed by two bailiffs, or ſheriffs; and alſo to have a mayor for their principal governor. The two firſt ſheriffs, or bailiffs, were Henry Cornhell and Richard Ryner; and the firſt mayor, Henry Fitz-Alwin, who continued in that office upwards of twenty-five years.—*See Harriſon's Hiſtory and Survey of London*, p. 26 and 698.

On Midſummer-eve, in the ſecond year of this king's reign, the ſun was eclipſed for three hours, and the ſtars were ſeen in the heavens at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

In the 5th, 6th and 7th years of his reign, there were ſuch great dearths in England and France, that a quarter of wheat was ſold for almoſt twenty ſhillings, a ſum equal to ſix pounds of the preſent money.

It was during this reign that the citizens of London firſt divided themſelves into corporations, or, as they are now called, companies.

SECTION III.

JOHN, SURNAMED LACKLAND.

ACCORDING to the will of the late king, the crown of England fell to his brother John; but his right to it was not by that means rendered indiſputable. Two important queſtions occurred relative to the point of ſucceſſion, both of which could not be eaſily ſolved; becauſe, from the time of the Conqueror to the preſent period, there had not been any law enacted, by which the right of ſucceſſion could be aſcertained. The firſt of theſe queſtions was, whether, according to law, Arthur duke of Bretagne, as repreſenting his father, Geoffrey, elder brother to John, had not a prior right to his uncle, being one degree nearer? The ſecond was, whether, in caſe the law favored the nephew, Richard had a power to diſpoſe of his dominions at pleaſure?---It is evident from theſe circumſtances, that had this matter been ſubmitted to a judicial deciſion, it would have been attended with great and almoſt inſuperable difficulties.

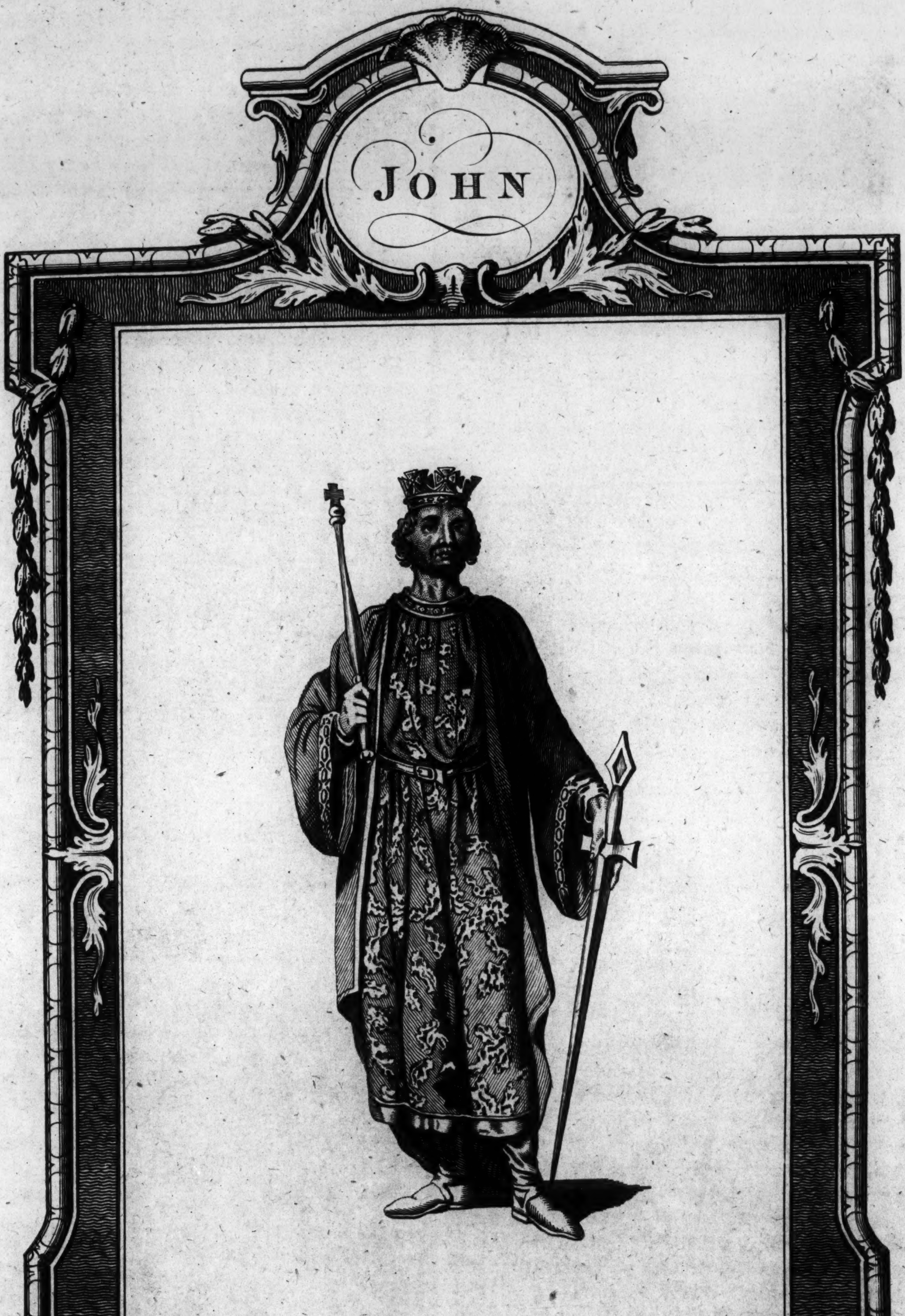
John, however, regardleſs of any objection that might ariſe with reſpect to his title, determined to maintain it; and being then on the continent, he diſpatched Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury to England, to concert meaſures with queen Eleanor and Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, chief juſticiary, in order to ſupport his intereſt.

While John was employed on the continent in taking poſſeſſion of Richard's treaſures, reducing the town of le Mans, which had eſpouſed Arthur's claim, and obtaining the ducal coronet of Normandy, his friends exerted themſelves for his intereſt in England, where they exacted the oath of fealty in his behalf from the citizens, burghers, corporations, and military tenants of the crown; but the prelates and nobility, tenacious of their liberties, retired to their caſtles, which they fortified and ſupplied with a ſufficient ſtock of proviſion.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury and his colleagues were ſo zealous in the cauſe of John, that they ſummoned the nobility and prelates to an aſſembly at Northampton, when they painted the generoſity and munificence of the prince in ſuch colours, that they at length prevailed on them to follow the example of the reſt of the nation, which they accordingly did by taking the oath of fealty to his perſon and government.

John, being informed of theſe proceedings, and having ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, and landed at Shoreham on the 25th of May 1199, from whence he immediately proceeded to London. He was received with univerſal joy by the people, and two days after his arrival was crowned at Weſtminſter by Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of a numerous aſſembly of the principal nobility and clergy.

On the day of his coronation he inveſted William Mareſchall, Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, and William de Ferrers with the dignities of earls, the firſt of Pembroke, the ſecond of Eſſex, and the third of Derby. Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury was at the ſame time



JOHN

Wale delin.

Roberts sculp.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

time made chancellor; Roger de Lacy had the caſtle of Pontefract; and other barons were favored with the like marks of honor and emoluments.

John, having ſettled his affairs in England, reſolved to paſs over to Normandy, where his preſence was now become neceſſary, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of Philip. He had no ſooner arrived on the continent than Philip propoſed a truce, which John, notwithſtanding the depredations made by Philip, readily aſſented to; and a conference was appointed to be held between the two kings for concluding a definitive treaty.

In the interim an event happened that gave a terrible blow to the proſpects with which the king of England had flattered himſelf. The earl of Flanders, John's moſt uſeful ally, having gotten intelligence of the negociation entered into by that prince with the French court, thought he could no longer, with ſafety to himſelf, depend upon an ally of ſo fickle a diſpoſition: he plainly foreſaw that he ſhould be abandoned, by the propoſed treaty of peace, to the reſentment of his incenſed ſovereign the king of France, whoſe vaſſal he was for the greateſt part of his dominions; he therefore ſent his counteſs to Paris with full powers to negociate a peace with Philip, and ſhe ſucceeded ſo well, that a perfect reconciliation was compleated; the conſequence of which was, that the reſt of the confederacy, depairing of ſucceſs after the defection of ſo principal a member, made their ſubmiſſion likewiſe.

This change of circumſtances, and the fear he had of Arthur, whoſe right to the crown gave him continual uneaſineſs, made John reſolve to agree to a peace with the king of France, however diſhonorable the terms. Accordingly a conference was held, between Andely and Gaillon, in the month of January 1200; at which the following preliminaries were agreed on as the baſis of a definitive treaty. That Lewis, ſon to Philip, ſhould marry Blanch, daughter to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, and niece to John. That the latter ſhould with her give up the earldom and city of Evreux, together with his claim to all the places poſſeſſed by Philip in Normandy at the time of Richard's death, and thirty thouſand marks of ſilver. John alſo engaged not to interfere in the affairs of Germany, nor to give any manner of aſſiſtance to his nephew Odo, either in men or money.

The definitive treaty was ſoon after concluded; and nine barons of the king of France, and the ſame number of the king of England, were appointed guarantees: theſe ſwore on each ſide, that if their ſovereign violated any article of the treaty, they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch.

While the above treaty was in hand John became a captive to the charms of Iſabella, daughter and heireſs of Aymar, count of Angouleſme, one of the moſt celebrated beauties of the age. His queen, the heireſs of the Glouceſter family, was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was betrothed to Hugh earl of Marche. The nuptials, indeed, on account of her tender age, had never been conſummated; but ſhe had ſome time been delivered into the hands of that nobleman. So many difficulties ſeemed to form an unſurmountable barrier to John's deſtructive paſſion; but he diſdained to ſubmit to the laws of his country, though founded on the ſolid baſis of virtue. Under pretence of conſanguinity, he, by ſome means or other procured a divorce, and perſuaded Aymar to carry off his daughter, whom he ſoon after married. The pope was highly exaſperated at theſe irregular proceedings; but John regarded neither the thunder of the vatican, nor the reſentment of the earl whom he had ſo materially injured.

John now returned with his new conſort to England, when they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſoon after which the king ſet out on a progreſs, with his young queen, to the borders of Scotland.

A. D. 1201. The proud and impolitic John was not poſſeſſed of the art of conciliation. He took no care to ſoften the reſentment of the earl of Marche; but on the contrary conſidered even the moſt diſtant advances towards ſubmiſſion as a diſgrace to royalty.

During his journey to Scotland he held many courts, at which great numbers, who had treſpaſſed againſt the foreſt laws, were ſummoned, and rigorouſly fined. This occaſioned great diſcontent among the people, who by the charter of Henry II. thought themſelves exempted from thoſe arbitrary foreſt laws that had been introduced by the Norman line, and reſtored to their privilege of hunting.

The earl of Marche was no ſtranger to the miſunderſtanding that now ſubſiſted between John and his Engliſh ſubjects; and thinking this a ſeaſonable opportunity, he, with his brother the count d'Eu, excited commotions in Poictou and Normandy.

When John was informed of theſe proceedings, he ſummoned his barons to aſſiſt him in quelling the inſurgents; but they refuſed to attend him into Normandy, unleſs he would confirm their privileges. The aſſociation, however, was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for them to ſupport their noble reſolution. The threatenings and power of royalty engaged the greater part of them to ſubmit, and John paſſed over into Normandy at the head of an army more than ſufficient to reduce the inſurgents; but he purſued no prudent methods: he advanced claims that gave univerſal diſcontent, and added daily to the public grievances. The barons complained to the king of France, as ſuperior lord; and that prince inſiſted upon John's doing them juſtice. The latter promiſed to redreſs all the grievances that were founded on juſtice; but he kept not his word even in the moſt trifling particular. His vaſſals, deſpiſed, offended, and reduced to deſpair, once more applied to Philip; he received their appeal, and began to exert his authority, in order to prevent their oppreſſion. John again promiſed to do them juſtice, and again broke his engagements; ſo that his conduct rendered him at once both odious and contemptible.

Prince Arthur, alarmed at the conſequences that were likely to ariſe from the conduct of his uncle, determined to ſeek ſecurity in an union with Philip and the diſcontented barons; and accordingly joined the French army, which had already begun hoſtilities. Philip received him with great affection, gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to ſupport him againſt the king of England.

A. D. 1203. The progreſs of the French forces had been ſo remarkably rapid, that John was now deſirous of putting a period to the military operations; but Philip was ſo exaſperated, that he openly declared he would not ſheath the ſword of war, unleſs John would ſubmit to reſign all his tranſmarine dominions to his nephew prince Arthur.

John, however, was far from ſubmitting to ſuch humiliating conditions: he determined to defend his territories to the laſt extremity; but ſtill preſſed Philip for an accommodation upon more reaſonable terms.

Young Arther gave ſeveral inſtances of his courage and intrepidity; but he wanted prudence to conduct military expeditions with ſucceſs. He knew that queen Eleanor was a ſworn enemy to his intereſt, and was therefore deſirous of ſecuring her perſon. She reſided in the caſtle of Mirable, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the garriſon too few to make any long reſiſtance. Arthur determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of attacking the caſtle, and being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, he precipitately led his ſmall body of forces againſt Mirabel. The caſtle was taken at the firſt aſſault, but the queen, with the greater part of the garriſon, retired into the tower, and made a gallant defence.

The danger of his mother rouſed John from the couch of indolence; he marched at the head of an army of Engliſh and Brabanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his army to flight, and took the young prince, together with the earl of Marche, and moſt of the revolted barons, priſoners. The greater part of the captives were ſent over to England, but Arthur was ſhut up in the caſtle of Falaiſe, and afterwards removed to the citadel of Rouen.

After this victory John retired in triumph into Normandy, and Philip abandoned the ſiege of Arques on his approach. Succeſs is often the deſtruction of the timorous and bloody tyrant; it rendered John the execration of mankind. He was a ſtranger to the gentle feelings of compaſſion, and poſſeſſed not the virtue of magnanimity. He conſidered young Arthur as an eternal bar to his ambition; and imagined that he could never be truly happy till he commenced aſſaſſin.

A ſhort time after this, accounts were received that the young prince was no more, and no one doubted his having fallen by the treacherous mode of aſſaſſination. The crime was certain, but the manner of its being executed was doubtful. The moſt authentic account we have of the murder of this prince, is the following, as given by D'Argentrié, in his Hiſt. de Bretagne: " John, ſays that hiſtorian, leading his nephew after him like a lamb to the ſlaughter, brought him from Rouen to Cherbourg, that the infernal deed might be executed with more privacy. There, late in the evening, followed only by a few friends, he mounted his horſe, and leaving his attendants, ordered the prince to ride on before him. In this manner they paſſed along the ſea-ſide, till a place was diſcovered fit for the bloody purpoſe: it was a high cliff hanging over the ſea. John immediately ſpurred his horſe cloſe to the ſide of that of Arthur, and laying hold of one of the reins of the bridle, ſtabbed the young prince ſeveral times through the body, while the terrified victim cried in vain for mercy. Having finiſhed the infernal deed, he threw the body over the precipice into the ſea."

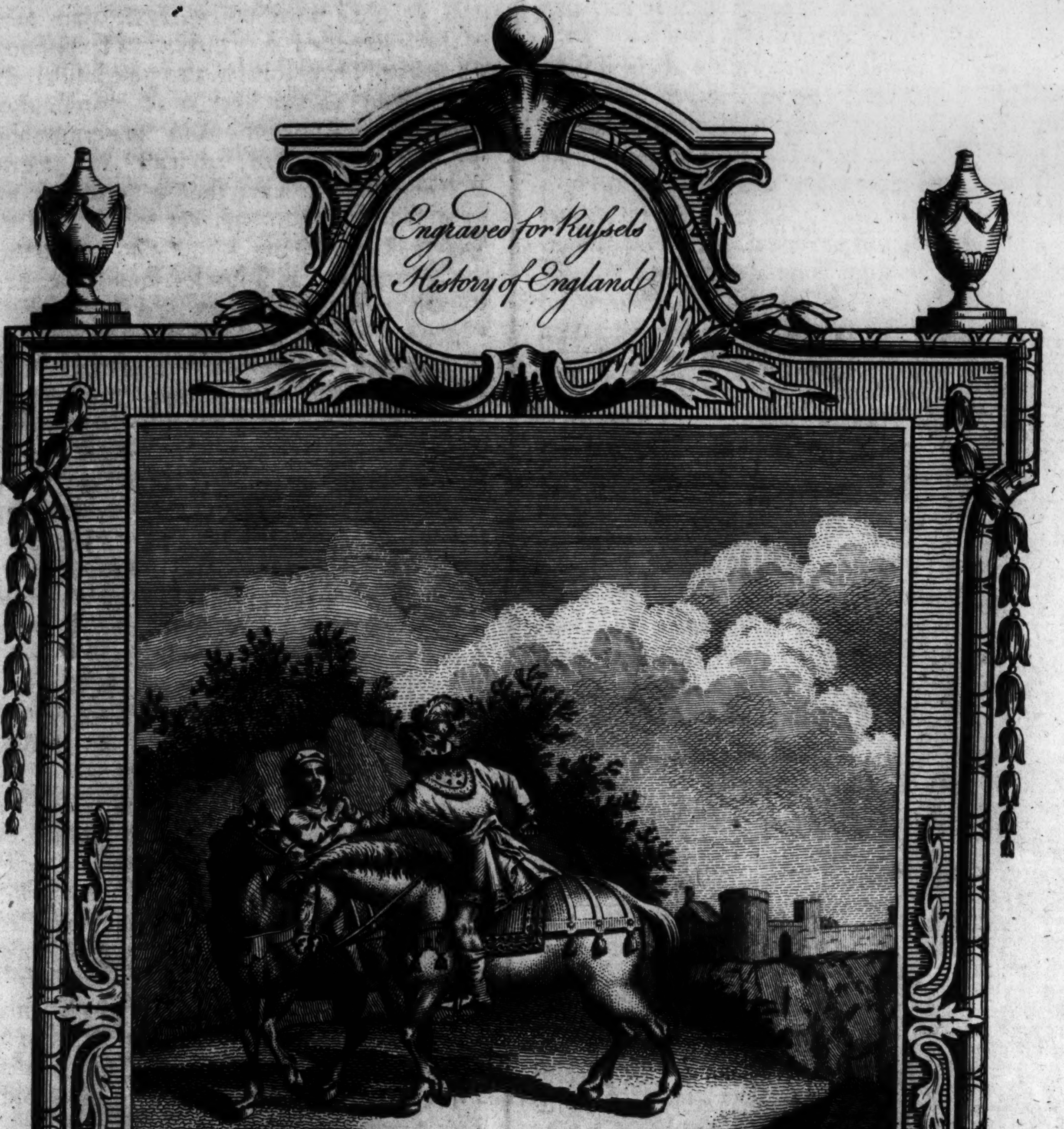
Other writers ſay that John aſſaſſinated the young prince in the priſon at Rouen, and threw his body into the Seine. But in whatever manner the horrid action was performed, all Europe juſtly accuſed John of the murder; and from that moment the deſpiſed king retained a very precarious authority over both the people and the barons of his dominions. The Britons, enraged at this deteſtable tranſaction, which had put a final period to all their pleaſing hopes, waged implacable war againſt him, and put themſelves in a proper poſture to revenge the murder of their prince.

The wretched Conſtantia, mother to Arthur, preſented to the court of peers in France a petition ſigned by all the barons in Britany, requeſting that ſome puniſhment might be inflicted on the inhuman tyrant for the murder of her ſon. Philip ordered John to be ſummoned before his court; but when the day of hearing came, he appeared only by his deputies, the biſhop of Ely and Hubert de Burg. Their buſineſs was to demand from Philip a ſafe conduct for their maſter to the French court. " He " may come in peace," ſaid Philip, with a ſtern and ſevere countenance. " But may he return in peace," replied the biſhop of Ely. " Yes," anſwered Philip, " if the ſentence of his peers will give him " leave." The ambaſſadors ſufficiently perceived the inſidious tendency of this expreſſion, and inſiſted upon a clearer explanation, and on the king's granting the ſafe conduct required. Great difficulties, and, at laſt, an abſolute denial enſued; and Philip ſwore, by all the ſaints of France, " That " he ſhould return no otherwiſe than according to " the ſentence of the court." The biſhop then told Philip, " That John was to be conſidered as king of " England, as well as duke of Normandy; and the " barons of England would not permit their king to " riſque his life, or, at leaſt, his liberty, at the " French court, even though he ſhould agree to it " himſelf." Philip's anſwer to this was both ready and juſt. " If, my lord," ſaid he, " the duke of " Normandy's ambition led him to acquire a higher " title, ought I, who am his lord, to loſe his allegiance " as my vaſſal? What is it to me, that he has " acquired the crown of England?" The ambaſſadors did not attempt to anſwer Philip; indeed his remarks were unanſwerable upon the principles of the the feudal law. The court therefore proceeded to paſs ſentence, which was as follows: " That John, " duke of Normandy, not regarding the oath he " had taken to Philip his lord, and being a homager " of the crown of France, had, within the ſigniory " of that crown, murdered his elder brother's ſon, " who was alſo a homager of the ſame; therefore " the ſaid John is declared a traitor; and, as an enemy " to the crown of France, he is adjudged to forfeit " all his ſigniories which he held by homage, and " re-entry into the ſame is ordered to be made by " force."

Philip took the neceſſary meaſures to put the ſentence in execution: a more favourable event could not have happened for annexing to the crown of France ſo many conſiderable fiefs, which, during ſeveral centuries, had been diſmembered from it. His vaſſals were in no condition to oppoſe his intention: the inhuman action of John ſilenced all oppoſition, and carried his victorious arms into Normandy. Nor was the hatred which the inhabitants of that duchy bore to the French of any great conſequence: it formed but a feeble obſtacle to the rapidity of Philip's conqueſts.

The count of Alençon, who had been one of John's moſt ſtrenuous advocates, deſerted him, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now ſeparated his army. Exaſperated at the deſertion of ſo powerful a vaſſal, John determined to take Alençon, and immediately inveſted the place. Philip ſaw himſelf expoſed to the diſgrace of ſuffering the capital of his new ally to be wreſted from him. Fortunately a tournament was now held at Gatinois, and the fertile genius of Philip furniſhed him with an expedient for obtaining a powerful aſſiſtance. He repaired to the tournament, and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the proper field for diſplaying their military talents, and inflicting on a baſe parricide the puniſhment due to his crimes. The knights vowed to chaſtiſe the aſſaſſin; and marched immediately to the relief of the beſieged. John fled at their approach; and never more made any attempt to defend his dominions. He even affected to be unconcerned at the ſucceſs of Philip. " Let him go on," ſaid the puſillanimous monarch, " I ſhall retake in one day what it has coſt him years to acquire."

Though John thus relinquiſhed the temporal, yet he was deſirous of employing the ſpiritual ſword in this quarrel. Pope Innocent III. whoſe protection he ſolicited, was pleaſed with any opportunity of exerting the authority he had aſſumed over the princes of Europe. He wrote to Philip, commanding him to put a final period to the war, and conclude a peace with the king of England. But Philip, inſtead of paying obedience to the pontiff, diſclaimed the temporal authority he challenged over kings, and, regardleſs of the emergencies, purſued his conqueſts with the greateſt vigour.



Engraved for Ruſsels History of England

Wale delin.

White sculp.

KING JOHN murdering his Nephew PRINCE ARTHUR

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

A. D. 1204. The moſt able as well as truſty general John had in his ſervice was Richard de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, who defended Chateau Galliard for a whole year with the greateſt firmneſs and intrepidity. The fortreſs was remarkable for its ſtrength, and Philip was obliged to ſubdue it by famine. The intrepid governor, after having repulſed every attempt, and ſupported with remarkable patience all the miſeries of famine, was at laſt ſubdued by a ſudden attack in the night, and taken priſoner with his whole garriſon. Philip, who knew how to reſpect valor even in an enemy, treated him with the utmoſt civility; and allowed him the whole city of Paris for the place of his confinement.

Philip found but little difficulty in poſſeſſing himſelf of the other towns and fortreſſes in Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, at firſt determined to defend the capital; but finding all reſiſtance would be in vain, they gave it up, and the French monarch took poſſeſſion of the city. The other towns followed the example of the capital, and Philip enjoyed the honor of re-annexing to the crown of France one of the fineſt provinces in the kingdom, which had been diſmembered from it near three centuries.

A. D. 1205. John, finding it needleſs to make any farther efforts in oppoſing Philip, embarked for England; where he had no ſooner arrived, than, in order to cover the diſgrace of his conduct, he exclaimed loudly againſt his barons, who, he pretended had deſerted his ſtandard in Normandy; and extorted from them, in a very arbitrary manner, a ſeventh part of all their moveables, as a puniſhment for their offences. Not long after, he forced them to grant him a ſcutage of two marks and a half on each knight's fee, in order to enable him to make an expedition into Normandy; but he did not attempt to execute the ſervice.

A. D. 1206. The governor of Britany being at this time jealous of the rapid progreſs made by his ally the French king, promiſed to join the Engliſh monarch with all his forces. John embraced the offer, returned abroad with a conſiderable army, and landed at Rochelle; from whence he marched to Angiers, which he took and reduced to aſhes. But the approach of Philip, at the head of his army, diſconcerted all his ſchemes: he immediately made propoſals of peace, and fixed the place of interview with the enemy; but inſtead of keeping his engagement, he privately withdrew with his army, embarked at Rochelle, and returned to England with diſgrace. Philip was ſurprized, on coming to the place of conference, to find that John had embarked for England ſome days before. However, by the mediation of the pope, a truce for two years was concluded between the two monarchs.

A. D. 1207. An event now happened in England that engaged the attention of the whole nation, and ſhook the very pillars of the ſtate. Pope Innocent III. had carried the papal uſurpations much higher than any of his predeceſſors. Not contented with endeavouring to extend the authority of the Roman pontiff over all the potentates of Europe, he was ambitious of reducing the eccleſiaſtics themſelves to the ſame degree of ſervitude. He pretended, that the diſpoſal of all benefices juſtly belonged to the ſucceſſors of St. Peter; and that they had a right to employ all the revenues of the church whenever the intereſt of the papal ſee demanded aſſiſtance.

The imprudence of the monks of Canterbury ſoon furniſhed him with an opportunity of carrying theſe pretenſions into execution. Theſe monks enjoyed the privilege, on the death of a primate, to name a ſucceſſor; but it was uſual, before they filled an office of ſuch importance, to obtain the king's conſent; and it was alſo generally allowed, that the ſuffragan biſhops had voices in the election. There are, however, times, when the moſt ſacred rights are uſurped by unthinking men, who, in order to promote their own intereſt, make no difficulty of having recourſe to the moſt extraordinary methods.

On the death of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, which happened about the cloſe of the preceding year, the junior monks met clandeſtinely on the very night of his deceaſe, and choſe Reginald their ſubprior, for his ſucceſſor; inſtalled him in the archiepiſcopal throne before midnight, and, having enjoined him in the ſtricteſt ſecrecy, ſent him immediately to Rome, to ſolicit the confirmation of his election. But the vain prieſt no ſooner landed in Flanders, than he diſcovered the whole ſecret, which coming to the ears of the ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury, and the elder monks of Chriſt-church, who had all voices in this election, they were highly exaſperated; the king, whoſe prerogative was alſo concerned, concurred with the eccleſiaſtics, and deſired them to proceed immediately to a new election, recommending, at the ſame time, John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, as a very proper perſon for that important office. The monks of Chriſt-church met accordingly, without conſulting the ſuffragan biſhops, and the election of that prelate was accordingly made, without a ſingle contradictory vote; for the junior monks, aſhamed of their conduct, and diſguſted with the levity of Reginald, who had broke his engagement, were deſirous of ſetting aſide his election, and accordingly concurred in raiſing the biſhop of Norwich to the archiepiſcopal throne. In the mean time Reginald reached Rome, but found the pope determined not to confirm his election, till he had received more ſatisfactory intelligence. While the matter thus continued in ſuſpence, the ſuffragans of the dioceſe of Canterbury ſent a ſtrong remonſtrance to the court of Rome, complaining of the invalidity of both elections, as they were both carried on without their privity or conſent. Glad of an opportunity of humbling at once the king and biſhops of England, the pope had recourſe to very trifling excuſes, without giving any direct anſwer to the monks, who had been ſent to Rome, by the king and biſhop of Norwich. At laſt, he declared both elections void; but added, that the convent of Chriſt-church had undoubtedly the power of electing an archbiſhop, ſolely in themſelves, though they had been irregular in raiſing Reginald to the archiepiſcopal throne. He therefore deſired, that they would immediately proceed to a new election; and, as there were then at Rome, a ſufficient number to elect an archbiſhop, he deſired they would not loſe a moment's time, and let their choice fall upon cardinal Stephen Langton, an Engliſhman, and a divine of great eminence. The monks were ſtartled at this new and inſolent doctrine. They repreſented, that it had been ever underſtood, that the king had a right of being conſulted on the choice of an archbiſhop; but their remonſtrance was in vain: Innocent continued firm to his purpoſe, and they were all of them, excepting Elias de Bainfield, who nobly withſtood the inſolent demand, obliged to ſubmit to the pope's order, and chuſe the perſon nominated by his holineſs.

However bigotted the pope might be to the Roman ſee, yet he was not inſenſible that this flagrant uſurpation muſt of courſe excite the reſentment of the Engliſh court. He therefore wrote a very mollifying letter to John; ſent him a preſent of four golden rings, ſet with precious ſtones, the value of which he endeavoured to enhance, by explaining the many myſteries they implied. He deſired him to obſerve, with the moſt ſerious attention, the form, the matter and the colour of theſe rings. "The form," ſaid the pope, " is round, repreſenting eternity,

“ which has neither beginning nor end; and hence
“ you ought to learn your duty of aſpiring from
“ earthly to heavenly objects, from things temporal
“ to things eternal. The number Four being a
“ ſquare, denotes ſteadineſs of mind, which neither
“ proſperity nor adverſity can ſubvert, fixed for ever
“ on the ſolid baſis of the four cardinal virtues. The
“ matter, which is gold, the moſt precious of metals,
“ ſhadows out wiſdom, the moſt precious of all ac-
“ compliſhments, and juſtly preferred by Solomon
“ to riches, power, and all exterior attainments.
“ The verdure of the emerald repreſents Faith; the
“ blue colour of the ſapphire, Hope; the redneſs of
“ the ruby, Charity; the ſplendor of the topaz,
“ Good Works.”

This explanation, which, in that age, was greatly admired, though it appears extremely ridiculous in our's, produced not the deſired effect. John was enflamed with the utmoſt rage, and threatened the moſt exemplary vengeance againſt all that had been concerned in the late colluſive election. But when he heard that the monks of Canterbury, dreading the vengeance of the court of Rome, were inclined to ſupport the choice, his paſſion knew no bounds. He immediately diſpatched two reſolute knights, whoſe violent tempers were equal to the ferocity of their manners, to expel the monks from their convent. They performed their orders with the greateſt punctuality; and the fathers were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight, leaving the knights in full poſſeſſion of every thing belonging to them.

Theſe violences gave the moſt ſecret ſatisfaction to the pope, who was convinced that ſhould they be purſued John muſt infallibly ſink in the conteſt. The pope followed not John's example; he had recourſe to the ſofter arts of perſuaſion, till he found the thunder of the vatican produce the deſired effect. He wrote a very conciliating letter to John, beſeeching him not to oppoſe the determination of his ſpiritual father, who was continually labouring for his eternal happineſs. He deſired him to reflect on the conſequences that attended a ſimilar oppoſition in his father Henry; and begged him not to reſiſt the church of God, nor perſecute any longer, that cauſe for which the holy martyr St. Thomas ſacrificed his life, and who was now ſo juſtly venerated by the people.

John, however, was firm to his purpoſe; and had his principles of reſiſtance been founded on the ſolid baſis of virtue, his behaviour would have merited the higheſt applauſe. But the vices of John had rendered him contemptible; he could not hope to be ſupported by his ſubjects. The pope knew this, and determined to perſevere. He commanded the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter to expoſtulate with him, and if he perſevered in his diſobedience, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict.

This inſolent behaviour of the pontiff exaſperated John almoſt to madneſs. He ſwore that if the pope preſumed to pronounce the ſentence, he would put out the eyes, and cut off the noſes of all the Roman clergy he could find in his dominions. In vain were all the perſuaſions of the biſhops to mitigate his fury; he wrote a letter to the pope, telling his holineſs, that he looked upon his proceedings as an inſult upon royalty; that his own kingdom furniſhed a ſufficient number of clergymen, eminent at once for their learning and piety, without ſuffering thoſe of a foreign ſeminary to be intruded upon him; that he was determined to maintain the election of the biſhop of Norwich to the utmoſt extremity; and concluded with telling the pontiff, that if he refuſed to do him juſtice in this particular, he would prohibit all commerce between his ſubjects and the Roman ſee.

Theſe threats had but little effect on the pope: he knew the animoſity that ſubſiſted between John and his people, and therefore, without any heſitation, thundered out the dreadful ſentence of interdiction againſt the kingdom.

This cenſure had all the requiſites for exciting a popular commotion. The ruin of the people was involved in the puniſhment of the king. The exterior parts of religion immediately ceaſed: the altars were ſtripped of their ornaments; the images, the croſſes, the ſtatues of ſaints, and all the holy relicks were laid upon the ground. The churches were ſhut againſt the laity, and divine ſervice was ſuppreſſed. Even the ſacraments were no longer adminiſtered but to dying perſons; nor were the dead ſuffered to be buried in conſecrated ground. The ſevereſt penances were commanded, and every kind of entertainment ſtrictly prohibited.

It is little to be wondered at, that the whole nation ſhould be alarmed at theſe ſevere injunctions; and that every perſon in the kingdom ſhould exert all his power to avert ſuch dreadful calamities. But John was not to be moved with tears and ſupplications. He oppoſed, with the moſt obſtinate inflexibility, every attempt to remove the ſcourge, and reſtore tranquillity to his dominions. He puniſhed, with the utmoſt rigour, all who ſubmitted to the orders of the pope, whether biſhops, monks or ſecular clergy. Some of the eccleſiaſtics, indeed, diſregarded the cenſure of the Roman pontiff. The Ciſtertian order continued to perform divine ſervice publicly; the biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich followed their examples, and ſeveral of the moſt eminent divines openly preached againſt thoſe proceedings, which they called unjuſt and unwarrantable. An exertion of prudent vigor therefore might have diſſipated the tempeſt: but John liſtened not to the voice of reaſon; he followed the dictates of his headſtrong paſſions, which led him to the brink of a precipice that threatened his deſtruction.

A. D. 1210. Though England had now laboured a conſiderable time under the ſevere cenſure of the pope, yet John was ſo far from taking any meaſures which might either remove that, or in any way tend to the happineſs of his people, that he became more tyrannical than ever: his cruelties increaſed in the ſame proportion with the danger of his government. The clergy were the particular objects of his fury. He ſeized upon their temporalities, drove them from their monaſteries, and inflicted on them every kind of indignity: he endeavoured to retaliate on them the ſufferings of himſelf and his people. But his deſpotiſm was not confined to the clergy, the laity alſo felt the weight of his oppreſſion. He not only enforced the foreſt laws, which had always excited troubles and diſtreſs, but likewiſe ordered all the mounds of his foreſt to be levelled, that his deer might range at large, to the inexpreſſible diſtreſs of the huſbandmen.

In ſhort, ſo inconſiſtent were the meaſures of this infatuated prince, that even while he had recourſe to theſe violent oppreſſions, he felt the crown totter on his head, and had recourſe to the moſt extraordinary ſtretch of power to enforce the obedience of his barons. He compelled them to give him hoſtages for their good behaviour and fidelity. The greater number complied with his demand; but when the king's meſſengers came to the caſtle of William de Barouſe, a nobleman of great power in the Marches of Wales, his lady replied, “ That ſhe would never truſt her ſon to the care of a prince, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own nephew.” Barouſe, who knew the cruel temper of John, and that the ſarcaſm of his wife would never be pardoned, fled, with his family, into Ireland. But the place of their retreat was ſoon known, and John gave a looſe to his cruelty. He ſhut up the lady and her ſon in priſon, where they were ſtarved to death; the nobleman himſelf was obliged to have recourſe to flight, leaving all his eſtates and property to the mercy of his inhuman and tyrannic ſovereign.

A. D. 1211. John had long expected that the pope would iſſue againſt him the dreadful ſentence of excommunication, which he now ſincerely wiſhed to avert. He therefore diſpatched the abbot of Beaulieu on an embaſſy to Rome, to effect, if poſſible, a reconciliation with the pontiff. In conſequence of this cardinal Langton was immediately ordered to repair to England; but John's propoſals not being equal to what the pope demanded, the Cardinal broke off the conference abruptly and returned to the continent.

The haughty pontiff, tranſported with rage at the ill ſucceſs his legate had met with, excommunicated John, and abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance. This eccleſiaſtical thunderbolt was really terrible, becauſe the pope gave the kingdom of England to Philip of France, a prince who wanted neither power nor inclination to aſſert his claim. The pontiff did more, he promiſed him the remiſſion of all his ſins, if he ſucceeded in the reduction of England. He even granted the ſame indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to thoſe who went into Aſia to recover the Holy Land from the infidels. The facinating luſtre of the Engliſh diadem wholly changed the opinion of Philip. He did not now tell his holineſs, that the pope had no right to give away crowns. His own kingdom had been interdicted ſome years before, and he himſelf excommunicated by this very pope, for attempting to marry another wife. He then aſſerted the independence of his crown, and declared theſe papal cenſures inſolent and abuſive. He ſeized the temporalities of every eccleſiaſtic in France who had proved himſelf ſo bad a ſubject as to obey the pope: but he thought quite differently, when he ſaw himſelf commiſſioned with the execution of a bull, which was to put England into his poſſeſſion. He took again to his bed that very princeſs, whoſe divorce had been the cauſe of ſo many excommunications, and devoted himſelf intirely to execute the ſentence of Rome. He employed a whole year in building one hundred and ſeventy ſhips, and in raiſing and diſciplining the fineſt army ever ſeen in France.

Notwithſtanding John's ſubjects had reaſon to look on him with deteſtation, yet from the natural enmity the Engliſh bore the French; from the horror the people had conceived againſt the pope's arbitrary proceedings, and from the aſſiſtance of the extenſive prerogatives of the crown, John was enabled to raiſe and keep together, during ſeveral weeks, an army of ſixty thouſand men, at the head of which he advanced towards Dover, to meet the prince who had tried and condemned him in France, and was now coming to dethrone him in England.

Had theſe troops been united in affection to their prince, and animated with a becoming zeal for the defence of their country, John would have had nothing to fear. He might have bid defiance to the thunder of the vatican, aſſiſted by the whole power of the French monarch. but the caſe was very different: the people were guided by ſuperſtition, and regarded their king with horror, as a perſon anathematized by the ſupreme head of the church. At the ſame time, the barons, beſides lying under the ſame prejudices, had been long diſguſted with his tyranny, and many of them were ſuſpected of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy. Theſe circumſtances conſidered, the moſt fatal conſequences were naturally to be expected from the French invaſion.

A. D. 1213. The artful pontiff was, however, too well acquainted with the temper and ſpirit of John, not to foreſee, that the court of Rome would reap much greater advantages by trying lenitives once more, than puſhing him into abſolute deſpair. For this purpoſe he gave, in open conſiſtory, a commiſſion to Pandolf, and the exiled biſhops to repair to England, and there to fulminate in perſon his ſpiritual cenſures. He alſo gave him private inſtructions how to behave, in caſe John ſhould repent, and deſire to make ample ſatisfaction.

Thus armed with the power of making a dangerous war, or a ſtill more dangerous peace, the legate took leave of the court of Rome, and repaired with the exiled Engliſh biſhops to Paris. They found Philip very buſy in making preparations for his expedition into England, and immediately ſent over two knights templars to deſire an interview with John at Dover, which was readily granted.

The legate having informed Philip, that it was neceſſary for him to publiſh the pope's ſentence in John's dominions, repaired to England, where he laid before him every motive that had any tendency to ſooth, or terrify him into compliance. He repreſented to him the numerous army collected by Philip for invading England: he obſerved, that, beſides the troops he had already procured, ſupplies were expected from every prince in Chriſtendom, who conſidered him as an avowed excommunicated rebel, and his crown as forſeited, by the pope's ſentence. He added, that it was publicly known in France, that Philip had received an invitation from the principal nobility of England, who had promiſed to join him upon his landing.

The puſillanimous John, terrified at the alarming intelligence of the rebellious diſpoſition of his nobility, and dreading the power of the French monarch, yielded at diſcretion, and ſubſcribed to all the conditions which Pandolf was pleaſed to impoſe upon him. He promiſed, among other articles, that he would ſubmit himſelf entirely to the judgment of the pope; that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would reſtore all the exiled clergy and laity, who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt; that he would make them full reſtitution for their goods, and compenſation for all damages, and inſtantly conſign eight thouſand pounds in part of payment; and that every one outlawed or impriſoned, on account of their adherence to the pope, ſhould immediately be received into grace and favour. Four barons joined with the king, in ſwearing to this ignominious treaty.

But this ignominy, however great, was far from being equal to what John had yet to ſuffer; he was to drain the cup of ſubjection to the lees. The artful Pandolf refuſed to open at once the ſcroll of abjection, leſt it ſhould drive him to deſpair, and by that means diſappoint the ambitious views of the Roman pontiff. But having now procured a treaty, by which the king had ſubmitted to the moſt ſhameful terms, Pandolf thought he might venture to go one ſtep farther. Accordingly, he propoſed that John ſhould reſign his kingdom to the church. He perſuaded the king, that there was no other way, by which he could ſo effectually diſappoint the French invaſion, as by putting himſelf under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. John, lying under the agony of preſent terror, made no ſcruple of ſubmitting to the propoſal of Pandolf. He paſſed a charter, by which he ſaid, that, not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free will, for the remiſſion of his own ſins, and thoſe of his family, he reſigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair. He agreed to hold theſe dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of a thouſand marks; ſeven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. At the ſame time he ſtipulated, that if he, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever preſume to infringe or revoke this charter, they ſhould inſtantly, except upon admonition, forfeit all right to their dominions.

This agreement being ſigned, and the fifteenth of May appointed for this humiliating ceremony, John did homage to Pandolf as the pope's legate, with all the mortifying rites which the feudal law required of the vaſſals before their liege lord and ſuperior. He came diſarmed into the preſence of the legate, who was ſeated on a throne; he flung himſelf on his knees before him; he lifted up his hands, and put them within thoſe of Pandolf; he ſwore fealty to the pope, paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom, as the patrimony of St. Peter, and preſented Pandolf with his crown and ſceptre.

The proud legate, elevated by this ſupreme triumph of ſacerdotal power, could not forbear diſcovering extravagant ſymptoms of joy and exultation: he trampled on the money, which was laid at his feet, as an earneſt of the ſubjection of the kingdom: an inſolence which, however offenſive to all the Engliſh, no perſon, except the archbiſhop of Dublin, ventured to take notice of. But though Pandolf had brought the king to ſubmit to theſe baſe conditions, he ſtill refuſed to take off the excommunication and interdict, till an eſtimation ſhould be taken of the loſſes ſuffered by the eccleſiaſtics, and full compenſation and reſtitution ſhould be made them.

Theſe humiliating circumſtances, however great they were, could not altar John's diſpoſition to tyranny. One Peter Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold, that the king ſhould, this year, loſe his crown; and for that raſh prophecy, he had been, for ſome time, confined in Corſe-caſtle. The day fixed being now paſſed, the prophet was dragged out of priſon, and hanged as an impoſtor at Wincheſter: though the hermit pleaded, that his prophecy was fulfilled, and that the king had loſt the royal and independent crown, which he formerly wore.

As ſoon as Pandolf had executed his ſecret commiſſion in England, he paſſed over to the continent, where Philip was waiting for him, every thing being ready for the armament to put to ſea. The legate immediately repaired to the prince's court, and informed him that he was no longer permitted to make a deſcent upon England, now become a fief to the Roman church; and that John was under the protection of the holy ſee.

Philip, at once ſurpriſed and incenſed at this declaration, treated the legate as an impoſtor. He told him, that he had made theſe preparations at an immenſe expence, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope; and therefore, that no contrary orders, nor even all the threats of the Vatican, ſhould now deter him from proſecuting his deſign. He immediately ſummoned a general council, wherein he painted the pope's inſiduous proceedings in the moſt glaring colours, and deſired their advice with regard to proſecuting the deſign againſt England. They all expreſſed their abhorrence of the pope's duplicity, and the greater part declared for making the intended deſcent.

The earl of Flanders not only diſſented from the general opinion, but declared ſtrongly againſt it. He boldly told Philip, that his expedition againſt England was inconſiſtent with juſtice, and the law of nations, as none of his anceſtors ever pretended any claim to that kingdom. Exaſperated at this remonſtrance, Philip ordered the earl to quit his dominions, and immediately turned the armament he had raiſed for an expedition into England, againſt Flanders. But William, earl of Saliſbury, at the head of an Engliſh fleet fitted out to guard the channel, fell with ſuch fury on the French tranſports, that one hundred of them were ſunk, and three hundred taken. Philip perceiving that the total deſtruction of his ſhips was inevitable, ſet fire to the reſt, as the only method to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

At the ſame time that this fatal ſtroke blaſted all Philip's grand projects, it did not a little animate the ſpirits of John. As he was aſſured of the pope's aſſiſtance he was reſolved to purſue the advantage he had obtained over Philip, and endeavour to recover his loſt dominions. With this view he ſummoned all his barons, knights and vaſſals to attend him at Portſmouth; but the barons ſent him word they could not comply with his ſummons ſo long as he continued under a ſtate of excommunication.

To remove this obſtacle, John wrote a very preſſing letter to Langton, beſeeching him to come with all expedition, and give him abſolution; aſſuring him that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, love, defend and maintain the church and clergy againſt all their adverſaries; that he would re-eſtabliſh the wholeſome laws of his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of king Edward; and that he would annul all oppreſſive edicts, and judge every man according to juſtice and equity.

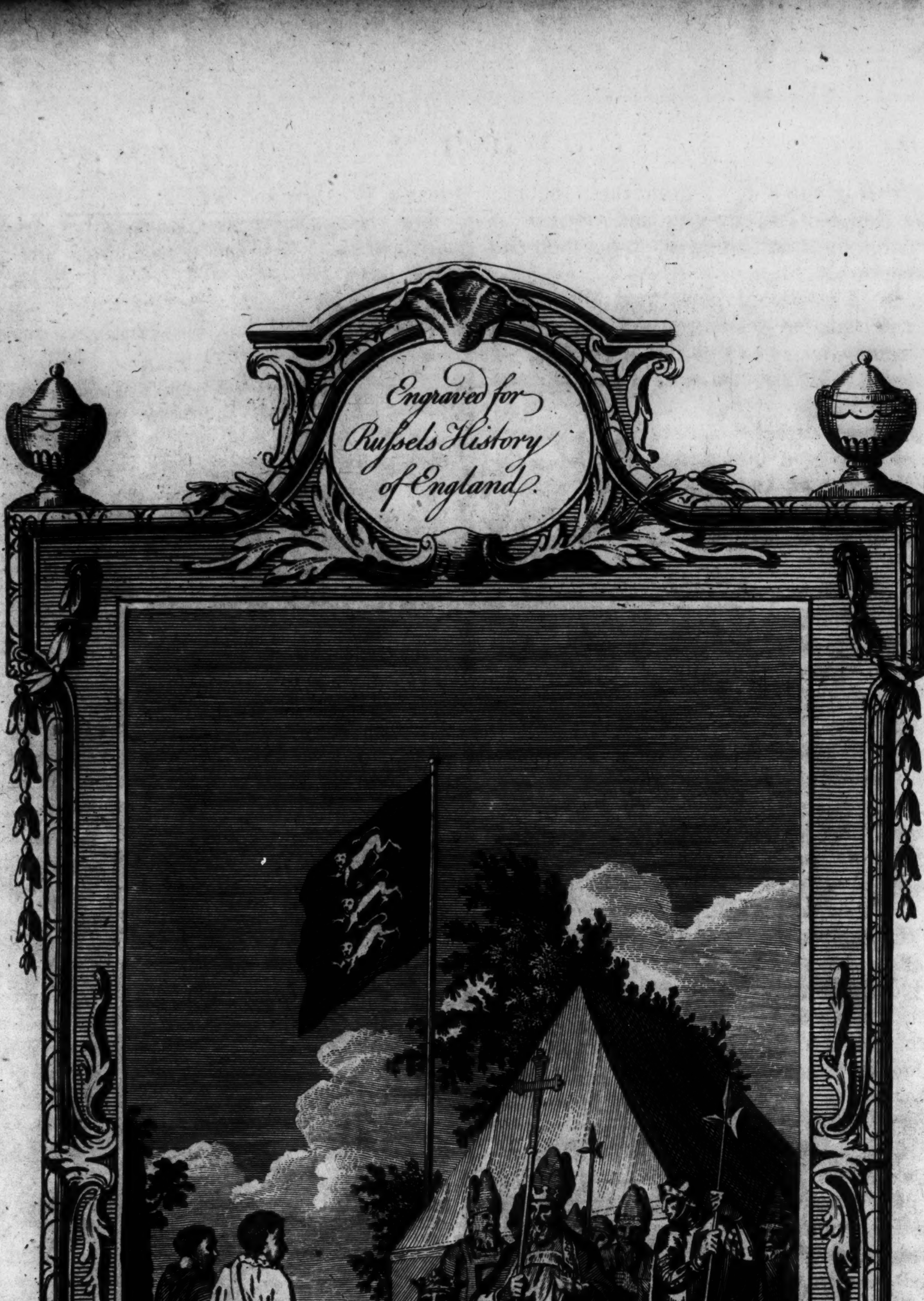
The prelate liſtened to John's requeſt, and, on the above conditions, gave him abſolution in the cathedral church of Wincheſter, in the preſence of the principal nobility and clergy of the kingdom.

A. D. 1214. John having thus removed the grand object that impeded the execution of his intentions, determined now to carry on the war againſt Philip with the moſt unremitting vigor; but when he came to the teſt, it was evident he wanted both courage and prudence to lead an army againſt ſo powerful an enemy. He, however, beſieged a caſtle near Angiers; but the approach of an army, under the command of prince Lewis, excited all his natural timidity. He raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind him all his tents, machines, and baggage. A few days after, advice arrived, that Philip had defeated, at Bovines, the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand Germans. This victory eſtabliſhed for ever the reputation of Philip, and put a final period to all John's hopes of a conqueſt: he therefore relinquiſhed every farther attempt, and returned home with diſgrace.

Peace, however, was far from being eſtabliſhed in England. Though the feudal government, ſince the Norman conqueſt, had ſet bounds to the ſovereign authority, the prerogatives of the crown had been very greatly extended. The Engliſh nobility were now determined to aſſume the ſame privileges which thoſe of ſimilar rank enjoyed in the other kingdoms of Europe. The charter paſſed by Henry I. renewed by Stephen, and confirmed by Henry II. had flattered the people with liberty, without communicating to them any real advantages; the form appeared lovely, but it was deſtitute of ſubſtance. The articles had never been executed on the part of the crown, and the whole was now nearly forgotten. The barons were rouſed from the couch of indolence by the debauchery, the meanneſs, the violence, and the tyranny of John. Both clergy and laity joined in oppoſing the tyrant of their country. Archbiſhop Langton became the head of a faction. The promiſe the king had made at the time he received abſolution, furniſhed the primate with pretences for a revolt. He aſſembled the barons; he produced a charter of Henry I. which he had fortunately found in the library of a monaſtery, and exhorted them to join firmly in inſiſting on a renewal and ſolemn confirmation of that contract of privileges.

Pleaſed with the opportunity of ſetting bounds to the royal authority, and of procuring a poſitive declaration of the rights of Engliſhmen, the barons took an oath to adhere firmly to each other; planned

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsels History of England

KING JOHN
Signing Magna Charta.

meaſures for forcing the king to grant their requeſt, ſhould he be diſpoſed to refuſe it; and agreed to meet at London ſoon after Chriſtmas, to put their deſigns into execution.

A. D. 1215. The barons performed their promiſe, and at the time appointed repaired to London, where they demanded of the king a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

The king, alarmed at their number, zeal, and unanimity, promiſed to give them a poſitive anſwer at Eaſter. In the mean time he laboured, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to gain the clergy over to his intereſt, by making them the moſt laviſh conceſſions. He gave them a charter, by which he granted to them the election to all benefices; reſerving only the right of a conge d'elire, and to ſubjoin a confirmation of the election, but declaring, that if either of theſe were delayed, the choice ſhould nevertheleſs be deemed valid. At the ſame time, he implored the aſſiſtance of the pope, and vowed to lead an army into Paleſtine, not doubting but he ſhould receive from the church that protection which ſhe had granted to every prince engaged in thoſe pious expeditions. It was the intereſt of Innocent to protect his vaſſal, in order to ſecure his ſubmiſſion. But the Engliſh clergy, weary with the deſpotiſm of the Roman court, and who regretted the loſs of thoſe privileges which the pontiff treated with contempt, openly profeſſed their zeal for the liberty of the people. This encouraged the barons to proceed with alacrity; and though they expected to have the pope, as well as the king, to contend with, they did not deſpair of ſucceſs; they determined to procure a charter of liberties, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

The time being now nearly arrived, when John was to give a poſitive anſwer to the demand of the barons, he ſent to them and deſired to have a ſchedule of the different articles of their pretenſions. The barons immediately prepared the writing requeſted; and advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court then reſided, and ſent the ſchedule by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke. The king read the demands of the barons, and burſt into the moſt furious paſſion, aſking, "Why they did not alſo demand his "crown?" Swearing, that he would never grant them liberties which muſt reduce the king to the ſtation of a ſlave.

This anſwer was immediately communicated by the primate to the diſcontented barons, who, without heſitation, elected Robert Fitz-Walter their general, under the title of "The Mareſchal of the army of "God, and of the Holy Church." They ſtaid not for any farther anſwer from John, but immediately began hoſtilities. They publiſhed a proclamation, inviting the reſt of the nobility to join them in this national cauſe. They advanced towards London, and entered the capital without oppoſition. Almoſt all the nobility now joined the ſtandard of the barons; and John was left at Odiham, in Surry, with the poor retinue of only ſeven knights. He made ſeveral attempts to elude the blow. He offered to refer the whole diſpute to the pope, and ſign any charter that his holineſs ſhould approve. This was refuſed. He then propoſed to empower eight barons to ſettle the conteſt, four of them to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the inſurgents. But this offer was alſo rejected. John now perceived that all oppoſition would be in vain: he ſaw himſelf abandoned by his ſubjects, and was obliged to conſent to the demands of the barons.

A conference was now appointed to be held between the king and his barons at Runnemede, between Windſor and Staines, a place which has, ever ſince, been extremely celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped ſeparately, like open enemies; and, after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility which was ſomewhat ſuſpicious, ſigned and ſealed the charter required of him.

This famous deed, commonly called Magna Charta, or the Great Charter, granted and ſecured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom, to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people.

This important writing being juſtly conſidered as the foundation of Engliſh liberty, we ſhall here preſerve a faithful tranſlation of it.

MAGNA CHARTA; or, The Charter of Liberties, granted by King John to his Subjects, in the Year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou; to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries of the foreſts, ſheriffs, governors, officers, and to all bailiffs, and other his faithful ſubjects, greeting. Know ye, that we, in the preſence of God, and for the health of our ſoul, and the ſouls of all our anceſtors and heirs, and to the honor of God, and the exaltation of the Holy Church, and amendment of our kingdom, by advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church; Henry, archbiſhop of Dublin: William, biſhop of London; Peter of Wincheſter; Jocelin of Bath and Glaſtonbury; Hugh of Lincoln; Walter of Worceſter; William of Coventry; Benedict of Rocheſter, biſhops: and maſter of Pandolf, the pope's ſub-deacon and antient ſervant; brother Aymeric, maſter of the temple in England; and the noble perſons William Mareſchal, earl of Pembroke; William earl of Saliſbury; William earl of Warren; William earl of Arundel; Alan de Galloway, conſtable of Scotland; Warin Fitz-gerald, Peter Fitz-herebert; and Hubert de Burgh, ſeneſchal of Poictou; Hugo de Neville; Matthew Fitz-herebert; Thomas Baſſet; Alan Baſſet; Philip de Albiney; Robert de Ropele; John Mareſchal; John Fitz-Hugh; and others our liege-men, have, in the firſt place, granted to God, and by this our preſent charter, confirmed for us and our heirs for ever.

I. "That the church of England ſhall be free, and enjoy her rights intire, and her liberties inviolable. And we will have them ſo to be obſerved, that it may appear from hence, that the freedom of elections, which was reckoned chief and indiſpenſable to the Engliſh church, and which we granted and confirmed by our charter, and obtained the confirmation of from pope Innocent III. before the diſcord between us and our barons, was granted of mere free will; which charter we ſhall obſerve, and do will it to be faithfully obſerved by our heirs for ever.

II. "We have alſo granted to all freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under written liberties, to have and hold them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

III. "If any of our earls, or barons, or others, who hold of us in chief by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at the time of his death, his heir ſhall be of full age, and owe a relief, he ſhall have his inheritance by the antient relief; that is to ſay, the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by an hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by an hundred ſhillings at moſt;

and whoever oweth leſs, ſhall give leſs, according to the antient cuſtom of fees."

IV. " But if the heir of any ſuch ſhall be under age, and ſhall be in ward," (his lord ſhall not have the wardſhip of him, nor his land, before he hath received his homage; and after ſuch heir ſhall be in ward, and attain to the age of one and twenty years) " when he comes of age, he ſhall have his inheritance without relief, or without fine." (Yet ſo that if he be made a knight while he is under age, nevertheleſs the lands ſhall remain in cuſtody of the lord, until the aforeſaid time.)

V. " The warden of the land of ſuch heir, who ſhall be under age, ſhall not take of the land of ſuch heir, other than reaſonable iſſues, reaſonable cuſtoms, and reaſonable ſervices; and that without deſtruction and waſte of the tenants or effects" (upon the eſtate.) " And if we ſhall commit the guardianſhip of thoſe lands to the ſheriff, or any other who is anſwerable to us for the iſſues of the land; and if he ſhall make deſtruction and waſte upon the wood-lands, we will compel him to give ſatisfaction, and the land ſhall be committed to lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall be anſwerable for the iſſues to us, or to him to whom we ſhall aſſign them. And if we ſhall give or ſell to any one the wardſhip of any ſuch lands, and if he makes deſtruction or waſte upon them, he ſhall loſe the wardſhip itſelf, which ſhall be committed to two lawful and diſcreet tenants of that fee, who ſhall in like manner, be anſwerable to us as aforeſaid."

VI. " But the warden, ſo long as he ſhall have the wardſhip of the land, ſhall keep up the houſes, parks, warrens, ponds, mills and other things pertaining to the land, out of the iſſues of the ſame land; and ſhall reſtore to the heir, when he becomes of age, his whole land, ſtocked with ploughs and carriages, according as the time of wainage ſhall require, and the iſſues of the land can reaſonably bear." (And all theſe things ſhall be obſerved in the cuſtodies of vacant archbiſhopricks, biſhoprics, abbies, priories, churches, and dignities which appertain to us; except that theſe wardſhips are not to be ſold.)

VII. " Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement, ſo as that before matrimony ſhall be contracted thoſe who are neareſt in blood to the heir ſhall be acquainted with it."

VIII. " A widow, after the death of her huſband, ſhall forthwith, and without difficulty have her marriage and inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her dower, or her marriage, or her inheritance, which her huſband and ſhe held at the time of his death: and ſhe may remain in the manſion-houſe of her huſband forty days after his death; within which time her dower ſhall be aſſigned." (If it was not aſſigned before, or unleſs the houſe ſhall be a caſtle; and if ſhe departs from the caſtle, there ſhall forthwith be provided for her a complete houſe, in which ſhe may decently dwell, till her dower be to her aſſigned, as hath been ſaid; and ſhe ſhall, in the mean time, have her reaſonable eſtover, that is, competent maintenance, out of the common revenue. And there ſhall be aſſigned to her for her dower, the third part of all her huſband's lands which were in his lifetime, except ſhe were endowed with leſs at the church door.)

IX. " No widow ſhall be diſtrained to marry herſelf, ſo long as ſhe has a mind to live without a huſband. But yet ſhe ſhall give ſecurity that ſhe will not marry without our aſſent, if ſhe holds of us; or without the conſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe holds of another."

X. " Neither we, nor our bailiffs, ſhall ſeize any land or rent for any debt, ſo long as there ſhall be chattles of the debtor's upon the premiſes, ſufficient to pay the debt," (and the debtor be ready to ſatisfy it.) " Nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor be diſtrained, ſo long as the principal debtor is ſufficient for the payment of the debt."

XI. " And if the principal debtor ſhall fail in the payment of the debt, not having wherewithal to pay it," (or will not diſcharge when he is able,) " then the ſureties ſhall anſwer the debt, and, if they will, they ſhall have the lands and rents of the debtor, until they ſhall be ſatisfied for the debt which they paid for him; unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew himſelf acquitted thereof, againſt the ſaid ſureties."

XII. " If any one have borrowed any thing of the Jews, more or leſs, and dies before the debt be ſatisfied, there ſhall be no intereſt paid for that debt, ſo long as the heir is under age, of whomſoever he may hold; and if the debt falls into our hands, we will take only the chattels mentioned in the charter or inſtrument."

XIII. " And if any one ſhall die indebted to the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if the deceaſed left children under age, they ſhall have neceſſaries provided for them, according to the tenement, or real eſtate of the deceaſed, and out of the reſidue the debt ſhall be paid; ſaving, however, the ſervice of the lord. In like manner let it be with the debts due to other perſons than Jews."

XIV. " No ſcutage, or aid, ſhall be impoſed in our kingdom, unleſs by the common council of our kingdom, except for ranſoming our perſon, and making our eldeſt ſon a knight, and once for marrying our eldeſt daughter; and for theſe there ſhall be paid only a reaſonable aid."

XV. " In like manner it ſhall be concerning the aids of the city of London; and the city of London ſhall have all its antient liberties, and free cuſtoms, as well by land as by water."

XVI. " Furthermore, we will and grant, that all other cities, and boroughs, and towns," (and barons of cinque ports) " and ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free cuſtoms; and for holding the common council of the kingdom concerning the aſſeſſments of their aids, except in the three caſes aforeſaid."

XVII. " And for the aſſeſſing of ſcutages, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, and great barons of the realm, ſingly by our letters."

XVIII. " And furthermore, we ſhall cauſe to be ſummoned in general, by our ſheriffs and bailiffs, all others who hold of us in chief, at a certain day, that is to ſay, forty days before their meeting at leaſt, and to a certain place; and in all letters of ſuch ſummons, we will declare the cauſe of the ſummons."

XIX. " And ſummons being thus made, the buſineſs ſhall proceed on the day appointed, according to the advice of ſuch as ſhall be preſent, although all that were ſummoned come not."

XX. " We will not, for the future, grant to any one that he may take aid of his own free tenants, unleſs to ranſom his body, and to make his eldeſt ſon a knight, and once to marry his eldeſt daughter; and for theſe there ſhall only be paid a reaſonable aid."

XXI. " No man ſhall be diſtrained to perform more ſervice for a knight's fee, or other free tenement, than is due from thence."

XXII. " Common pleas ſhall not follow our court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place; trials upon the writs of novel diſſeiſin, and of mort d'anceſtor, and of darreine preſentment, ſhall not be taken but in their proper counties, and after this manner. We, or, if we ſhall be out of the realm, our chief juſticiary, ſhall ſend two juſticiaries through every county four times a year, who, with four knights, choſen out of every ſhire by the people, ſhall hold the ſaid aſſizes in the county, on the day, and at the place appointed."

XXIII. "And if any matters cannot be determined on the day appointed for holding the aſſizes in each county, ſo many of the knights and freeholders as have been at the aſſizes aforeſaid, ſhall be appointed to decide them, as is neceſſary, according as there is more or leſs buſineſs. (Aſſizes of darreigne preſentment to churches ſhall be always taken before the juſticiaries of the bench.)

XXIV. "A freeman ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall fault, but according to the degree of the fault; and for a great crime, in proportion to the heinouſneſs of it, ſaving to him his contenement; and after the ſame manner a merchant, ſaving to him his merchandiſe.

XXV. "And a villain (of any other than our own) ſhall be amerced after the ſame manner, ſaving to him his wainage, if he falls under our amerciament; and none of the aforeſaid amerciaments ſhall be aſſeſſed but by the oath of honeſt men of the neighbourhood. (Of the country.)

XXVI. "Earls and barons ſhall not be amerced but by their peers, and according to the degree of the offence.

XXVII. "No eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the proportion of the others aforeſaid, and not according to the value of his eccleſiaſtical benefice.

XXVIII. "Neither a town, nor any tenement, ſhall be diſtrained to make bridges over rivers, unleſs that anciently and of right they are bound to do it. (No river, for the future, ſhall be embanked, but what was embanked in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.)

XXIX. "No ſheriff, caſtellan, coroner or other our bailiffs, ſhall hold pleas of the crown.

XXX. "All counties, hundreds, wapentakes, and trethings, ſhall ſtand at the old ferm, without any increaſe, except in our demeſne manors.

XXXI. "If any one holding of us a lay-fee, dies, and the ſheriff, or our bailiff, ſhew our letters-patent of ſummons concerning the debt due to us from the deceaſed, it ſhall be lawful for the ſheriff, or our bailiff, to attach and regiſter the chattels of the deceaſed found upon his lay-fee, to the value of the debt by the view of lawful men, ſo as nothing be removed until the whole debt be paid; and the reſt ſhall be left to the executors, who are to fulfil the will of the deceaſed. And if there be nothing due from him to us, all the chattels ſhall remain to the deceaſed, ſaving to his wife and children their reaſonable ſhares.

XXXII. "If any freeman ſhall die inteſtate, his chattels ſhall be deſtributed by the hands of his neareſt relations and friends, by view of the church, ſaving to every one his debts, which the deceaſed owed to him.

XXXIII. "No conſtable or bailiff of our's ſhall take corn, or other chattels, of any man, (who is not of the town where the caſtle is) unleſs he preſently gives him money for it, or hath reſpite of payment by the good will of the ſeller. (But if he be of the ſame town, he ſhall pay him within forty days.)

XXXIV. "No conſtable ſhall diſtrain any knight to give money for caſtle-guard, if he himſelf will do it in his own perſon, or by another able man, in caſe he cannot do it through any reaſonable cauſe.

XXXV. "And if we lead him, or ſend him into the army, he ſhall be free from ſuch guard, for the time he ſhall be in the army, by our command, (For the fee for which he did ſervice in the army.)

XXXVI. "No ſheriff or bailiff of our's, or any other, ſhall take horſes or carts of any for carriage, but by the good-will of the ſaid freeman. (Without paying according to the rate antiently appointed; that is to ſay, for a cart and two horſes, ten-pence a day; and for a cart with three horſes, fourteen-pence a day.)

XXXVII. "Neither ſhall we, or our bailiffs, take any man's timber for our caſtles, or other uſes, unleſs by the conſent of the owner of the timber. (No demeſne cart of any eccleſiaſtical perſon, or knight, or any lady, ſhall be taken by our officers.

XXXVIII. "We will retain the lands of thoſe that are convicted of felony only one year and a day, and then they ſhall be delivered to the lord of the fee.

XXXIX. "All wares, for the time to come, ſhall be put down in the rivers of Thames and Medway, and throughout all England, except upon the ſea-coaſt.

XL. "The writ, which is called Præcipe, for the future, ſhall not be made out to any one of any tenement, whereby a freeman may loſe his court.

XLI. "There ſhall be one meaſure of wine, and one of ale, throughout our whole realm, and one meaſure of corn; that is to ſay, the London quarter; and one breadth of dyed cloth, and ruſſets, and haberjects; that is to ſay, two ells with the liſt. As to weights, they ſhall be as the meaſures.

XLII. "From henceforward, nothing ſhall be given or taken for a writ of inquiſition of life or limbs; but it ſhall be granted gratis, and not denied.

XLIII. "If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or ſocage, or burgage, and holds lands of another by military ſervice, we will not have the wardſhip of the heir, or land, which is of another man's fee, by reaſon of what he holds of us by fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage; nor will we have the wardſhip of the fee-farm, ſocage, or burgage, unleſs the fee-farm is bound to perform military ſervice.

XLIV. "We will not have the wardſhip of an heir, nor of any land which he holds of another by military ſervice, by reaſon of any petit-ſerjeanty he holds of us, as by the ſervice of giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

XLV. "No bailiff, for the future, ſhall put any man to his law, (nor to an oath) upon his ſingle word, without credible witneſſes produced to prove it.

XLVI. "No freeman ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, or diſſeized, (of his freehold, or liberties, or free cuſtoms) or outlawed, or baniſhed, or any ways deſtroyed; nor will we paſs ſentence upon him, or commit him to priſon, unleſs by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

XLVII. "We will ſell to no man, we will deny no man, nor delay juſtice.

XLVIII. "All merchants (unleſs they be publickly prohibited) ſhall have ſafe and ſecure conduct to go out of, and to come into England, and to ſtay there, and to paſs as well by land as by water; for buying and ſelling by the ancient and allowed cuſtoms, without any evil tolls, except in time of war, or when they are of any nation at war with us.

XLIX. "And if there be found any ſuch in our land in the beginning of the war, they ſhall be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it may be known unto us, or our chief juſticiary, how our merchants are treated in the nation at war with us; and, if our's be ſafe there, the others ſhall be ſafe in our dominions.

L. "It ſhall be lawful, for the time to come, for any one to go out of our kingdom, and return ſafely and ſecurely by land or by water, ſaving his allegiance to us, unleſs in time of war, by ſome ſhort ſpace for the benefit of the realm, except priſoners and outlaws, according to the law of the land, and people in war with us, and merchants who ſhall be in ſuch condition as is above mentioned.

LI. “ If any man holds of any eſcheat, or of the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Bulloign, Lancaſter, or of other eſcheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir ſhall give no other relief, and perform no other ſervice to us, than he would to the baron, if the barony were in poſſeſſion of the baron; we will hold it after the ſame manner the baron held it. (Nor will we, by reaſon of ſuch barony or eſcheat, have any eſcheat or wardſhip of any of our men, unleſs he that held the barony or eſcheat held of us in chief elſewhere.)

LII. “ Thoſe men who dwelt without the foreſt, from henceforth ſhall not come before our juſticiaries of the foreſt upon common ſummons, but ſuch as are impleaded, or are pledges for any that were attached for ſomething concerning the foreſt. (No country-court, for the future, ſhall be holden but from month to month; and where there uſed to be a greater interval, let it be ſo continued. Neither any ſheriff, nor his bailiff, ſhall keep his turn in the hundred oftener than twice in a year, and only in the accuſtomed place, that is once after Eaſter, and once after Michaelmas; and the view of franked-pledge ſhall be held after Michaelmas, without occaſion, and ſo that every one ſhall have his liberties, which he had, and was wont to have, in the time of king Henry, our grandfather, or ſuch as he obtained afterwards. But the view of frank-pledge ſhall be ſo made, that our peace may be kept, and that the tything be full as it was wont to be. And the ſheriffs ſhall not ſeek occaſions, but ſhall be content with what the ſheriff was wont to have for making his view in the time of king Henry our grandfather. For the time to come it ſhall not be lawful for any man to give his land to a religious houſe, ſo as to take it again, and hold it of that houſe. Nor ſhall it be lawful for any religious houſe to receive land, ſo as to grant it him again of whom they received it, to hold of him. If any man for the future ſhall ſo give his land to a religious houſe, and be convicted thereof, his gift ſhall be void, and the land ſhall be forfeited to the lord of the fee. Scutage, for the future, ſhall not be taken as it was uſed to be taken in the time of king Henry our grandfather; and that the ſheriff ſhall oppreſs no man, but be content with what he was wont to have. Saving to the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, templars, hoſpitallers, earls, barons, knights, and all others, as well eccleſiaſtics as ſeculars, the liberties and free-cuſtoms which they had before: theſe being witneſſes, &c.)

LIII. We will not make any juſticiaries, conſtables, ſheriffs or bailiffs, but ſuch as are knowing in the law of the realm, and are diſpoſed duly to obſerve it.”

LIV. “ All barons, who are founders of abbies, and have charters of the kings of England for the advowſon, or are entitled to it by antient tenure, may have the cuſtody of them, when vacant, as they ought to have.”

LV. “ All woods that have been taken into the foreſts” (by king Richard our brother) “ in our time ſhall forthwith be laid out again,” (unleſs they were our demeſne woods,) “ and the ſame ſhall be done with the rivers that have been taken or fenced in by us, during our reign.”

LVI. “ All evil cuſtoms concerning foreſts, warrens, and foreſters, warrenners, ſheriffs and their officers, rivers and their keepers, ſhall forthwith be enquired into in each county, by twelve knights ſworn of the ſame ſhire, choſen by creditable perſons in the ſame county, and upon oath; and within forty days after the ſaid inqueſt, be utterly aboliſhed, ſo as never to be reſtored.” (No freeman, for the future, ſhall give or ſell any more of his land, but ſo that, out of the reſidue, the ſervice due to the lord of the fee may be ſufficiently performed.)

LVII. “ We will immediately give up all hoſtages and writings delivered unto us by our Engliſh ſubjects, as ſecurity for their keeping the peace, and yielding us faithful ſervice.”

LVIII. “ We will entirely remove from our bailiwics the relations of Gerard de Athyes, ſo as that, for the future, they ſhall have no bailiwic in England. We will alſo remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyon, from the chancery; Gyon de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his two brothers, Philip Mark and his two brothers, and his nephew Geoffrey, and their whole following.”

LIX. “ And as ſoon as peace is reſtored, we will ſend out of the kingdom all foreign ſoldiers, croſs-bow men, and ſtipendiaries, who are come with horſes and arms, to the prejudice of our people.”

LX. “ If any one has been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived by us, without the legal judgment of his peers, of his lands, caſtles, liberties, or rights, we will forthwith reſtore them to him; and if any diſpute ariſes upon his head, let the matter be determined by the five and twenty barons, hereafter ſpoken of for the preſervation of the peace.

LXI. “ As for all thoſe things, of which any perſon has, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſpoſſeſſed or deprived, either by king Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we have in our hands, or are poſſeſſed by others, and we are bound to warrant and make good, we ſhall have a reſpite, till the term uſurally allowed the cruiſes; excepting thoſe things about which there is a plea depending, or whereof an inqueſt hath been made by our order, before we undertook the cruſade. But when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we do not perform it, we will immediately cauſe full juſtice to be adminiſtered therein.”

LXII. “ The ſame reſpite we ſhall have for diſafforeſting the foreſts, which Henry our father, or our brother Richard hath afforeſted; and for the wardſhip of the lands which are in another's fee, in the ſame manner as we have hitherto enjoyed thoſe wardſhips, by reaſon of a fee held of us by knight's ſervice; and for the abbies founded in any other fee than our own, in which the lord of the fee ſays he has a right; and when we return from our pilgrimage, or if we ſhould not perform it, we will immediately do full juſtice to all the complainants in this behalf.”

LXIII. “ No man ſhall be taken, or impriſoned, upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other perſon than her huſband.”

LXIV. “ All unjuſt and illegal fines made with us, and all amerciaments impoſed unjuſtly, and contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be entirely forgiven, or elſe left to the deciſion of the five and twenty barons hereafter mentioned, for the preſervation of the peace, or of the major part of them, together with the aforeſaid Stephen, archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others whom he ſhall think fit to take along with him: and, if he cannot be preſent, the buſineſs, notwithſtanding, ſhall go on without him. But ſo, that if one or more of the foreſaid five and twenty barons be plantiffs in the ſame cauſe, they ſhall be ſet aſide, as to what concerns this particular affair, and others choſen in their room, out of the ſaid five and twenty, and ſworn by the reſt to decide that matter.”

LXV. “ If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed the Welſh of any lands, liberties, or other things, without the legal judgment of their peers, they ſhall be immediately reſtored to them. And if any diſpute ariſes upon this head, the matter ſhall be determined in the Marche, by the judgment of their peers; for tenements in England, according to the law of England; for tenements in Wales, according to the law of Wales; for tenements of the Marche, according to the law of the Marche; the ſame ſhall the Welſh do to us and our ſubjects."

LXVI. "As for all thoſe things, of which any Welſhman hath, without the legal judgment of his peers, been diſſeiſed or deprived, by Henry our father, or our brother king Richard, and which we either have in our hands, or others are poſſeſſed of, and we are obliged to warrant it, we ſhall have reſpite till the time generally allowed the cruiſes; excepting things about which ſuit is depending, or whereof an inqueſt has been made by our order, before we undertook the cruſade. But when we return, or if we ſtay at home without performing our pilgrimage, we will immediately do them full juſtice, according to the laws of the Welſh, and of the parts before-mentioned."

LXVII. "We will, without delay, diſmiſs the ſon of Llewellin, and all the Welſh hoſtages, and releaſe them from the engagements they have entered into with us for the preſervation of the peace."

LXVIII. "We ſhall treat with Alexander, king of Scots, concerning the reſtoring his ſiſter and hoſtages, and his right and liberties, in the ſame form and manner as we ſhall do to the reſt of our barons of England; unleſs by the charters which we have from his father, William, late king of Scots, it ought to be otherwiſe; and this ſhall be left to the determination of his peers in our court."

LXIX. "All the aforeſaid cuſtoms and liberties which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as it belongs to us towards our people of our kingdom, as well clergy as laity, we ſhall obſerve, as far as they are concerned, towards their dependents."

LXX. "And whereas, for the honor of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for quieting the diſcord that has ariſen between us and our barons, we have granted all the things aforeſaid; willing to render them firm and laſting, we do give and grant our ſubjects the under-written ſecurity; namely, that the barons may chuſe five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whom they think convenient, who ſhall take care, with all their might, to hold and obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace and liberties we have granted them, and, by this our preſent charter, confirmed. So as that, if we, our juſticiary, our bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall in any circumſtance fail in the performance of them towards any perſon, or ſhall break through any of theſe articles of peace and ſecurity, and the offence is notified to four barons, choſen out of the five and twenty fore-mentioned, the ſaid barons ſhall repair to us, or our juſticiary, if we are out of the realm, and laying open the grievance, ſhall petition to have it redreſſed without delay; and, if it is not redreſſed by us, or, if we ſhould chance to be out of the realm, if it is not redreſſed by our juſticiary, within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been notified to us, or to our juſticiary, if we ſhould be out of the realm, the four barons aforeſaid ſhall lay the cauſe before the reſt of the five and twenty barons; and the ſaid five and twenty barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, ſhall diſtrain and diſtreſs us all the ways poſſible; namely, by ſeizing our caſtles, lands, poſſeſſions, and in any other manner they can, till the grievance is redreſſed according to their pleaſure, ſaving harmleſs our own perſon, and the perſons of our queen and children: and when it is redreſſed, they ſhall obey us as before."

LXXI. "And any perſon whomſoever in the kingdom, may ſwear that he will obey the orders of the five and twenty barons aforeſaid, in the execution of the premiſes, and that he will diſtreſs us jointly with them, to the utmoſt of his power; and we give public and free liberty to any one that ſhall pleaſe to ſwear to them, and never ſhall hinder any perſon from taking the ſame oath."

LXXII. "As for all thoſe of our ſubjects, who will not, of their own accord, ſwear to join the five and twenty barons, in diſtraining and diſtreſſing us, we will iſſue our order to make them take the ſame oath, as is aforeſaid."

LXXIII. "And if any one of the five and twenty barons dies, or goes out of the kingdom, or is hindered any other way, from carrying the things aforeſaid into execution, the reſt of the ſaid five and twenty barons may chuſe another in his room, at their own diſcretion, who ſhall be ſworn in like manner as the reſt."

LXXIV. "In all things that are committed to the execution of theſe five and twenty barons, if, when they are all aſſembled together, they ſhould happen to diſagree about any matter, or ſome of them, when ſummoned, will not, or cannot come, whatever is agreed upon, or enjoined, by the major part of thoſe who are preſent, ſhall be reputed as firm and valid, as if all the five and twenty had given their conſent; and the foreſaid five and twenty ſhall ſwear, that all the premiſes they ſhall faithfully obſerve, and cauſe with all their power to be obſerved."

LXXV. "And we will not, by ourſelves, or by any other, procure any thing, whereby any of theſe conceſſions and liberties be revoked and leſſened; and if any ſuch thing be obtained, let it be null and void; neither ſhall we ever make uſe of it, either by ourſelves, or any other."

LXXVI. "And all the ill-will, anger, and malice, that hath ariſen between us and our ſubjects, of the clergy and laity, from the firſt breaking out of the diſſenſion between us, we do fully remit, and forgive. Moreover, all treſpaſſes occaſioned by the ſaid diſſenſion, from Eaſter, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, till the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity, we hereby entirely remit to all, both clergy and laity, and, as far as in us lies, do fully forgive."

LXXVII. "We have moreover granted them our letters patent teſtimonial of Stephen, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry, lord archbiſhop of Dublin, and the biſhops aforeſaid, as alſo of maſter Pandolf, for the ſecurity and conceſſions aforeſaid."

LXXVIII. "Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin, that the church of England be free, and that all men in our kingdom have and hold all the foreſaid liberties, right and conceſſions, truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, to themſelves and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as is aforeſaid."

LXXIX. "It is alſo ſworn as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all the things aforeſaid ſhall faithfully and ſincerely be obſerved."

"Given under our hand, in the preſence of the witneſſes above named, and many others in the meadow called Runnemede, between Windeleſore and Staines, the fifteenth day of June, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

The above tranſlation of this remarkable charter is taken from an original manuſcript now in the Britiſh Muſeum: But the paſſages incloſed between parentheſes are taken from the copy given by Matthew Paris.

This charter is more noble and extenſive than any other inſtrument of its kind in the world. It decides all diſputes, removes all doubts, with regard to the compact between the king and his people; for here that contract is not underſtood only, but expreſſed; not looſely implied, but poſitively ſtipulated: it was obtained not by repreſentation, but by the collected body of the Engliſh nation.

Complaints had been for a long time made againſt the foreſt laws; and the Engliſh barons were determined not to omit ſo favourable an opportunity of removing, for the future, the cauſes which gave riſe to an infinite number of vexatious ſuits. Accordingly they inſiſted upon the king's ſigning another charter, by which the rights of the people would be aſcertained. This he alſo complied with, and as it is a matter of very conſiderable importance, we ſhall likewiſe give an accurate tranſlation of it, which we have borrowed from an original manuſcript in the Britiſh Muſeum.

The CHARTER of FORESTS, granted by king John to his ſubjects in the year 1215.

"JOHN, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. Know ye that, for the honor of God, and the health of our ſoul and the ſouls of all our anceſtors and ſucceſſors, and for the exaltation of holy church, and for the amendment of our kingdom, we have of our free and good will, given and granted, for us and our heirs, theſe liberties hereafter ſpecified, to be had and obſerved in our kingdom of England for ever.

I. "Imprimis, all the foreſts made by our grandfather, king Henry, ſhall be viewed by honeſt and lawful men; and if he turned any other woods into foreſts, to the damage of him whoſe wood it was, it ſhall forthwith be laid out again and disforeſted. And if he turned his own proper wood into foreſt, they ſhall remain ſo, ſaving the common of paſture and other things in the ſaid foreſt, to ſuch as were formerly wont to have it.

II. "Is the LII. and LV. of the Great Charter put into one chapter.

III. "The archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants who have woods in foreſts, ſhall have their woods as they had them at the time of the firſt coronation of our grandfather king Henry, ſo they ſhall be diſcharged for ever of all purpreſtures, waſtes, and aſſarts made in thoſe woods, after that time to the beginning of the ſecond year of the coronation; and thoſe who, for the time to come, ſhall make waſte, purpreſture, or aſſarts in thoſe woods without our licence, ſhall anſwer for them.

IV. "Our inſpectors, or viewers, ſhall go through the foreſt, to make inſpection, as was wont to be at the time of the firſt coronation of our ſaid grandfather, king Henry, and not otherwiſe.

V. "The inquiſition or view, for lawing of dogs which are kept within the foreſt, for the future, ſhall be when the view is made; that is, every three years, and then ſhall be done by the view and teſtimony of lawful men, and not otherwiſe. And he whoſe dog at ſuch time ſhall be found unlawed, ſhall be fined three ſhillings, and for the future no bail ſhall be taken for lawing. But ſuch lawing ſhall be according to the common aſſize, namely, the three claws of the dog's fore foot ſhall be cut off, or the ball of the foot taken out. And from henceforward dogs ſhall not be lawed, unleſs in ſuch places where they were wont to be lawed in the time of king Henry, our grandfather.

VI. "No foreſter, or bedal, for the future, ſhall make any ale-ſhots, or collect any ſheaves of corn, or hay, or any kind of grain, or lambs, or pigs, nor ſhall make any gathering whatſoever, but by the view and oath of twelve inſpectors; and when they make their view, ſo many foreſters ſhall be appointed to keep the foreſts as they ſhall reaſonably think ſufficient.

VII. "No ſwainmote, for the time to come, ſhall be holden in our kingdom oftener than thrice a year; that is to ſay, in the beginning of the fifteen days before Michaelmas, when the agiſters come to agiſt the demeſne woods; and about the feaſt of St. Martin, when our agiſters are to receive their pannage; and in theſe two ſwainmotes the foreſters, verdurers, and agiſters, ſhall meet, and no other by compulſion or diſtreſs: and the third ſwainmote ſhall be holden in the beginning of the fifteen days before the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt, concerning the fawning of our dogs, and at this ſwainmote ſhall meet the foreſters and verdurers, and no other by compulſion.

VIII. "And furthermore, every forty days throughout the year, the verdurers and foreſters ſhall meet to view the attachments of the foreſts as well of vert as of veniſon, by preſentment of the foreſters themſelves; and they who committed the offences ſhall be forced to appear before them: but the aforeſaid ſwainmotes ſhall be holden but in ſuch counties as they are want to be holden.

IX. "Every freeman ſhall agiſt his wood in the foreſt at his pleaſure, and ſhall receive his pannage.

X. "We grant alſo, that every freeman may drive his hogs through our demeſne woods, freely and without impediment, and may agiſt them in his own woods, or elſewhere, as he will: and if the hogs of any freeman ſhall remain one night in our foreſts, he ſhall not be troubled ſo as to loſe any thing for it.

XI. "No man, for the time to come, ſhall loſe life or limb for taking our veniſon; but if any one be ſeized and convicted of taking veniſon, he ſhall be grievouſly fined if he hath wherewithal to pay; and if he hath not, he ſhall lie in our priſon a year and a day; and if after that time, he can find ſureties, he ſhall be releaſed; if not, he ſhall abjure our realm of England.

XII. "It ſhall belawful for every archbiſhop, biſhop, earl, or baron, coming to us by our command, and paſſing through our foreſt, to take one or two deer, by view of the foreſter, if preſent; if not, he ſhall cauſe a horn to be ſounded, leſt he ſhould ſeem to do this privately: alſo, in their return, it ſhall be lawful for them to do the ſame thing.

XIII. "Every freeman, for the future, may erect a mill in his own wood, or upon his own land which he hath in the foreſt; or make a warren, or a pond, a marle-pit or ditch, or turn it into arable, without the covert in the arable land, ſo as it be not to the detriment of any neighbour.

XIV. "Every freeman may have in his woods ayries of hawks, ſparrows, falcons, eagles, and herons; and they ſhall have likewiſe the honey which ſhall be found in their woods.

XV. "No foreſter, for the future, who is not a foreſter in fee, paying rent for his office, ſhall take cheminage; that is to ſay, for a cart two-pence during half a year, and for the other half year two-pence; and for a horſe that carries burdens, for half a year a half-penny, and for the other half year a half-penny; and then only of thoſe who come as buyers out of their bailiwick, to buy underwood, timber, bark, or charcoal, to carry it to ſell in other places where they will; and for the time to come, there ſhall be no cheminage taken for any other cart, or carriage-horſe, unleſs in thoſe places where anciently it was wont and ought to be taken: but they who carry wood, bark, or coal, upon their backs to ſell, though they get their livelihood by it, ſhall for the future pay no cheminage for paſſage through the woods of other men: no cheminage ſhall be given to our foreſters, but only in our own woods.

XVI. "All perſons outlawed for offences committed in our foreſts, from the time of king Henry our grandfather, until our firſt coronation, may reverſe their oulawries without impediment; but ſhall find pledges, that for the future, they will not forfeit to us in our foreſt.

XVII. "No caſtellan or other perſon ſhall hold pleas of the foreſt, whether concerning vert or veniſon; but every foreſter in fee ſhall attach pleas of the foreſt, as well concerning vert as veniſon, and ſhall preſent the pleas, or offences, to the vendurers of the ſeveral counties; and when they ſhall be enrolled and ſealed under the ſeals of the vendurers, they ſhall be preſented to the chief foreſter, when he ſhall come into thoſe parts to hold pleas of the foreſt, and ſhall be determined before him.

XVIII. "And all the cuſtoms and liberties aforeſaid, which we have granted to be holden in our kingdom, as much as belongs to us towards all our vaſſals of our kingdom, as well laics as clerks, ſhall obſerve as much as belongs to them towards their vaſſals."

Such were the two famous charters ſigned by king John at Runnemede. The barons, however, knew that it was not enough to procure theſe charters; they were well acquainted with the proud, vindictive, and inconſtant diſpoſition of John, from whence they wiſely judged that he would embrace the firſt opportunity of renouncing theſe articles of compulſion, if not farther reſtricted to the obſervance of them: they therefore inſiſted on his conſenting that twenty-five of their own number ſhould be choſen to ſee the charter duly obſerved. Theſe were to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Conſervators of the Liberties of the People; and four of them were empowered to demand reparation within forty days from him or his juſticiary, in caſe of the infringement of any article or articles: and if ſuch reparation ſhould be neglected, or not made, then this committee of four were to give notice of the ſame to the reſt, who, with the community of the nation, might ſeize his caſtles, lands and poſſeſſions, until ſatisfaction ſhould be obtained.

John made not the leaſt oppoſition to theſe ignominious proceedings. He ſubmitted with great ſeeming tranquillity to the moſt humiliating indignity; and even ſent writs to his ſheriffs, ordering them to oblige every perſon to ſwear obedience to the conſervators, on pain of having all their eſtates ſeized, and all their chattels ſold within a fortnight after refuſal.

Notwithſtanding, however, all this ſeeming deſire of acting in conformity to the articles of the great charter, John never intended to obſerve that treaty any longer than the neceſſity of the times obliged him. He only bowed beneath the ſtorm that roared around him; and as ſoon as the threatning blaſt was over, determined to reſume the power he had loſt. He was principally encouraged in this deſign by the foreign mercenaries he kept about his perſon. They inſinuated, that it was ſhameful for a king to make any conceſſions to his ſubjects, and that no compact, extorted by the force of rebellion, could be binding. Theſe inſinuations coincided exactly with the king's opinion, and determined him to make one attempt to ſhake off the yoke of compulſion, ſo galling to his mind. He became ſullen and melancholy, ſeparated himſelf from the company of his courtiers, and at laſt retired privately by night, attended only by ſeven of his friends, into the Iſle of Wight, where he meditated the moſt fatal vengeance againſt his enemies. He ſecretly ſent abroad his emiſſaries to haſten the embarkation, and increaſe the number of his foreign mercenaries; and to invite the rapacious Brabanders into his ſervice, by the proſpect of ſharing the ſpoils of England, and reaping the forfeitures of ſo many opulent barons, who had incurred the guilt of rebellion, by riſing in arms againſt him. At the ſame time, he diſpatched a meſſenger to Rome, in order to lay before the pope, the great charter, which he had been compelled to ſign, and to complain before that tribunal of the violence uſed by his barons.

Innocent III. conſidering himſelf as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incenſed to the laſt degree at the behaviour of the barons, and ſwore by St. Peter, that the injury they had done their king ſhould not go unpuniſhed. He accordingly iſſued a bull, in which, from the plenitude of his apoſtolic authority, he annulled the whole charter, as unjuſt in itſelf, as obtained by compulſion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the holy ſee. He prohibited the barons from exacting the obſervance of it: he even prohibited the king himſelf from paying any regard to it: he abſolved him and his ſubjects from all oaths, which they had been conſtrained to take for that purpoſe: and he denounced a general ſentence of excommunication againſt every one who ſhould perſevere in maintaining ſuch treaſonable and iniquitous pretenſions.

But the thunder of the Vatican, in temporal affairs, had now loſt great part of its force; and the pope had the mortification to ſee even Langton, whom he himſelf had placed on the archiepiſcopal throne of Canterbury, refuſe to promulgate his cenſures. Exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this oppoſition in a prelate he expected would have exerted his utmoſt power to promote the intereſt of the holy ſee, the pope ſuſpended Langton from the exerciſe of his functions. But this act of papal vengeance did not produce the deſired effect; the clergy, with the primate at their head, as well as the nobility and people, diſcovered a noble ardour to preſerve that liberty and independence they had with ſo much difficulty obtained.

John's emiſſaries on the continent had been very ſucceſsful, and had engaged a powerful army, principally compoſed of ſoldiers of fortune, in the ſervice of their maſter. They were all veteran troops, and ready to venture their lives in any cauſe to gain an independent fortune; beſides which they were farther animated by John's having promiſed them the eſtates of his turbulent barons.

As ſoon as John received advice of the embarkation of theſe forces, he ventured to throw off the maſk: he recalled all the liberties he had granted to his ſubjects; declared the great charter null and void, and the barons, who had extorted that inſtrument from him, rebels and traitors. His foreign forces landed at Dover; and John, putting himſelf at their head, ſeemed determined to ſatiate his cruelty. He marched to Northampton, reducing the whole country through which he paſſed to a ſmoaking deſart. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let looſe againſt the eſtates, tenants, manors, houſes, and parks of the barons. Every thing was levelled in the duſt; and cruelties, ſuch as would ſhock even ſavages themſelves, were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants.

Moſt of the northern barons, unable to reſiſt the power of the mercenaries, and having little reaſon to expect mercy ſhould they fall into the hands of the king, fled before him with their wives and families, and ſolicited the protection of Alexander king of Scotland.

John followed them into that kingdom, and in his way burnt ſeveral towns, particularly Haddington and Dunbar: but receiving advice that Alexander had raiſed a numerous army, and was advancing to give him battle, he thought proper to retreat, well knowing that a defeat muſt prove fatal. He had made himſelf maſter of moſt of the caſtles in England, and now determined to beſiege London, the only place of conſequence that held out in ſupport of independence.

A. D. 1216. The barons, now driven to deſpair, had recourſe to a moſt deſperate expedient: they applied to the court of France for protection, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, eldeſt ſon to Philip, for their ſovereign, if he would aſſiſt them with a body of forces againſt their enraged monarch. Though the ſenſe of the common rights of mankind, the only rights which are indefeaſible, might have juſtified them in their depoſition of the king; they declined inſiſting before Philip, on a pretenſion, which is in general ſo unfavourably received among ſovereigns, and which ſounds harſhly in the ears of royalty. They affirmed that John was incapable of poſſeſſing the crown, by reaſon of the attainder paſſed upon him during his brother's reign; though that attainder had been reverſed, and Richard had even, by his laſt will, declared him his ſucceſſor. They pretended that he was already legally depoſed by the ſentence of the peers of France, for the murder of his nephew, though that ſentence could not poſſibly regard any thing but his tranſmarine dominions, which alone he held in homage to that crown. But they affirmed, more plauſibly, that he had already depoſed himſelf by doing homage to the pope, changing the nature of his ſovereignty, and reſigning an independent crown for a fee or vaſſalage under a foreign power.

The crown of England was too rich a prize to be neglected; and Philip accordingly accepted the offer made to his ſon. The pope's legate menaced him with interdicts and excommunications, if he invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, or attacked a prince who was immediately under the protection of the holy ſee; but as Philip was aſſured of the obedience of his own vaſſals, his principles were changed with the complexion of the times; and he now as much diſregarded the papal cenſures, as he formerly pretended to pay reſpect to them. But though Philip beheld with contempt the menaces of the pope, he had his ſcruples reſpecting the fidelity of the Engliſh barons, with regard to their engagements, and the danger of intruſting his ſon and heir in the hands of perſons, who might, on any caprice or neceſſity, make peace with their native ſovereign, by ſacrificing a pledge of ſo much value. He therefore exacted from the barons twenty-five hoſtages, of the nobleſt birth in the kingdom; and having obtained this ſecurity, he ſent over a ſmall army to the relief of the confederates, and promiſed that his ſon, at the head of a more numerous body of forces, ſhould follow with all convenient expedition.

In the mean time John, informed of the engagements entered into between the nobility and the French court, reſolved to take all the advantages which the ſuperiority of his arms over thoſe of the barons had given him. Accordingly he laid ſiege to the caſtle of Colcheſter, which he took in a few days; and ſoon after the caſtle of Hedingham, belonging to the earl of Oxford, fell into his hands. Theſe ſucceſſes encouraged him to think of forming the ſiege of London. At the ſame time he ordered a fleet of ſixty-five ſail to block up the mouth of the river Thames. But London was, at that time, ſo powerful and populous, that the inhabitants boldly threw open their gates, and defied the king to attack their city. Savory de Malleon, however, one of his mercenary generals, advancing with a party too near the walls, was deſperately wounded, and his men being cut to pieces by the Londoners, he, himſelf, narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. Soon after, the Londoners equipped and manned the ſhips which lay in the river Thames, and falling down upon John's fleet, ſunk or took moſt of them.

The northern barons animated at the ſucceſs of the Londoners, reſumed their courage, and taking the field in a body, laid ſiege to York, and obliged the garriſon to purchaſe a truce till Whitſuntide, at the expence of a thouſand marks.

The war now raged with as great fury as ever. But John, dreading the effects of Lewis's landing, marched down to the ſea-coaſts, where he took all imaginable precautions to diſappoint the expectations of his enemy, by putting every place in a proper poſture of defence. He even preſſed all the ſhips in the ſea-ports, oppoſite to France, into his ſervice, and manning them with the greateſt expedition, reſolved to fight Lewis in his paſſage to England; but while they were waiting for the appearance of the enemy, a violent ſtorm happened, which either ſunk or daſhed to pieces, the greater part of his fleet. Soon after this misfortune, Lewis landed in the Iſle of Thanet.

The arrival of Lewis put a final period to John's ſucceſs. The greater part of his foreign troops, who were chiefly natives of France, now deſerted him, declaring that they could not fight againſt the heir of their lawful ſovereign. When Lewis landed, John was encamped near Dover; but inſtead of endeavouring to attack the enemy, before the French forces could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Wincheſter. Conſcious guilt and jealous diſtruſt benumbed all the faculties of his ſoul, and diſarmed him at the very inſtant he ſtood in need of more than common reſolution.

The courage of Lewis was ſo heightened by the unmanly fears of John, that he marched to London without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. He entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people; and the barons and citizens immediately ſwore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, ſolemnly promiſed to reſtore all their eſtates, and confirm the antient privileges of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the great ſucceſs Lewis hitherto met with, yet many difficulties ſtill remained to be ſurmounted, before he could make himſelf maſter of England. Moſt of the maritime places were in the intereſt of John, who had favoured the ſea-ports with many valuble privileges, and made many excellent regulations with regard to the marine. This was an alarming circumſtance to Lewis, who conſidered his being maſter of ſome convenient harbour as a matter of the laſt importance. Deſtitute of that advantage, his receiving reinforcements from the continent would be rendered very precarious; nor would even his own retreat, in caſe of a reverſe of fortune, be ſecure. He therefore attempted to make himſelf maſter of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered abortive; the caſtle defied his power. He therefore carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Suſſex, which he reduced with great facility. But William de Coldingham, at the head of a thouſand archers, retiring into the wilds and faſtneſſes of that country, ſupported himſelf againſt all the power of the French army.

In the mean time John was not idle. He fortified and furniſhed with proviſions ſeveral ſea-ports; flattering himſelf that the bolt of papal thunder, which was now ready to be launched againſt Philip and his ſon, would defeat all their ſchemes, and reſtore him to the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown. In this, however, he was miſtaken. Innocent, indeed, fulminated the ſentence of excommunication againſt both, but the effect fell far ſhort of John's ſanguinary expectations. The French biſhops declared the excommunication of Philip void, and Lewis paid little regard to the papal cenſure. He was more deſirous of procuring a proper ſea-port than of guarding againſt the effects of Innocent's ſentence. He therefore once more led his army to Dover, and inveſted that important fortreſs. But Lewis found the attempt more difficult than he imagined. Hubert de Burgh, the governor, was a brave and vigilant officer, and being at the head of a reſolute garriſon, made ſuch furious ſallies upon the French army, that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a conſiderable diſtance from the walls. Aſhamed, and enraged at this diſappointment, Lewis firſt attempted to work upon Hubert's tenderneſs, by threatening to put to death his brother Thomas, whom he had taken priſoner. This proving ineffectual, he endeavoured to corrupt him with gold; and both theſe expedients failing, he threatened to put the whole garriſon to the ſword, in caſe he ſhould take the caſtle. But Hubert, equally proof againſt every attempt, continued to defend the place with ſo much vigor, that Lewis was at laſt obliged to change the ſiege into a blockade.

Lewis was greatly alarmed at this miſcarriage, and his fears were conſiderably heightened on finding that his barons appeared leſs active in his ſervice: but he was too haughty to conciliate their eſteem by careſſes, and wanted prudence to foreſee the conſequences of his neglect. He did not even endeavor to conceal his diſguſt; he excluded them from his councils and confidence; and inſtead of reſtoring the nobility to their honors and eſtates, he beſtowed all his favors upon his own countrymen. The barons now ſaw their error, in calling in a foreign force to their aſſiſtance; the people complained of the oppreſſions exerciſed by their new maſters; and every thing wore the appearance of freſh diſturbances.

About the ſame time it was rumoured, that the viſcount of Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, fell dangerouſly ill, and perceiving himſelf tottering on the brink of eternity, he ſent for ſome of his friends among the Engliſh barons, to warn them of their danger. He told them that Lewis had formed the deteſtable deſign of exterminating them with all their families, and beſtowing their eſtates and titles on his foreign favorites. This report, whether true or falſe, acted powerfully on the Engliſh barons, and was of infinite prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Saliſbury, and ſeveral others of the principal nobility determined, if poſſible, to elude the force of the ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction. They ſent private information to John of their intention of joining his army, and obtained a promiſe of a free pardon.

John, animated with the hopes of being joined by his nobility, exerted himſelf in collecting an army, and determined to bring on a deciſive battle with the invader of his country. But in marching over the waſhes from Lynn into Lincolnſhire, at an improper time of the tide, the ſea ruſhed in upon him with ſuch violence and rapidity, that he loſt the greater part of his forces, together with all his treaſure, baggage and regalia, he himſelf eſcaping with difficulty. He reached Swineſhead-abbey, but the great fatigues he had undergone, and the conſtant hurry and perturbation of his ſpirits, added to the affliction he felt at his late irreparable misfortune, threw him into a violent fever. Next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Sleford, and from thence to Newark, where, finding his end approaching, he ordered his will to be drawn up, by which he appointed his ſon Henry, then a child, to ſucceed him. The ſame night, the 18th of October, 1216, he died, in the 51ſt year of his age, and the 18th of his reign.

His body was carried to Worceſter, according to his own order, and buried, with little funeral pomp, in the cathedral of that city, where his tomb, with his image on it, as big as life, is ſtill to be ſeen, but without any inſcription.

The character of this prince is little more than a complication of vices, equally mean and odious; ruinous to himſelf, and deſtructive to his people. The irreſiſtible ſtream of his paſſion for pleaſure broke into the pale of private honor. His ſubjects, who were wounded in ſo tender a point, found, perhaps, their reſentment of public grievances ſharpened by perſonal injury. One exceſs brought on another, till at laſt, government itſelf became a blank, and civil order ceaſed. John had many opportunities of retrieving his affairs; but he is a diſtinguiſhed inſtance of the fatal conſequence of wanting a good name. The horror which the public entertained for Arthur's death had more effect in driving him from his French dominions, than all the power of Philip; nor was he ever able to avail himſelf of the many favourable circumſtances that afterwards offered. He ſeems to have valued power only as it gave him an opportunity of doing miſchief with greater ſecurity. Years added nothing to his experience, though they encreaſed his paſſions, which were always violent. He tried both extremes of fortune, and behaved ignominiouſly in both. Difficulties never inſpired reflection, nor adverſity moderation; yet, under difficulties, he was exquiſitely ſenſible, and in adverſity infinitely dejected. He had ſtarts of every thing but goodneſs; he was profited by nothing but compulſion. The treaſure he amaſſed was ſpent without dignity, and his favors were beſtowed without judgment. He was not deſtitute of abilities, though nothing called them ſo effectually into action as neceſſity or revenge: in the former he found wonderful reſources; and to gratify the latter, he often broke through his favourite indolence.

But while we deplore thoſe vices which made him the ſcourge of that people over whom he had unjuſtly uſurped the rule, and for which, in the end, he was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, let us not forget to mention the few laudable tranſactions of his reign, by which the nation received ſeveral diſtinguiſhed benefits. He eſtabliſhed the form of civil government in London, by granting the citizens liberty and authority to chuſe to themſelves yearly a mayor, which office before continued during life: he likewiſe gave them leave to chuſe a common-council of the moſt ſubſtantial citizens, and to elect and deprive their ſheriffs at pleaſure. He was the firſt who coined ſterling money, introduced the laws of England into Ireland, and granted the Cinque Ports thoſe liberties they now enjoy. He made ſeveral excellent regulations for fitting out a navy on any ſudden emergency, and on all occaſions ſteadily ſupported the dignity of the Engliſh flag.

In John we have an admirable inſtance that ſome good may be produced even from the greateſt apparent evil. The reign of this prince, wicked and miſerable as it certainly was, gave occaſion to thoſe excellent charters which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. His tyranny firſt prompted the barons to aſſert, and his ſloth and indolence afterwards enabled them to obtain, thoſe ineſtimable rights and privileges, which are at once the glory and ſafeguard of Engliſhmen.

John left two legitimate ſons behind him, Henry, born on the firſt of October, 1207, and now only nine years of age, and Richard, born on the ſixth of January 1209. Beſides theſe, he had three daughters, Jane, married to Alexander, king of Scots; Eleanor, married firſt to William Mareſchal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and then to Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, and Iſabella, married to the emperor Frederic II. All theſe children were born to him by Iſabella of Angouleſme, his ſecond wife. Beſides theſe, he had many illegitimate children; but none of them were ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed to deſerve a place in hiſtory.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened during this prince's reign, were as follow:

In the ſecond year of his reign French wine was ſold in England for 20s. per tun. Afterwards people were allowed to ſell red wine for 6d. per quart, and white for 8d.

In his 5th year died Peter of Colechurch, who began to build London-bridge with ſtone, and was buried in the chapel under that bridge.

On the 10th of July, in the year 1212, great part of London was burnt: the fire began in Southwark, and having conſumed the church of St. Mary Overy, ſpread to the bridge; and, whilſt great numbers of people ran, ſome to behold, others to quench the flames, the houſes at the other end of the bridge took fire, ſo that the multitude being thus encloſed, many were forced to leap into the Thames, whilſt others, crowding into the boats that came to their relief, were the cauſe of their own deſtruction, the boats and people ſinking together. Near 3000 perſons periſhed by this melancholy accident, ſome by water and others by fire.

S E C T I O N IV.

HENRY III. SURNAMED *of* WINCHESTER.

On the death of John, the crown of England fell, by lineal ſucceſſion, on his eldeſt ſon Henry, a child only nine years of age, who was conſequently unable either to judge for himſelf, or to manage the reins of government, unleſs by the direction of others.

Fortunately for the young prince, as well as for the kingdom, the military command was at this time inveſted in William Mareſchall, earl of Pembroke, who, from his office, was likewiſe at the head of the ſtate. This nobleman was poſſeſſed of fidelity, prudence, and fortitude; and ſeemed born to ſupport the languiſhing conſtitution of his country. Knowing the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom, he ſeized the helm of government, and managed it with ſuch an equal proportion of virtues and abilities, that at length he weathered the tempeſt, and brought the national veſſel ſafely into port.

The firſt ſtep he took towards this deſirable end was, to endeavour to reſtore a mutual confidence between the throne and the great barons. This was, indeed, an eſſential point; for, notwithſtanding that Lewis was already in poſſeſſion of the metropolis, and the better half of the kingdom, and was, moreover, ſupported by all the power of France, yet, ſuch had been the folly and imprudence of his own conduct, that the affections of the nobles were in a great meaſure alienated from him, and they remained attached to his party more through fear than regard.

The earl, well apprized of this diſpoſition in the barons, and being himſelf ſtrongly zealous for the hereditary rights of blood, called a council of the barons at Glouceſter, whither all repaired who were in the intereſt of the royal family. As ſoon as the members were ſeated, the earl entered the aſſembly, leading young Henry in his hand. Perceiving the barons were pleaſed at the ſight of the prince, the earl thus exclaimed, "Behold your king!" Theſe words occaſioned a ſhort pauſe, after which Pembroke thus addreſſed the aſſembly:

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though we juſtly oppoſed the father of this young prince, on account of his wicked and miſtaken conduct; yet this child is guiltleſs of his father's errors; and as the puniſhment of offences ought only to be inflicted on their authors, it would be unjuſt for us to make the ſon bear the iniquity of his father. It is our duty and intereſt to forget our animoſities, and in compaſſion to his tender years, unite to ſupport him on the throne of his anceſtors. Let us exert our utmoſt efforts to drive Lewis and all his followers out of this oppreſſed country. By this noble, this generous action, we ſhall ſave our kingdom from becoming the reproach of its neighbours, and break the yoke of a debaſing and foreign ſlavery."

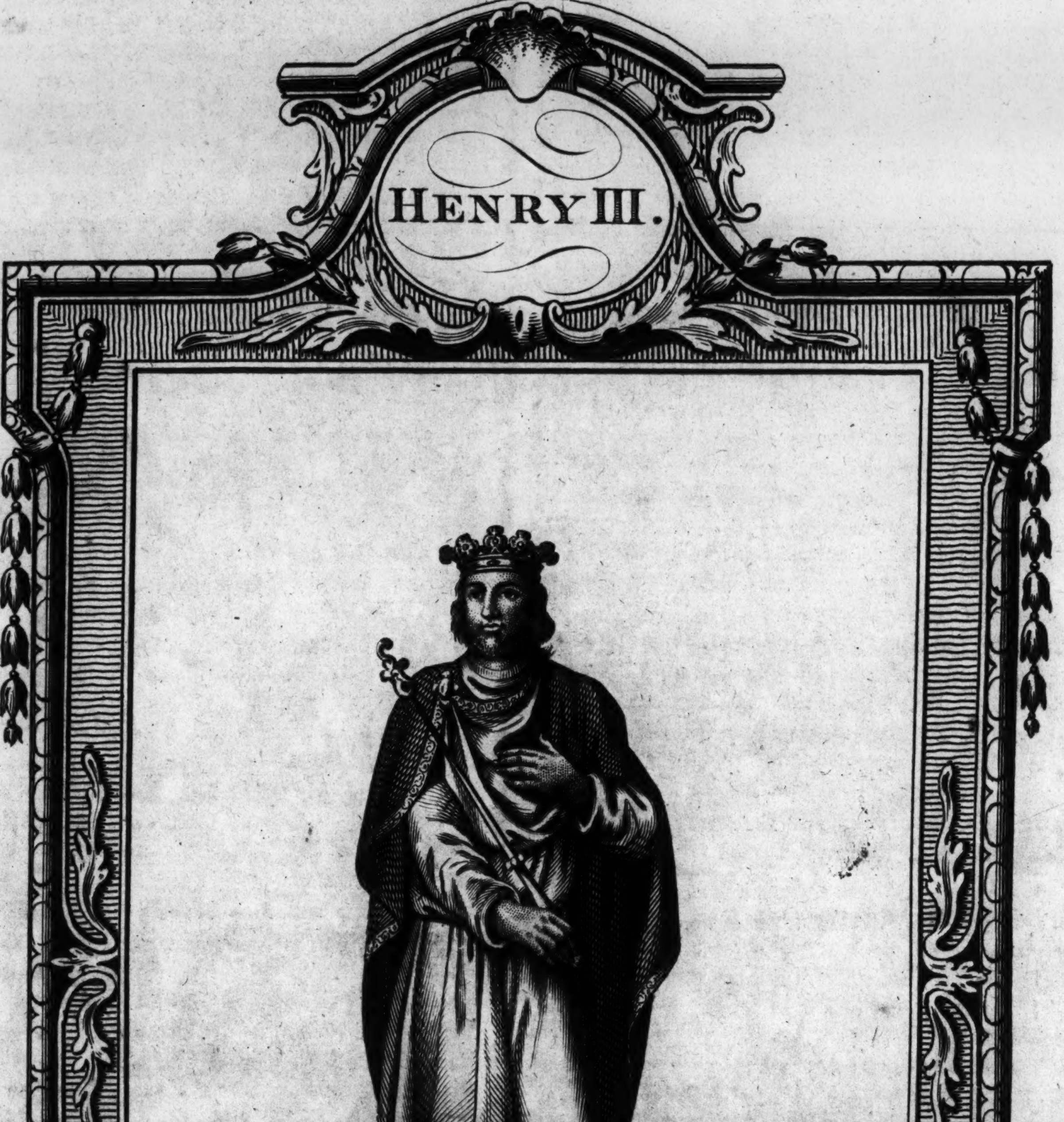
This addreſs, which carried conviction with it to the hearts of the barons, had the deſired effect. The earl of Cheſter, indeed, ſtated an objection relative to their having called over Lewis; but it was ſoon over-ruled by recapitulating that prince's conduct ſince his arrival in England; and it was generally agreed that his arbitrary and tyrannical behaviour had diſſolved all ties that might otherwiſe have bound thoſe who had invited him to their aſſiſtance; and the aſſembly with one voice called out, "Let Henry "be made king!"

The coronation was accordingly ſolemnized at Glouceſter, on the eve of the 28th of October, 1216, in preſence of Gualo, the pope's legate, and a few of the barons, by the biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath, the archbiſhop of Canterbury being then at Rome. Before the crown was placed on his head, he took the accuſtomed oath; after which it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould ſwear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had already ſubjected the kingdom. The prelates, earls, barons, and all thoſe who were preſent, next ſwore fealty and allegiance to the new king; and the following day they came to a reſolution to appoint the earl of Pembroke the king's guardian, and regent of the kingdom.

The firſt ſtep the new regent took was, to ſend circular letters, notifying Henry's coronation, to all the barons and communities of the kingdom, and promiſing a general amneſty to all thoſe who ſhould return to their obedience, and peaceably acknowledge Henry III. for their ſovereign.

This prudent meaſure, and the known probity of the regent, had the deſired effect upon many of the barons who ſtill adhered to Lewis. They reflected, that the cauſe which induced them to take up arms no longer exiſted; that oppoſition was now unnatural rebellion; and that the only method they could purſue with propriety, was that of making their peace with their lawful ſovereign. The pope's legate greatly aſſiſted in bringing about this deſirable effect. He cauſed the ſentence of excommunication to be thundered from the pulpit of every church in the kingdom againſt Lewis and his adherents. This cenſure, however deſpiſed in the firſt tranſports of reſentment, many of the barons who ſtill adhered to Lewis, wiſhed, in the moments of cool reflection, to be diſannulled, and they, by that means, re-admitted into the boſom of the church.

In the mean time Lewis was employed in carrying on the ſiege of Dover, having made a vow not to abandon the undertaking till he was maſter of the place. The obſtinate defence, however, of that important place, the fidelity of the ſea-port towns to the royal family, the viſible decline of the affection of the barons, and the proſperous condition of Henry's affairs, rendered the French prince more jealous


HENRY III.
Wale delin.
White sculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

jealous than ever of the Engliſh nobility. He now exacted from them an oath of abjuration of John's family. This oath was taken by ſome through fear, by others through policy; but was diſregarded by all. Lewis was ſoon ſenſible of this; he perceived he had now little more to truſt to for ſucceſs than his own ſword: the excommunications againſt him and his adherents, thundered every day from every pulpit, heightened his apprehenſions, and weakened his intereſt. He therefore again attempted to corrupt the fidelity of Hubert de Burgh, the intrepid governor of Dover-caſtle. He informed him of John's death, and tempted him with whatever the ambition of a ſubject could deſire; but all his offers were rejected; and Hubert declared that he would defend the caſtle as long as one of the garriſon was left alive. At laſt Lewis, deſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege, and marched to London.

A ſhort time after this Lewis advanced to Hertford, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle. From hence he proceeded, with all the fury of diſappointed ambition, to St. Alban's, which he threatened with deſtruction; but he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſpare the town and abbey, though not without exacting a very ſevere compoſition for that indulgence. And as the clergy, in general, were extremely active in the cauſe of young Henry, Lewis deſtroyed all their poſſeſſions that fell in his way. They were, however, ſufficiently revenged; for, by their means, the French became every day more and more the deteſtation of the people. And ſo ſucceſsful were their endeavours to diſtreſs the French party, that Lewis was obliged to accept of a truce during the Chriſtmas holidays.

This ceſſation of hoſtilities was of infinite ſervice to the protector: he wrote letters in the king's name to all the male-content barons; in which he repreſented to them, that whatever jealouſy and animoſity they might have entertained againſt the late king, a young prince, the lineal heir of their antient monarchs, had now ſucceeded to the throne, without ſucceeding either to the reſentment or principles of his predeceſſor: that the deſperate expedient they had employed, of calling in a foreign potentate, had happily for them, and happily for the nation, failed of entire ſucceſs; and it was ſtill in their power, by a quick return to their duty, to reſtore the independence of their country, and to ſecure that liberty, for which they ſo zealouſly contended: that as all paſt offences of the barons were now buried in oblivion, they ought, on their part, to forget their complaints againſt their late ſovereign, who, if he had been any wiſe blameable in his conduct, had left to his ſon the ſalutary warning, to avoid the paths, which had led to ſuch fatal extremities: and that having now obtained a charter for their liberties, it was their intereſt to demonſtrate, by their conduct, that ſo valuable an acquiſition was not incompatible with their allegiance, and that the rights of the king and people, ſo far from being hoſtile and oppoſite, might mutually ſupport and ſuſtain each other.

Theſe conſiderations, enforced by the character of conſtancy and fidelity, which Pembroke had always maintained, produced ſo happy an effect on the barons, that the greater part of them began ſecretly to negotiate with the protector, and many of them openly avowed their attachment to the young king.

A. D. 1217. Lewis now began to find that his party and intereſt declined daily: the war was very expenſive, and could be ſupported only by draughts from France. The protector's whole aim was, to gain leiſure from the tumults of war, in order to give the Engliſh an opportunity to reflect. He knew their genius to be averſe to the French; and that if he could, by repeated acts of generoſity and clemency, inſpire the people with a confidence in the government, his maſter's authority would be ſoon eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom. This diſpoſition, together with the inceſſant endeavours of the court of Rome to ſerve the royal family, had ſo powerful an effect, that Lewis conſented to another truce, which was to laſt till after Eaſter. During this ceſſation of arms, Lewis found himſelf obliged by his father, who durſt no longer reſiſt the ſolicitations of the pope, to return to France. He accordingly ſet out for that kingdom about the middle of January, intending to make a ſhort tour to Paris, as well to avert the thunder of the Vatican, as to procure a ſupply of men and money.

The abſence of Lewis furniſhed the regent with a favourable opportunity of making freſh levies, and uſing his intereſt and endeavours to bring over the moſt conſiderable of the barons to the royal cauſe; and ſo effectually did this worthy ſubject labour in his reconciliatory plan, that, beſides the earls of Saliſbury, Arundel and Warren, he had the pleaſure to ſee Hugh de Lacy, and William the young earl of Mareſchall, his own ſon, who till then had been one of the moſt zealous partiſans of France, return to their allegiance, and ever after remain faithful to their duty. In a word, the number of thoſe who quitted Lewis's party during the truce was ſo great, that the loſs was not made good by all the ſupplies he could muſter in France to reinforce his army.

The Cinque ports likewiſe declared in favor of Henry, and fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips, with which they way-laid and attacked Lewis in his return; but, after a ſmart ſkirmiſh, he got ſafe, with the loſs of a few ſhips only, to Sandwich. This inſtance of diſaffection, however, incenſed him ſo highly, that, in revenge, he burnt the town of Sandwich, as being one of the Cinque ports; and having made another unſucceſsful attack on Dover-caſtle, he marched with his troops towards London, whither he arrived on the very day the truce expired.

The firſt conſiderable act of hoſtility was began by the regent, who detached a body of forces, under the earls of Lincoln and Albermarle, to inveſt Mount Sorrel, in Leiceſterſhire, the garriſon having committed the moſt dreadful ravages in the neighbourhood of the caſtle. Lewis, who knew the conſequence of that fortreſs, detached an army of ſix hundred knights and twenty thouſand infantry, under the command of the count de la Perche, a marſhal of France, to raiſe the ſiege. Upon his approach, the Engliſh, who were too weak to venture a battle, retired to Nottingham; and the count, confident from the ſuperiority of his numbers, reſolved to attack the caſtle of Lincoln.

This circumſtance greatly alarmed the regent: the caſtle of Lincoln was a place of too much conſequence to loſe, without making one effort for its relief. A ſummons was therefore iſſued by the protector to all the king's tenants, ordering them to join the royal army at Newark upon Trent. The pope's legate not only excommunicated Lewis by name, but alſo declared, that all who embarked in defence of Henry ſhould be intitled to the ſame privileges as thoſe who undertook a cruſade. He himſelf aſſumed the croſs, and the biſhops and barons drew the temporal ſword. This zeal of the clergy was of the utmoſt ſervice to the royal cauſe: the people flocked with the utmoſt alacrity to the Protector's ſtandard, inſpired with a kind of enthuſiaſtic ardor which ſeldom fails of ſucceſs; and Pembroke had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing himſelf at the head of a noble and reſolute army, inflamed with the deſire of being led againſt an excommunicated enemy.

Such was the expedition uſed by the regent in his march, that he had advanced almoſt in ſight of the enemy before they had notice of his approach. They had all along hoped to take the caſtle before an army could be aſſembled ſtrong enough to oppoſe them. Surprized to find the regent ſo cloſe to them, the French general called a council of war, in which, after much debate ariſing from a difference of opinions, it was reſolved to make one deciſive aſſault upon the caſtle, (the garriſon of which was by this time reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs,) and to act on the defenſive againſt Pembroke's forces. Theſe meaſures proved the deſtruction of the French army. Fulk de Briant, ſoon after, found means to enter the caſtle by a poſtern-gate, at the head of a choſen body of French archers, and made ſeveral ſallies to amuſe the beſiegers; while the royal army vigorouſly attacked one of the gates of the city, carried it by ſtorm, and entered the place ſword in hand. The French perceived their danger, and made a noble defence; but the freſh troops continuing to pour in through the avenue, a total rout enſued. The count of Perche was killed in the ſtreets, having refuſed quarter, though offered ſeveral times, and moſt of the French troops fell with him.

When Lewis was informed of this defeat, he was ſtruck with the moſt inexpreſſible conſternation. He immediately left Dover, ſhut himſelf up in the capital, and diſpatched a courier to his father for aſſiſtance. Philip, who was deſirous of averting the cenſure of the pope from his own kingdom, refuſed to engage openly in the defence of his ſon; but permitted Blanch, his daughter-in-law, the wife of Lewis, to raiſe a powerful body of troops, and to provide a fleet of ſhips for tranſporting them into England. But they landed not in that kingdom: the French ſhips were met by the Engliſh on the coaſt of Kent, and totally defeated.

This defeat gave the finiſhing ſtroke to all Lewis's hopes in this kingdom; and, to add a greater weight to the misfortunes that crowded in upon him, he now beheld the regent, at the head of an irreſiſtible army, in the neighbourhood of London, and himſelf blocked up in that city, without the ſmalleſt hope of relief. The people, no longer overawed by the ſuperiority of foreign maſters, now gave a free vent to their expreſſions of diſlike to him and his conduct. The chief barons of his alliance were ſhut up in priſons after their defeat at Lincoln; the reſt had either openly abandoned his party, or, by being in the ſame predicament with himſelf, continued about his perſon more through inability to go elſewhere, than out of any real affection to him or his cauſe. The whole nation reſounded with the peals of eccleſiaſtical thunder hurled againſt him from the Vatican; and he now remained in a foreign country, hated, deſpiſed, and cut off from all means of changing the complexion of his fate.

Thus circumſtanced, nothing remained but to ſeek by ſubmiſſion that ſafety which he had in vain tried to acquire by force. Lewis, accordingly, offered to conclude a peace with the Protector, by which he promiſed to evacuate the kingdom, on condition of his adherents being re-eſtabliſhed in their honors and fortunes. The terms were accepted; and Lewis returned to the continent, with the mortification of having ſeized a ſceptre he was unable to keep.

Excluſive of the articles of treaty, Lewis promiſed, and firmly engaged himſelf, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade his father Philip to reſtore to Henry all his rights on the continent; and if he failed in this mediation, to do it himſelf as ſoon as he ſhould become poſſeſſed of the crown of France.

The greateſt ſufferers among all Lewis's adherents were the clergy. Nothing was ſtipulated for them in the treaty of peace: they were left entirely to the mercy of the pope, whom they had ſo highly offended, and who ſeized with eagerneſs this favourable opportunity to wreak his vengeance on them for their diſobedience. Many of them were depoſed, and many ſuſpended; ſome were baniſhed; and all who eſcaped puniſhment were obliged to purchaſe their pardon by paying large ſums of money to the legate; ſo that the pope by theſe means became poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſure. But Innocent lived not long to enjoy the fruits of his interpoſition in favor of young Henry. He paid the debt of nature ſoon after the departure of Lewis from England, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Honorius III.

A. D. 1218. The rage of civil war being now appeaſed, the Protector applied himſelf to the ſalutary meaſures of improving that peace his prudence and victories had ſo happily brought about. He procured a new charter of liberties, but it differed in ſeveral particulars from that of John. The full privilege of elections in the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without firſt obtaining the royal conſent, were not confirmed in the charter of Henry, becauſe the ſtate had already experienced the inconveniencies ariſing from them. The obligation by which John had reſtrained himſelf from buying aids and ſcutages, without the conſent of the great council of the nation, was alſo omitted in this inſtrument. The barons perceived that no aids, unleſs they were evidently reaſonable, could be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who were able to repel any acts of violence. Nor did he content himſelf with granting anew the privileges that had been enjoyed in the preceding reign; he cauſed writs, in the king's name, to be iſſued to the ſheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to lay open all foreſts, agreeable to the intention of the charter granted for that purpoſe by king John; and ſome time after, he ſent the chief juſticiary of the foreſts on a circuit through the kingdom, to ſee that the orders were fully executed, and the bounds of the foreſts diſtinctly marked. At the ſame time, orders were given to demoliſh all the new caſtles that had been erected ſince the beginning of the diſputes between the late king and his barons.

A. D. 1219. While the earl of Pembroke was thus exerting his utmoſt abilities to reſtore peace and happineſs to the king and his people, death put a final period to his labours and his life. The nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of this great man, whoſe valour, integrity and prudence had broke the yoke of foreign ſlavery, and reſtored the liberties of Engliſhmen. He died about the middle of March, and his body was depoſited in the church of the Knights Templars (now the Temple Church) where his effigy, in a coat of mail, is ſtill to be ſeen.

This great man was ſucceeded by William de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, the gallant defender of Dover-caſtle, was created chief juſticiary of the kingdom. The councils of the latter were conformable to his character, that of a great, a prudent, and a virtuous man. They were for ſome time followed; and had he poſſeſſed the authority of Pembroke, the nation would not have ſo greatly regretted the loſs of that eminent patriot. His power, however, was not ſufficient to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the barons, who were too ſtrong to be reſtrained by laws under a minority; and whoſe rapacity induced them to uſurp the demeſnes of the crown, as well as the poſſeſſions of their weaker neighbours. Hence revolts were multiplied, and the government was perpetually employed in reducing inſurrections.

A. D. 1222. Theſe diſturbances rouſed the dying ſpirit of faction in the minds of thoſe who were not well affected to the government. Lewis had ſtill a party in the kingdom, eſpecially among the meaner claſs of the citizens of London, while the clergy and inhabitants of Weſtminſter were intirely in the intereſt of the royal family of England. The animoſity of theſe two oppoſite parties, firſt appeared at a wreſtling match, held at the hoſpital of St. Maud, in the neighbourhood of the capital, where the Londoners came off victorious. The ſteward of Weſtminſter, finding himſelf and his followers foiled, proclaimed another match of the ſame kind, in which the conqueror was to carry away a ram, as the prize. On the day appointed, when the Londoners came to the field, they were attacked by the ſteward and his party, armed with weapons; ſome were wounded, and the reſt obliged to return to the city. This fray was reſented by the friends of Lewis, who immediately made it a party quarrel. One Conſtantine Fitz-arnulph, a bold, rich, and factious citizen, was at the head of the French party. His noiſy harangues drowned the wiſe remonſtrances of the mayor, who adviſed the citizens to complain to the abbot of Weſtminſter. Conſtantine inſtantly gave out the words “ God and king Lewis;” adding, that all the houſes belonging both to the abbot and ſteward of Weſtminſter, ought to be levelled with the ground. He put himſelf at the head of the rabble, marched immediately to Weſtminſter, and there began hoſtilities by demoliſhing ſeveral houſes belonging to the abbot. The words which had been given out alarmed the friends of the government; and the lawleſs rabble having now wreaked their fury, Hubert de Burgh entered the city, at the head of a ſtrong body of forces. He immediately ſummoned the magiſtracy, with the principal citizens, and demanded who were the authors of the late riot? Conſtantine, not the leaſt intimidated, ſtepped forward, boldly avowed himſelf the author, and juſtified all he had done; alledging in his own defence, the treaty made by Pembroke with Lewis, by which the citizens of London were to be reſtored to all their former rights; and by which a general act of indemnity was to paſs, with regard to all who had been concerned in the late troubles. The juſticiary, on hearing this reſolute anſwer, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, without declaring his deſign, or diſcovering the leaſt emotion; but ordered Conſtantine and his nephew to be committed to priſon; and the next morning, cauſed them both to be executed. Had the ſeverity of the government reſted here, it might have been thought ſeaſonable; but a party of mercenaries entered the city, ſeized all who were ſuſpected of having been concerned in the late riot, committed them to priſon, and the unhappy victims were afterwards puniſhed in a very exemplary man-manner. Nor did this impolitic ſeverity, or rather cruelty, reſt here: the court, pleaſed with an opportunity of revenging itſelf on the citizens, for the part they had acted during the reſidence of Lewis in England, arbitrarily depoſed all the magiſtrates, and filled their places with creatures of their own.

A. D. 1223. Theſe proceedings, which were conſidered as direct infringements on the great charter, excited the clamours of the populace, who, with juſtice, conceiving themſelves injured, demanded a new confirmation of it. In conſequence of this, a general council was called, and the demand of the people taken into conſideration. During the debates, one of the council of the regency aſſerted, that no regard ought to be paid to the great charter, becauſe it was extorted by violence. But Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeverely reprimanded the ſpeaker for his indiſcretion, as his aſſertion had a direct tendency to raiſe a rebellion in the nation; affirming, at the ſame time, that the demand of the people was founded on juſtice; and that the government could not, without the moſt palpable injuſtice, diſpenſe with any article in the charter. His opinion was adopted; and the parliament having granted a ſubſidy, the king iſſued orders for a new charter of confirmation. At length the biſhops, by the tenor of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, obliged the barons to deliver up the fortreſſes belonging to the crown, the poſſeſſion of which they had obtained in the moſt forcible and illegal manner.

On the 14th of July this year (1223) died Philip Auguſtus, king of France, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis VIII. As ſoon as the event was known in England, Henry's council ſent over ambaſſadors to congratulate Lewis on his acceſſion to the throne, and to remind him of his promiſe he had made with regard to Normandy and the other provinces, of which John had been deprived by his father. Lewis, however, far from granting this demand, not only declared that he looked upon Normandy as unalienably annexed to the crown of France, but ſhould likewiſe, at a proper time, renew his claim to England, in virtue of the grant made him by the great barons. In conſequence of this anſwer the Engliſh council publiſhed a manifeſto, inviting the noblemen of Normandy to return to their allegiance, promiſing to reſtore them to their family poſſeſſions in England.

No material circumſtances happened in England from this time till the year 1226, which was opened with a parliament held at Weſtminſter, wherein the king was declared of age, though he had not yet attained his one-and-twentieth year. This, however, was not the buſineſs for which the parliament was aſſembled; they were more immediately convened in order to deliberate on an extraordinary demand made by the court of Rome. The pope had ſent over a legate, under pretence of removing a reproach that had long been thrown upon the court of the Vatican. The pontiff obſerved, that the holy ſee having long been accuſed of ſelling her favors for money, it was the duty of all good Chriſtians to aſſiſt in removing the cauſe of ſuch a ſcandalous imputation, which flowed intirely from the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore demanded, that two prebends in every cathedral, and two cells in every convent in England, ſhould be granted to the church of Rome, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the great council of the nation.

The Engliſh parliament treated this demand with ſuch contempt, that no anſwer was returned to Rome. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was more immediately intereſted, wrote to the pope, informing him, “ That when the Roman ſee had procured the “ ſame aſſiſtance from other nations, England would “ follow their example; but would never eſtabliſh “ the precedent.”

This was by no means ſatiſfactory to his holineſs, who, to mortify Henry in return, ſent inhibitory letters, commanding him not to attempt any thing againſt the dominions of France, ſo long as its king Lewis ſhould bear the croſs he had taken up againſt the Albigenſes.

A. D. 1227. As Henry advanced in years, he diſcovered thoſe principles that portended little happineſs to his people. He was naturally of a mild and timid diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed neither vigor of mind, nor political diſcernment. His reſentments were violent and tranſitory; his attachments ſudden and inconſiſtent: the one excited no apprehenſions; the other was not conſolidated into friendſhip. At the ſame time his irreſolution was blended with the principles of avarice, tyranny and oppreſſion. Little expectations of happineſs could be therefore formed from his government.

Henry, on his arriving at the age of majority, ſummoned a parliament at Oxford, when he declared his intention of taking into his own hands the reins of government; adding, that as the great charter, and that of the foreſts, had been obtained by an act of rebellion, and confirmed in his minority, he could not conſider himſelf as legally bound by any acts or promiſes during his infancy. The members were aſtoniſhed at this declaration; and the aſſembly broke up in a manner which ſufficiently indicated, that the ſtorm of reſentment would ſoon exert its baleful power.

This year Lewis VIII. died in his expedition againſt the Albigenſes, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Lewis IX. then a minor of twelve years of age. The Engliſh thought this a favourable juncture for attempting the re-poſſeſſion of the antient eſtates in France; and for this purpoſe a deputation was ſent into that country, commiſſioned to uſe all means to prevail with the Normans, and the other tenants of thoſe lands antiently held of the royal family of England, to renew their allegiance to Henry; but by the prudence of the queen-regent of France and her friends, the deſigns of the Engliſh were entirely fruſtrated, and the commiſſioners were obliged to return without making any progreſs in the negotiation.

In the mean time the conduct of Henry had inſpired the barons with ſo much diſcontent, that their affection for him was perceptibly leſſened. Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, having returned from France, ſoon after Henry had revoked the two charters, found one of his manors poſſeſſed by a German officer, who claimed it as a gift from king John. Richard inſiſted, that his pretended right ſhould be determined by his peers, and immediately diſpoſſeſſed the German. But inſtead of having recourſe to the laws of England, he poſted to court, and complained to the king of the injuſtice done him by the earl of Cornwall. Henry, without giving himſelf any trouble to examine into the truth of his allegations, ordered him a writ under the royal ſign manual, commanding a reſtitution of the eſtate. Exaſperated at ſuch treatment, the earl refuſed obedience, and repaired to court to defend his property. The king, highly offended at Richard's obſtinacy, told him, that he ſhould either reſtore the manor in queſtion within a limited time, or depart the kingdom.

This diſtinguiſhed exertion of arbitrary power rouſed the paſſions of Richard, who boldly replied, that he would appeal to the laws of his country, repeating, that the judgment of his peers only ſhould oblige him either to part with his property, or to quit the kingdom.

Henry, whoſe anger as well as friendſhip was momentary, ſoon forgot the offence, and fearing the power of Richard, who was greatly beloved by the barons, he ſubmitted to petition a reconciliation, and offered to ſettle on him the dower of the late queen. Richard, allured by this liberality, accepted the terms; and both the cauſe and the offence was buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1228. This year the nation ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury. This prelate may be juſtly conſidered as one of the reſtorers of Engliſh liberty. He no ſooner had it in his power to be independent, than he acted with an independent ſpirit; and the part he performed in all public commotions was ſuch as became the firſt peer of England, and a ſincere lover of his country.

About the ſame time died alſo pope Honorius III. who was ſucceeded in the pontificate by Gregory IX.

A. D. 1229. Lewis, the young king of France, having made various depredations on the continent, the Engliſh nobility there ſtrongly invited Henry to come to their relief. He accordingly liſtened to their ſolicitation, and gave orders for all his military tenants to rendezvous at Portſmouth. The Engliſh were at this time highly exaſperated againſt the French. The great barons, and other military tenants, were animated with the hopes of recovering their family eſtates in Normandy; and all ranks of people appeared ſo devoted to the ſervice of their king, that a more numerous army was collected than had ever been ſeen at one time, under the command of a king of England.

But Henry's expedition was fruſtrated by the neglect of the miniſter, who had iſſued neither the proper writs to the cinque ports, nor taken the uſual methods for aſſembling a ſufficient number of tranſports. Henry was ſo incenſed at this diſappointment, that he branded the miniſter with the name of traitor, and, drawing his ſword, would have killed him on the ſpot, had it not been for the interpoſition of the earl of Cheſter.

About the beginning of October the earl of Britany, who was at this time in arms againſt the French, came over to England. He was a bold, turbulent nobleman; but finding the ſeaſon of the year too far advanced, he adviſed Henry to put off his intended invaſion till the next ſpring. In the mean time, the irreſolution of Henry got the better of his reſentment; and the faults of his miniſter were now buried in oblivion.

A. D, 1230. In the beginning of the ſpring Henry again collected a powerful army at Portſmouth, from whence he ſailed on the laſt day of April, attended by the earl of Britany. The fleet, by ſome accident, was ſeparated, and put into different ports, but without receiving any damage. The king himſelf landed at St. Malo, where the earl of Britany not only renewed his homage, but ordered all the fortified places in his poſſeſſion to be delivered up to the Engliſh.

The French, who had all the winter to prepare themſelves, had taken poſt behind Angiers, with an intent of hindering the march of the Engliſh into Poictou. But Henry's conduct ſeemed to render this precaution needleſs, for, inſtead of advancing to attack the enemy, he ſuffered them to fortify themſelves in their poſt, while he continued at Nantz, expecting the reſt of his troops, which were coming from Ireland. This inaction encouraged young Lewis, who was at the head of his troops, to advance within four leagues of Nantz, and lay ſiege to Ancennes, which Henry, who had now rendered himſelf ridiculous and contemptible, ſuffered him to take, without making one effort for its relief. The French army continued approaching towards Nantz, beſieged the caſtles of Oudon and Chauteauceaux, which they took in ſight of the Engliſh army, and afterwards extended their incurſions even to the gates of Nantz.

Neither the inſults of the French, nor the entreaties of his friends, being able to awake Henry, and Lewis ſeeing no likelihood of an action, returned to Paris in order to form a reconciliation with his diſcontented nobility, at whoſe deſire Henry had invaded his dominions.

On the French king's retiring, Henry, to ſave appearances, drew his troops out of Nantz, and marched into Gaſcony, by way of Poictou. Here he received the homage of many noblemen; and after ſtaying a ſhort time returned to Nantz, from whence he embarked for England, leaving a conſiderable army in France, under the command of the earls of Cheſter, Mareſchal and Albemarle.

Henry had no ſooner left the French coaſt, than his generals took the field with ſo much ſucceſs, that they made an irruption into Anjou, where they took the caſtle of Gautier, and laid the town in aſhes. They next fell into Normandy, where they took and razed the caſtle of Pontarſu, and burnt the town. But the winter being too far advanced for them to make any further progreſs, they returned to Britany loaded with booty; having ſufficiently demonſtrated what might have been effected by the whole army, had the king taken the field at a proper ſeaſon, and puſhed the operations with the ſpirit of an able general.

A. D. 1231. The great ſucceſs of the Engliſh generals, during the cloſe of the laſt campaign, drew the French monarch very early into the field at the head of his army. His intention was to invade Britany, as being the place of the head quarters of the Engliſh, as well as of their principal reſources. But the Engliſh commanders took their meaſures ſo effectually, as to render his deſigns abortive, by intercepting all his carriages loaded with proviſions and military engines. Henry, however, was in no condition to improve theſe favorable incidents. He found it very difficult to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies; and the pope backward to ſupport his cauſe, under pretence that thoſe quarrels in France prevented the zealous from proſecuting the cruſades. On the other hand, nothing was more deſirable to the French court, than a reſpite from war. A truce was therefore concluded for three years; and the Engliſh generals returned to their own country.

A. D. 1232. In the beginning of this year the king ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, which met on the 17th of March, of whom he demanded an aid to enable him to diſcharge the debts contracted by his late expedition into France; but the barons were ſo highly exaſperated at his paſt conduct, that they peremptorily refuſed. He next tried the clergy, but with as little ſucceſs; they did not, indeed, abſolutely refuſe, but deſired further time to conſider the matter; upon which the aſſembly was prorogued till Eaſter.

The reaſon of this coolneſs in the great men of the kingdom was principally owing to the countenance Henry had given to the pope, who, taking advantage of the king's weakneſs, had purſued the moſt unjuſt and unpopular meaſures. Many of the principal benefices in England were poſſeſſed by Italian prieſts, and one of the king's chaplains is ſaid to have held upwards of an hundred livings. The prelates and lay patrons were inhibited from preſenting natives, till all the foreign clergy were provided for. It is no wonder, that ſo ſhameful a practice raiſed a general clamour in the kingdom. It was conſidered as a national inſult, and ſeveral aſſociations were formed for delivering the realm from ſuch ſhameful oppreſſions. The principal leader of the confederates was Robert de Twenge, a knight in the north of England. He had long beheld the tyrannical proceedings of the pope with deteſtation, but on being deprived by his holineſs of the patronage of a church, he determined to take ample revenge on the foreign prieſts. He aſſumed the name of William Witham, and encouraged his followers to ſtrip the houſes of the Italian clergy, and diſpoſe of their effects. They continued this practice for ſome time without oppoſition, and the foreign eccleſiaſtics, not daring to appear, took refuge in the convents. Informed of theſe violent proceedings, the pope wrote in a very lofty ſtile to Henry, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of his ſubjects, and reſtore the Italian clergy to their benefices. The puſillanimous ſoul of Henry was alarmed at theſe menaces of the holy father; he dreaded the effects of a papal cenſure. He ordered a ſtrict inquiſition to be made in the ſeveral parts of the kingdom, where thoſe riots had prevailed; and had the mortification to find, that they had been ſupported and encouraged by men of all ranks; Hubert de Burgh, the chief juſticiary, did not eſcape ſuſpicion. At laſt Robert de Twenge, who ſcorned to diſown an action, which he thought juſtifiable, or to let any innocent perſon ſuffer on his account, appeared in the royal preſence, attended by five knights, and boldly declared himſelf the leader of the confederates, who had ſtripped the houſes of the foreign prieſts; alledging, that the injuries he had received were the ſole motives for his proceedings. Pleaſed with the ingenuous confeſſion, and intrepid behaviour of this reſolute knight, who diſdained to ſuffer tamely an injury, though inflicted by the holy father himſelf, the king gave him a free pardon, and pocured a reſtitution of his right to the patronage in queſtion.

But though Hubert was cleared from all ſuſpicion by the voluntary confeſſion of Twenge, yet the inconſtancy of Henry furniſhed his enemies with an opportunity of procuring his ruin. Excited by the remonſtrances of the biſhop of Wincheſter, who hated Hubert, becauſe he had been active in oppoſing his deſtructive councils, this weak prince, inſenſible to all his ſervices, perſecuted him with ſo much fury, that he was obliged to take ſanctuary in a church; whence he afterwards eſcaped out of the kingdom.

A. D. 1233. The biſhop of Wincheſter, who was a Poictevin by birth, having by the diſgrace of Hubert, engroſſed the entire confidence of his maſter, employed his authority to the worſt of purpoſes. He was in temper proud and tyrannical, and the propoſſeſſion he entertained in favor of his own countrymen alarmed the Engliſh. The court was filled with theſe ſtrangers, and he conferred on them every office and every command in the diſpoſal of the crown. Theſe proceedings ſoon produced a general ſpirit of diſcontent, which Henry conſidered only as a confirmation of that rebellious ſpirit which Wincheſter had repreſented to be the characteriſtic of the Engliſh nobility. They were denied all acceſs to the king; and treated by the miniſter with contempt.

At length, however, the Engliſh, wearied out by the inſults and injuries they received from theſe inſolent ſtrangers, formed themſelves into a body, and deputed the earl marſhal to lay their grievances before Henry. He accordingly demanded an audience, and, with the noble ſpirit of an Engliſhman, laid the complaints of the nation before the king: he beſought him not to continue laviſhing his favors upon foreigners, to the utter neglect of his natural ſubjects; adding, that if he continued to treat their remonſtrance with neglect, both himſelf and the other nobility would think it their duty to withdraw themſelves from his councils, where they had no power to ſupport the welfare of their country.

The haughty prelate, who was preſent at this audience, without giving the king time to reply, anſwered the earl with unparalleled effrontry, "That it was the higheſt degree of inſolence in him, or any other ſubject to pretend to dictate to his majeſty, on whom he ought to confer his favors: that both the king and his father had been ſo ill treated by the Engliſh, that the only expedient of procuring his own ſafety was that of truſting to foreigners; and that if their number in the kingdom was not already ſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to their duty, large reinforcements ſhould be procured."

This ſpeech ſo aſtoniſhed the earl, that he retired without returning an anſwer, and joined in the confederacy for checking the deſpotic power, which the king, by the violent counſels of his worthleſs miniſter, ſeemed deſirous to aſſume. Henry was alarmed, and the biſhop, to gain time, adviſed him to call a parliament at London. The barons refuſed to attend, and even threatened to deprive Henry of his crown, if the Poictevins were not baniſhed the kingdom. Another parliament was called, and the barons preſented themſelves dreſſed in armour, and attended by their followers. Henry now ſaw his danger, and was deſirous of a reconciliation; but the artful prelate found means to remove his fears by ſowing diſſenſions among them, and gaining the earls of Cornwall and Cheſter over to the royal party. The eſtates of ſeveral of the confederates were confiſcated, without any trial by their peers; and, by a very impolitic liberality, beſtowed upon the Poictevins, before ſo odious to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1234. The time, however, now approached for the fall of that infamous ſet of miniſters, who had, ſince the diſgrace of Hubert de Burgh, exerciſed their power in the moſt illegal, odious, arbitrary and oppreſſive manner. The removal of them was reſerved for the clergy, who, in order to avert the miſchievous conſequence that muſt have attended their mal-practices, reſolved to exert themſelves in behalf of their country.

Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, taking with him his ſuffragans, demanded an audience of the king, which Henry could not refuſe. At this interview the prelate deſcribed, in the moſt pathetic manner, the dreadful effects of thoſe ruinous meaſures, which he had purſued at the inſtigation of his miniſters. He formally accuſed Peter, biſhop of Wincheſter, as the author of thoſe pernicious counſels, which had diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent through the whole nation; and after making a long detail of the grievances of the people, inſiſted that the king ſhould remove from his councils a miniſter ſo odious to all his ſubjects; adding, that if ſo reaſonable a requeſt was refuſed, he would excommunicate both him, and all who oppoſed ſo neceſſary a reformation.

This ſpirited remonſtrance, and the threatening at the cloſe of it, produced the deſired effect. Henry perceived his error. The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſtripped of all his employments, and the inſolent Poictevins baniſhed the kingdom. The natives were reſtored to their places in council, and the primate, who was a man of prudence, and took care to execute the laws, bore the chief ſway in the government.

A. D. 1236. Had Henry learned wiſdom from former miſcarriages, it had been happy both for him and his people; but he ſeems to have been one of that number, whom vice or indolence had rendered incorrigible. The remonſtrance of the archbiſhop had, in all appearance, convinced him of his error in cheriſhing foreigners in preference to his Engliſh ſubjects. But this conviction was temporary; Henry ſoon forgot both his danger and his intereſt. He married Eleanor the daughter of the earl of Marche; and threw himſelf again into the arms of foreigners. William de Savoy, biſhop of Valence, and uncle to the new queen, became his principal favourite. He took every occaſion of giving him a remarkable preference over the greateſt, and moſt faithful of his own ſubjects, and committed all the affairs of the ſtate to his ſole direction.

Theſe proceedings immediately alarmed the Engliſh nobility. They dreaded a revival of the late times of miniſterial inſolence and oppreſſion, and determined to exert all their power to put a ſtop to the career of this foreign minion. They began with preſenting dutiful addreſſes to the king, at the ſame time remonſtrating with a becoming ſpirit, againſt thoſe meaſures, which they apprehended to be deſtructive of the public intereſt, and that union which ſhould always ſubſiſt between an Engliſh king and his ſubjects. But they ſucceeded not in their attempts. Valence ſupported his power, and foreign influence grew every day more prevalent at court. The miniſter, who was offended with the Engliſh barons for their late ſpirited remonſtrances, ſpared no pains to render them ſuſpected by the king, and to remove the moſt active among them from his perſon and government. The ſeals were demanded from the biſhop of Chicheſter, who had filled the high office of chancellor with the moſt unblemiſhed integrity; but the prelate, on receiving the king's meſſage, nobly replied, "That having received the ſeals by the order of the parliament, he would reſign them by order of that aſſembly only."

A. D. 1237. This anſwer of the chancellor made not the leaſt impreſſion on Henry. He ſtill adhered to his foreign miniſters, and was deaf to the complaints of his people. But the wants of his needy courtiers ſoon exhauſted his revenues, and he was obliged to call a parliament to procure a ſupply. The ſeſſion was very full, ſome important buſineſs being expected to be laid before them. But they were told, "That the chief reaſon for their being called together, was to deſire them to grant an aid, which ſhould be collected and diſpoſed of, for the neceſſary uſes of the ſtate, by ſuch perſons as they themſelves ſhould think proper to commiſſion for that purpoſe."

The parliament, who had ſo often truſted to Henry's promiſes, were no longer to be deceived; and returned for anſwer, "That they had often granted the king aids, without receiving any marks of his affection: that ſince his acceſſion to the throne, his dominions were conſiderably leſſened, though he had frequently exacted from his ſubjects very large ſums, which had been wholly laviſhed away upon foreign favourites, to the impoveriſhment of the ſtate, and the diſgrace of his character." To this ſpirited reply, Henry pleaded the expences of his own and his ſiſter's marriage, which had entirely exhauſted his treaſury; but if they would grant him a thirteenth part of their moveables, he promiſed upon his honor, never to injure or oppreſs any baron of the realm. In order to facilitate their compliance, he diſavowed the pope's bull, which his miniſtry had lately obtained for the reſumption of grants; declared he would inviolably obſerve the articles of the Great Charter; and ordered a ſentence of excommunication to be ſolemnly denounced againſt all perſons, himſelf not excepted, who ſhould dare to violate that ſacred conſtitution.

The parliament, ſoftened by theſe aſſurances, complied with the king's demand; but ordered the money ariſing from the tax to be depoſited in certain abbies, churches and caſtles, as a fund ſacred to the neceſſities of the ſtate; and the following expreſs condition was annexed to the grant for levying it: "That the king ſhould no longer hearken to the ſuggeſtions of foreigners, who had already oppreſſed and impoveriſhed the nation, but be governed for the future by his own natural-born ſubjects."

The king readily ſubmitted to every thing propoſed by the parliament; but his purpoſes were no ſooner anſwered, than he returned to his former meaſures, ſhewed as much fondneſs for foreigners as ever, and to ſecure himſelf a party ſufficient to oppoſe the power of his barons, he had recourſe to the moſt baſe and mean expedient. He made application to the pope, for a legate to be ſent into England, under whoſe protection he thought he might ſecurely violate his recent engagements, which neceſſity had compelled him to enter into with his people. The Engliſh were alarmed, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury warmly expoſtulated with him on his conduct for ſuffering a legate to come into the kingdom without any apparent neceſſity, and without the knowledge of the parliament and clergy. But Henry regarded not the remonſtrances of the prelate, the cenſures of the church were no longer terrible; he knew the authority of the pope to be ſuperior to that of the archbiſhop. He ſeized the money depoſited in the churches and convents by the parliament for the uſe of the ſtate, and ſquandered it with the utmoſt profuſion upon ſtrangers and favourites. His brother, the earl of Cornwall, ſaw this deſtructive conduct with regret, and putting himſelf at the head of the nobility, demanded an audience, where he openly upbraided Henry with this ſhameful breach of faith and honor. He laid before him the exhauſted ſtate of the kingdom, the perpetual demands of his exchequer, though his revenues were large and abundantly ſufficient to ſupport the royal dignity; and, laſtly, the ſhameful ſtep he had taken in calling in the legate of the pope, under whom he acted, with only a ſubordinate power. But theſe remonſtrances had very little effect on Henry; he heard them with patience, promiſing amendment; but, as ſoon as the noblemen were departed, relapſed into his former indolence, and forgot his reſolutions.

A. D. 1239. Notwithſtanding Henry's entire dependence laid on the pope for ſupport againſt the reſentment of his barons and clergy, yet ſuch was the inconſiſtence of his conduct, that he ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the emperor Frederic II. then at open war with the court of Rome. Gregory IX. who then filled the papal chair, was highly offended at what he termed the inſolence of his vaſſal, and ordered the legate to make the moſt ſevere remonſtrances. The puſillanimous monarch was alarmed, and to avert the cenſure of the vatican, he ſuffered the ſentence of excommunication againſt Frederic to be publiſhed in all the churches of England; though that prince had lately married the princeſs Iſabella, his ſiſter.

The great intereſt of the earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, had ariſen from his being conſidered as heir apparent to the crown; but this year, on the 16th of June, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was named Edward, and afterwards acceded to the throne by the additional name of Longſhanks.

A. D. 1240. Henry, by his conduct, had now obtained the univerſal hatred of his ſubjects. The nobility were juſtly incenſed againſt the rapacious foreigners, who waſted the royal treaſure, governed the kingdom, and treated the laws of England with contempt. The parliament therefore refuſed to grant their exhauſted monarch any ſupplies, and the king had recourſe to the moſt illegal methods and dangerous expedients for ſupplying his neceſſities. He exacted loans; he demanded benevolences; he uſurped a power of diſpenſing with the laws, becauſe the pope ſcrupled not to diſpenſe with the canons of the church, whenever the intereſts of the holy ſee required it. The people complained loudly; the barons formed aſſociations for their defence; and the judges were alarmed at the illegal proceedings of the king. "Alas!" exclaimed one of them upon the bench, "in what a "corrupt age do we live! The civil court is vitiated "in imitation of the eccleſiaſtical; and the river is "poiſoned from that fountain."

A. D. 1242. The earl of Marche, father-in-law to Henry, was at this time at war with Lewis IX. of France, and Henry was deſirous of going to his aſſiſtance. The earl had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſucceſs; promiſing, that all the old tenants of his family in France would immediately join his ſtandards, together with the king of Arragon, and the count of Tholouſe. Pleaſed with the proſpect of recovering his old dominions on the continent, and wreſting from Lewis the territories which Philip had taken from his father, Henry ſummoned a parliament, in order to procure the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying his arms into France. But he had the mortification to find his requeſt denied, the parliament abſolutely refuſing to grant him any aſſiſtance for carrying on the war. Henry, however, found means to raiſe the neceſſary ſums at exorbitant intereſt, and paſſed over to the continent at the head of a conſiderable body of troops. But he was equally deſtitute of military and civil talents. His army was defeated at Tillebourg; his allies deſerted him; he loſt what remained to him of Poictou, and returned with diſgrace to England.

A. D. 1244. The whole kingdom had for ſome time paſt reſounded with complaints againſt the enterprizes of the pope of Rome: but his holineſs was not to be intimidated; he determined to proceed, and even to increaſe his deſtructive exactions. Accordingly he ſent over one Martin as his nuncio, to demand a thouſand marks from the clergy, to aſſiſt him in the war he was carrying on againſt the emperor. This nuncio was inveſted with more ample powers than any of his predeceſſors, and his oppreſſion and inſolence exceeded every thing that had yet been experienced from that proud and venal court.

The nation was now ſenſibly alarmed, and the barons reſolved to lay before the general council, then aſſembled at Lyons, the intolerable oppreſſions of the holy ſee.

The methods made uſe of by Martin to extort money from the clergy exaſperated the nation; and it was concluded on, in an aſſembly of the barons, to drive him out of the kingdom by force, if perſuaſions could not prevail upon him to depart peaceably. They aſſembled in arms, under pretence of holding a tournament; and choſe Fulk Fitz Warren as their meſſenger, to carry their reſolutions to the nuncio.

This was the moſt proper perſon they could have choſen, as he had himſelf ſeverely ſuffered by papal exactions, and thoroughly hated every partiſan of Rome. He ſet out immediately to execute his commiſſion, with a determined reſolution to terrify the nuncio, and induce him to abandon the kingdom. On being introduced into Martin's preſence, he told him, with a ſtern and reſolute air, that he muſt inſtantly prepare for his departure from England. The nuncio, little accuſtomed to ſuch diſreſpectful addreſſes, aſked him by whoſe authority he dared to ſpeak to him in ſo inſolent a manner? "By the autho- "rity of a body of Engliſh knights now in arms," anſwered Fulk, "who ordered me to tell you, that "if either you yourſelf, or any of your followers, "remain in England more than three days, every "one of you ſhall be cut to pieces. Act as you "pleaſe; but remember it is an Engliſh knight that "delivers you this meſſage." Martin was ſufficiently intimidated. He was too well acquainted with the character of the Engliſh to contemn a menace ſo peremptorily delivered. He immediately complained to Henry, and deſired his protection. But the king, who had for ſome time beheld the exactions of the pope with concern, told him, that his robberies and oppreſſions had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment in every part of the kingdom, that he was hardly able to protect himſelf againſt his own ſubjects, who were thoroughly incenſed againſt him for having countenanced his rapacious proceedings.

Martin was now convinced of his dangerous ſituation, and determined to abandon a kingdom where his life was in the utmoſt danger. He accordingly demanded a paſſport, which was readily granted him by Henry, and he embarked with all poſſible expedition for the continent; but it was thought neceſſary to ſend a proper guard with him to the ſea-ſide, to protect him from the reſentment of the juſtly incenſed multitude.

In the mean time the Engliſh ambaſſadors, having arrived at Lyons, laid their complaints before the council, where the pope himſelf preſided in perſon. They repreſented, that the benefices enjoyed by the Italian clergy in England amounted to ſixty thouſand marks a year, a ſum that exceeded the annual revenue of the crown. They accuſed the pope of frequently cancelling his own acts by clauſes of non obſtante inſerted in his bulls; a clauſe abſolutely deſtructive of all the rights of patrons, and of all the liberties of the Engliſh church. They expatiated on the perpetual extortions of the nuncios and legates, and various other oppreſſions to which the Britiſh clergy had been ſo long expoſed. The pope was confounded, and gave an evaſive anſwer. He feared the power of the council, and was willing to ſoothe the Engliſh agents. He promiſed them redreſs; and cauſed two bulls for that purpoſe to be publiſhed.

A. D. 1246. The promiſes of the pontiff were of no longer exiſtence than his fears; for the council was no ſooner broke up, than he renewed all his exactions. The Engliſh were exaſperated; and a parliament was ſummoned at London for redreſſing this public grievance. A ſtate of the hardſhips ſuffered by the nation from papal tyranny was drawn up; and, after being ſigned by the king, biſhops and temporal lords, ſent to the court of Rome, and ſatisfaction demanded from the pontiff. This inſtrument produced not the deſired effect. The ambaſſadors were treated with contempt, and the pope threatened to proceed to the ſame extremities againſt Henry, as he had lately done againſt the emperor. The king immediately prohibited any farther payments to the pope. But Henry wanted firmneſs to ſupport a meaſure ſo agreeable to his ſubjects; he relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered the pope to proceed in his extortions.

A. D. 1248. Henry had for ſome years ſubſiſted entirely on the revenues of the crown eſtates. Theſe were, indeed, very large, and amply ſufficient for ſupporting the grandeur and dignity of the crown, could he have been prevailed upon to have kept his expences within proper bounds: but his prodigality to foreigners ſtill ſubſiſting, he was forced once more to the diſagreeable neceſſity of having recourſe to the parliament for a ſupply.

The aſſembly met on the 9th of February, when Henry accordingly applied for a pecuniary ſupply; however, he was not only peremptorily refuſed, but alſo ſeverely rebuked by the aſſembly for demanding any aſſiſtance after he had ſo often broke his promiſes, openly violated the great charter of their liberties, and refuſed to abandon his deſtructive partiality to foreigners.

Henry was confounded at ſuch plain language from his parliament, eſpecially as he was conſcious that all the allegations were ſtrictly true. He, however, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the aſſembly by repeated promiſes that he would, for the future, faithfully obſerve all the articles of the great charter. He promiſed, at a proper opportunity, to conſider and redreſs all their real grievances; and concluded with expatiating on the prudence, as well as juſtice, of their furniſhing him with ſupplies for recovering his patrimonial dominions in France.

But all Henry's rhetoric was in vain. By trifling with his former oaths and promiſes, he had forfeited the eſteem of his people; his character was without dignity, and his power without authority. The parliament conſidered him in this diſgraceful light, and treated him accordingly. They plainly told him, that they would no longer, on ſpecious pretences, impoveriſh themſelves for the emolument of ſtrangers; and put him in mind of his contemptible and diſgraceful behaviour during his laſt expedition into Poictou and Gaſcony.

Henry finding it in vain to labour any longer in removing this ſpirit of oppoſition, diſſolved the parliament: but his finances were reduced ſo low, that he was obliged to ſell his family plate and jewels. After they were diſpoſed of, he aſked who had been the purchaſers? It was replied, the citizens of London. "On my word, (ſaid the king) if the treaſury of "Auguſtus could be brought to market, the citizens "of London are able to be the purchaſers: theſe "clowns, who aſſume to themſelves the name of "barons, abound in every thing, while we are re"duced to the utmoſt neceſſity." And he was ſo firmly perſuaded of the opulence of London, that he took every opportunity of fleecing the citizens.

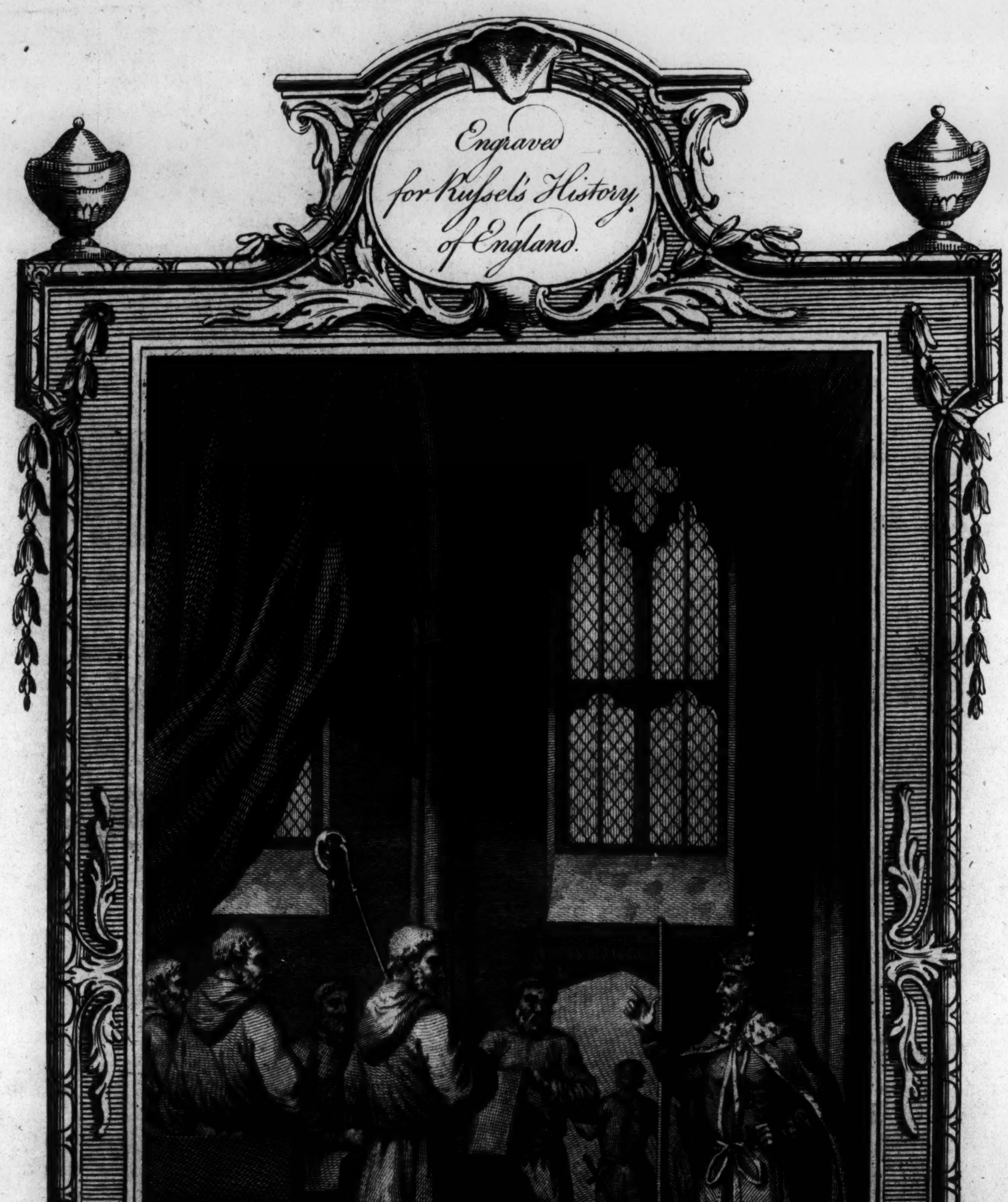
A. D. 1251. An incident happened this year that evinces to what meanneſs the deluded Henry could proceed, to compaſs any end upon which his heart was ſet. The biſhopric of Wincheſter being now vacant, the king wrote to the monks of the convent in the moſt earneſt obliging manner, deſiring them to chuſe his half-brother Ethelmar for their biſhop. As there were, it ſeems, many and great exceptions to the character of the candidate, who had not one qualification to fit him for the office, it was in vain that his letters were ſeconded by the intrigues of his chief favourites, whom he ſent down to influence the election. In ſhort, the objections of the monks were ſo ſtrong, and Henry's probability of ſucceſs ſo ſmall, that he reſolved to try what he could do in perſon. For this purpoſe he went himſelf to Wincheſter, and going into the chapter-houſe, in a full aſſembly of the monks, he began to hold forth upon the following words of ſcripture; "Righteouſneſs and peace have kiſſed each "other;" and made a ſermon on this text, in which he uſed all the motives he could think of to induce them to accept of his recommendation. Perhaps the royal eloquence would have had very little effect, had it not been for a ſting in the cloſe of this diſcourſe: for he petitioned with ſword in hand, and declared to the brotherhood, that if they refuſed his requeſt, he would confound them all. This eloquence was irreſiſtible; the young prince was choſen, and afterwards confirmed by the pope.

A. D. 1253. Innocent IV. who was now pope, was one of the moſt implacable pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The emperor Frederic, with whom he and his predeceſſor had been ſo long at war, was now dead; but the hatred he bore that monarch did not die with him; it devolved on his grandſon, Conrade, the lawful heir of the crown of Sicily, but whoſe ſucceſſion was ſet aſide by the perfidious arts of his uncle Mainfroy.

The pope ſoon perceived that his own force was far from being ſufficient to diſpoſſeſs Mainfroy from the Italian dominions of Frederic; and therefore ſent a nuncio into England, to offer the Sicilian crown to Richard, earl of Cornwall. That nobleman, though extremely fond of power, had prudence ſufficient to perceive, that the ſole deſign of the court of Rome was nothing more than the acquiſition of a large ſum of money, and prudently declined the offer. But Henry had not the ſagacity of his brother; he accepted it for his ſecond ſon, Edmund, and gave the pope unlimited credit for expending the ſums neceſſary for the reduction of Sicily. Edmund was accordingly treated with the honors of royalty; and no means of extortion or oppreſſion were omitted by the pope, in conjunction with Henry, to obtain money from the Engliſh, under pretence of eſtabliſhing prince Edmund in his new kingdom.

A. D. 1255. The war was begun by the papal army with great ſucceſs; but Mainfroy, determined to riſk his crown on the event of one deciſive action, advanced againſt the Roman forces. A battle enſued; the army of Innocent was totally defeated, and he himſelf was threatened with being beſieged in his capital. His haughty ſoul could not bear this reverſe of fortune; the violence of his paſſion threw him into a fever, which, in a ſhort time, put a period to his life. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who purſued the ſame meaſures with his predeceſſor, and undertook to place Edmund on the throne of Sicily.

The deluded Henry, in order to graſp this phantom of ſovereignty for his ſon, had complied with ſuch exorbitant demands of the pontiff, that he now found himſelf more embaraſſed than ever. The parliament refuſed to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the whole weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected, without a noble ſtruggle from the eccleſiaſtics.


Engraved
for Ruſsel's History
of England.

HENRY III.
Preaching to the Monks of
WINCHESTER.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

ſtics. For when Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, aſſembled the prelates, and propoſed their ſigning obligatory notes proportioned to the benefices of each individual, the biſhop of London declared, he would ſooner loſe his head than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful an act of tyranny. He was ſeconded by the biſhop of Worceſter; and the whole aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that the clergy of England would not ſubmit to be enſlaved by the pope.

The nuncio complained of this refuſal to Henry, who threatened the biſhop of London with his reſentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated, replied, with a noble intrepidity, "That he knew "the king and the pope were his ſuperiors; but if "they deprived him of his mitre, he would ſupply "its place with a helmet."

This generous ſtand in ſupport of the liberties of the Engliſh church, exaſperated the haughty Ruſtan; who finding it would be impoſſible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced proſecutions againſt individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very conſiderable ſums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the conſequences of driving the Engliſh clergy to deſpair, ordered his nuncio to deſiſt from his proſecutions.

A. D. 1256. During theſe diſputes between the nuncio and the clergy, Henry was determined to make another attempt to procure a ſubſidy from his barons. A parliament was called for that purpoſe; and the archbiſhop of Meſſina was ſent with letters from the pope, preſſing the nobility, in the moſt earneſt manner, to comply with the requeſt of their ſovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimouſly refuſed to grant the ſubſidy.

The pope's nuncio, finding there were no hopes of procuring a ſupply from the parliament, declared, in an aſſembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above 150,000 marks; and that if the clergy ſtill refuſed to comply with his requeſt, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. Could the biſhops have depended on Henry for ſupport, they would, doutleſs, have treated this menace with the contempt it deſerved; but they knew his weakneſs, and the ſhameful conceſſions he had already made: they knew that an interdict on the kingdom would expoſe both the church and ſtate to the moſt imminent danger. Theſe conſiderations induced them to ſubmit. In the mean time the conqueſt of Sicily advanced ſo ſlowly, that Henry, finding it would be impoſſible to raiſe the ſums neceſſary to ſupply the avarice of the holy father, renounced all pretenſions to the crown of that kingdom.

A. D. 1257. In the beginning of this year, William, earl of Holland, and king of the Romans, was killed in a ſkirmiſh with the Friſons. The electors met to conſult upon a new choice, and the majority carried it for Richard earl of Cornwall, who was conſidered as the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. In conſequence of this, deputies were ſent over to England, acquainting the earl with the conſent of the majority of the electors in his favor; but that there were others of them who were for placing the crown on the head of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile. Richard, pleaſed with this proffered addition of dignity and power, reſolved to be beforehand with his competitor; and every thing being ready for his departure, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, when he took leave of the repreſentative body of England in form, and immediately ſet out, attended by a great number of Engliſhmen of fortune and quality. Towards the end of May, Henry received advice of his having actually cruſhed the oppoſition againſt him, and that he had been crowned king of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A. D. 1258. The parliament met this year on the ſecond Tueſday after Eaſter, when Herlot, the new nuncio, produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the biſhops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holineſs, under pain of excommunication. The king ſeconded the demand of the nuncio, and preſſed the barons to aſſiſt him with a ſupply.

Had Henry really intended to provoke the members, he could hardly have mentioned any thing more likely to produce that effect. The intolerable acts of papal tyranny and oppreſſion, and ſuch complicated ſcenes of royal fraud and deceit, as the nation had for ſome time unhappily experienced, could not fail of rouſing the indignation of a people not wholly loſt to all ſenſe of freedom and independence. Far from granting his requeſt, they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injuſtice, and with his hatred of the Engliſh nation, from whom, they ſaid, he ought to bluſh to require any aid or ſubſidies, while he preferred ſtrangers to them, and made them groan under the moſt dreadful oppreſſions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the biſhops to make warm remonſtrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular.

Henry acknowledged that their complaints were well founded; adding, that as each of them had attained his benefice in that irregular manner, it was proper that their dignities ſhould be vacated by reſignation, in order to have them diſpoſed of according to the methods preſcribed by the canons of the church. But the remonſtrances of the barons were not to be anſwered. They inſiſted on a ratification of the great charter; and it was in vain for the king to oppoſe the whole power of the kingdom. His brother Richard, whoſe power was very extenſive, was abſent in Germany, and the barons defied all the cenſures of the Vatican. Henry therefore ſubmitted to neceſſity, and the great charter was ratified with the moſt religious oſtentation.

Henry ſwore to obſerve every article of the charter; but he ſoon forgot the oaths he had taken; the ſame indolence, the ſame infatuation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the great charter were forgot; they were violated whenever the intereſt of the court, or the ambition of his minions required it.

A. D. 1259. The barons, enraged at finding that neither oaths nor promiſes could bind the perfidious king, determined to have recourſe to the ſame expedient that was before uſed with his father. They formed an aſſociation; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the aſſembly, attended by their military tenants, well choſen, and properly armed. Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, was at the head of this aſſociation. That nobleman, who was at once both haughty and ambitious, had been greatly careſſed by Henry, who had given him his ſiſter in marriage, and made him governor of Guienne. But the inconſtancy of the monarch, and the unbounded ambition of the earl, ſoon produced an open breach between them; and Leiceſter, who imputed his diſgrace to the inſinuations of the foreign minions, determined to take an ample revenge. He was a perfect maſter of intrigue; and his violent remonſtrances againſt the government, his apparent zeal for the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the church, obtained him not only the friendſhip of the prelates and barons, but alſo the univerſal affection of the people.

The military appearance of the barons greatly terrified Henry, who, on his entering the aſſembly, aſked, with ſome emotion, whether he was their priſoner? the earl marſhal replied, that he was not their priſoner, but that it was the determined reſolution of the whole aſſembly to baniſh his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redreſs the grievances of the nation. Adding, that if he would agree to theſe reaſonable demands, and give authority for that purpoſe to perſons of character and capacity, they would grant the ſupplies neceſſary for giving weight and dignity to the ſtate.

Henry perceived it would be in vain to oppoſe the power of his barons, and therefore made no objections to the propoſal; but, on the contrary, promiſed to ſubmit to any regulations they ſhould think fit to enact.

Having thus obtained the king's conſent, they conſtituted a council of twenty-four barons, whom they inveſted with an unlimited authority for reforming the ſtate; and Simon Montfort was elected preſident. Henry himſelf took a ſolemn oath to maintain the ordinances they ſhould iſſue for that ſalutary purpoſe. The plan of government had been digeſted in a previous meeting of the principal barons; ſo that a ſet of regulations ſoon appeared; and theſe, conformable to the practice of all innovations, were favourable to the people. They were in ſubſtance as follow:

1. That the king ſhould confirm the great charter, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve, and ſo often violated.

2. The important office of chief juſticiary ſhould be beſtowed upon a perſon of talents and integrity, who ſhould adminiſter juſtice to the poor and the rich, without favor or partiality.

3. That the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other public miniſters, ſhould be annually choſen by the council of twenty-four.

4. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be committed to the care of that council, who ſhould entruſt them to ſuch perſons as were well affected to the ſtate.

5. That any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, who ſhould oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be decreed by the council of twenty-four, ſhould be puniſhed with death.

6. That three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every year, to enact ſuch laws as ſhould from time to time be found neceſſary for the good of the people.

Theſe articles, which, from the place where they were drawn up, were called the Statutes, or Proviſions of Oxford, were approved by the parliament, and confirmed by the aſſent of the king, who ſwore to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power.

The earl of Leiceſter, who was a man of an aſpiring diſpoſition, now ruled the government with ſuch aſcendency, that the king perceived himſelf no more than a cypher in the adminiſtration. He expected that the parliament would grant him a large ſubſidy, purſuant to their promiſe, when he ſigned the Oxford Conſtitutions: but he was deceived; the conſideration of the ſupplies was poſtponed; and his two uterine brothers, the ſons of the earl of Marche, and the queen Iſabella, were ſtripped of their wealth, and baniſhed the kingdom, as the principal authors of the public calamities. Nor was the council ſatisfied with baniſhing theſe foreigners; even the officers of the houſhold were removed, and their places filled with perſons in the intereſt of the council. At the ſame time, they alſo obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey them.

Underſtanding that the king of the Romans intended coming to England, and fearful that his credit might check their progreſs, they diſpatched the biſhop of Worceſter to the continent, to inform him that he would not be ſuffered to land in England, unleſs he would promiſe to take an oath to obſerve the Statutes of Oxford. At the ſame time, they required to know on what account he was coming to England, and how long he intended to ſtay.

Richard, incenſed at their inſolence, and exaſperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, ſwore he would never take the oath they wanted to impoſe upon him; and that he would viſit England when, and as often as he pleaſed, without ſubmitting to give them any reaſons for his actions. He was, however, ſoon after informed, that the barons had taken ſuch precautions, by marching troops to the ſea-coaſts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impoſſible for him to land in England without their conſent. He therefore thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, than engage in a fruitleſs oppoſition. He agreed to take the oath required, and the barons gave him permiſſion to come to England.

Among ſeveral innovations introduced by the council, the moſt important was the eſtabliſhment of a committee, conſiſting of twelve perſons, who during the receſs of parliament, were inveſted with its authority, and were to attend the perſon of the king in all his motions. Thus the whole conſtitution of England was overturned, and the kingdom governed by a committee of nobles.

It was not reaſonable, however, to ſuppoſe, that a government of this kind could be permanent. It was ſoon perceived, that the good of the people engaged not the attention of the council: the ſtate was oppreſſed by a confederacy of the nobles. The people were no longer deceived; they complained loudly of their tyranny; and the knights of the ſhires not only joined in the complaint, but implored the aſſiſtance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the right of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly ſent a meſſage to the barons, inſiſting on their finiſhing, without delay, the reformation they had undertaken; otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf obliged to exert all his power to procure redreſs for an injured people.

This ſpirited remonſtrance alarmed the barons, and a new code of laws was publiſhed: but it ſoon appeared that the whole was nothing more than the common laws of England, with ſome trifling alterations. So glaring an impoſition exaſperated the people; and the animoſities which now broke out between the barons themſelves, gave them hopes that their tyranny would ſoon have an end. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the two moſt powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became profeſſed enemies to each other. Theſe diviſions greatly weakened the ſtrength of the barons; and Leiceſter retired into France, under pretence of abandoning intirely the adminiſtration.

Leiceſter, however, had very different views; he hoped, by his retreat, to increaſe the power of his party, by gaining the French monarch over to his intereſt. But fortunately for England, the throne of France was filled by a prince who delighted not in the diſtreſs of other nations. He was deſirous of healing, not of increaſing, the wounds which the Engliſh conſtitution had lately received. Lewis IX. generally called St. Lewis, was endued with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king. His liberality was not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the wiſeſt œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact juſtice. He was prude and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and a compaſſionate as if he had always been unhapp From a prince of this character England had nothi to fear; he deſired not to uſurp the territories of h neighbours, and was ſo far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among the contending parties, whoſe diviſions threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed againſt John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a deſign of reſtoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wreſted from his father. The tranquillity of his own country at laſt diverted him from this reſolution; but he made a treaty with Henry which abundantly proved, that a love of juſtice, rather than power, was the ruling paſſion of his ſoul.

A. D. 1261. Henry, careleſs and indolent as he was, could not but regret, and at the ſame time heartily wiſh to reſent, the inſults he daily received from the council of the barons, who had now been three years abſolute maſters of the kingdom, under pretence of reforming the ſtate. The quarrel between the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter gave him hopes that his misfortunes were drawing to a cloſe; and perceiving that the diſpoſitions of the people had taken a turn in his favor, he determined to make one ſtruggle for recovering his authority.

In order to this, he applied to the pope to abſolve him from the oath he had taken with regard to the Oxford proviſions; when the pontiff, who was highly exaſperated at the barons for having ſtopped the revenues of foreign beneficed prieſts, readily granted the deſired diſpenſation.

Henry, having ſurmounted this difficulty, now determined to declare publicly the reſolutions he had formed; and having aſſembled a parliament at London, he told them, "That as they had not on their parts performed their promiſe with regard to paying his debts, and augmenting his revenues, when he ſigned the proviſions of Oxford, he did not think himſelf obliged to keep the oath he had taken on that occaſion; that he was determined no longer to remain in the hands of a faction who had treated him more like a ſlave than their king, but would immediately free himſelf from ſuch inglorious fetters, and aſſert the dignity of his own prerogative."

The aſſembly were aſtoniſhed at this unexpected declaration; and the king, without giving them time to reply, retired immediately to the tower; ſeized all the money in the mint; publiſhed a proclamation for removing the ſheriffs and other officers appointed by the council of twenty-four; and acted with ſuch vigor as ſeemed to be the effect of a fixed reſolution to ſupport his own independence. He informed his ſubjects that he had reſumed the reins of government, and that he would inviolably obſerve the two charters, notwithſtanding any falſe reports to the contrary; he nominated a chancellor, chief juſticiary, and officers of his houſhold, in the room of thoſe who had been appointed by the council.

In ſhort, Henry found means to repel the attempts of the barons, and obliged them to promiſe obedience for the future. But the gaining any advantage, or even the total defeat of an army, was of very little conſequence in theſe times of national debility and diviſion. New forces ſuddenly ſprung up, and ſuddenly diſperſed; to-day one leader remained maſter of the field, and to-morrow was obliged to take refuge in ſome place of ſafety. Henry was again defeated, and again obliged to confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford.

A. D. 1264. The young prince Edward, who had itherto ſcrupled to break the oath he had taken to ubmit to the council, perceiving that the barons, ith Leiceſter at their head, were determined to ender their tyranny perpetual, undertook the defence f his country. He was ſoon at the head of a powerful rmy, and was alſo joined by ſeveral of the barons, ho thought they could not, as true Engliſhmen, ontinue any longer with Leiceſter and his party.

The two armies were in ſight of each other, and a deciſive battle was every moment expected, when ſeveral of the moſt prudent perſons interpoſed their good offices to prevent the effuſion of blood. But it ſoon appeared that the claims of the contending parties were not to be adjuſted, and it was agreed to refer the deciſion to St. Lewis, in whoſe wiſdom and equity both parties placed an equal confidence.

Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator, and having heard, with the utmoſt attention, the whole cauſe fairly debated, together with the allegations of both parties in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Amiens, he delivered the following award:

"That the ſtatutes of Oxford, with all the proceedings that followed in conſequence of thoſe acts, ſhould be annulled: that the king ſhould enjoy all the rights and prerogatives, which were inveſted in the crown, before thoſe ſtatutes were enacted: that all the caſtles which the king had ceded to the barons as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, ſhould be reſtored; and that he ſhould enjoy the privilege of appointing his great officers of ſtate and government, equally from foreigners or natives." But, at the ſame time, he declared that his award was not meant to derogate from the privileges and liberties of the Engliſh, nor from the charters which had been granted them by king John.

This ſentence was ſo contrary to what the barons expected, that they were highly exaſperated. They aſſerted, that the ſaving clauſe was utterly contradictory to the other part of the ſentence; becauſe the latter ratified Magna Charta, and the former condemned the ſtatutes of Oxford, which were calculated to ſupport that charter.

The negotiation was therefore entirely broke off, and each party prepared to decide the conteſt by the ſword. The royal army headed by the king in perſon, the king of the Romans, and prince Edward, encamped at Lewes in Suſſex. Leiceſter, being reinforced by a body of fifteen thouſand Londoners, marched immediately to Lewes, reſolving to hazard a deciſive engagement. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who charged the van of the rebel army with ſuch impetuoſity, that the troops gave way, and a dreadful carnage enſued. He then fell upon the Londoners, routed them with great ſlaughter, and purſued them near four miles with the utmoſt fury. This conduct of the prince loſt the battle. Had he, inſtead of purſuing a body of unexperienced troops, fallen, in conjunction with the reſt of the royal army, upon the remaining forces of the enemy, a complete victory muſt have been obtained. But the abſence of the prince afforded Leiceſter an opportunity of changing the fortune of the day. He attacked the ſecond body of the king's forces, cut the greateſt part of them in pieces, and took the king of the Romans priſoner. The third body, commanded by Henry in perſon, made ſo noble a ſtand, that it was not broke till the evening; but the king's horſe being killed under him, and he himſelf ſlightly wounded, he retired, with part of his followers, to the priory of Lewes.

Prince Edward, returning from the purſuit of the Londoners, was ſurprized to ſee the field of battle covered with dead bodies; and ſeveral of his principal followers were ſo intimidated at the fatal event, that they fled with ſeven hundred of their beſt troops to Pevenſey, and paſſed over to France. The prince himſelf, who was a ſtranger to fear, thought only of retrieving the misfortune. He immediately attacked the barons; but night prevented a general engagement. Uncertain of the conſequence, and ſolicitous for the fate of his father, the prince went round the town and caſtle in ſearch of him; but without effect. At laſt he found him at the priory, which was now attacked by the rebels; but the royal party made ſo noble a defence, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the enterprize. The gallant prince Edward now exerted all his abilities to rally and collect his ſcattered forces; and having ſtill the advantage of ſome excellent officers about his perſon, he determined to try the fortune of another battle. Leiceſter had loſt near half his army. The Londoners had been ſo totally broken, that they made no attempt to rejoin his army. He was therefore deſirous of avoiding a freſh engagement with a body of reſolute troops, more experienced than his own. He knew that a defeat muſt be fatal, and that he could expect no mercy if he fell into the hands of the enraged monarch. Under pretence, therefore, of preventing the farther effuſion of human blood, he ſent mediators next morning to the prince, to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, in order to terminate this deſtructive war by an equitable peace; offering to ſubmit his demands to ſuch arbitrators as the king ſhould approve; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted, that prince Edward, and young Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould be delivered as hoſtages for the king's performance of the conditions. This demand was abſolutely rejected by the king as inſolent and unreaſonable; it concealed, under the maſk of a deſire of peace, a treacherous deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom.

Leiceſter, fearful of another engagement, had recourſe to menaces; he threatened to ſtrike off the head of the king of the Romans, together with thoſe of all the priſoners of note in his hands, if the prince made any attack upon his army.

The earl's character was too well known, to doubt of his carrying this threat into execution. The prince feared the conſequence; and before he could determine in what manner to act, Leiceſter had rallied his forces. There was now a neceſſity for coming to an accommodation, which was dictated by Leiceſter, on the following conditions:

“That prince Edward, and Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners, as pledges in the place of the two kings: that all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and that, in order to ſettle fully the terms of agreement, application ſhould be made to the king of France, that he ſhould name ſix Frenchmen, three prelates and three barons. Theſe ſix to chuſe two others of their own countrymen; and theſe two to chuſe one Engliſhman, who, in conjunction with themſelves, were to be inveſted by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the ſettlement of the kingdom.”

Theſe conditions were termed the Miſe (that is, the agreement or convention) of Lewis, and were confirmed by the ſeals of the king, the prince, and all the chiefs of both parties. The king immediately ſent orders for the priſoners taken by his forces to be ſet at liberty. But Leiceſter never intended to perform his part of the agreement: for after ſending the prince and young Henry to Dover-caſtle, he refuſed to ſet his priſoners at liberty; and both the king and his brother were retained in cuſtody.

Leiceſter, inſtead of ſending ambaſſadors to Lewis, took the whole power into his own hands. He diſpoſed of offices, without even conſulting the king; and had recourſe to every method he could project to raiſe money for ſtrengthening his party. He projected a new form of government, by which he might become in reality the ſole maſter of the kingdom. He ſummoned a parliament of his own partizans, in order to rivet the chains of ſlavery he had impoſed upon the nation. In this aſſembly it was enacted, that every act of royal power ſhould be exerciſed by nine perſons, who were to be choſen and removed by the authority of three others; namely, Leiceſter himſelf, the earl of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Chicheſter. By this intricate plan of government the ſcepter was, in reality, put into Leiceſter's hands, as he had the intire direction of the biſhop of Chicheſter, and conſequently commanded all the reſolutions of the council of three, who could appoint, or diſcard at pleaſure, every member of the ſupreme council.

It is little to be wondered at that this ſtrange mode of government ſhould be but of ſhort continuance; the leaſt incident was ſufficient to ſhake its very foundation. Qeen Eleanor, who had for ſome time reſided in France, left no means untried to ſtir up every court to aſſiſt her in revenging the injuries offered to royalty. She raiſed a conſiderable army, and fitted out a fleet, for releaſing her ſon and huſband; and Lewis himſelf, who beheld with deteſtation the perfidy of Leiceſter, favoured her enterprize.

As ſoon as the ambitious earl was apprized of theſe proceedings, he was greatly alarmed, and immediately diſpatched a number of troops to guard the coaſt; but little could be expected from men who were exaſperated at his behaviour; and Leiceſter owed his ſecurity more to unfavourable winds, which rendered the attempt abortive, than to any defence that could have been made againſt the French had they landed in England.

The Roman pontiff being highly exaſperated at the behaviour of the barons, diſpatched cardinal Guido, as legate, to excommunicate the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Norfolk, by name, and all others in general who joined in the oppreſſion and captivity of their ſovereign. But Leiceſter took an effectual method to prevent the conſequences of the papal cenſures: he threatened the legate with immediate death the moment he landed in the kingdom; in conſequence of which Guido was ſo greatly intimidated, that he returned back to Rome, and the ſentence was never pronounced.

A. D. 1265. The attention of the barons began now to be rouſed at the ambitious projects of the earl of Leiceſter: even Glouceſter himſelf was alarmed, and remonſtrated ſharply with him on his behaviour. The nobles, ſtill in the intereſt of Henry, retired into the marches of Wales, and received protection from the earl of Glouceſter. The people complained loudly of the ſhameful breach of the convention made at Lewes; and demanded that prince Edward, and the other priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty, conformable to the articles of that treaty.

Leiceſter perceived that it would be impoſſible to divert the gathering ſtorm, without having recourſe to ſome artifice to deceive the Engliſh. He ordered a parliament to meet at London, but fixed that aſſembly on a more republican baſis than any that had ever been ſummoned ſince the foundation of the Engliſh monarchy. Beſides many barons and eccleſiaſtics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered the ſheriffs to return two knights from every ſhire, and the ſame number of deputies from every borough. The meeting of this parliament, which happened on the twentieth of January, is generally eſteemed the epoch of the Houſe of Commons in England; and that, indeed, with great reaſon; for it is certain that this is the firſt time repreſentatives were ſent by the boroughs to parliament.

The active and intrepid prince Edward, who had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the fatal battle of Lewes, was, by this parliament, declared free and at full liberty, after ſtipulating to deliver up all the caſtles poſſeſſed by the barons in the intereſt of the royal party; and neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce any foreign troops.

But Leiceſter never intended to ſet the prince at liberty; he was ſtrictly guarded by the emiſſaries of that nobleman, and continued only a priſoner at large,

large. The barons now ſaw that there were no hopes of reſtoring tranquillity to the nation; the tyranny of Leiceſter was more dreaded than that of Henry.

The earl of Glouceſter perceived his own danger; for every thing that oppoſed the deſpotiſm of Montfort was ſacrificed at the altar of his ambition. He therefore retired for ſafety to his eſtates on the borders of Wales; and Leiceſter followed him to Hereford at the head of an army, carrying with him both the king and the prince. Glouceſter found means to open a negotiation with young Edward, and a plan was formed for the prince's eſcape. A horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs was procured by Glouceſter, and conveyed to Edward by means of a truſty ſervant, and Edward Mortimer, at the head of a ſmall party, waited in a wood not far from Leiceſter's camp, in order to receive the prince, and convey him to a place of ſafety. Every thing being thus prepared, the prince pretending to take the air with ſome of Leiceſter's retinue, made matches between their horſes, and rode ſeveral of them himſelf. When by this ſtratagem he had ſufficiently tired and blown their horſes, he mounted the ſtead ſent him by Glouceſter, and calling to his attendants, bade them adieu, and effected his eſcape.

The people were highly elated at the eſcape of the prince; they flocked to his ſtandard from all parts of the country, ſo that Edward ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army. He immediately took the field, and in order to prevent Leiceſter from retreating back to the capital, broke down all the bridges upon the Severn. Leiceſter ſaw his danger, and diſpatched an expreſs to his ſon to haſten from London with an army to his relief. But Edward was too vigilant, and too well informed of young Leiceſter's motions, to ſuffer him to join his father. As ſoon as he heard that he was advanced to Kenilworth, Edward marched to meet him, ſurpriſed him in his camp, and totally diſperſed his army. The abſence of the prince furniſhed Leiceſter with an opportunity of croſſing the Severn in boats; and being entirely ignorant of his ſon's misfortune, advanced to Eveſham, expecting every hour to be joined by the forces from London.

Prince Edward, being informed of Leiceſter's ſituation, divided his army into three bodies, one of which advanced along the road to Kenilworth, carrying before them the banners which had been taken from young Leiceſter's army; while he himſelf, at the head of the ſecond diviſion, made a circuit, in order to attack the earl's army in another quarter. This ſtratagem for ſome time deceived Leiceſter; he took the firſt diviſion for his friends; but perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the excellent diſpoſition of Edward's troops, he exclaimed, "They have learned from me their military order! The Lord have mercy upon our ſouls, for I ſee our bodies are the prince's." The greater part of the army of Leiceſter made but a feeble reſiſtance; the Welſh, who formed the van, unable to ſupport the furious attack of Edward, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, while Glouceſter, at the head of another diviſion, charged the main body with equal fury. Leiceſter, however, maintained the battle with amazing intrepidity, till his horſe being killed under him, he demanded quarter, which was refuſed, and he fell among the ſlain, together with his ſon Henry. His troops, deprived of their two principal leaders, threw down their arms, and begged for quarter.

Thus fell Simon Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, a bold, reſolute, and enterprizing genius, ſuperior to moſt men of the age in the art of war; inſinuating, artful and perſuaſive. His talents enabled him to form and improve the meaſures moſt ſuitable to his purpoſe, and his intrepid heart ſupplied him with vigor to carry them into execution; ſo that with theſe advantages, no man was ſo well qualified as himſelf to lead a party, or ſubvert the conſtitution of a ſtate.

The battle of Eveſham entirely changed the face of affairs. The king of the Romans, his ſon and all the barons of the royal party were immediately ſet at liberty. Edward eaſily ſubdued the remains of the rebel party; and the far greater part of the caſtles garriſoned by the rebels delayed not to make their ſubmiſſion, and open their gates to the king.

Adam Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the foreſt of Hampſhire, and committed depredations in the neighbourhood. Edward led a body of forces againſt him, and attacked the camp of the rebels with the utmoſt fury. The two valiant leaders met, and a ſingle combat enſued between them. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt ended in favour of Edward. Gourdon was wounded, thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. But Edward knew how to eſtimate valor, even in an enemy. He procured his pardon, granted him his friendſhip, and Gourdon ſerved him faithfully till his death.

A more diſtinguiſhed moderation was perhaps never ſhewn upon a ſimilar occaſion. No ſacrifices of national liberty were made; the great charter continued inviolate. No blood was ſhed upon the ſcaffold; thoſe who had borne arms againſt the king were puniſhed only by pecuniary compoſitions, and even theſe were exacted with great moderation. The city of London had merited the moſt rigorous chaſtiſement, but this was greatly mitigated; its privileges were indeed taken away, but they were ſoon after reſtored.

A. D. 1268. Tranquillity being now in ſome meaſure reſtored to the kingdom, Henry ſummoned a parliament, at which the pope's legate aſſiſted, who informed the aſſembly that the pontiff had reſolved to publiſh a cruſade in every ſtate that profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; exhorting the Engliſh to ſupport an enterprize calculated to promote the glory of the church. The Engliſh had not yet learned wiſdom from paſt misfortunes; enthuſiaſm prevailed, and the recovery of the Holy Land was conſidered as more meritorious than the ſtricteſt exerciſe of all the Chriſtian virtues. Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and their couſin Henry received the croſs from the hands of the legate; and their example was followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne, and Pembroke, one hundred and twenty knights, and great numbers of inferior orders.

A. D. 1269. A parliament was held this year at London, in which the conduct of the Jews came under conſideration. Theſe people had, during the laſt commotions, found means to become poſſeſſed of very conſiderable landed intereſt, by getting lands from many of the king's ſubjects for loans of money, for the payment of which they had certain annuities or fees upon the eſtates of the debtors. It was therefore now provided, that no Jew ſhould enjoy a freehold in any manor, land, or eſtate, by charter, gift, obligation, or otherwiſe. This was a great relief to the ſubject, and, no doubt, materially contributed towards enabling the nation to pay its ſubſidies.

Henry's thoughts had been for ſome time engaged in the deſign of celebrating the feaſt of Edward the Confeſſor, his tutelary ſaint, in the moſt magnificent manner, and tranſlating that ſaint's relics into a rich ſhrine of very curious workmanſhip. The ceremony was performed with great pomp and ſolemnity, Henry, and his brother the king of the Romans, bearing the relics on their ſhoulders, in preſence of all the prelates and nobility of the realm.

A. D. 1270. The nation now enjoying a profound tranquillity, prince Edward prepared for embarking for the continent; and a parliament being called at Wincheſter, the aſſembly took leave of him in the name of the whole kingdom. At the ſame time the king, whoſe preſence was judged neceſſary in his own dominions, delivered his croſs to prince Edward, and aſſigned to him the whole produce of the ſubſidy that had been granted him for the expedition.

Lewis of France, who had alſo engaged in the cruſade, ſailed ſome time before the Engliſh forces were ready, and landed near the ruins of Carthage, in order to reduce the city of Tunis. Edward reached his camp, but had the misfortune to find that great prince already dead from the intemperance of the climate, and the great fatigues he had undergone.

The devotion of Lewis was deſtructive to France; and is a proof that the exceſs of a good quality may be criminal. He was ſucceeded in the throne by Philip, ſurnamed the Hardy, a prince of conſiderable merit, but much inferior to that of his father.

The death of Lewis was not, however, ſufficient to intimidate Edward. He continued his courſe to Paleſtine, where he ſignalized himſelf by the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour. He revived the glory of the Engliſh name in thoſe parts, and ſtruck the Saracens with ſuch terror, that they had recourſe to the infamous method of aſſaſſination. The villain employed to execute this inhuman deſign, was admitted ſeveral times into the prince's preſence, under pretence of negotiating a treaty between Edward and the governor of Joppa. One day, finding the prince alone, ſitting on a couch undreſſed, he approached him, and offering him ſome letters, took the opportunity of drawing a concealed dagger, and endeavoured to ſheathe it in the prince's breaſt; but Edward fortunately warded off the blow. He received indeed a conſiderable wound in the arm, but that misfortune did not prevent him from ſeizing the villain, and having wreſted the dagger from his hand he plunged it into his heart.

This affair cauſed an univerſal conſternation among the prince's followers, which was not a little increaſed by the report of the ſurgeon, who declared the wound to have been made with a poiſoned inſtrument, and that there were ſymptoms of much danger. Edward himſelf received this notice like a ſoldier and a man: he made his will, and expected his fate with perfect compoſure; but happily the great ſkill of the ſurgeon, who was an Engliſhman, effected a cure in little more than a fortnight.

With reſpect to the recovery of Edward, moſt hiſtorians pay a compliment to the female ſex, at the expence of truth, by extolling the unexampled conjugal affection of Edward's princeſs Eleanor, who cured her ſick conſort by ſucking the venom from his wound: but hiſtorical truth obliges us to refute this pretty tale, as having no foundation but in the imagination of thoſe who delight in the marvellous: though, at the ſame time, we muſt ſo far ſatisfy the ladies as to aſſure them that Eleanor was ſo excellent a wife, that, had ſhe believed this dangerous expedient to be the only poſſible means of preſerving her huſband's life, ſhe would probably have tried it.

When Edward was perfectly recovered, he found that his ſoldiers were ſo greatly intimidated by this attempt, that it would be in vain for him to think of proceeding. He had done enough for juſtice; enough for glory. The ſultan of Babylon ſent ambaſſadors, ſolemnly diſclaiming all knowledge of the baſe aſſaſſination; and Edward ſeemed to give credit to the aſſeveration; but was far from being ſatisfied that their maſter was not privy to the attempt. In the mean time the princeſs Eleanor was delivered of a daughter, who, from the place of her nativity, had afterwards the name of Joan of Acre.

A. D. 1271. Prince Edward's abſence from England was attended with many of thoſe pernicious conſequences which had been dreaded from the time of his departure. The laws were not executed; the barons oppreſſed the common people with impunity: they gave ſhelter on their eſtates to bands of robbers, whom they employed to commit ravages on the eſtates of their neighbours. The populace of London returned to their uſual licentiouſneſs; and the king, who was now grown old and infirm, called aloud for his ſon to return, and aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre which was ready to fall from his feeble and uncertain hand.

A. D. 1272. This year Henry received advice of the death of his brother Richard, king of the Romans, who expired at Berkhamſtead on the 2d of April. His body was depoſited in his own abbey at Hayles, and his heart in the priory of Rowley, founded by him in the ſuburbs of Oxford, for the Ciſtercian monks. He was ſucceded, as earl of Cornwall, by his ſon Edmund, who married Margaret, ſiſter to the earl of Glouceſter.

Among the various inſurrections that happened about this time, one of the moſt remarkable was at Norwich, occaſioned by a quarrel between the citizens and the monks, in which the cathedral and monaſtery adjoining were reduced to aſhes. Henry was determined to puniſh the authors of theſe commotions, and for that purpoſe ſummoned a great council at Northampton, whither he went himſelf, though at that time very weak in health. Here the citizens of Norwich were fined 3000 marks, and ſeveral of the moſt active in the riot were ſentenced to be hanged, and their bodies burnt.

Henry went to Norwich to ſee juſtice done on the rioters: here he ſtaid twelve days, and then came to St. Edmundſbury in his way to London, where he was ſeized with a malady that ſoon put an end to his life. His diſtemper increaſing daily, he ordered himſelf to be removed by eaſy journies to Weſtminſter; when, finding his end approaching with haſty ſtrides, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter, and exacted from him an oath, that he would preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and, to the utmoſt of his power, maintain the intereſt of his ſon Edward. He then ſent for the chief nobility, took a ſolemn farewell of them, and expired in the evening of the 17th of November, in the 65th year of his age, and the 57th of his reign. His body, dreſſed in royal robes, was, on the 24th, carried by the chief nobility to the abbey church of Weſtminſter, and interred, according to his own directions, near the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor, where his tomb, with his ſtatue in braſs, is ſtill to be ſeen.

The character of this prince is ſo marked by the principal actions of his life as to leave the hiſtorian but few particulars to relate concerning him. His genius was narrow, his temper capricious, his principles arbitrary, and his meaſures oppreſſive; which, together with his attachment to foreigners, were the real cauſes of the troubles that diſturbed his reign, and proved deſtructive to the tranquillity of his ſubjects. He evinced two principles that are undeniable demonſtrations of meanneſs of ſoul; the former was a moſt preſumptive arrogance in proſperity, and the latter a moſt abject deſpondence in adverſity. But with all theſe vices and foibles, he had ſome virtues; he was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worſhip. He was alſo an affectionate huſband, and an indulgent parent.

Henry left iſſue two ſons, namely, Edward, who ſucceeded him, and Edmund earl of Lancaſter. He had alſo two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, ducheſs of Britany. Beſides theſe he had five other children, all of whom died in their infancy.

The remarkable occurrences that happened in this king's reign were as follow :

In the ſixth year of his reign there was a dreadful tempeſt of thunder, lightning and rain, in February, which threw down ſeveral churches, and rooted up many trees. This was followed by extraordinary rains, and theſe by a dearth, another violent tempeſt, an earthquake, a prodigious ſtorm of wind, inundations, and a comet.

In his ſeventeenth, it thundered for fifteen days together. The next year began with terrible tempeſts of thunder, rain, and floods, which ſpoilt the fruits of the earth.

In April, 1233, there appeared four falſe ſuns in Worceſterſhire and Herefordſhire. The true ſun was of a red colour, with a great circle of a chryſtalline colour, whoſe circuit ſeemed as large as the kingdom of England : from its ſides went forth certain half circles, in whoſe ſections the four falſe ſuns appeared. The true one was in the eaſt, it being about ſeven in the morning, the air clear, and the ſky ſerene. The biſhop of Hereford and Sir John Monmouth ſaw and witneſſed to this wonder. Near the ſea-ſide, the figures of two huge dragons were ſeen fighting in the air : after a long diſpute, the one vanquiſhed the other, and drove him into the ſea ; and the conqueror following him, they were both no more ſeen. The ſame year there was a dearth, which was preceded by an earthquake.

On the 6th of June, 1239, the twenty-third year of this king's reign, prince Edward, his eldeſt ſon, was born. Before his birth-day there appeared a new ſtar in the heavens for ſeveral days together ; it was carried with a ſwift courſe through a long circuit of air ; it ſeemed ſometimes to bear fire along with it, and ſometimes to leave ſmoke behind it. In the next, there was a great battle of fiſh at ſea; the conſequence of which was, that eleven whales were caſt on the ſhore, and appeared to be dead of ſome wounds they had received. Not long after, a great ſound was heard at one time in all parts of England, as if it had been the noiſe of mountains falling into the ſea.

In the twenty-ſixth year, the ſun was eclipſed in a terrible manner; and two years afterwards, ſo many ſtars ſeemed to fall in one night as if there would have been none left in the ſky.

In his thirty-ſecond year, a dreadful earthquake happened on the 14th of February ; and the ſea, for a long tract near the coaſt of England, ceaſed to ebb and flow near three months together. The next year, the town of Newcaſtle was deſtroyed by fire, and an earthquake threw down ſeveral ſteeples and houſes in Somerſetſhire.

On the 1ſt of October, in his thirty-fourth year, the moon appeared red and bloated, which was the preſage of a ſtorm of wind, ſo violent, that the ſea flowed twice without ebbing, and in the night ſeemed to burn. Soon after, an earthquake was felt at St. Alban's.

In the following year, the chimney of the chamber where the queen and her children lay, was blown down by a terrible ſtorm, and her whole apartment at Windſor ſhaken and torn ; oaks in the park were rent aſunder, and turned up by the roots; and all was accompanied with ſuch thunders and lightnings as had not been heard or ſeen in the memory of man.

In May, the new moon appeared three days before her time ; and the ſun, moon, and ſtars, for fifteen days ſucceſſively, ſeemed of a red colour. A dearth and a murrain among cattle followed this prodigy.

In his thirty-eighth, the new moon in February was ſeen four days before the courſe of her time.

In his thirty-ninth year, the figure of a ſhip was ſeen in the air at St. Alban's; and in his fortieth, a comet.

In his fifty-ſecond year, the two companies of goldſmiths and taylors of London fought, and ſeveral were killed on both ſides. The ſheriffs appeaſed the tumult, and thirteen of the moſt mutinous of them were hanged : as were thirty citizens of Norwich, in the laſt year of his reign, for quarrelling and fighting with the monks of that city.

Hollingſhed has many more miracles, prodigies, and extraordinary ſights in his hiſtory of king Henry III ; but we have reported enough to let the reader ſee that the ſeaſons were as much diſtracted as the times, and that nature ſeemed to be diſturbed in all her productions during the reign of this weak prince, who had, however, many brave ſubjects, and governed a people that ſhewed they might have been great and happy, had their prince known how to have made them ſo.

The moſt remarkable learned men that lived in England from the acceſſion of Henry II. to the death of Henry III. were as follow :

The firſt of theſe is Roger Hoveden, who was chaplain to Henry II. He wrote a book of Annals that begin with the year 732, and are carried down as low as the reign of king John. This work is written in a very pleaſing ſtyle, and contains many valuable materials for the civil as well as eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the times he has treated of.

Ralph de Diceto lived in the reign of king John, and wrote a chronicle of the Britiſh kings, from Brute to Cadwalladar, and from Hengiſt to Harold.

John Wallingford, ſuppoſed to have been abbot of St. Alban's, wrote a ſhort chronicle of the progreſs of the Saxons and Danes in England. This work is ſtill preſerved in the Cottonian Library, though wretchedly mutilated and defaced.

Gervaſe, a monk of Canterbury, who alſo lived in the reign of king John, is ſaid to have been profoundly learned in matters of antiquity, particularly the Britiſh and Saxons. He compiled a large Hiſtory of the Britons, Saxons and Normans, from their origin to the reign of king John. The greateſt part of this work is loſt, but the remains, which contain the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. ſufficiently evince the whole to have been a very valuable performance.

Groteſt was an able divine and a great ſcholar, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a vigorous oppoſition to the extenſion of the papal authority in the reign of Henry III. His principal performance was a tranſlation from the Greek into Latin of the Teſtament of the twelve patriarchs. He was born at Stodbroke in Suffolk, and died on the 8th of October, 1253.

Richard Poor, at firſt biſhop of Saliſbury, and from thence tranſlated to the ſee of Durham, is remarkable upon two accounts : his perſuading the inhabitants of Sarum to remove to a more advantageous ſituation, where Saliſbury now ſtands, and where he founded that noble cathedral which remains to this day: and for his Synodical Conſtitutions, which he enacted for the uſe of the church of Saliſbury.

Alexander Hales, born in Glouceſterſhire, a great canoniſt, was profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Paris. He compoſed Annotations on the Bible, and ſeveral tracts in logic and metaphyſics.

Sewald, archbiſhop of York, was an able divine, and remarkable for the purity of his life. He was ſo incenſed at the impudent exactions of the court of Rome, that he could not forbear writing a letter of complaint to the pope, in which he deſires his holineſs to remember, that " when Chriſt gave the charge of his flock to Peter, it was that he might feed them, and not fleece or flay them."

BOOK VII.

From the Acceſſion of Edward I. *to the Death of* Richard II.

SECTION I.

EDWARD I. SURNAMED LONG-SHANKS.[*]

ON the death of Henry III. his ſon Edward ſucceeded to the crown of England; and notwithſtanding he was at this time on the continent, yet not the leaſt oppoſition was made againſt him, but, on the contrary, all ranks and orders of people in the kingdom teſtified their earneſt deſires of ſeeing him placed on the throne of his anceſtors. He was accordingly proclaimed king, by the council of ſtate, immediately after the deceaſe of his father; and all the eſtates of the kingdom ſwore fealty to his perſon and government.

Edward had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received the news of the death of his father; and about the ſame time advice was brought him of the loſs of his ſon, who died at Acre in Paleſtine. He appeared more ſenſibly affected with the news of the former than that of the latter; and the king of Sicily expreſſing a ſurprize at ſo ſingular a circumſtance, Edward replied, "That the death of a ſon was a loſs he might hope to repair; but the death of a father was a loſs abſolutely irreparable."

A. D. 1273. Edward, after having paid the neceſſary tribute of reſpect to the death of his father, made preparations for proceeding on his journey to England. Before, however, he had left Sicily, he received advice of the quiet ſettlement of his kingdom, in conſequence of which he was not in ſuch haſte to take poſſeſſion of the throne; and therefore determined to ſettle all affairs in the beſt manner he could before he left the continent.

In paſſing through France he was invited by the prince of Chalons in Burgundy to a tournament he was preparing to celebrate. Edward had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in theſe dangerous and martial exerciſes, and was too ambitious of glory to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and addreſs in arms. He therefore accepted the invitation, but the glory he acquired excited envy, and produced conſequences of a very ſerious nature. Edward and his retinue were ſo ſucceſsful, that the French knights finding themſelves foiled in every attempt, made a violent and envious attack upon them; but they were repulſed, and many lives were loſt. So that what was at firſt intended as amuſement, became at laſt a matter of the moſt ſerious conſequence.

From Chalons Edward repaired to Paris, in order to do homage to Philip for the dominions he held in France, and was received by that monarch with every poſſible mark of politeneſs and reſpect. He afterwards repaired to Guienne, and put an end to the troubles of that province.

A. D. 1274. Edward, having now ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked at Boulogne for England, and arrived at Dover on the ſecond of Auguſt. He was received by his ſubjects with all poſſible demonſtrations of affection and reſpect; and on the nineteenth of the ſame month was crowned at Weſtminſter, with Eleanor his queen, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Britany, and all the principal nobility of the kingdom.

The ceremony of the coronation was no ſooner over, than Edward applied himſelf to the correcting of thoſe diſorders, which the civil commotions and the weak adminiſtration of his father, had introduced into every part of government. He made the great charter the rule of his conduct; and obliged the barons to obſerve it with regard to their vaſſals. The licentiouſneſs of the nobles had long been the ſource of various calamities, both with reſpect to the crown and people. He therefore took care to curtail their power, and, without invading their real privileges, rendered them obedient to the laws of their country.

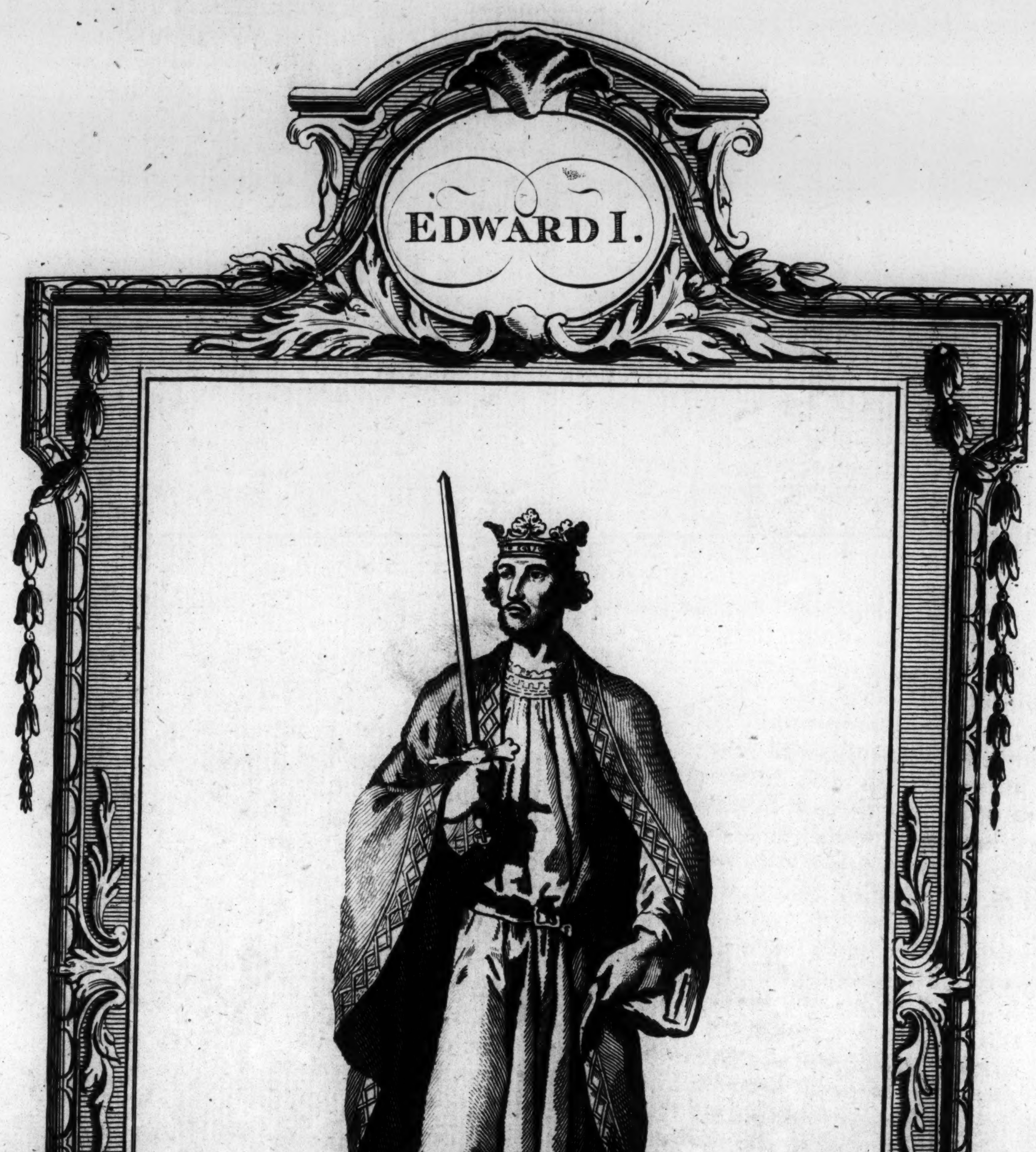
A. D. 1275. Edward ſummoned a parliament to be held at Weſtminſter, when ſeveral excellent ſtatutes were enacted; beſides which he took care to inſpect the conduct of his magiſtrates and judges; to diſplace ſuch as were either negligent or corrupt; to provide them with ſufficient force for the execution of juſtice; to root out all bands and confederacies of robbers; and to repreſs thoſe more ſilent robberies, which were committed, either by the power of the nobles, or under the countenance of public authority. By this rigid adminiſtration the face of the kingdom was greatly changed, and Edward's ſubjects flattered themſelves with poſſeſſing that happineſs, which had been denied them in the reign of his predeceſſor.

But amidſt the excellent inſtitutions, and public ſpirited plans of Edward, a circumſtance happened this year, that ſhewed the natural ſeverity of his diſpoſition, and, at the ſame time alſo diſplayed the common prejudices of the times. Among the various diſorders to which the kingdom had been a long time ſubject, no one was more univerſally complained of than the adulteration of the coin; and, as this crime required more art than the Engliſh of that age, who chiefly employed force and violence in their iniquity, were poſſeſſed of, the imputation chiefly fell upon the Jews. Edward alſo appears to have indulged a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt thoſe people, and, with an ill-judged zeal for chriſtianity, (naturally augmented by an expedition to the Holy Land) he let looſe the whole rigor of his juſtice againſt thoſe unhappy people.

Beſides many who ſuffered in various parts of the kingdom, near 900 of them were hanged at one time in London. The houſes and lands, (for the Jews had of late ventured to make purchaſes of that kind) as well as the goods of great numbers, were ſold and confiſcated: and the king, leſt it ſhould be ſuſpected that

---

[*] This king is called Edward I. from his being the firſt of that name after the Conqueſt; and he received the additional Epithet of Long-ſhanks from the remarkable diſproportion of his legs.


EDWARD I.
Wale delin.
Roberts sculp.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

that the riches of the ſufferers were the chief part of their guilt, ordered one half of the money raiſed by the confiſcations to be ſet apart and beſtowed upon ſuch as were willing to embrace chriſtianity. But the reſentment of their injuries was more prevalent over their minds than the temptation ariſing from their poverty; ſo that very few of them could be induced to embrace the religion of their perſecutors.

But the miſeries of theſe people did not terminate here: though the arbitrary talliages and exactions levied upon them had yielded a conſtant and conſiderable revenue to the crown, Edward, prompted at once by his zeal and rapacity, reſolved, a ſhort time after, to purge the kingdom of that hated race, and to ſeize to himſelf their whole property, as the reward for his labour. He left them only money ſufficient to defray the expences of their paſſage into foreign countries, where new perſecutions and extortions awaited them. But the inhabitants of the Cinque ports, imitating the avidity of their ſovereign, deprived moſt of them of this ſmall pittance, and even threw many of the Jews into the ſea; a crime for which the king, who was determined to be the ſole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted capital puniſhment on the perpetrators. No leſs than 15000 Jews were thus robbed of their effects, and baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1276. This year Edward undertook an enterprize that was not only of the utmoſt importance to himſelf, but of peculiar advantage to his people. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had been cloſely connected with the Montfort family, had refuſed to repair to the court of Edward and pay him homage. This exaſperated the haughty ſpirit of the Engliſh monarch, and he determined to reduce his refractory vaſſal. Llewellyn well knew the power and great abilities of Edward, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by a ſtrict alliance with the remains of the Montfort family. He accordingly demanded Eleanor, daughter to the late earl of Leiceſter in marriage. The young lady was then at the court of France, where ſhe had taken refuge on the death of her father. The requeſt of Llewellyn was, however, readily complied with, and Eleanor, embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumeri; but the veſſel being taken at ſea, the betrothed princeſs was ſent to the court of Edward, where ſhe was detained as a priſoner of ſtate; but her brother was committed to Corſ-caſtle. Deputies ſoon after arrived from Llewellyn, offering to ranſom the princeſs, whom he aſſerted to be detained againſt the law of nations. But Edward refuſed to ſet Eleanor at liberty, unleſs Llewellyn would engage to repair all the devaſtations committed on the borders of England, and reſtore all the caſtles he had taken during the late wars. Llewellyn refuſed the conditions, and hoſtilities immediately commenced between them; but the operations of the firſt campaign were of little conſequence, neither Edward nor Llewellyn heading their troops in perſon.

In the ſpring of the following year, A. D. 1277, Edward marched with his army into Wales; and Llewellyn, perceiving it would be madneſs to meet the Engliſh in the open field, retreated to his woods and inacceſſible mountains, in order to harraſs the Engliſh troops; but Edward was not to be ſurprized. He cut a capacious road for his forces through a tract of woods extending from the marches on the border of Cheſhire to Caernarvonſhire, by which his forces penetrated with eaſe into the heart of the country. Llewellyn retreated to Snowden, the uſual place of refuge when attacked by the Engliſh. But their faſtneſſes now were of very little conſequence. Edward ſeized all the paſſes, and prevented any proviſions from being carried to Llewellyn's army. Famine ſoon reduced the Welſh prince to ſue for peace, and a treaty was concluded at Aberconway, on the following conditions; "That Llewellyn ſhould pay fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, as a ſatisfaction for damages; that he ſhould quit for ever a tract of land containing the whole country between Cheſter and the river Conway; and that he ſhould repair to the court of Edward and perform his homage." Edward, however, thought proper to remit the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, and brought Llewellyn with him to London, where he did homage and ſwore fealty in the preſence of a great number of the prelates and nobility of England. The ceremony being over, Edward delivered to him his betrothed ſpouſe, Eleanor, and cauſed their nuptials to be celebrated with the greateſt magnificence.

A. D. 1278. Soon after Midſummer this year Edward held a parliament at Glouceſter, in which ſeveral laws were enacted for ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and providing for the better adminiſtration of juſtice. But among the many excellent regulations made by Edward for the advantage and happineſs of his people, he took one ſtep that again threatened the nation with all the miſeries of a civil war. He iſſued commiſſions to enquire into all the encroachments made on the royal demeſnes; and all perſons were ſummoned to produce the titles by which they held their eſtates. The barons were ſufficiently alarmed, and vigorouſly oppoſed the order, as cruel and oppreſſive. Among others, John, earl of Warrenne and Surry, was cited before the king's commiſſioners for that purpoſe. He obeyed the ſummons, but on being called upon to produce his titles, drew a family ſword he had brought with him for that purpoſe, and addreſſed the court in the following manner: "It was with this ſword, that my anceſtors, who came in with William the baſtard, acquired their poſſeſſions; and by the ſame I will defend them: it was not for himſelf only that William conquered; it was not for him alone that my anceſtors fought." This noble and ſpirited declaration, which was conſonant to the ſenſe of all the old Engliſh nobility, put an end to the enquiry. Edward ſoon ſaw his error, and immediately revoked the commiſſion.

A. D. 1281. Notwithſtanding Llewellyn had ſtrictly obſerved the conditions of the treaty, yet the officers of Edward had committed ſo many acts of violence upon the Welſh, that they implored the protection of their prince againſt their inſolent neighbours. Llewellyn made ſtrong remonſtrances to Edward, but without effect: the grievances ſtill continued. Exaſperated at ſuch unjuſt treatment, the Welſh determined rather to encounter a force which they had already experienced to be ſo much ſuperior to their own, than bear any longer the oppreſſions of the haughty victors.

David, brother to Llewellyn, had long ſerved the crown of England with the utmoſt fidelity; but exaſperated at the unjuſt oppreſſions of his countrymen, he joined his brother, and offered to head the army, and venture his life to retrieve the liberties and independence of that antient people. The generous propoſal was joyfully accepted; the whole nation flew to arms, and joined the ſtandard of David, who led them immediately againſt their oppreſſors. Several caſtles ſoon fell into their hands, and they ſeverely retaliated on the Engliſh the miſeries they had ſo long ſuffered from their unprovoked violations.

Edward, piqued at the ſucceſs of the inſurgents over his Engliſh ſubjects, determined to cruſh for ever a people who had only taken up arms in defence of their liberties, and to procure that redreſs they had ſo often ſolicited in vain.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, exerted all his intereſt to bring about an accommodation, and made ſeveral equitable propoſals by the requeſt of Llewellyn and his brother, for ſheathing the ſword of deſtruction, and preventing the horrid devaſtation that muſt enſue, if the bloody ſtandard of war ſhould be carried into the country of that diſtreſſed and injured people. But his labours were in vain. Edward was determined to put a final period to the government of Wales, and exterminate all the remains of its antient independence.

In conſequence of this reſolution, Edward, in the ſpring of the following year, A. D. 1282, led his army into the enemy's country, without meeting any oppoſition, Llewellyn and his brother having retired to their faſtneſſes in Snowden, waiting for an opportunity of falling on the Engliſh when embarraſſed among the woods.

In theſe expectations, however, they were greatly diſappointed, for Edward, who had learned experience from his former expedition, inveſted the enemy by ſecuring all the avenues through which it was poſſible for them to eſcape, and threw a bridge of boats over the river Menay, oppoſite to Bangor. Before the work was entirely completed, three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord Latimer and Lucas de Thany, a Gaſcon, paſſed the river to amuſe the enemy, while the main body of the army croſſed the bridge. The Welſh, who were well acquainted with the nature of the river, and knew that the water would ſoon ſwell and cut off their retreat, did not for ſome time moleſt the Engliſh in their paſſage; but when about 1500 of them were landed, they ruſhed down from the mountains, with the moſt horrid cries, and fell upon the Engliſh with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they were immediately routed with the moſt dreadful ſlaughter.

The Engliſh were ſo diſpirited at this defeat, that for ſome time their operations were ſuſpended; they found it impoſſible to advance, and were aſhamed to retire. The Welſh, on the other hand, fluſhed with their late ſucceſs, and encouraged by the inactivity of the enemy, began to think themſelves invincible; more eſpecially as their bards had perſuaded them that the period was arrived for the accompliſhment of the prophecy of the great Merlin, who had foretold, that one of the race of Llewellyn would ride through the ſtreets of London with a crown on his head. This ridiculous notion, well adapted to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times, proved the deſtruction of the Welſh army. It was reſolved to commit the care of Snowden to David, while Llewellyn himſelf led the main body of the forces againſt the Engliſh.

This fatal reſolution being taken, the prince advanced into Radnorſhire, in order to join the remains of Montfort's party; but his little army was met at Pont Orewyn, a bridge which ſecured the paſſage over the Wye, by a detachment of the Engliſh, and totally defeated; and he himſelf, who had advanced ſome diſtance before his troops, killed by the hand of one Adam de Frampton, who not knowing him, ran a ſpear through his body.

Thus fell the famous Llewellyn, a prince deſcended from one of the moſt antient royal families in Europe, and with him the ſmall remains of Welſh liberty expired; after having been preſerved in that little corner of the iſland above eighteen hundred years, againſt all the efforts of the Engliſh monarchy, though deſtitute both of foreign alliances, and a naval power.

No ſooner was Llewellyn dead, than his head, together with the news of the victory, was ſent to the king then encamped at Conway. Edward immediately ordered the head to be ſent to London, where it was conveyed, through the ſtreets upon the point of a lance in a cart, and, at laſt, crowned with a ſilver circle, in contempt of a prophetical tradition, which ſaid, that Llewellyn's head ſhould ride down Cheapſide, encircled with a ſilver diadem. It was next placed upon a pillory in Cheapſide, from whence it was conveyed to the Tower of London, crowned with ivy, in ridicule of the prophecy, which ſaid, that Llewellyn ſhould wear the crown of Brute. And here, purſuant to the order of the king, it was fixed on the point of a high ſtaff erected for that purpoſe on the top of the fortreſs.

The death of Llewellyn ſtruck the Welſh with terror; they made no farther efforts to ſupport the falling ſtate of their country: the greater part of them ſubmitted to the Engliſh. David himſelf retired to the woods and faſtneſſes of the mountains, where he continued for ſome time in the greateſt diſtreſs; but was at laſt ſeized by his own countrymen in one of his retreats, and conveyed a priſoner to Edward, who ordered him to be ſent in chains to Shrewſbury. The captivity of David put a final period to all oppoſition: the Welſh nobility delivered up their caſtles, and the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror.

About the latter end of the ſummer of the following year, 1283, ſummonſes were iſſued for a full meeting of parliament at Shrewſbury, to deliberate on the fate of the captive David. The trial, however, took up but a ſhort time, at the cloſe of which David, inſtead of being reſpected as the defender of the liberties of his country, was condemned as a traitor, to be drawn, hanged and quartered. This ſentence was executed with many circumſtances of barbarous exultation; his bowels were conſumed in the fire; his four quarters were expoſed in different parts of the kingdom, namely, one at Briſtol, another at York, the third at Northampton, and the fourth at Wincheſter, and his head was placed on the Tower by that of his brother Llewellyn.

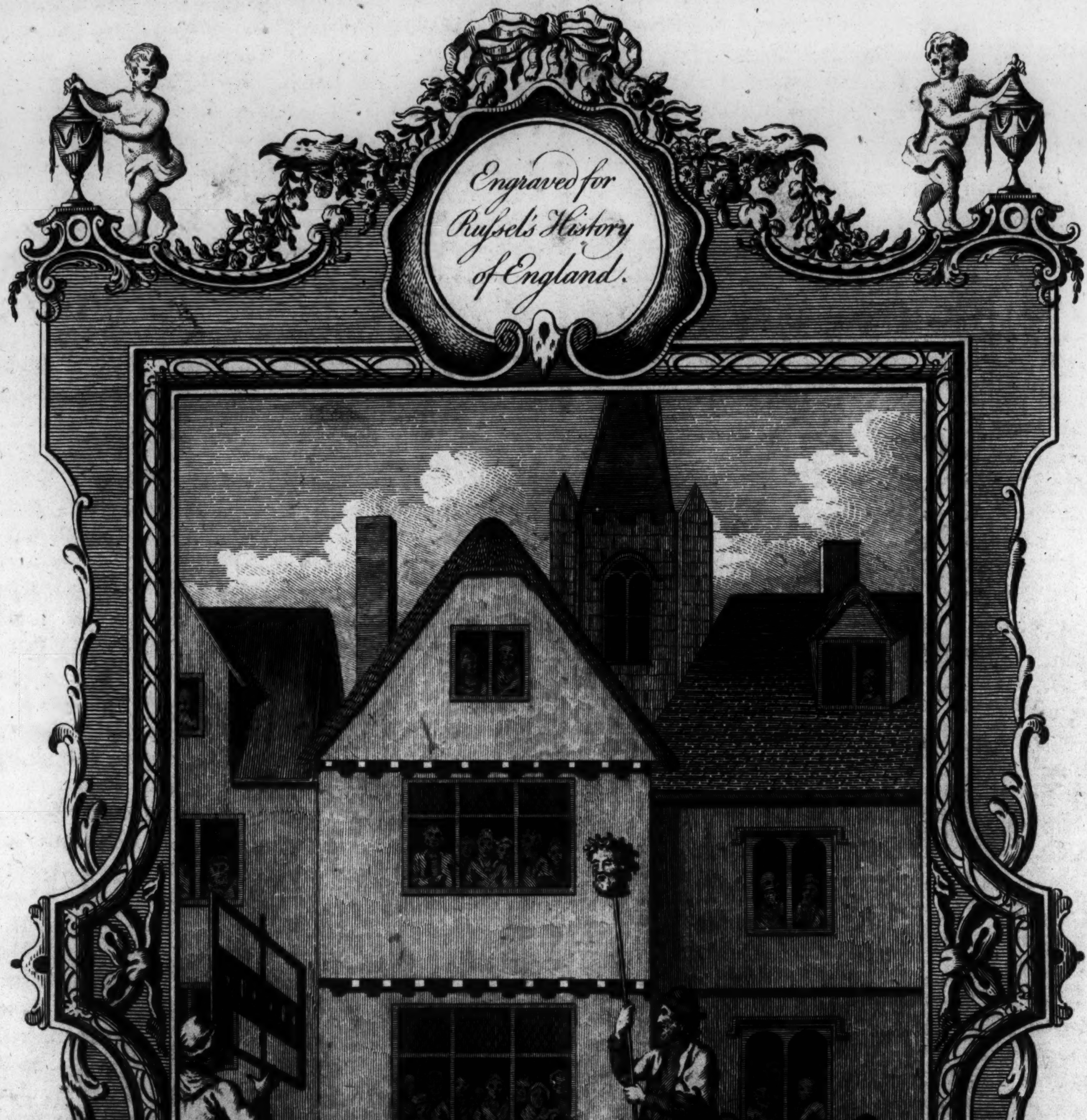
Edward having thus ſecured the conqueſt of Wales, built two caſtles, one at Aberconway and another at Caernarvon; and having ſettled the civil government of Wales, it was ever after annexed to the crown of England. It was, however, happy for the Welſh, placed as they were in ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances, that, when they fell, they fell into a ſtate, not of ſlavery, but of dependence, and of ſuch a dependence as bears marks rather of an union than a conqueſt.*

The ſatisfaction which Edward received from the conqueſt of Wales was greatly checked by the loſs of his eldeſt ſon prince Alphonſo, who died about Chriſmas, 1283, in the 12th year of his age. This was the third ſon Edward loſt within the ſpace of three years: John, his firſt ſon died before his return from the Holy Land; and Henry, his ſecond ſon, ſoon after.

A. D. 1284. In the beginning of this year Edward made a progreſs into Glamorganſhire, where he was received with extraordinary magnificence by the earl of Glouceſter, between whom and the king there now appeared to ſubſiſt the moſt perfect good underſtanding

---

* The following anecdote, which is very properly adapted to the taſte of Monkiſh writers, is related by ſeveral of our hiſtorians. "Edward, ſay they, aſſembling the Welſh, promiſed to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, born in their own country, and one who could ſpeak no other language. The favor was accepted with the greateſt acclamations of the people, and promiſe of obedience; and he immediately beſtowed the inveſtiture of the principality on his ſon Edward, then an infant, and born at Caernarvon." Since this period the principality of Wales has given title to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England.


Engraved for
Ruſsel's History
of England.

The Head of **LLEWELLYN** the last reigning Prince of Wales, publickly exposed on a Pole, in Cheapside, London.

Wale delin. Rennoldson sculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

ſtanding. Edward, willing to render himſelf as popular as poſſible in that country, ordered tournaments to be held for ſeveral days, during which his queen was delivered of a ſon at Caernarvon, and Edward gave the young prince the name of that place.

Edward, having ſettled matters in Wales, came, about the middle of December, to Briſtol, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and held a parliament; and then repaired to London, from whence he had now been abſent near three years. Soon after his arrival, namely, about the middle of February, 1285, he received a ſummons from the king of France, to attend that prince in his war againſt the king of Arragon, by reaſon of the lands he held in Gaſcony; but a truce being ſoon after concluded between thoſe two powers, Edward was left at liberty to attend the affairs of his own kingdom.

Edward now directed his attention to the reforming of many great abuſes which had been practiſed by the city magiſtrates during his abſence. George Brockſley, the mayor, was turned out of his office for having taken bribes from the bakers, to connive at their ſelling bread ſhort of weight; beſides which he took away the charter of the city, and put in another mayor by his own authority. At the ſame time licence was given to merchant-ſtrangers to rent houſes and keep ſhops; whereas formerly they were only importers of goods, and the Engliſh landlords, with whom they lodged, acted as brokers to ſell the goods for them.

A. D. 1286. In the month of July this year Edward paſſed over to the continent, in order to eſtabliſh a peace between Alphonſo king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately ſucceeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the crown of France. He continued here three years; and during the greater part of the time was employed in this buſineſs, which he effectually accompliſhed by forming an alliance between the two monarchs on the moſt ſolid and permanent foundation.

A. D. 1289. Edward had made preparations for leaving France early in the ſpring; but through unavoidable delays, he did not arrive at London till the middle of Auguſt. During his abſence great diſorders had happened in the kingdom: the ſtreams of juſtice were poiſoned at their fountains by the corruption of the judges. Edward was determined to examine very ſtrictly into their conduct, and for that purpoſe, in the beginning of the following year, 1290, ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, and before that aſſembly the judges were tried. Two only were found innocent: the proofs againſt the reſt were ſo clear, that they could not make any defence, and they were all depoſed and ſeverely fined. The two judges who were found, on the ſtricteſt examination, to have adminiſtered juſtice with integrity, were John de Martingham, and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen.

In this parliament an act was paſſed for baniſhing the Jews out of the kingdom, they having rendered themſelves odious to the whole nation by their uſury and extortion. They were ordered to depart the kingdom before the 1ſt of November on pain of death, and all their wealth, except only ſuch ſums as were neceſſary to defray the expence of their voyage, was confiſcated to the king's uſe. But many of them were not ſuffered to eſcape even with ſo ſmall a pittance of their fortune: ſome of them were murdered by the ſeamen in their paſſage; and others, after being plundered of their little all, were left deſtitute on an inhoſpitable ſhore. Such are the dreadful effects of enthuſiaſtic conſequences, when under no reſtraint from the laws of humanity!

In the beginning of May this year (1290) Edward beſtowed his daughter Jane, or Joan of Acre, on the earl of Glouceſter, after that nobleman had ſworn to maintain the lineal ſucceſſion of England. In the month of July following his other daughter Beatrix was married to the eldeſt ſon of John, duke of Brabant. But the joy theſe alliances occaſioned was ſoon deſtroyed by the loſs of Queen Eleanor, who died as ſhe was accompanying Edward in a progreſs to the north, at Holmſby in Lincolnſhire, on the 29th of November. The death of this truly excellent princeſs (who had lived his wife in loving participation of all his troubles and long voyages thirty-ſix years) overwhelmed Edward with the moſt poignant grief; and, making every other conſideration give way to affection, he inſtantly returned to Weſtminſter with her corpſe, where her obſequies were performed with a magnificence ſuitable to the greatneſs of his love, and the deep ſenſe he had of her loſs. He ordered a handſome tomb, with her image on it in braſs, to be erected over her grave; as likewiſe ſeveral croſſes of ſtone to be raiſed to her memory, with her arms engraven upon them, at thoſe places where her body had reſted in its conveyance to London, and where ſolemn dirges had been ſung for her ſoul, as at Northampton, Waltham, &c. ſeveral of which croſſes are ſtill remaining. There was one in Cheapſide, and another at the place now called Charing Croſs; but theſe two laſt were taken down by order of the Long Parliament in 1643, as relics of popiſh ſuperſtition.

We now come to the commencement of an incident, which was productive of circumſtances that particularly diſtinguiſhed the remainder of Edward's reign. It had always been lamented by the greateſt ſtateſmen, that England and Scotland were not united; and ſome attempts had been made to produce ſo deſirable an event. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his horſe in the year 1286, leaving no male iſſue. Margaret, daughter to Eric king of Norway, and grand-daughter to Alexander, was the only lineal deſcendant from the royal family of Scotland. This princeſs, then an infant, and known by the name of The Maid of Norway, was recognized ſucceſſor by the ſtates of Scotland. Edward, who was great uncle to the Norwegian princeſs, now flattered himſelf that an opportunity offered for uniting the two kingdoms; and accordingly propoſed a marriage between his ſon, the prince of Wales, and the Maid of Norway. The friendſhip which had for ſome time prevailed between the two nations greatly facilitated this project, ſo favourable to the grandeur and happineſs of both kingdoms. The eſtates of Scotland were pleaſed with the offers of Edward, and the marriage articles were drawn up, agreed to, and ratified. The biſhop of Durham was appointed the queen's lieutenant in Scotland; and two of the Scottiſh commiſſioners, with the earl of Warrenne and the dean of York, embarked for Norway, to ſettle every thing relating to the marriage. Thus every thing appeared ripe for effecting a laſting union between the two kingdoms, when this coalition, which would have been ſo much to the advantage of both parties, was ſuddenly and unexpectedly broken off by the untimely death of Margaret, who died in one of the iſlands of the Orkneys, whither ſhe had been driven by ſtreſs of weather, as ſhe was on her paſſage to England, in the month of October, 1290.

The death of this princeſs, in ſo critical a juncture, brought upon Scotland all the calamities which attend a diſputed ſucceſſion; and, beſides the inteſtine broils and foreign invaſions which ſoon after rendered that country a ſcene of blood and deſolation, it laid the foundation of thoſe wars and depredations on the borders, which were continually carried on for ſome ages between the Scots and the Engliſh, and of that animoſity which hath, in ſome degree, ever ſince ſubſiſted between the two notians.

A. D. 1291. Several perſons offered themſelves as claimants to the crown of Scotland, but the two principal competitors were, Robert Bruce and John Baliol, both deſcended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken priſoner by Henry II. The Scots, who were at this time a groſs and ignorant people, were little qualified to diſcuſs the claims of theſe competitors. The parliament was divided; and if they had determined the diſpute by a plurality of voices, the competitors were ſo powerful, that there were little hopes of their ſubmitting to their deciſion; the animoſities of the parties would, in all probability, have been heightened, and the nation plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. It was therefore reſolved to refer the conteſt to the king of England, who had already ſhewn himſelf ſo able and impartial an arbitrator in ſeveral contentions between different princes of Europe.

Edward readily accepted the office; but they little thought he would abuſe their confidence, in order to impoſe on their independence. He determined to eſtabliſh a right of ſuperiority over Scotland, a project he had ſome time formed, though he had hitherto wiſhed to obtain it rather by compact than claim; by the arts of policy and addreſs, rather than by force of arms. He wiſhed not to plant his ſtandard of power in fields manured with the blood of their inhabitants. He ſought, with the utmoſt diligence, for proofs in antient hiſtories; but the only circumſtance he inſiſted on, which had the leaſt appearance of plauſibility, was the homage paid by William to Henry II. tho' Richard I. had renounced his homage. Furniſhed, however, with a number of uncertain teſtimonies, he advanced to Norham, a town on the northern banks of the Tweed, at the head of a powerful army, to give weight to the unexpected claim he intended to make. On his arrival, he invited the parliament of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to his camp; where the chief juſticiary told the aſſembly, "that the king had taken the greateſt "pains to collect proofs from all the antient records "and chronicles, to determine this important truth, "namely, that the kings of Scotland had been dependent on the Engliſh monarchs from time immemorial, and had accordingly done them homage, "except when they had taken advantage of the inteſtine commotions of the nation, or the reign of "a weak prince, to withdraw their allegiance. The "king was, therefore, intitled to decide this diſpute, not in virtue of the reference made to him, "but in the quality of liege lord of the kingdom."

This unexpected declaration threw the aſſembly into the greateſt conſternation. It was in vain, however, to make any remonſtrance: they therefore begged to have ſome time allowed them to give in their anſwer, as many of the prelates and the nobility of Scotland were abſent, whoſe advice was neceſſary in a point of ſo much importance. Edward conſented to indulge them with three weeks for that purpoſe; and iſſued ſafe conducts for all the nobility of Scotland to repair to Norham on the day appointed for giving in their anſwer. No objection being made by the barons to Edward's claim, the king addreſſed himſelf to the ſeveral competitors, requiring their acknowledgment of his ſuperiority. Bruce was the firſt to acknowledge it; while Baliol, afraid of giving offence to the Scottiſh nation, conſented with more reluctance.

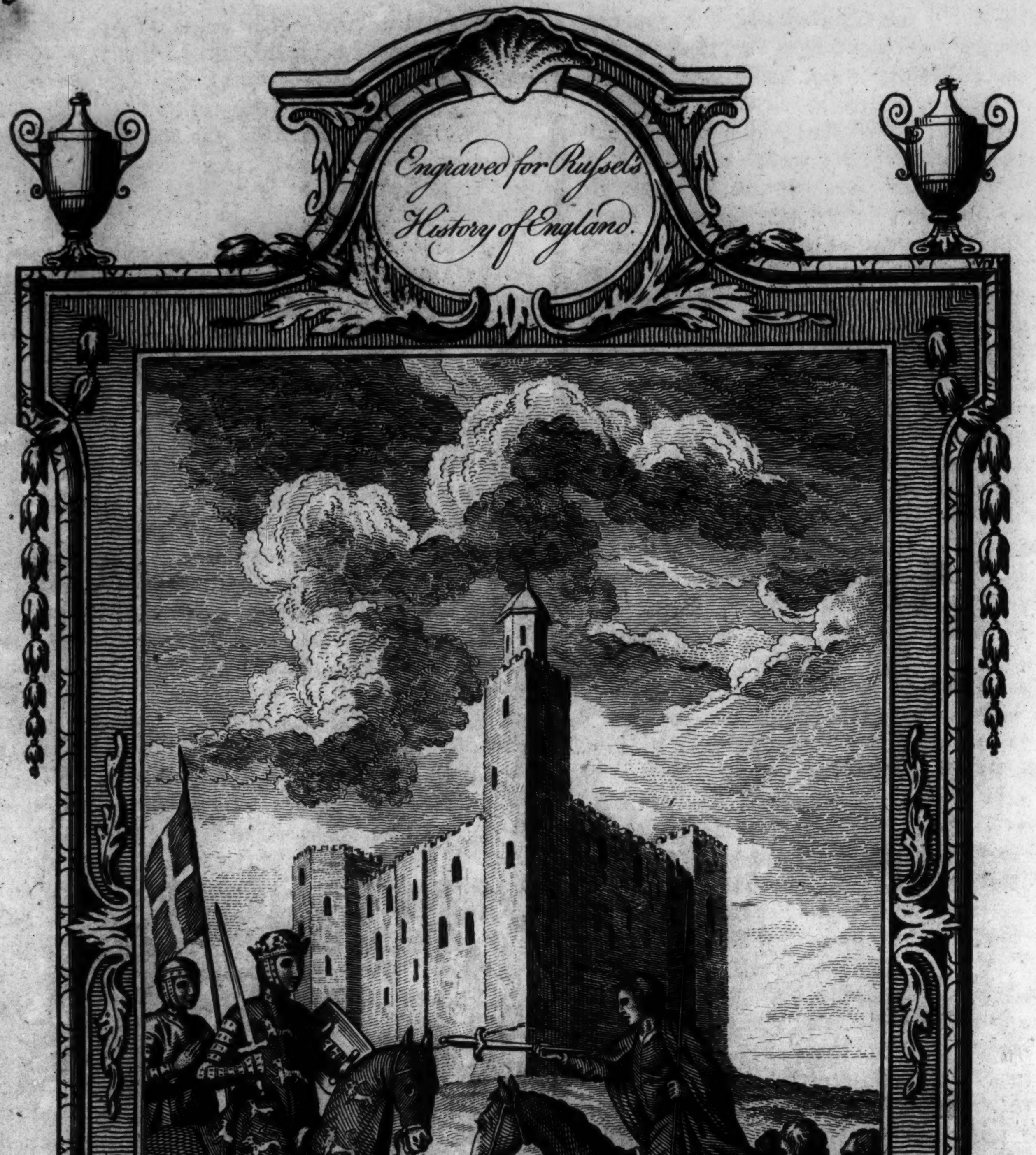
Having gained this important acknowledgement, Edward demanded that the principal caſtles in that kingdom ſhould be put into his hands; adding, that it would be in vain for him to pronounce any ſentence, without having it in his power to enforce it. The demand was complied with; and Edward having named commiſſioners to inquire into the claims of the competitors, promiſed to pronounce ſentence the enſuing year.

A. D. 1292. The moſt celebrated laywers of Europe were now conſulted on this queſtion, who unanimouſly gave their anſwer in favour of Baliol. After long debates, and ſeveral adjournments, Edward pronounced ſentence in favour of that claimant, and he was immediately put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. All the Engliſh garriſons were withdrawn, and Baliol did homage and ſwore fealty to Edward at Norham. After this he ſet out to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and was, in the middle of December, crowned at Scone, with the uſual formalities, and all the noblemen of Scotland ſwore allegiance to him, except Robert Bruce, who abſented himſelf from this ceremony. The new king then repaired to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where he again did homage to Edward, in ſuch terms as fully denoted his ſtate of abſolute dependence.

A. D. 1293. A circumſtance happened this year which threatened two powerful kingdoms with deſolation, and evinced that the moſt fatal effects may ariſe from very trifling cauſes. Two ſeamen, one belonging to a Norman, and the other to an Engliſh ſhip, having ſome diſpute at a ſpring near Bayonne, with regard to the preference of filling their caſks with water, the Norman attempted to ſtab the Engliſhman with a dagger he drew from his ſide. The latter perceived his deſign, grappled with him, threw his adverſary on the ground, and the Norman was killed by falling on his own dagger. Exaſperated at the death of their countrymen, the Normans determined to take the ſevereſt revenge; and meeting with an Engliſh veſſel, they hanged ſeveral of the crew at the yard-arm, together with ſome dogs; bidding the mariners inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne. The Engliſh were not formed to bear ſo deliberate an inſult: they made ſevere repriſals: the ſeas were covered with hoſtile fleets, while the kings of France and England ſeemed indifferent ſpectators of the dreadful outrages committed by their ſubjects. Fleets were fitted out for carrying on this new ſpecies of war, which now became truly alarming; and increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in one of thoſe naval engagements, the French loſt near fifteen thouſand men. Philip the Fair now demanded ſatiſfaction from Edward; and being diſſatisfied with his anſwer, cited him to appear before the peers of France, as duke of Guienne. Edward, however, not being able to leave the kingdom, ſent his brother Edmund into France, in order to adjuſt the quarrel, and prevent, if poſſible, the ravages of a bloody war.

A. D. 1294. While theſe negotiations were carrying on at the court of France, an event happened which left the Scots no room to doubt of the abſolute ſtate of vaſſalage into which they were fallen. A burgher of Berwick, complaining of an injury he had received from ſome Engliſh commiſſioners ſent into Scotland, Edward ordered the cauſe to be tried in England by his judges. The council of Scotland conſidering this order as a breach of promiſe in Edward, who had aſſured them, that any offences committed in their kingdom ſhould be cognizable only in the Scottiſh courts, ſent a remonſtrance to the Engliſh monarch. But they obtained not redreſs: Edward declared, "That the cauſe ſhould be tried in England; "it belonged not to vaſſals to puniſh thoſe that re"preſented the perſon of their ſovereign." But if the Scots were mortified at this inſtance of their dependency, they were much more ſo in the treatment of their new king, who was ſoon after obliged to appear

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. Grainger sculp.

Baliol's ſubmiſsion to EDWARD I.

appear perſonally before Edward, in his court at Weſtminſter, to anſwer a complaint exhibited againſt him by the earl of Fife, for ſeizing certain eſtates of which he had been inveſted by Edward's particular order. At this trial, Baliol was obliged to relinquiſh the ſeat of honor hitherto filled by the kings of Scotland in the Engliſh courts, and to plead his own cauſe at the bar as a common defendant. This puſillanimous ſubmiſſion rendered Baliol ſo contemptible to the Scottiſh nobility, that they choſe a regency of twelve perſons to direct the management of affairs. The Scottiſh monarch was alarmed; and notwithſtanding the facility of his temper, determined to ſhake off ſo ignominious a dependence. He left the court of London without taking leave, and Edward ſeized all his eſtates in England.

Baliol now ſaw his danger, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip of France; an incident that gave riſe to that ſtrict union which continued ſo many ages between the French and Scottiſh nations.

A. D. 1295. Edward had determined to make an entire conqueſt of Scotland; but the ſituation of affairs on the continent prevented him from carrying his deſigns into execution. Edmund was now at the French court ſoliciting a treaty of peace between Philip and his brother; but the former refuſed to liſten to any accommodation, unleſs ſome expedient could be found for repairing his honor, which he pretended was wounded on account of his being the liege lord of Edward with regard to his poſſeſſions on the continent. It was therefore propoſed that the Engliſh monarch ſhould put Philip in poſſeſſion of Guienne, as a reparation for the inſult; and that the king of France ſhould immediately reſtore it to Edward. Philip promiſed, on the word of a king, to perform his part of the treaty; and Edmund was commiſſioned to give him the ſatisfaction he deſired. But the French king had no ſooner obtained poſſeſſion of the province, than he refuſed to fulfil his engagement, cited Edward to appear in the court of France, and on his refuſing to obey the ſummons, the province of Guienne, by a formal ſentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown.

Enraged at the ſhameful duplicity of Philip, Edward determined to take a ſevere revenge; while this infamous breach of faith awakened the higheſt reſentment among the Engliſh, who reſolved to ſupport their monarch to the utmoſt of their power. Edward, inſtead of obeying the ſummons of the French monarch, renounced the homage he had paid him on the footing of former treaties, and reſolved to recover by force the territories which Philip had ſo treacherouſly uſurped.

To defray the expences of an armament for this purpoſe, an additional duty was laid upon all merchandize in England and Ireland: the prelates and clergy granted a moiety of all their revenues for one year; and the parliament voted a ſubſidy, amounting to one tenth of all their effects.

A. D. 1296. During the laſt year the war with France had been carried on with various ſucceſs; but Pope Celeſtine, who was deſirous of engaging the powers of Europe in another cruſade, now offered his mediation; and a truce was made between the contending monarchs.

The ceſſation of hoſtilities with Philip enabled Edward to make preparations for repelling the attempts of the Scots, whom he knew were highly exaſperated at the affront their king had lately received. While he was employed in raiſing an army neceſſary for that purpoſe, he received advice of the treaty ſecretly concluded between Baliol and Philip; but he was not intimidated by the cloſe connection between the two powers. He ſummoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vaſſal, and cited him to appear before the Engliſh parliament; but he refuſed the citation, and having procured a diſpenſation of the pope from his oath of fealty, he renounced his homage, and bid defiance to the Engliſh monarch.

Edward, exaſperated at the conduct of Baliol, marched to the northward, at the head of 30,000 foot, and 4000 horſe. The Scots army was more numerous, being compoſed of 40,000 infantry, and 5000 horſe, but they wanted both diſcipline and experience; and, what was ſtill of more conſequence, diſſenſions prevailed among the leaders. From theſe alarming appearances, ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility, (among whom were Robert Bruce, the father and ſon, the earls of Marche and Angus) prognoſticated the ruin of their country, and made their ſubmiſſion to Edward, who now paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, without oppoſition. Berwick was taken by aſſault, and above ſeven thouſand of the garriſon put to the ſword.

Edward now diſpatched the earl Warrenne, at the head of 10,000 men, to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottiſh nobility. Baliol knew the importance of this fortreſs, and determined to venture a battle for its relief: and Warrenne, informed of his intention, marched to meet him. The Scots, bad armed and diſciplined, could not ſupport the furious charge of the Engliſh: they were ſoon broke, and driven with great ſlaughter from the field of battle; above twenty thouſand of them are ſaid to have fallen by the ſwords of the Engliſh. The caſtle ſurrendered the next day to Edward, who then joined his army, and purſued his conqueſts without any father oppoſition from Baliol's army. The caſtles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Sterling ſubmitted after a feeble reſiſtance; and all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were immediately ſubdued by the Engliſh.

The timid Baliol, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the progreſs of his antagoniſt, reſolved to make his ſubmiſſion, which he did by appearing before Edward mounted on a ſorry ſteed, holding a white rod in his left hand and his ſword in the right, the latter of which he abjectly preſented to the king. The next day his ſubmiſſion was drawn up in form, as alſo an inſtrument, by which he reſigned his kingdom to Edward, to be diſpoſed of according to his pleaſure. This inſtrument was ſigned by Baliol himſelf, together with the greateſt part of the barons of Scotland, on the 10th of July, 1296, at Brechin, a town on the river Eſk, about 40 miles from Edinburgh.

Baliol was ſent priſoner to the Tower of London, and two years after ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſhment in France, where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private ſtation.

Scotland being thus ſubdued, Edward, the better to ſecure his acquiſition, ordered the ſtates to aſſemble at Berwick, where the principal noblemen and governors of caſtles ſwore fealty to him, and delivered up all their fortreſſes into his hands. The great ſeal of Scotland was now broken, and another, with the Engliſh arms, made in its ſtead, which was delivered to the care of Walter de Agmondeſham. At the ſame time the king appointed Hugh de Creſſingham treaſurer, W. de Ormeſby juſticiary, and John, earl of Warrenne, guardian of the Scottiſh realm: and that he might not leave theſe vanquiſhed people the leaſt particle of the liberty they had hitherto enjoyed, Edward ordered the crown and ſceptre of Scotland, with all the reſt of the regalia, to be carried to England; as alſo the famous marble ſtone at Scone, on which the inauguration of their kings had always been performed. The popular ſuperſtition of the Scots paid the higheſt veneration to this ſtone, which was regarded as the true palladium of their power, and the ultimate reſource in every national miſfortune: the loſs of it was therefore conſidered by them as an indubitable proof of the utter extinction of their monarchy, agreeable to a latin diſtich engraven on it, the tranſlation of which is thus:

Or fate's deceiv'd, and Heav'n decrees in vain,
Or where they find this ſtone, the Scots ſhall reign.

This ſtone, which was incloſed in a wooden chair, had been placed at Scone by Kenneth II. as a monument of the victory which he obtained over the Picts near the monaſtery of that place. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breccus; from Ireland into Argyle, and from thence to Scone, from which place Edward now cauſed it to be conveyed to Weſtminſter, where it continues to this day, and is always uſed at the coronation of the Engliſh monarchs.

Edward, having made all thoſe regulations he thought neceſſary for the peace of the country, returned with his army to England, bringing with him ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Scotch noblemen that had been made priſoners, and whom he thought proper to detain as ſuch, till he ſhould form a ſatiſfactory reconciliation with the French monarch.

The Scottiſh expedition had drained Edward's coffers, and he was obliged to have recourſe to his parliament for a farther ſupply, in order to enable him to wreſt the province of Guienne out of the hands of Philip, the truce with that monarch being now expired.

The barons and burgeſſes very readily complied with his requeſt, but he met with an oppoſition from the clergy, which was attended with ſome important conſequences. Robert de Winchelſey, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had procured a bull from pope Boniface VIII. who had lately ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair, prohibiting the princes of Chriſtendom, under the penalty of excommunication, from levying, without his conſent, any tax on the clergy; and reſtraining, under the ſame penalty, all eccleſiaſtics from ſubmitting to ſuch impoſitions.

Edward, who knew nothing of this bull, was aſtoniſhed when the clergy refuſed their aſſiſtance, and publiſhed the bull as a reaſon for their conduct. But Edward was not formed to ſubmit to inſults; he, however, adjourned the parliament till the fourteenth of January, that they might have time to deliberate on his demand, and form their final reſolution.

A. D. 1297. The parliament met according to the time of prorogation, when the king hoped to find the clergy in a more compliant humour; but in this he was miſtaken. Having ſent to the archbiſhop of Canterbury to know his final reſolution, that prelate, in the name of his brethren, returned for anſwer, "that they had two ſuperiors, namely, the pope and the king; and though they were bound to obey both, yet they owed the greater obedience to the ſucceſſor of the holy apoſtle, St. Peter, as their ſpiritual lord and maſter."

Though Edward was greatly enraged at this anſwer, yet he concealed his reſentment; but told them, that as they refuſed to aſſiſt the civil power, it was unreaſonable for them to expect any protection from the laws.

The clergy were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, and Edward iſſued orders to the judges to receive no cauſe brought before them by any eccleſiaſtic; to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants; to do every man juſtice againſt them; but to do them juſtice againſt no man: at the ſame time he locked up all their granaries and barns, and prohibited any rent to be paid them.

The prelates were aſtoniſhed at theſe proceedings; they had never before experienced the proper reſentment of an Engliſh monarch. The archbiſhop of York and his clergy complied with the king's requeſt, and received the royal protection; but Winchelſey grew more obſtinate from perſecution. He ordered the pope's bull to be publiſhed in all the churches of his dioceſe, and convened a ſynod of his ſuffragans. But Edward, aware of his intention, iſſued a writ, inhibiting him, under pain of impriſonment, from denouncing any eccleſiaſtical cenſure either againſt the king, his miniſters or ſubjects. At the ſame time, the archdeacon of Bath appealed, in the king's name, to the pope againſt all proceedings; an expedient which rendered the operations of the ſynod totally ineffectual.

The clergy now found themſelves in the moſt dreadful ſituation. Their houſes and convents might, indeed, have afforded them a ſafe retreat, but they were in want of ſubſiſtence; and whenever they ventured abroad, they were robbed and abuſed by every ruffian. The people, who had hitherto beheld them with a kind of religious awe, now looked upon them with contempt, and laughed at their ſufferings. The archbiſhop himſelf was robbed of his equipage and furniture, and at laſt reduced to board himſelf with a ſingle ſervant, in the houſe of a poor clergyman.

This ſituation was not to be endured: experience convinced them, that a deprivation of the advantages of citizens was the greateſt calamity; and they accordingly became ſolicitous to ſatisfy both the king and the ſtate. But in order to avoid an open diſobedience to the poſitive injunctions of Boniface, inſtead of granting the king a fifth of their moveables, they agreed to depoſit an equivalent ſum of money in ſome church or convent; whence it ſhould be received by proper officers appointed by the king.

Though theſe ſupplies were very conſiderable, yet they were far from being ſufficient to anſwer the deſigns formed by Edward for taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy; ſo that he was obliged to have recourſe to arbitrary meaſures, extremely oppreſſive to the people. He impoſed a tax of forty ſhillings on every ſack of wool exported; he ſeized, without conſent of the owners, the cattle and other commodities neceſſary for the ſupply of his army; and required the attendance of every proprietor of land, poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even though he was not a tenant of the crown, and therefore not obliged by the tenure of his eſtate to perform any ſuch ſervice.

It is no wonder that deſpotic meaſures, like theſe, occaſioned great uneaſineſs in the kingdom. The nobility were alarmed; they gave countenance and authority to the complaints of the people, and Edward was ſoon convinced that he had purſued imprudent meaſures.

An army was aſſembled on the ſea coaſt, which Edward intended ſhould embark for Guienne under the command of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England; at the ſame time he propoſed heading another army himſelf to attack the French on the ſide of Flanders.

This incident gave the two barons an opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment of the arbitrary meaſures purſued by the king. They affirmed that their office obliged them only to attend his perſon in the wars, and therefore refuſed to lead the army he had directed. A violent altercation enſued; and the king, turning himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, "By God, Sir earl, you ſhall either go, or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied the conſtable, "I will neither go nor hang." And immediately left the army, with the mareſchal, and about thirty other barons of very conſiderable power.

However provoked Edward might be at this rebuff, he endeavoured, by purſuing conciliating methods, to get the better of this oppoſition. He careſſed his nobility; he reconciled himſelf to the clergy; he made an apology for his conduct, which he imputed to the urgent neceſſities of the crown, and promiſed on his return from his expedition, to redreſs all grievances, and reſtore the execution of the laws.

The two earls were convinced, from Edward's conduct, that it would be very imprudent to carry their reſentments farther than they were warranted by the laws of their country. They accordingly contented themſelves with drawing up a remonſtrance, which was preſented to the king at Winchelſea, when he was ready to embark for Flanders. Edward again promiſed them redreſs as ſoon as he returned to England, and added, that he hoped thoſe nobles who had declined leading his army, would do no injury to his crown or kingdom during his abſence. The barons were, however, far from being ſatisfied, and he had hardly landed on the continent, before the conſtable and mareſchal inſiſted on an authentic confirmation both of the great charter, and the charter of the foreſts. Edward was very deſirous of putting it off till his return, but the parliament, which had been aſſembled at London by his order, joining with the two earls, and the charters being ſent over to Flanders, he confirmed them in preſence of all the prelates and nobility in his army.

A. D. 1298. Though Edward had been as expeditious as circumſtances would admit in getting over to the continent, yet he did not land in Flanders till the ſeaſon was two far advanced for making any attempt of importance. The earl of Flanders, who had joined in a league with Edward, ſoon experienced the power and reſentment of Philip. Liſle, St. Omer, Courtray, and Ypres were already wreſted from him, and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the ſame fate. The arrival of Edward indeed put a ſtop to the ſucceſs of Philip; but the two kings, inſtead of venturing a deciſive action, agreed to a truce for two years; and engaged to ſubmit their difference to pope Boniface. But as both theſe monarchs were jealous of the claims made on the moſt trivial pretences by the holy ſee, they took care to inſert in the reference, that they did not ſubmit their differences to his deciſion, from any right he might pretend by virtue of his pontifical character; but merely by their own conſent, as a private perſon.

The pope ſoon gave his ſentence, which ſeemed to have been dictated by his paſſion rather than his judgment. He commanded not only a reſtitution of Guienne, but alſo the places which had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip was deſirous of comprehending John Baliol and the Scots in this treaty; but this was abſolutely refuſed by Edward. At laſt the two monarchs compromiſed their differencies, by making mutual ſacrifices to each other. Edward abandoned his ally, the earl of Flanders; and Philip gave up the Scots. This is not the only time the intereſts of allies have been ſacrificed at the altar of ambition. The ſentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf with Margaret, Philip's ſiſter; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, the daughter of that monarch.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the continent, the Scots made a ſucceſsful effort for the recovery of their liberties. Edward had not been fortunate in his choice of perſons to whom he had committed the adminiſtration of affairs in Scotland. The earl Warrenne, to whom the chief authority had been delegated, was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue, and abilities; but his ill ſtate of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure, the reins of government were intruſted to William de Ormeſby, chief juſticiary, and Creſſingham, the treaſurer. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the rigour and ſeverity of his temper, and the latter by his avarice. Perſons of ſuch characters were ill adapted to the taſk of reconciling the Scots to a yoke they bore with the utmoſt reluctance. Inſtead of making uſe of moderate and lenient meaſures, they treated them as a conquered people, and made them ſenſible of the ſervitude into which they were fallen.

This exaſperated the whole nation, and the Scots reſolved to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberties. Among thoſe who had ſeverely felt the hand of power, was one William Wallace, a perſon of ſmall fortune, but deſcended from an antient family. He ſaw the diſtreſſes of the people, and undertook the defence of his country. He was of a gigantic ſtature, prodigious ſtrength, heroic courage, and diſintereſted magnanimity. He had retired to the woods, to avoid the vengeance of the government; and put himſelf, at the head of a ſmall body of men, who like himſelf, had fled from the tyranny of the Engliſh. He planned his enterprizes with ſo much prudence, that he was always ſucceſsful; and the fame of his exploits ſoon increaſed the number of his followers. He now determined to attack the governors, and accordingly advanced to Scone for that purpoſe. But Ormeſby and Creſſingham, apprized of his intention, fled into England, and were followed by all the other officers of that kingdom.

Elated at this ſucceſs, the Scots flew to arms; and ſome of the principal barons, among whom was Sir William Douglas, openly countenanced the party of Wallace.

The earl Warrenne was now ſufficiently alarmed, and endeavoured to recover by the celerity of his motions what he had loſt by neglect. He entered Annandale, and came up with the Scottiſh army at Irvine before they were ſufficiently formed. The nobility finding it would be in vain to oppoſe the Engliſh, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a pardon. Wallace, however, at the head of a choſen body of men, who had all bound themſelves by an oath never to lay down their arms till they had effected the liberty of their country, retired before the capitulation was ſigned, and took poſt on a hill above the monaſtery of Cambuſkenneth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. Warrenne continued his march, and diſcovered the enemy on the oppoſite bank of the Forth; but at the ſame time, perceived the danger of attacking them in this advantageous ſituation, eſpecially as the bridge over the Forth was ſo narrow, as hardly to admit two men a-breaſt. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotſman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the Engliſh, deſired a party of five hundred horſe, and a proportional body of foot, might be put under his command; promiſing to paſs the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army paſſed the bridge. This prudent deſign was, however, rendered abortive by the impatience of Creſſingham, who being actuated, both by perſonal and national animoſities, againſt the Scots, urged the general to attack them immediately; exclaiming loudly againſt all delays, as expenſive, and diſhonourable to the king. Warrenne, who conſidered theſe reflections as cenſures upon his own conduct, ordered the army to paſs the bridge immediately. Wallace let as many of them paſs as he was confident he could conquer; and then attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were all cut to pieces, or puſhed into the river, where they periſhed. Near five thouſand men fell in the action, and among the reſt Creſſingham himſelf, who being found among the ſlain, the Scots flayed his body, and made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin. The remainder of the Engliſh army were ſo diſpirited at the deſtruction of their countrymen, whom they could not aſſiſt, that Warrenne thought it adviſeable to make no farther attempts againſt the enemy; and he accordingly retreated to Berwick.

The Scots now flocked from every part of the kingdom to join the ſtandard of Wallace, who was immediately declared regent of the kingdom during the captivity of Baliol. His forces were greatly elated with their ſucceſs; and he immediately led them towards the borders of England, where he was ſure of finding ſubſiſtence; the diſorders of war, added to unfavourable ſeaſons, having occaſioned a famine in Scotland. The caſtles of Berwick and Roxburgh made but a feeble reſiſtance, and opened the Scots a free paſſage into Northumberland. Wallace firſt led his victorious troops againſt Carliſle; but not being able to take the city, he ravaged the country as far as Durham, and then returned loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1299. Edward, who was returned from the continent, determined to wipe off this ſtain of national diſgrace, and make the Scots pay dearly for their conduct. But before he put himſelf at the head of his army, he prudently endeavoured to appeaſe the murmurs of his people by conceſſions and promiſes. He aſſembled a parliament at York, and ordered the two charters, together with the additional ſtatutes in favour of public liberty, to be read and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly performed with great formality; and the biſhop of Carliſle ſolemnly denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all violators of theſe charters. The king then ordered a ſtrict account of the quantity of corn, and other commodities, which had been violently ſeized before his departure, to be taken, in order that the owners might receive ſatisfaction; and returned to the citizens of London the privilege of chuſing their own magiſtrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of his father's reign.

By theſe popular meaſures he ſo gained the affections of his ſubjects, that they flocked to his ſtandard, and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an hundred thouſand fighting men; a force abundantly ſufficient to reduce the inſurgents to ſubjection. On the other hand, that union, which alone can render an army powerful, was wanting among the Scots. Diviſions and envy took place among that unhappy people. The noblemen deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, inſtead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in a glorious emulation in the ſervice of their country; threw the moſt ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with having formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace ſaw the fatal conſequences that muſt attend theſe diviſions, and generouſly reſigned his authority, retaining only the command of a body of men who refuſed to follow any other leader. The liberty of his country, not a deſire of power, had called him from his retreat, and he willingly ſacrificed the latter to preſerve the former.

On the reſignation of Wallace, the command of the army devolved upon the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenock, both eminent for their birth and fortune; who marched to Falkirk with a determined reſolution to wait the attack of the Engliſh. The army was drawn up in three bodies, the fronts of which were compoſed of pikemen, and the intervals filled with archers. But dreading the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh cavalry, they endeavoured to ſecure their front with palliſadoes faſtened together with ropes.

Edward divided his army into three bodies, conformable to that of the enemy, and led them to the charge. The atack was begun by the Engliſh archers, who poured a dreadful ſhower upon the enemy. The Scottiſh bowmen, unable to ſupport the fury of the Engliſh, were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter. The archers purſued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, threw them into diſorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout enſued, attended with the moſt dreadful carnage. The number that fell in this remarkable battle is ſaid to have amounted to at leaſt twenty thouſand.

The only commander among the Scots that kept his troops together was Wallace, who retiring behind the Carron, marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Bruce followed him, and when near enough, requeſted of him a ſhort conference. He began with reproaching the Scottiſh leader with madneſs, in taking up arms againſt Edward, one of the moſt powerful princes, and the beſt general of the age: at the ſame time inſinuating, that Wallace himſelf had formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace warmly diſclaimed every ambitious intention; declaring, that the miſeries of his country alone rouſed him to arms. Adding, that he had neither any right to expect, nor any inclination to ſeize the ſcepter of Scotland. "To you," added he, "your country owes her afflictions. You left her overwhelmed with miſeries, and I undertook the cauſe you ſo baſely betrayed; a cauſe I mean to ſupport while I have ſtrength to wield a ſword; nor ſhall I envy you a life of eaſe and pleaſure in the court of a foreign tyrant. You may, my lord, have, indeed, a juſt title to the crown, and might wear it with honour to yourſelf, and advantage to your country; but you ſeem to prefer the chains of ſervitude to freedom, and the ſmiles of deſpotiſm to the calls of honour."

Bruce was ſenſibly ſtruck with the noble ſentiments of Wallace. He ſaw his own conduct in a very different light, and determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of joining thoſe patriotic chiefs who had ſo nobly ſupported the cauſe of his country. Bruce now returned to the Engliſh army; and Wallace, at the head of the poor remains of the battle of Falkirk, retired in the northern parts of the kingdom, fully determined never to ſubmit to the laws of the conqueror.

The Scots, finding themſelves unable to face the army of the Engliſh, and deſirous, if poſſible, to ſupport the liberties of their country, implored in vain the protection of Lewis: he had abandoned them to the fury of the conqueror by his late treaty. But they were more ſucceſsful in their application to Boniface. That pontiff, who ſeemed determined to carry the power of the papal chair to the moſt extravagant height, wrote a letter to Edward; in which, after confuting the pretenſions of this monarch to the ſuperiority of Scotland, he advanced claims ſtill more abſurd in their room. He aſſerted, with a ſingular degree of confidence, that the pope was the true liege lord of Scotland; that his right was full, entire, and derived from the moſt remote antiquity.

Edward, both aſtoniſhed and offended at this bold aſſertion, was at firſt inclined to treat the pontiff's letter with contempt; but fearing the ſuperſtitious bigotry of the people might occaſion diſorders in the nation, and prevent his maintaining the ſuperiority he had acquired over Scotland, he wrote an anſwer to the pope's epiſtle, and advanced claims to the Scottiſh crown, at leaſt as chimerical as thoſe of his holineſs. He deduced the ſuperiority of England over Scotland, from the time of Brutus the Trojan, who, he ſaid, firſt founded the Britiſh monarchy, in the time of Eli and Samuel. He laid it down as a fact, confirmed by the records of antiquity, that the Engliſh monarchs had often made grants of Scotland to their ſubjects, and had dethroned thoſe vaſſal kings when they proved unfaithful to them. He recited, with great oſtentation, the homage which William had done to Henry II. but mentioned not the abolition of that extorted deed by Richard I. Theſe pretenſions, however abſurd, were confirmed by one hundred and four barons aſſembled at Lincoln for that purpoſe. But though they ſigned thoſe pretenſions, and agreed to ſend them to Boniface, they took particular care to prevent this act from affording the leaſt pretenſion for his holineſs to make it the foundation of any claim to a ſuperiority over England. They annexed a poſitive declaration, that though they were willing to ſubmit theſe proofs to him as a man, they did not by any means receive him as a judge. "The crown of England" added they, "is free, nor will we ſuffer even the king himſelf to relinquiſh its independency."

A. D. 1303. Notwithſtanding the Scots had been ſo totally defeated at the caſtle of Falkirk, yet they were far from being ſubdued: the remains of that army had been joined by freſh forces from the mountainous parts of the country, who again attacked the diſtricts belonging to the Engliſh. An army of 10,000 men was ſoon formed under Cummin, appointed regent on the reſignation of Wallace, and advanced to Biggar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. John de Segrave, whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland, aſſembled all the Engliſh forces in that kingdom to oppoſe the Scots; but perceiving that it would be difficult to procure the neceſſary quantity of proviſions for their ſubſiſtence in a body, he ſeparated them into three diviſions: the firſt was commanded by himſelf in perſon, the ſecond by his brother, and the third by Sir Robert Neville. Cummin determined to take advantage of this ſeparation, and advanced, under covert of the night, to attack Segrave's diviſion, which lay at Roſlin, about ſixteen miles from the Scottiſh camp. As ſoon as the dawn appeared, the Engliſh diſcovered Cummin's army marching to attack them, but it was too late to make the neceſſary preparations; the Scots fell upon them before they could form themſelves in order of battle, and obtained an eaſy victory: a few only eſcaped, by flying to the ſecond diviſion, informing them at once of their misfortune, and the approach of the enemy. The commander immediately drew up his men, and led them on directly to revenge the deaths of their countrymen. A bloody conteſt enſued. The Scots, elated with ſucceſs, charged with the utmoſt fury; while the Engliſh, animated with vengeance, made a noble reſiſtance. The battle continued for ſome time doubtful, but at laſt terminated in favour of the Scots, and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. By this time the third diviſion, under the command of Sir Robert Neville, appeared; and the Scots, already exhauſted with fatigue, and their ranks conſiderably thinned by the two former actions, would willingly have declined the engagement. They pleaded the exceſſive labours they had already undergone; they pointed to their wounds, and deſired to retire while it was yet in their power. Cummin, who knew that a retreat was now impoſſible, reminded them of the cauſe for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the Engliſh, the glory of their anceſtors, and the diſgrace of ſlavery. His arguments prevailed, and having furniſhed the followers of his camp with the arms of the vanquiſhed, they mounted the horſes they had taken, ſtood the ſhock of a third engagement, and with the utmoſt difficulty obtained the victory. The event was not, however, wholly inglorious to Neville; he reſcued Segrave, who had been taken priſoner in the firſt engagement, and retreated in excellent order. The Scots ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Stirling-caſtle, and gave the command of that fortreſs to one Oliphant, a brave and experienced officer.

On the twentieth of May this year, a peace was finally concluded between the two crowns of England and France at Paris, and ratified by both parties.

The ſucceſs of the Scots in the late engagements proved only gleams of ſunſhine before a dreadful ſtorm. Edward determined to revenge the diſgrace of his forces, and appointed Roxburgh for the rendezvous of his army. Every precaution was taken to enſure the ſucceſs of this expedition; and to prevent any want of proviſions, a numerous fleet was fitted out with orders to ſail along the coaſt, and attend the march of the army with proper ſupplies. The forces being aſſembled at Roxburgh, Edward advanced into the heart of Scotland, at the head of an army that would have rendered all oppoſition in the open field a ſpecies of madneſs: the Scots had no other reſource than to fly for ſafety to the woods and faſtneſſes of their country. The only oppoſition Edward met with was from two or three caſtles; the reſt opened their gates on the firſt ſummons. In this manner he led his army from one extremity of Scotland to the other: his vigilance preſerved his forces from ſurpriſe, and his fleet ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions. Even the intrepid Wallace, though he followed the Engliſh armies, found few opportunities for diſplaying his valour. The conduct of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive.

A. D. 1304. Edward having at laſt completed his conqueſt of Scotland, applied himſelf to the more difficult part of the undertaking, namely, that of ſettling the country, of eſtabliſhing a new form of government, and of making his acquiſition durable to the crown of England. He ſeems, however, to have carried matters to extremities againſt the natives; he abrogated all the Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms; he endeavoured to inſtitute the Engliſh in their place; he entirely deſtroyed all the monuments of antiquity; ſuch records or hiſtories as had eſcaped his former ſearch were now burnt or diſperſed; and he took every other meaſure he could project totally to extirpate the Scottiſh name.

A. D. 1305. After Edward had ſettled his affairs in Scotland, he returned to England, and immediately iſſued a general pardon to all the Scottiſh nobility who had carried arms againſt him. Wallace, however, was excepted; the king inſiſting that he ſhould ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion. That chief ſtill continued in arms, at the head of a few followers, and ſtill cheriſhed the expiring ſparks of Scottiſh liberty. But the publication of Edward's pardon cauſed a very conſiderable deſertion in his little party, and he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himſelf concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. He continued this itenerant courſe of life for ſome time; but was at laſt betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his former friend, and ſent priſoner to London. Edward, whoſe natural bravery ſhould have induced him to cheriſh ſimilar qualities in an enemy, was ſo enraged at ſome violences committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, that he ordered him to be tried as a rebel and traitor. He was cccordingly conducted to Weſtminſter-hall, and his indictment, which accuſed him of treaſon being read, he pleaded, not guilty; and ſaid, that it was abſurd to accuſe him of treaſon againſt a king, whoſe authority in Scotland he had never owned, and whoſe government he had ever diſputed. The judges, however, upon the principle that Edward was not only the direct, but natural lord of Scotland, condemned him to ſuffer as a traitor; and the ſentence was accordingly executed with every circumſtance of barbarity.

A. D. 1306. Edward, however, failed in the purpoſe which his barbarous policy was directed to ſupport. The Scots, already diſtinguiſhed by the many innovations introduced by the ſword into their laws and government, were ſtill further enraged by the injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed upon Wallace. All the envy, which, during his life-time, had attended that gallant leader, was now buried in his grave. Influenced with reſentment, and deſirous of retaliating the injuries they had received, the people were every where diſpoſed to riſe againſt the Engliſh government; and it was not long before a general of the greateſt merit preſented himſelf.

Robert Bruce, deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, determined to ſeize the ſceptre of his anceſtors. He well knew, that after the ſubmiſſions he had made to Edward, he never ſhould be able to appear with any advantage, while the illuſtrious Wallace, then the idol of the common people, ſurvived; but the death of that chief removed the only obſtacle to his ambition. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce's father for the Scottiſh crown, died alſo about the ſame time. This incident united the two parties, which had before divided Scotland, and greatly encouraged Bruce to attempt the deliverance of his country from the yoke of ſlavery. He was now at the court of Edward, and opened his mind to Cummin, who approved of his deſign, and promiſed his aſſiſtance; but by reflecting coolly on the enterprize, he changed his opinion, and informed Edward of Bruce's intentions. The king, who ſuſpected that the diſcovery of Cummin proceeded from envy, omitted to ſecure the perſon of Bruce, till he was convinced of the truth from concurring circumſtances.

The friends of Bruce ſoon perceived the dangers to which he was expoſed; and the earl of Glouceſter, thinking it would be imprudent either to converſe with him or give him the neceſſary information in a letter, ſent him, by a ſervant, a pair of gilt ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended he had borrowed from him. Bruce ſoon perceived the meaning of the ænigmatical preſent, and immediately effected his eſcape. Soon after his arrival in his native country, he preſented himſelf at a meeting of the Scottiſh nobles, diſcovered to them his deſigns, and exhorted them to join in the noble attempt to break the chains of ſervitude, and revenge the inſulted rights of their fellow citizens. They liſtened to his remonſtrances, and declared their reſolution of ſeconding his patriotic deſigns and aſſerting the undoubted rights of the nation, againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin alone oppoſed this general determination. He repreſented the attempt as pregnant with deſtruction; he told them it was madneſs to oppoſe the power of the Engliſh, while that power was in the hands of a prince of ſuch uncommon vigour and abilities. He added, that nothing but the moſt rigorous puniſhments could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty, and ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward.

Bruce, who plainly foreſaw the failure of all his ambitious projects from the oppoſition of Cummin, followed him, on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, to the cloiſters of the Grey Friars, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, aſking him ſoon after if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce." "And is that a matter," cried Kilpatrick, "to be left to conjecture? I will ſecure him." He immediately ran to Cummin, and drawing his dagger, ſtabbed him to the heart. This act, ſo juſtly condemned in the preſent age, was at that time conſidered as a noble atchievement of patriotic virtue.

As no pardon could be expected from Edward, Bruce and his party had only the alternative to attempt a conqueſt, or periſh. No time was to be loſt, and that martial leader improved every moment: he flew into different parts of the kingdom to rouſe his countrymen to arms, and perſuade them to ſhake off the galling yoke of ſlavery. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleaſing hopes of recovering their liberty. Their courage was ſtimulated by oppreſſion. The Engliſh were again driven out of the kingdom, except thoſe who had taken refuge in places of ſtrength; and Bruce, coming to the abbey of Scone on Lady-day, 1306, was there crowned by the counteſs of Buchan, ſiſter to the earl of Fiſe, a privilege inherent in that family.

As ſoon as Edward was informed of this unexpected event, he ſent Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, into Scotland, to check the progreſs of the inſurgents. Bruce had collected a conſiderable number of forces, but they were raw and undiſciplined, and conſequently unable to withſtand the attacks of veteran troops. They were encamped at Methuen near Perth, without ſuſpecting the approach of an enemy. Pembroke profited by their ignorance; he attacked them in the night, and drove them from the field. Bruce behaved with the greateſt intrepidity; was thrice diſmounted from his horſe and as often recovered himſelf: but all his efforts were in vain; he was obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior fortune, and ſeek his ſafety in a ſpeedy flight. This dreadful diſaſter ſtruck the Scots with terror: the greater part of them deſerted their leader, and Bruce was obliged to fly for ſhelter to the Weſtern Iſles.

A ſhort time after this defeat, Edward himſelf arrived in Scotland, and divided his army into two bodies, one of which he ſent to the northward under the command of the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Lancaſter and Hereford. The prince made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Kildrommey, and ſoon after took the counteſs of Buchan, and the lady Mary Bruce, ſiſter to the Scotch king, priſoners. Theſe two ladies Edward, from a diſingenuous motive of revenge, ordered to be ſhut up in wooden cages, and one of them to be hung over the battlements of Roxburgh, and the other over thoſe of Berwick caſtles, as public ſpectacles to the inſulting populace. After performing this ſucceſsful expedition, Edward went to Carliſle, where he aſſembled a parliament, in order to fix the eſtabliſhment of that kingdom.

While Edward appeared at Carliſle with all the dignity of an Engliſh monarch, at the head of his parliament, he met with an affliction in his own family, which afforded him an affecting proof that happineſs is ſeldom the companion of greatneſs. He ſaw, with concern, the diſſolute courſes of his ſon, the prince of Wales, who was entirely guided by one Gaveſton, his favourite. Edward had ſeveral times endeavoured in vain to reclaim him, ſometimes by gentle admonitions, and ſometimes by puniſhments bordering on ſeverity. But a diſtinguiſhed inſult being now offered to the biſhop of Cheſter, the king determined to proceed in a legal manner againſt the favourite; and it was determined that Gaveſton ſhould, in three months, embark for France, and never more return to England, without the king's permiſſion or command. At the ſame time Edward ordered him a penſion of an hundred marks a year on condition that both he and the prince ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve the ſentence, which was readily accepted.

A. D. 1307. Edward's tranquillity was farther interrupted by a circumſtance little expected. Bruce, who had hitherto concealed himſelf ſo effectually that it was generally believed he had periſhed, now appeared at the head of a ſmall body of men, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the peaceable inhabitants who were in the intereſt of the Engliſh. Edward, at once alarmed and exaſperated at this ſudden and unexpected interruption, diſpatched the earl of Pembroke and lord Lorn, with a conſiderable body of forces, to repel the inſurgents.

Bruce, finding the enemy far ſuperior in ſtrength to his own, intrenched himſelf on the brow of a hill; but it was not long before he perceived the highlanders under lord Lorn endeavouring to form a compaſs round the eminence, by which he muſt have been ſurrounded, and cut off. He therefore immediately divided his army into three bodies, and ordered them to march different ways, but all to rendezvous, by a certain time, in the wood of Glantroule near Cumnock. This retreat being performed, Bruce's army was conſiderably increaſed, and he obtained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, though his whole force did not exceed 1000 men. With theſe, however, he knew ſo well how to chuſe his ground, and watch his opportunity, that he defeated the earl of Pembroke, and attacked a party under the earl of Glouceſter with ſo much reſolution, that after a bloody engagement, that nobleman was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Ayre, till he could be relieved by Edward. This gleam of ſucceſs raiſed the Scots from deſpair. The ſpirit of freedom ran from breaſt to breaſt, and Bruce, in a ſhort time, found his army increaſed to ſeveral thouſands, by which he became a dangerous, becauſe a deſperate enemy.

In the mean time Edward remained at Carliſle, impatiently waiting for a number of troops he had ſummoned to meet at that place at Midſummer, having formed the reſolution of taking a ſignal vengeance of the Scots, even to the extirpation of their very name: but death cut ſhort all his mighty projects, and ſaved the Scottiſh nation from the precipice of deſtruction.

Edward had, for ſome time, laboured under a dyſentery, which had greatly weakened him, but his eagerneſs for executing his deſigns not permitting him to wait for the day of the general rendezvous of his forces, which was to be on the 8th of July, he put himſelf at the head of ſuch of them as were already come up, and marched on Monday the 3d of July from Carliſle, though not able to proceed more than two miles a day.

When Edward came to a place called Burgh on the Sands in Cumberland, he found that his laſt moments were coming very faſt, and therefore ſent for prince Edward his eldeſt ſon, to whom he earneſtly recommended the following particulars, viz. that he ſhould bury his body in Scotland, and proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigor; that he ſhould ſend his heart to the Holy Land, with 30,000l. ſterling, which he had provided for the ſupport of the holy ſepulchre; and that he ſhould never recall Gaveſton. To theſe requeſts the prince ſolemnly ſwore obſervance; but with what ſincerity we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of his reign.

Edward now took leave of his children and all his great officers, and then delivered himſelf up to the care of his ſpiritual monitors; ſoon after which he reſigned his laſt breath, as his ſervants were raiſing him up to take ſome nouriſhment, on the 7th of July 1307, in the 68th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

It is almoſt impoſſible for any prince's character to be ſo perfect, but that there will be ſome kind of flaw in it. Edward was certainly poſſeſſed of many virtues, though at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that he had ſome vices; but the former were more than ſufficient to balance the latter. His ambition, and a deſire of increaſing the power of his kingdom, ſeem to have formed the ruling paſſion of his ſoul. In purſuit of theſe, he ſcrupled not to purſue meaſures inconſiſtent with the liberty of his people. The equity of his enterprize againſt Scotland has been juſtly queſtioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms muſt have been attended with the moſt ſolid advantages to both, we ſhall, perhaps, be more inclined to praiſe than cenſure his conduct. At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that if his character ſhould be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the moſt permanent advantages from his activity, his courage, his policy and his prudence. He reſtored authority to the government, maintained the laws againſt all the efforts of his turbulent barons, and executed juſtice with ſeverity on all who diſturbed the domeſtic peace of the kingdom. His merit as a legiſtator was ſo great, that he is often called, "The Engliſh Juſtinian;" becauſe, in his reign, the laws acquired a great perfection, and juſtly deſerved the name of Eſtabliſhments. He ſettled the juriſdiction of the ſeveral courts; and he firſt eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace. His conduct with regard to the clergy was more politic; he ſaw their power, and was deſirous of preventing its increaſe. Their poſſeſſions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting: he therefore prohibited them from making new acquiſitions, by paſſing the ſtatute of mortmain. But the undertaking that will always render the name of this great legiſlator dear to the Engliſh, was his eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Commons, by ſummoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leiceſter. By this means the boroughs became of importance in the ſtate; and the mechanics and tradeſmen, whom the feudal ſyſtem had placed in a deſpicable point of light, acquired the honor of being one of the branches of the legiſlature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no diſgrace to engage in the commerce of their country.

Edward is repreſented in his perſon as graceful, tall and comely; his features regular and elegant, with eyes keen and piercing, and an aſpect that equally commanded reverence and eſteem: he was of a robuſt and compact make, and excelled moſt of his contemporaries in bodily ſtrength and activity; his ſhape was ſomewhat diſproportioned, on account of the too great length of his legs, whence he received the name of Long-ſhanks; but then this blemiſh was attended with a conſiderable advantage, for it gave him ſuch a firm ſeat on horſeback, that he was not, without the greateſt difficulty, to be diſmounted.

With theſe bodily perfections he poſſeſſed a cool head, a ſound judgment, and an intrepid heart; he was ſagacious in foreſeeing difficulties, provident in guarding againſt them, and ever ſteady under the moſt ſudden change of events, and in the midſt of the greateſt perils. In a word, if we compare him with his father, his grandfather, and his own ſon his ſucceſſor, we muſt confeſs that England ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs by his death.

Edward had by his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, four ſons, but Edward his heir and ſucceſſor, was the only one that ſurvived him. She alſo bore him eleven daughters, moſt of whom died in their infancy: Joan was married firſt to the earl of Glouceſter, and, after his death, to Ralph de Monthemer: Margaret eſpouſed John duke of Brabant; Elizabeth married, firſt John earl of Holland, and afterwards the earl of Hereford: Mary was a nun in the monaſtery of Ambreſbury. He had by his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, two ſons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl of Norfolk, and mareſchal of England; and Edmond, who was created earl of Kent by his brother after he aſcended the throne. The princeſs died in her infancy.

The remarkable occurrences of this king's reign were as follow :

In the third year of his reign, a general earthquake happened in England ; from which, among other accidents, St. Michael's church on the Hill, near Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire was entirely thrown down.

In his ſixteenth year, as the king and queen were talking together in their bed-chamber, a flaſh of lightning ſtruck in at the window, paſſed by them, and killed two of the ſervants in waiting, though their majeſties received no other injury than being greatly frightened.

In the 27th of his reign, an act was made by the common-council of London for preventing impoſition in the ſale of proviſions, when the prices of poultry to be ſold in the city were fixed as follow:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A fat cock —	0	1½	A plover —	0	1
Two pullets —	0	1½	A ſwan —	3	0
A fat capon —	0	2½	A crane —	1	0
A gooſe —	0	4	Two woodcocks —	0	1½
A mallard —	0	1½	A fat lamb, from Chriſtmas to Shrovetide	0	6
A partridge —	0	1½	All the reſt of the year	0	4
A pheaſant —	0	4			
A heron —	0	6			

In this king's reign the title of Baron, which was common to all ſuch as held lands of the crown, was confined to thoſe only who were ſummoned by the king in parliament.

SECTION II.

EDWARD II. SURNAMED *of* CAERNARVON.

EDWARD II. was not quite twenty-three years of age when he acceded to the throne of England. The gracefulneſs of his perſon, the majeſty of his appearance, and the mildneſs of his diſpoſition inſpired the people with the moſt pleaſing ideas of enjoying both happineſs and tranquillity under his government. But they ſoon perceived that all their hopes were built on a chimerical foundation, and that the pleaſing proſpect was merely deluſive.

The firſt act of his reign gave an unhappy omen of what followed. His father had ſcarcely reſigned his breath, and himſelf received the homage of the Engliſh prelates and nobility at Carliſle, than, forgetting his promiſes to his dying parent, he ſent to recall his favourite Gaveſton ; and, without waiting his return, made him the richeſt ſubject in the kingdom, by creating him earl of Cornwall.

Such was his prejudice in favor of this minion, that no ſooner did he hear of his arrival in England, than his impatience to have his company got the better of faith, honor, promiſes, intereſt, and even decency ; he inſtantly appointed the earl of Pembroke his governor of that part of Scotland which ſtill remained in allegiance to the Engliſh, and then haſtened to welcome the companion of his wiſhes.

Gaveſton was no ſooner returned, than the weak and deluded young monarch removed all his father's officers and domeſtics, without even adviſing with his council. Langſton, biſhop of Lincoln, treaſurer to the late king, was removed from his dignities, his effects were ſequeſtered, and himſelf impriſoned in Wallingford-caſtle.

About Michaelmas a parliament was ſummoned at Northampton, to regulate the late king's funeral[*], together with the marriage and coronation of his ſon, the reigning prince, and alſo to deliberate on the ſtate of the nation. Here a ſubſidy was granted to defray the expences of the two ceremonies ; and a very impolitic ordinance was paſſed, making the baſe coin, which had been cried down in the preceding reign, again current throughout the kingdom.

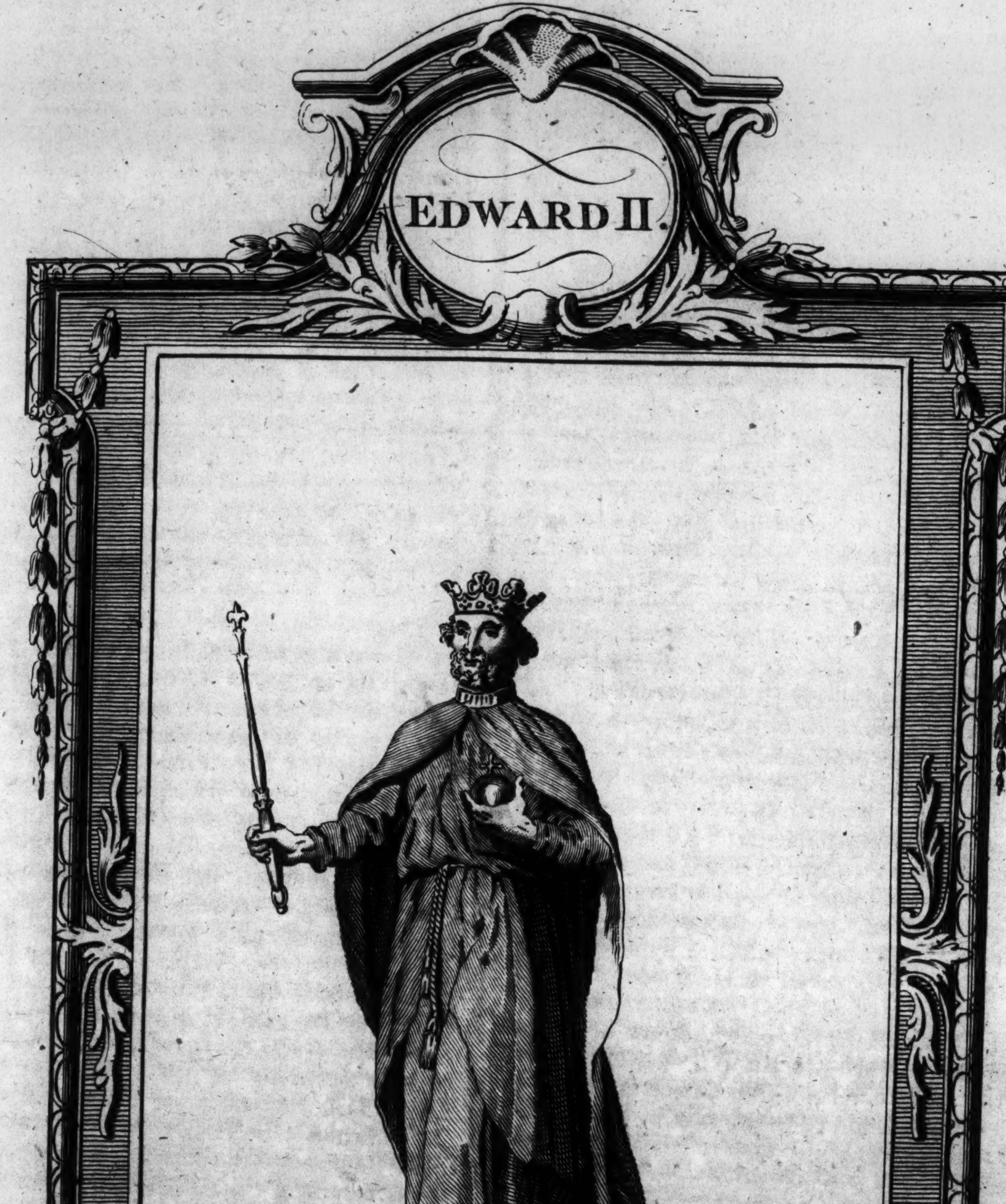
Edward, not ſatisfied with having broken his engagements to his dying father, in the two inſtances of recalling Gaveſton, and the diſpoſal of his royal body, now added a third of the moſt aggravating kind, by beſtowing upon his favourite, as a gift, the very ſum which the deceaſed prince had, by his laſt will, appropriated to the maintenance of 140 knights, who had engaged to carry his heart to Jeruſalem ; and, to crown the whole, he gave him his niece Margaret, ſiſter to the young earl of Glouceſter, in marriage, the nuptials being celebrated with great magnificence on the firſt of October.

While Edward was thus laviſhing power, honours and eſtates on a worthleſs favourite, the war in Scotland was neglected. Bruce, who had retired to his faſtneſſes on the approach of the former Edward, now appeared boldly on the plain, fell upon the county of Galloway, and ſoon reduced it to his obedience. The earl of Britany was ſent at the head of a powerful army to ſtop the career of the Scots ; and Bruce perceiving that it would be in vain to contend with a force ſo ſuperior to his own, once more retired to the mountains and moraſſes of that country.

A. D. 1308. The neceſſary preparations being made for Edward's voyage to the continent, in order to conſummate his marriage with the princeſs Iſabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, he ſailed early on the morning of the twenty-ſecond of January, and landing at Boulogne, did homage to the king of France

---

[*] The body of the deceaſed king, inſtead of being conveyed into Scotland, agreeable to his dying requeſt, was removed from Carliſle to Waltham ; from hence it was carried to Weſtminſter-abbey, where it was interred with great ſolemnity on the 18th of October 1307, on the north ſide of the ſhrine of St. Edward, under a tomb of grey marble, with the following inſcription : *Edwardus Primus, Scotorum malleus, hic eſt. 1307. Pactum Serva.* That is, " Here lies Edward I. the Scourge of the Scots. 1307. Obſerve Engagements."---It is remarkable that the tomb of this king was opened ſo lately as in the month of May 1774, the cauſe of which was as follows: The Society of Antiquarians having found it mentioned in a book called *Rymer's Fœdera,* that king Edward I. ſurnamed Long-ſhanks, was interred in a ſtone coffin, incloſed in a ſtone tomb, in Edward the Confeſſor's Chapel, and that a ſum of money was allowed to preſerve the tomb, determined to gratify their curioſity by endeavouring to diſcover the truth of it. Accordingly they applied to the dean of Weſtminſter for leave to open the tomb, who readily complied with their requeſt. At the time appointed for opening the tomb, the dean, with about fifteen of the ſociety, attended, when, to their great aſtoniſhment, they found the royal corpſe to appear as repreſented by the hiſtorian. He had on a gold and ſilver tiſſue robe, over which was a very handſome one of crimſon velvet, both of them quite freſh ; and the jewels that were about him appeared exceeding bright. He had in one hand a ſceptre and dove, and in the other a ſceptre and croſs, which meaſured near five feet in length. The crown on his head being raiſed, the ſkull appeared bare, but the face and hands ſeemed perfectly entire. He meaſured in length ſix feet two inches.



EDWARD II.

Wale delin.

Taylor sculp.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

France on the twenty-fourth. The following day the nuptials were celebrated in the church of Boulogne, the kings of France, Navarre, of the Romans and Sicily, with the queens of the two former monarchs, being preſent at the ſolemnity.

Edward, after ſpending ſome days on the continent, returned to England, and was crowned with his new queen at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-fifth of February. But a difficulty aroſe, previous to the performance of the ceremony, which greatly alarmed the monarch. The barons, exaſperated at the inſolence of Gaveſton, who affected to treat them with the moſt mortifying contempt, refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation, unleſs Gaveſton was baniſhed the kingdom. Edward promiſed to redreſs all their grievances provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to ſuſpend their reſentment. But Gaveſton was ſo far from profiting by theſe national marks of diſguſt to his perſon and conduct, that he appeared, with the moſt faſtidious pomp, in the proceſſion, in which he carried the crown of St. Edward before the king. One of the barons was ſo highly provoked at his aſſuming behaviour, that he was, with ſome difficulty, prevented from ſacrificing the inſulting favourite to his reſentment.

No ſooner was the ceremony of the coronation over, than Edward, unmindful of his promiſe to his barons, began to heap new favours every day upon Gaveſton: there was no acceſs to the king's perſon but through him; and all places of profit and honour were diſpoſed of ſolely by his will. The barons were ſo irritated at this, that a party was formed againſt Gaveſton, at the head of which was Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, and once the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in England. The confederate barons bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, never to deſert each other till the deteſted favourite was baniſhed the kingdom. Countenanced by the oppoſition of the nobility, the people paid no longer any ſubmiſſion to the laws: robberies, murders, and other alarming diſorders, the conſtant preludes to civil war, were committed in every part of the kingdom. But Gaveſton ſtill deſpiſed the threatening ſtorm, and even treated the young queen with contempt.

The king, in order to remove theſe diſorders, ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter. The barons, determined not to miſs ſo favourable an opportunity of effectually humbling the favourite, came to the houſe, attended by a numerous armed retinue, required the baniſhment of Gaveſton, and prevailed upon the biſhops to threaten him with excommunication. Edward found it would be madneſs to reſiſt, and therefore complied with their demands; but inſtead of ſending him out of the Engliſh dominions, as the barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, with powers as ample as thoſe of royalty itſelf, allotting him the whole revenue of that kingdom for his ſubſiſtence; and when the day of his exile came, he accompanied him as far as Briſtol, where he ſhewed the moſt unmanly weakneſs at parting with him.

A. D. 1309. Gaveſton, who did not want bravery, and poſſeſſed all the neceſſary talents for war, was not idle in his own government. He put the laws vigorouſty into execution, and reduced ſeveral bands of Iriſh rebels who had for ſome time diſturbed the peace of that kingdom. Theſe actions, together with Edward's conduct to his nobles during the favourite's abſence, made ſuch a change in the minds of the latter, that they even conſented to his being recalled, and all reſentment ſeemed to be buried in the grave of forgetfulneſs.

But Gaveſton learnt not wiſdom from experience: he forgot his former misfortunes, and reſumed, on his return, the ſame inſolence and oſtentation which had before procured his exile. The barons were now more provoked than ever; they determined to put it out of the power of the king himſelf to protect ſo hated a minion. They again came to parliament, attended by an army of their retainers, and compelled the king to ſurrender his authority into the hands of twelve perſons, whoſe ordinances were to have the force of ſtatutes.

A. D. 1311. After this junto had governed the kingdom near a year and a half, the king ſummoned a parliament to meet on the eighth of Auguſt, when a ſet of ordinances were produced, which the king confirmed with the ſame facility he granted this unlimited commiſſion to the barons. Theſe ordinances were twenty-ſix in number, the moſt material of which were as follow: That all evil counſellors ſhould be removed from the king's perſon, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his ſiſter the lady de Veſey, who had obtained grants from the king diſhonourable to the dignity, and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveſton had given evil counſel to his majeſty, removed all perſons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and ſupplied their places with his own weak and worthleſs creatures, embezzled the king's treaſure, impoveriſhed the realm, by obtaining unreaſonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleaſure, protected robbers, arrogated to himſelf the royal power and dignity, and formed aſſociations inconſiſtent with the laws of the land; he ſhould, for theſe miſdemeanors, abjure the kingdom for ever before the firſt of November; and if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, ſhould be treated as a public enemy. That the king ſhould not leave the realm, nor declare war againſt any prince or potentate, without the conſent of the barons. That on his quitting the kingdom with their conſent, a guardian of the realm ſhould be appointed by the parliament, who ſhould alſo nominate the chief officers of the ſtate, of the houſhold, of the revenue, and of juſtice, as well as the keepers of foreſts, the eſcheators on both ſides the Trent, and, in a word, all perſons employed under the crown in any part of his Majeſty's dominions. That all perſons in office ſhould take an oath to obſerve theſe ordinances; and that one biſhop, two earls, and as many barons, ſhould be choſen in every parliament, to receive the complaints againſt the king's miniſters, and others who ſhould violate theſe ordinances, and to puniſh offenders at diſcretion.

Though ſeveral of theſe ordinances were well calculated, not only for the regular diſpenſation of juſtice, but alſo as barriers againſt any oppreſſion on the people, yet others wholly deprived the king of his prerogative, and rendered him a mere cypher in government. Edward was no ſtranger to this; and therefore, when he ſigned them, he determined to obſerve them no longer than he had an opportunity of declaring them void, and of no effect. For as the commiſſion was granted ſolely for the purpoſe of making ſuch ordinances as ſhould be advantageous both to the king and his people, ſuch articles as ſhould be found prejudicial to either could not be conſidered as ratified and confirmed. The parliament was therefore no ſooner diſſolved, than the king repaired to York, where he publiſhed a proclamation, repealing the article relative to the exile of Piers Gaveſton, "as being unjuſt, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation." Gaveſton immediately obeyed the royal mandate, and was reinſtated in all his former employments.

A. D. 1312. This barefaced breach of the late ordinances ſo exaſperated the barons, that they immediately took up arms, and beſieged Gaveſton in Scarborough Caſtle. The king exerted all his power in raiſing an army for the relief of his favourite; but his attempts were in vain; for the people refuſed to join his ſtandard.

While the king was thus employed in endeavouring to raiſe a body of forces, Gaveſton, ſenſible of the bad condition of his garriſon, and the want of proviſions, was obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that he ſhould ſurrender himſelf a priſoner for two months, during which time means ſhould be uſed for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms propoſed by the barons ſhould not be accepted, the caſtle ſhould be reſtored to him in the ſame condition as when he ſurrendered it.

The earl of Pembroke, taking charge of the priſoner, propoſed to conduct him to Wallingford caſtle, which belonged to Gaveſton as earl of Cornwal; but he ſtopped at Dedington in Oxfordſhire, where he left him under a guard on pretence of having ſome very preſſing buſineſs to tranſact in the neighbourhood.

The earl of Warwick, having notice given him of this diſpoſition, got together a ſtrong force and ſurrounding the houſe where Gaveſton was lodged, took him out of the cuſtody of his keepers, and carried him to his own caſtle of Warwick, where the earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Arundel were aſſembled. Here a ſham trial was ſet on foot, and Gaveſton adjudged to die as an enemy to the public; after which he was removed to a place called Blacklow Hill, about a mile from Warwick, where his head was ſevered from his body by an executioner who had been previouſly provided for the bloody purpoſe. Such was the end of Piers Gaveſton, who, having enjoyed his prince's favour in a higher degree than was ſcarce ever known in any other inſtance, fell at laſt a victim to his own vanity, inſolence and avarice!

When Edward was informed of the death of his favorite, he was almoſt frantic; he threatened to take the ſevereſt vengeance, and even to exterminate his whole noblity who were concerned in that deteſtable action. But he ſoon found that his threatenings were in vain. The more reaſonable part of the nation could not indeed behold this bloody tragedy without horror, and dread the conſequence of a reformation begun with murder and perjury; yet they did not think it adviſeable to plunge the nation into all the horrors of a civil war, and depopulate the kingdom to revenge a breach of the laws of humanity. Nor was Edward himſelf inexorable in his reſentments; he ſoon liſtened to the terms of accommodation. It was ſtipulated, that the barons ſhould aſk him pardon publickly on their knees, and he was ſo pleaſed with theſe vain appearances of exterior ſubmiſſion, that he readily forgave them all their paſt offences.

A. D. 1314. All animoſities being now ſubſided between the king and his barons, it was determined to ſend a powerful force againſt the Scots, who taking advantage of the troubles in England, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages. The whole military force of the kingdom was aſſembled; and Edward put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, which, according to the Scottiſh writers, amounted to an hundred thouſand men. Bruce, whoſe army was inferior in numbers, endeavoured to ſupply by art, what he wanted in ſtrength. Perſuaded that this important conteſt was to decide the fate of his kingdom, he choſe the field of battle with the utmoſt prudence, and made the neceſſary preparations for receiving the Egliſh. He poſted himſelf at Bannock-burn, about two miles from Sterling; having a hill on his right flank, and a moraſs on his left. In the front of his camp ran a ſmall rivulet, the banks of which, as well as the bed of the ſtream, he filled with ſharp ſtakes; and cauſed deep pits to be dug a little beyond the oppoſite bank, into which ſharp ſtakes were alſo planted, and the whole covered over with turf. The van of the Engliſh army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottiſh camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a ſmart ſkirmiſh enſued between two parties of cavalry. The Engliſh were led by Henry de Bohun, a younger brother of the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in perſon. The conteſt was very bloody; but was at laſt decided in favour of the Scots, by the valour of Bruce, who rode up to Bohun, and cleft his head with a battle-axe, in ſight of both armies.

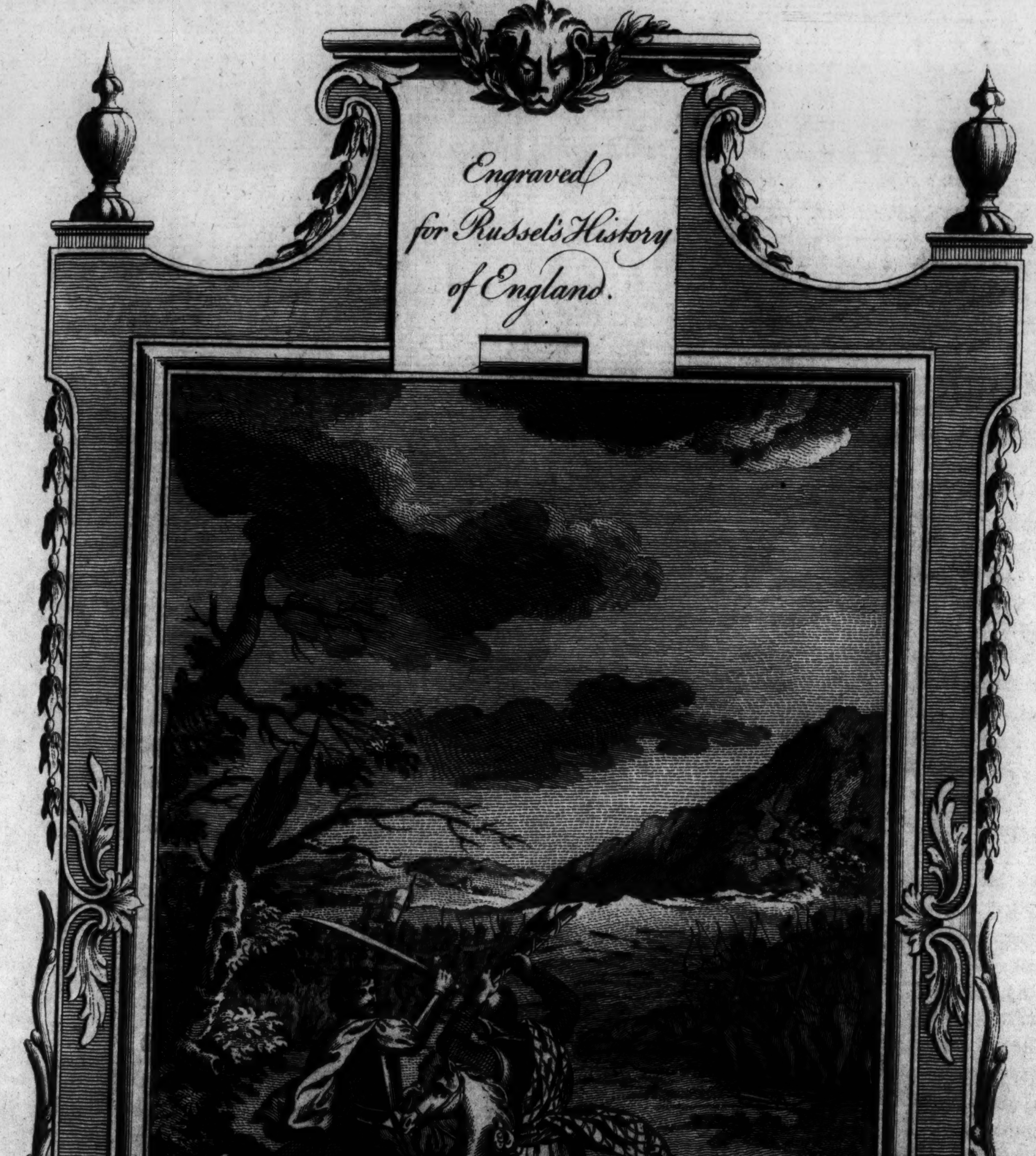
The Engliſh, on the loſs of their leader, retreated, and night coming on, the general attack was poſponed till the morning, when the Engliſh troops prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, compoſed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Glouceſter and Hereford, and the king himſelf led the centre or main body. Bruce drew up his forces, conſiſting chiefly of foot, in three lines, and a body of reſerve. The centre was commanded by himſelf, the right wing by his brother Edward, the left by Randolph, and the body of reſerve by Sir James Douglas and the lord high ſteward of Scotland.

When the Engliſh army were juſt ready to engage, a diſpute happened between the earls of Glouceſter an Hereford, with regard to making the firſt attack upon the enemy. The firſt claimed it by cuſtom, as having been always employed by his anceſtors, and the latter as conſtable of England. The earl of Glouceſter, determined not to ſubmit to his opponent, broke the rank, and, impelled by all the ardour of youth, ruſhed on to the attack, and fell among the covered pits, by which means his whole ſquadron was thrown into confuſion, and he himſelf periſhed. This imprudent ſally of youth proved fatal to the Engliſh army. Several of the covered pits had been diſcovered during the ſkirmiſh in the evening; and the king, in order to prevent a ſimilar misfortune, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the moraſs, and attack the main body of the Scottiſh army in flank; and during the confuſion of that unexpected attack, the cavalry were to have forced the paſſage of the rivulet, and fallen ſword in hand on the embarraſſed enemy.

Glouceſter had hardly paid the forfeit of his imprudence and diſregard to military diſcipline, when the Engliſh infantry, having made the preſcribed circuit, fell with the utmoſt fury on the wing commanded by Randolph, and galled them ſo ſeverely with repeated ſhowers of arrows, that they were thrown into diſorder. Sir James Douglas perceived the confuſion, and fell ſuddenly upon the rear of the Engliſh with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were routed with great ſlaughter. The main body of the Engliſh, however, marched up with a determined reſolution to attack the enemy; when they obſerved on the heights towards their left, the appearance of another army marching leiſurely to ſurround them. This formidable appearance was nothing more than a number of waggoners and ſumpter boys, whom Bruce had ſupplied with military ſtandards, which at a diſtance gave them the appearance of a numerous body of forces. The Engliſh were ſtruck with a pannic; they fled with the utmoſt precipitation and Bruce obtained a complete victory.

The booty acquired by the Scots was prodigious; beſides which they took ſeveral perſons of diſtinction priſoners, who paid largely for their ranſom. Edward himſelf had ſcarce time to reach Dunbar caſtle, before Sir James Douglas appeared at the head of four hundred horſe, hoping to intercept Edward if he attempted to eſcape to Berwick by land; but the

Engraved for Russel's History of England.



Dodd delin.

Taylor sculp.

HENRY DE BOHUN *Brother to the Earl of Hereford, killed with a Battle-Axe, by Bruce,* **KING** *of* **SCOTLAND.**

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

king eluded his vigilance by paſſing to that town by water.

Bruce diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much after the victory by his humanity and generoſity, as he had done in the battle by his bravery and prudence. He treated all his priſoners with the greateſt tenderneſs; he ſent the bodies of the earl of Glouceſter and lord Clifford to the Engliſh monarch at Berwick; he diſmiſſed lord Monthermer, for whom he had a particular friendſhip, without ranſom; he exchanged the earl of Hereford and other noblemen, for his wife, his daughter and ſiſter, the earl of Mar and the biſhop of Glaſgow, who had remained priſoners in England ever ſince the battle of Methuen: and he cauſed the dead bodies left on the field of battle to be decently interred.

A. D. 1315. The barons were not in the leaſt affected at the overthrow of their monarch by the Scotch king, but, on the contrary, ſeemed totally regardleſs of the honor of their country, and even founded the hopes of their own future grandeur on the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the crown. They no ſooner ſaw the king return with diſgrace, than they inſiſted on a renewal of their ordinances, and Lancaſter was placed at the head of the miniſtry. Edward perceived his danger, and ſenſible of his own incapacity for holding the reins of government, attached himſelf to a new favourite. This was Hugh le Deſpenſer, or Spencer, a young man of high rank, deſcended from a noble family, and an Engliſhman by birth. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs, neceſſary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and moderation which alone could have ſupported him in this dangerous pre-eminence, ſurrounded by ſuch numbers of powerful enemies. Had the oppoſition of the barons, however, been founded on virtue, and directed only to ſupport the honor of their country, theſe defects would have been conſidered as abundantly ſupplied by the talents and experience of the father of this new favourite, and who had alſo acquired a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. He was a nobleman venerable for his age, and during his whole life had been reſpected for his wiſdom, his valor and his intrepidity. But envy now obſcured all his merits; his paſt ſervices were forgotten; and he was, together with his ſon, devoted to deſtruction.

A. D. 1321. The turbulent barons firſt indicated their diſpleaſure by abſenting themſelves from parliament; this not producing the deſired effect, they determined to have recourſe to more powerful methods for completing their deſigns. It was not long before an opportunity offered. Edward, who had ſet no bounds to his bounty with regard to his favourites, had not only married the younger Spencer to his neice, one of the co-heireſſes of the earl of Glouceſter (ſlain at the fatal battle of Bannock-burn) but alſo given him a barony, which it was pretended had reverted to the crown. This tranſaction, which could be conſidered as nothing more than a proper ſubject for a law-ſuit, cauſed an inſurrection in the kingdom. Lancaſter, and ſeveral other barons, flew to arms, and peremptorily demanded the baniſhment of the two Spencers. The king refuſed to comply; upon which they marched to London, and preſented to the parliament an accuſation againſt the favourites. All reſiſtance was in vain: the two Spencers were condemned to baniſhment without a ſingle crime being proved againſt them.

This ſentence was voted by the lay barons alone, not the leaſt attention beig paid to the voice of the prelates. The only indication thoſe turbulent barons gave of their regard to law, was, their requiring from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings; after which they diſbanded their army, and retired to their ſeveral caſtles.

Edward, circumſtanced as he was, might poſſibly have ſubmitted to this incroachment made upon his prerogative, had not a freſh inſult rouſed him from his indolence. The queen, having occaſion to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds in Kent, belonging to Lord Badleſmere, one of the confederate barons, diſpatched ſome of her ſervants to deſire a night's lodging in the caſtle; the requeſt was not only denied, but they were even refuſed admittance, and ſome of them killed. This outrageous behaviour to a princeſs who had joined the barons againſt the younger Spencer, was reſented by all parties, and the king, levying an army, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and put the governor and ſeveral of the garriſon to death. This ſeaſonable act of juſtice was approved even by the turbulent barons themſelves, and Edward, who was too apt to be over elated at the moſt trifling ſucceſs, now determined to attempt the recovery of his prerogative. He ventured to recall the two Spencers, whoſe ſentence he declared to be illegal and unjuſt, as being paſſed without the conſent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the barons aſſembled in parliament. He added, that he was bound by the great charter to receive the petitions of the Spencers, becauſe he was obliged to do juſtice to all his ſubjects.

A. D. 1322. The turbulent barons ſtill continued in arms, upon which Edward, at the head of a powerful army, marched againſt them, and continued his rout to the borders of Wales, where, finding them totally unprepared for reſiſtance, he ſeized their caſtles, and many of them being taken, were committed to priſon.

In this diſtreſſed ſituation, the barons had recourſe to the Scottiſh monarch, with whom they concluded a treaty, promiſing to recognize his title to the crown of Scotland; and that prince in return, ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with a body of forces. Encouraged by the hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance, and joined by the earl of Hereford at the head of his retainers, Lancaſter poſted himſelf at Burton upon Trent, in order to defend the paſſage of the river. But he wanted intrepidity in the day of battle; he was intimidated at the approach of the royal army, and retreated towards Borough-bridge, in order, if poſſible, to reach the borders of Scotland. Unfortunately for Lancaſter, Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carliſle, ſuſpecting his deſign, poſted himſelf, at the head of a body of troops, to oppoſe his paſſage over the Eure, ſo that Lancaſter found himſelf reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner to Harcla. He choſe the former: but the earl of Hereford being ſlain in the firſt attack, the barons troops fled with great precipitation, and Lancaſter was taken priſoner. Harcla conducted the earl to the king at Pomfret, where he was tried by a court martial, and condemned to death. Lancaſter now experienced no leſs indignities than what had been practiſed upon Gaveſton. He was dreſſed in mean apparel, placed upon a lean horſe without a bridle, and a hood put upon his head. In this ignominious manner he was conducted to an eminence in the neighbourhood of Pomfret, amidſt the ſcoffs of the rabble, and there beheaded. Thus fell Thomas earl of Lancaſter, a prince of the blood, and one of the moſt powerful barons ever known in England; but whoſe tutbulent temper hurried him into meaſures deſtructive at once of the peace of ſociety, and the honour of his country.

Lancaſter, however, was not the only perſon that ſuffered on this occaſion; about twenty other barons were afterwards tried and executed. Many made their eſcape into France, and others were taken and thrown into priſon. Oppoſition ſeemed to lie gaſping at the feet of Edward. Harcla was rewarded for his ſervices with a large eſtate and the earldom of Carliſle; but he did not long enjoy the royal bounty, for he forfeited his honors and life by being found guilty of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland.

Edward, deſirous that his kingdom might have ſome reſpite from the calamities of Scottiſh invaſions, liſtened to overtures of peace made by Henry de Sully, the ambaſſador from the court of France; and, about Midſummer 1323, a truce was agreed upon for thirteen years. By the articles of this truce it was agreed, that a free commerce ſhould be open between the two nations, but no other correſpondence without a licence from the conſervators of the truce: that no new caſtles ſhould be built, nor any old fortreſſes repaired: and laſtly, that the truce ſhould remain in force, though the king of England, or lord Robert Bruce ſhould die in the interim.

A. D. 1324. The truce with Scotland was the more convenient to England, as the nation was at this time threatened with new calamities. Charles the Fair, the third ſon, and the third ſucceſſor of Philip the Fair, ſummoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. Spencer, who ſaw all the conſequences that might attend his own authority during the king's abſence, would not conſent to his leaving the kingdom. The parliament was conſulted, and it was the unanimous opinion of the whole aſſembly, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in perſon, but that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the court of France, requeſting that the homage might be delayed till a more convenient opportunity. Charles refuſed to poſtpone the ceremony, and ſent a body of forces to attack Guienne. It was now thought proper to ſend the queen Iſabella to her brother's court, in order, if poſſible, to bring about an accommodation; but all her attempts were in vain; Charles inſiſted that Edward ſhould repair to Paris in perſon to perform his homage.

While theſe diſputes were in agitation, the fertile brain of Iſabella furniſhed her with an expedient for removing all difficulties, and putting it in her power to be revenged on the young Spencer, whom ſhe heartily deteſted. She propoſed that the king ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Guienne to his ſon, and that the prince ſhould be ſent to Paris to perform the duties of a vaſſal. This expedient was greedily embraced by the Spencers, and the young prince, attended by the biſhop of Oxford, went over to Paris, and did the required homage and allegiance to the French monarch.

The artful Iſabella had now gained her principal point, and was determined to make uſe of her good fortune, by procuring the deſtruction of her enemies. Edward and his favourites were convinced of the egregious blunder they had committed, in truſting the perſon of the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman. The queen, on her arrival in France, had found a great number of fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian party; and their common hatred of Spencer ſoon cemented a ſecret friendſhip between them. Among the reſt was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron in the Welſh marches, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion. This young nobleman ſoon inſinuated himſelf into her affections, and ſhe ſacrificed to a vicious paſſion all the ſentiments of honor and fidelity ſhe owed to her huſband. It was in vain that Edward ordered her to return; ſhe declared her reſolution of continuing in France till the Spencers were baniſhed England with infamy and diſgrace.

A. D. 1326. Edward and his friends tried every gentle method they could deviſe to bring the refractory Iſabella to a ſenſe of her duty; but all in vain: ſhe remained deaf to the lenient voice of intreaty. Recourſe was therefore had to the pope, who readily engaged in the cauſe of the injured Edward. He wrote a very preſſing letter to the king of France, inſiſting, even on pain of excommunication, that the queen of England ſhould be ſent back to her huſband.

Charles was ſo affected by this menace, by the continual remonſtrances of the Engliſh envoys, and much more by the ſhameful commerce carried on between Mortimer and his ſiſter, that he determined not to ſupport her any longer: he accordingly ſhewed her the pope's letter, and told her that he could not, either with honor or ſafety to himſelf, continue to afford her ſhelter and protection.

Iſabella had for ſome time expected this event, and had therefore taken proper care to guard againſt its conſequences. She had affianced her ſon, the prince of Wales, to the daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland; who, in return, promiſed her an aſylum in his dominions, and to aſſiſt her with a body of troops to humble her enemies. She therefore retired directly into Hainault, where ſhe was received with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and reſpect. Every method was now uſed for raiſing an army to attend the queen and the young prince to England; and about three thouſand men in arms were collected for this expedition, under the command of John de Hainault, the count's brother. But Iſabella did not found her hopes of ſucceſs on the number and valor of her troops in the intended invaſion of her huſband's dominions, but in the connections ſhe had formed with the diſcontented nobles. All the old Lancaſtrian faction were ready to join her; and the families of about twenty of the nobility, who had ſuffered with the late earl of Lancaſter, were the more zealous in their attachment, as they hoped, in conſequence of her ſucceſs, to be reſtored to the eſtates which had been forfeited in conſequence of the rebellion of their relation. Beſides theſe, others had joined the queen's party. The king's brothers, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with other prelates, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons, approved her meaſures; ſo that nothing was wanting but the appearance of the queen and the prince, with ſuch a body of foreign forces as was ſufficient to protect them againſt immediate violence, to turn the whole force of the tempeſt againſt the unfortunate Edward.

Iſabella, having collected her forces at Dort, embarked with her ſon, and landed in Suffolk on the twenty-fourth of September. She was immediately joined by the princes of the blood, and other factious nobles. But to give her hoſtile appearance a ſtill more favourable aſpect, ſhe renewed her declaration, that the ſole motive of her enterprize was to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldoc, their creature. This proclamation had the deſired effect: the ardor of the Engliſh to join the ſtandard of the queen was aſtoniſhing; even Robert de Watteville, who had been ſent by Edward to oppoſe her progreſs in Suffolk, deſerted to her with all his forces.

Edward, who was at this time in London, applied to the citizens for aſſiſtance againſt the invaders of his kingdom; but he ſoon perceived that no reliance could be placed on their loyalty. He therefore ſet out for the weſtern parts of England, hoping that his ſubjects in that corner of the kingdom would commiſerate majeſty in diſtreſs, and ſupport their king againſt the unnatural rebellion of an implacable woman. But he was deceived; they flocked not to his ſtandard; and that unfortunate prince formed a reſolution of paſſing over into Ireland, leaving the elder Spencer to command in the caſtle of Briſtol.

No ſooner had Edward left London, than the populace committed the moſt dreadful diſorders. They plundered the houſes, and murdered the perſons of all who were obnoxious to them. Even the acknowledged virtues of the biſhop of Exeter could not protect him from their rage. He was dragged, like a felon, to the great croſs in Cheapſide, where his head was ſevered from his body. The other cities followed the example of the capital; and taking advantage of the national confuſion, committed every ſpecies of outrage with wantonneſs and impunity.

The earl of Kent, aſſiſted by John de Hainault, at the head of his foreign mercenaries, went to Briſtol, and inveſted the caſtle, where the elder Spencer had ſhut himſelf up, and would have defended the fortreſs to the laſt extremity, had not his garriſon been infected with the diſloyalty of the times; they therefore mutinied againſt their commander, and delivered him up to the enemy.

No reſpect was paid to this venerable nobleman, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year. All his former ſervices, as well as his virtues, were forgotten; and though they could alledge nothing againſt him but his loyalty to his maſter, he was condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.

Edward, in conſequence of his reſolution, had embarked for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavoured to conceal himſelf among the mountains of Wales. Iſabella was alarmed when ſhe heard that her huſband was in his own dominions. She feared that his diſtreſſed ſituation might turn the tide of popular favor againſt her party; and it was therefore determined to ſeize the perſon of the king. The difficulty of diſcovering his retreat was ſoon removed, by bribing the Welſh, who delivered up the unfortunate king* into the hands of his enemies. At the time he was ſeized he had with him only the younger Spencer, Robert de Baldock the chancellor, Stephen de Reading, and a few domeſtics; all the reſt of his courtiers having forſaken him in his misfortunes.

The exultation of the queen and her paramour exceeded all the bounds of decency, in beholding their capital enemy, the young Spencer, in their power. Without waiting for the meeting of a parliament, he reſolved to make him the immediate ſacrifice to her vengeance. He was accordingly brought to a mock trial before the queen; but he refuſed to plead before this unauthorized tribunal, in conſequence of which ſentence of death was paſſed on him; and he was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. This ſentence was executed with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity and inſult: his limbs were diſperſed through the principal towns in England, and his head was left affixed to the gibbet, as a ſpectacle to glut the eyes of his revengeful adverſaries. Stephen de Reading ſuffered the like death; but Baldock, being a prieſt, was committed to the priſon of the biſhop of Hereford, from whence he was ſent to London, and confined in Newgate, where he ſoon fter ended his days, through the barbarous uſage he nderwent there and in his conveyance from Here- ord.

In the mean time the unhappy Edward was con- eyed to Ledbury, and from thence, about the middle f December, to the caſtle of Kenelworth, where e continued all the winter, under the cuſtody of he earl of Lancaſter. Before his removal, however, he queen, willing to have all poſſible ſanction to her roceedings, had, by the advice of her council, ſent e biſhop of Hereford to demand the great ſeal of e king, who, finding it in vain to contend with his te, delivered it up without ſhewing the leaſt reluct- ce.

Iſabella, having thus obtained the great ſeal, was now inveſted with the actual exerciſe of the government; and the firſt uſe ſhe made of it was, to convoke, in the name of her huſband, a parliament who were to dethrone him, and which was appointed to aſſemble on the 7th of January following. This buſineſs being done, ſhe left Hereford, and went to keep her Chriſtmas at Wallingford Caſtle, where, in the adulterous embraces of the infamous Mortimer, ſhe forgot every call of nature; ſhe loſt every ſenſe of ſhame; nor ſeemed to remember that there exiſted ſuch a perſon as the wretched Edward, her ſovereign and huſband.

A. D. 1327. The parliament, according to appointment, aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the 7th of January; and on the 10th an impeachment was exhibited againſt the king; in which, though it was drawn by his moſt inveterate enemies, nothing but his confined genius or his misfortunes were alleged againſt him; malice itſelf not being able to find any particular crime that could be alledged againſt him. But this was of little weight in an aſſembly convoked for his deſtruction. The ſpirit of faction had annihilated juſtice. The impeachment being read in the preſence of the prince, ſeated on the throne, it was reſolved that young Edward ſhould aſſume the reins of government, and that Edward II. ſhould no longer be ſtiled king of England, but only Edward of Caernarvon, the king's father.

This reſolution of the parliament being notified to the queen, ſhe affected the deepeſt ſorrow for her huſband's ſufferings; and ſo well did ſhe play her part, that young Edward, (who was poſſeſſed of tender ſenſations) was ſo affected with the ſcene, which he believed to be real, that he ſolemnly ſwore not to take upon him the government, if not voluntarily reſigned by his father.

The perfidious queen now began to be apprehenſive that ſhe had ſpun the web of diſſimulation too fine: the generous reſolution of young Edward might have diſconcerted the whole plan of her and her faction, the government would naturally revert to its firſt principals, and all they were doing was treaſonable againſt the ſtate, and might prove fatal to themſelves.

In this perplexity the cabal found it abſolutely neceſſary to oblige the king to reſign his crown to his ſon. To effect which certain commiſſioners were immediately appointed for carrying to Edward the reſolution of the parliament with regard to his depoſition. This deputation conſiſted of three biſhops, three earls, two abbots, and two knights for each county, together with Sir William Truſſel, one of the judges, who was nominated the nation's particular procurator. Theſe were inſtructed to uſe every argument they could deviſe to prevail upon Edward to make a voluntary reſignation of that power they were determined he ſhould no longer hold.

In order to prepare the unfortunate king for the approaching change of his condition, the biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of his moſt inveterate enemies, were ſent to converſe with him before the deputies arrived. Edward was ſufficiently convinced that his fate was determined when theſe two prelates appeared; and the manner in which they diſcharged their commiſſion was perfectly ſimilar to the reſt of their conduct. Inſtead of pouring the balm of conſolation into the breaſt of wounded royalty, they aggravated the pungent ſmart by a thouſand malicious inſinuations: and when they perceived Edward made the leaſt ſtruggle to maintain his dignity, by refuſing to confer with the deputies; they told him, "that if he continued obſtinate in refuſing to reſign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his guilt, exclude all his children from the ſucceſſion, and place another perſon on the throne of his anceſtors." This menace awakened all the fondneſs of a father in the ſoul of the unfortunate Edward: he pauſed; he dropped a tear to the remembrance of his fallen ſtate; conſented to admit the deputies to an audience, and retired to his chamber.

As ſoon as he had recollected his ſpirits, he entered the chamber of audience dreſſed in a mourning habit; but after the articles of impeachment againſt him were read, and the commiſſioners had demanded his immediate reſignation, he was unable to ſtand the ſhock; his ſpirits forſook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the biſhop of Lincoln ſupported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting paſſions. As ſoon as he recovered, he proceeded to the ceremony of reſignation, by delivering, with his own hands, to the commiſſioners, the crown, ſcepter, and other enſigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe. And Sir William Truſſel renounced, in the name of the parliament and people, all future allegiance and fealty.

This melancholy ceremony (which was performed on the 20th of January 1327) being over, the commiſſioners returned to London, and young Edward was placed on his father's throne. But it was impoſſible to prevent theſe atrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The cruelty, the perfidy, and the infidelity of the queen, joined to her impudent hypocriſy, in publicly bewailing, with tears, the misfortunes of the king, who owed them all to her execrable conduct, could not fail of exciting the indignation of the Engliſh. Her infamous commerce with Mortimer increaſed the public odium, and ſhe was looked upon with deteſtation by every friend to truth, to virtue, to fidelity. The current of popular favour was now changed; the queen was looked upon with horror, while the fate of the unfortunate Edward was deplored. A ſcene of majeſty in diſtreſs attracted the pity, the compaſſion, the tears of the people. The earl of Lancaſter himſelf was touched with theſe generous ſentiments. He treated his royal captive with a lenity and tenderneſs very inconſiſtent with the projects his enemies had in view; and ſuch as gave the queen and Mortimer reaſon to fear that he harboured a deſign of reſtoring him to the throne.

In conſequence of this, the queen and her paramour reſolved to take the royal captive out of the hands of his too indulgent keeper, and to conſign him to the cuſtody of ſuch perſons on whom they could more firmly depend for the execution of their diabolical intentions. Accordingly, they ſent orders to have him conveyed from Kenelworth to Berkeley caſtle, in Glouceſterſhire, where he was placed under the care of Sir John Gurney and Sir John Maltravers, both of whom poſſeſſed that brutiſh diſpoſition which was requiſite for the deſigns of thoſe that employed them. Thomas, lord Berkeley, who was governor of the caſtle, did, indeed, endeavour in ſome meaſure to alleviate the wretched king's ſufferings by gentle uſage; which being obſerved by Gurney and Maltravers, they made ſuch a report thereof to their principals, that orders were ſent to remove Edward in the night, and to carry him from place to place, ſo that his friends might not know where he was. This order was obeyed with the moſt inhuman exactneſs; that he might be the more effectually diſguiſed, and not known to any he might meet, his barbarous keepers made him travel in the night with very thin cloaths and without any covering on the head; beſides which, during this melancholy progreſs, they offered him a thouſand indignities: they alſo attempted, more than once, to poiſon him; but the ſtrength of his conſtitution rendered all their attempts ineffectual.

In one of theſe nocturnal journies his ſavage tormentors made him alight in an open field, that he might have his head and beard ſhaven, which they did with cold water out of a ſtinking ditch. Here all Edward's firmneſs forſook him, and the horrors of his altered fate preſented themſelves ſo forcibly to his imagination, that for the firſt time he ſhed a flood of tears, telling them, that in deſpite of their inſolence and barbarity, he would be ſhaved with clean and warm water.

The unfeeling monſters having, as they thought, effectually eluded the ſearch, and defeated the attempts of his friends, brought him back again to Berkeley caſtle, where, as the lord of the place was now abſent, the poor king was left entirely to their management, who, by every vexation and fatigue they could deviſe, endeavoured to put an end to his exiſtence; but finding their endeavours had not ſo ſpeedy an effect as they could wiſh, they ſent for freſh inſtructions, for which they were not made to wait long. Adam Orleton, Biſhop of Hereford, who had been the chief contriver of the various ſpecies of torture and mortification the impriſoned king had undergone, and by which he thought to make his court to thoſe who were the original authors of his calamity, now ſent an order, doubtleſs with the privity, or rather by the direction, of the queen and Mortimer, for putting a ſpeedy end to Edward's life. This order was contained in a letter, directed to his keepers, Maltravers and Gurney, and couched in ſuch artful and ambiguous terms, that though the perſon to whom it was directed ſhould take it in the literal ſenſe, yet it furniſhed him with an opportunity of exculpating himſelf from the fact in caſe young Edward ſhould beſtir himſelf to bring the authors of his father's death to that puniſhment they juſtly merited.*

This diabolical ſtratagem but too well ſucceeded: no ſooner had the keepers read the letter than, perfectly ſenſible of what was expected from them, they entered the king's apartments while he lay aſleep, attended by other ruffians their followers, and cauſed him to be held faſt down to the bed; then thruſting a pipe, made of horn, up his body, they ran a red hot iron through it, and burnt his bowels in ſo horrid a manner, that the unfortunate king expired amidſt the moſt excruciating torments.

As ſoon as theſe monſters had perpetrated the execrable deed, they expoſed the body to public view, imagining that the precautions they had taken would effectually conceal the cauſe of his death; but though the ſkin appeared without any wound or blemiſh, the muſcles of his face were ſo diſtorted as plainly to ſhew that he had undergone ſevere agonies; beſides, a number of perſons, at a great diſtance from the caſtle, had heard the piercing ſhrieks and groans the tortured prince had thrown out while in the agonies of aſſaſſination.

After his body had been viewed by the prior of Briſtol,

---

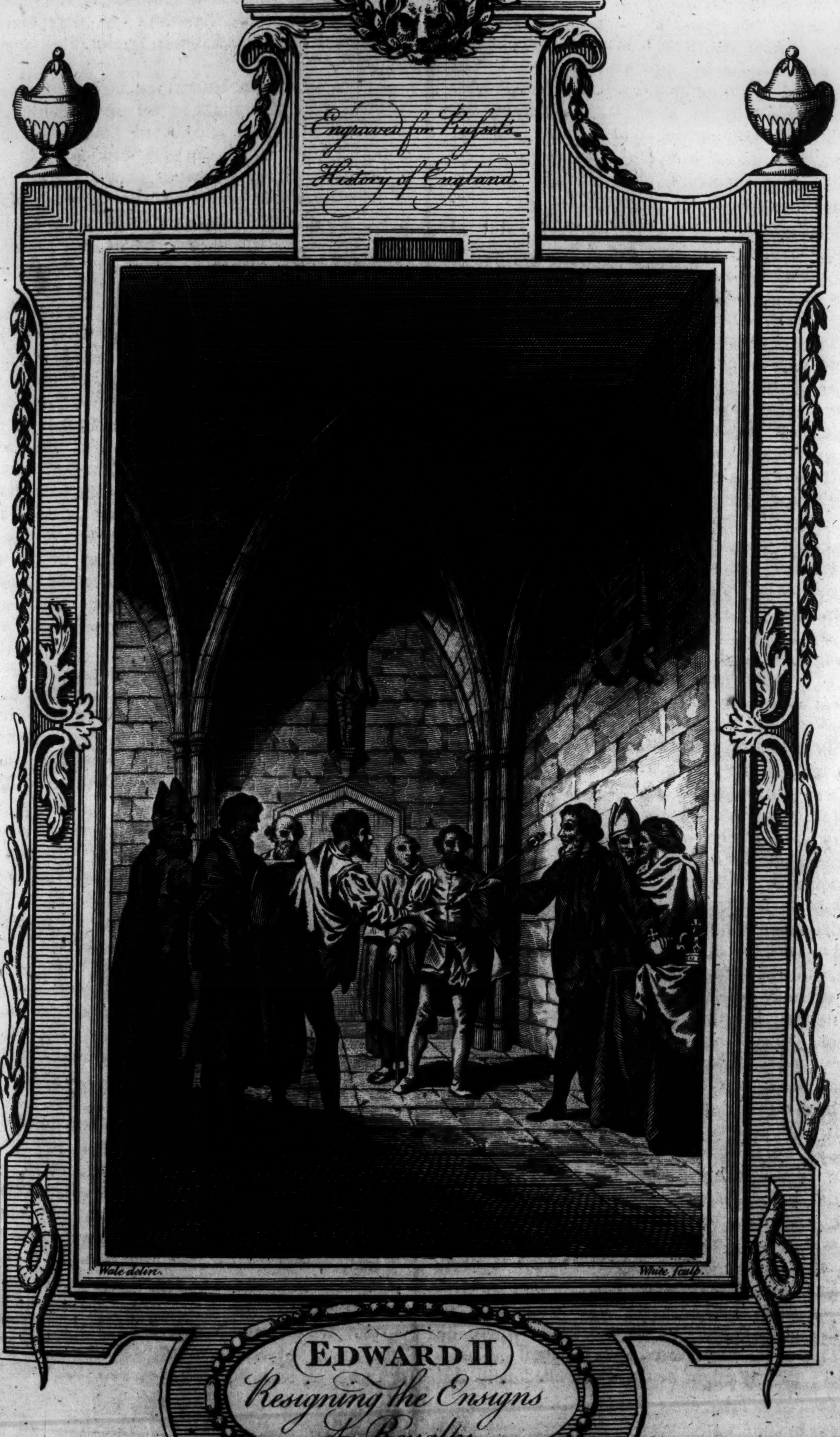
* This letter contained the following words;

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt:

The tranſlation of which is as follows:

To ſhed king Edward's blood
Refuſe to fear I count it good.

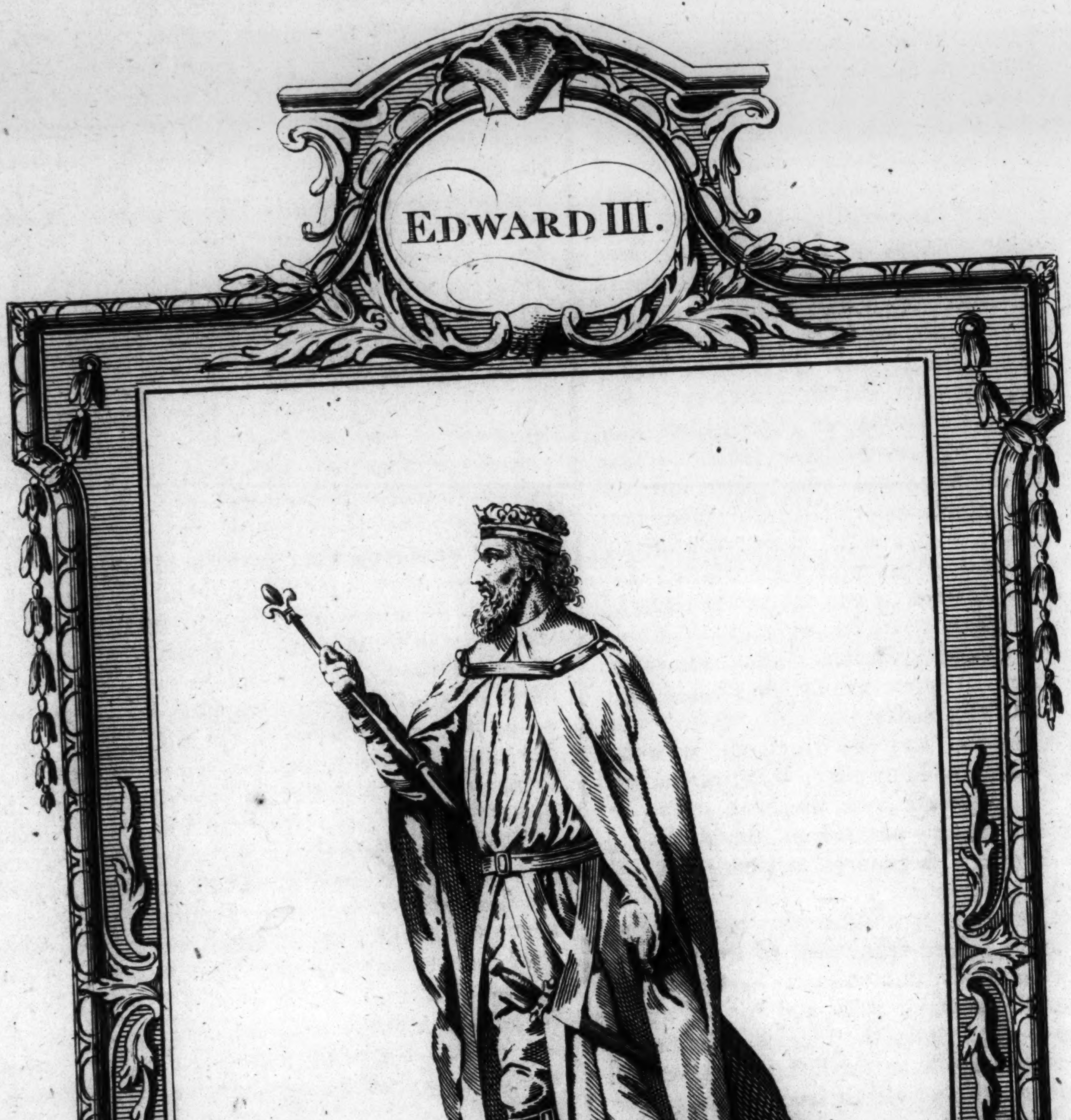
Theſe fallacious and artful lines admit of either a good or bad, a peaceable or ſanguinary conſtruction; for if a comma is placed after the Latin word *nolite*, or the Engliſh word *refuſe*, the lines imply the criminalty of entertaining any idea of the king's death; but if on the contrary the comma is placed after the Latin word *timere*, or the Engliſh word *fear*, the command to commit the murder appears poſitive.


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Wale delin.
White ſculp.

EDWARD II
Reſigning the Enſigns
of Royalty.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


EDWARD III.
Wale delin.
G. Walker sculp.

Briſtol, the abbot of Glouceſter, and ſeveral perſons of quality and credit, it was buried, without farther enquiry, in the abbey of St. Peter at Glouceſter. His murtherers, however, were ſo far from recoverng the reward they expected for their infamous ſervices, that they were forced to fly beyond ſea, to avoid he reſentment of the people; and the very perſons hat employed them affected to make diligent ſearch fter them, to cover the ſhare they had in the crime.

Thus fell Edward II. by the hands of inhuman ſſaſſins, in the 43d year of his age, and the 20th of is reign. He fell a victim to an unguarded affection or his favourites, who, becauſe they were favouites, became juſtly the objects of national jeaouſy. As to his incapacity to govern, it does ot appear, by any means, to be ſo great as ſome riters have alledged; for though he had not all the alour and underſtanding of his father, yet he was either a coward nor a fool. In a word, he might ave continued to ſway the Britiſh ſceptre to his laſt oments, had he not countenanced the Spencers in he perſecution of the Lancaſtrian faction. The lood of that nobleman, and others who ſuffered ith him, proved a fountain from which deſtruction lowed upon thoſe who ſought their overthrow; hough, at the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed that he king ought not to have been ſo ſeverely puniſhed; or would he, had not the reſentment of an imlacable woman turned reformation into diſloyalty, nd expelled from the government him, whom his eople ſought only to reclaim.

Edward left two ſons and two daughters, namely, dward his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor; John, afterwards reated earl of Cornwall, and who died young at erth; Jane, afterwards married to David Bruce, ing of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Regild, count of Guelders.

The only remarkable occurrence that happened in is king's reign was, the diſſolution of the Knights emplars, which was occaſioned by the barbarous inſtice of pope Clement V. inſtigated by the cruel nd vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair king of France. his order owed its riſe to the firſt fervour of the ruſades; and by uniting valour with devotion, the two moſt popular qualities of that age, and employing both in the defence of the Holy Land, they ſoon made rapid advances to credit and authority. Hence they alſo acquired, from the piety of the faithful, very ample poſſeſſions in every country of Europe, eſpecially in France. But time having relaxed the ſeverity of their original virtues, and convinced them of the inefficacy of thoſe expeditions to the Eaſt, which had ſo long depopulated Europe, they choſe rather to enjoy in their native countries thoſe opulent eſtates, than expoſe themſelves to inceſſant dangers againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. By this change of conduct they loſt their popularity, while their riches tempted the avidity of ſeveral of the monarchs of Europe. But though they were no longer beheld with reverence by the people, they ſtill maintained a conſiderable part of their former credit; the vindictive ſpirit of Philip the Fair alone proved the ſource of their deſtruction. They were accuſed, by two profligate and impriſoned knights of their own order, of crimes ſo repugnant to reaſon and policy, that their being mentioned was abundantly ſufficient to deſtroy the credit of the witneſſes. But Philip was implacable. All the Templars in France were ſeized and committed to priſon in one day; above an hundred of them were put to the moſt cruel tortures, and fifty-nine burnt together near the abbey of St. Antoine, in Paris. Even the grand maſter of the order, John de Molay, and Guy, brother to the ſovereign of Dauphiné, two of the principal noblemen in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were committed alive to the flames before the church of Notredame. Clement V. one of Philip's creatures, and who then reſided at Poictiers, aboliſhed the whole order, by the plenitude of his apoſtolic power. Their conduct underwent the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny in ſeveral parts of Europe, but not the leaſt trace of the crimes imputed to them by Philip was even pretended to be diſcovered. England ſent back an ample teſtimony of their piety and morals to the pope; but as the order was now annihilated, the knights were diſtributed into ſeveral convents, and their poſſeſſions transferred to the order of St. John.

SECTION III.

EDWARD III. SURNAMED of WINDSOR.

AS ſoon as the commiſſioners had returned from Kenelworth-caſtle, and made their report of the aptive king's reſignation, his ſon was immediately roclaimed king by the name of Edward the Third, nd a few days after was crowned at Weſtminſter by e archbiſhop of Canterbury. At this time he was ut fourteen years of age, and conſequently incapable f holding the reins of government; a council of reency was therefore appointed by the parliament for recting the adminiſtration of affairs during his miority. This council conſiſted of five prelates and ven lay peers, excluſive of the earl of Lancaſter, how as choſen guardian and protector of the king's erſon.

A. D. 1327. From the depoſition of the late ng, and the elevation of his ſon, the people flatred themſelves with receiving the moſt diſtinguiſhed dvantages; but they ſoon found the pleaſing proſpect vercaſt, and began to perceive that the government of a weak and imprudent king was not more to be dreaded than that of a minor prince, under the direction of a paſſionate and head-ſtrong woman, herſelf governed by an arbitrary and unexperienced miniſter, who, though he poſſeſſed even more power than the younger Spencer, was very deficient both with reſpect to abilities or intereſt, to that nobleman.

The Scotch, who conſidered the truce that had been made between them and the Engliſh, as terminated by the depoſition of the elder Edward, took advantage of the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom, and Bruce made an attempt upon the caſtle of Norham; but the governor, Sir Robert Manners, having intelligence of the deſign, made a ſally on them with ſuch ſucceſs that great numbers of them were killed, and the reſt fled with the greateſt precipitation.

Bruce, however, was not intimidated at this rebuff; he collected an army on the frontiers, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, and threatened to invade the northern counties. The Scots had been long trained to the deſultory practices of war. The noble equipage of their troops conſiſted of a bag of oatmeal, which, as a ſupply in caſes of neceſſity, each ſoldier carried behind him, together with a light plate of iron, on which he inſtantly baked the oatmeal into a cake in the open fields. But his chief ſubſiſtence was the cattle he ſeized; and his cookery was as expeditious as his other operations. After flaying the animal, he placed the ſkin hanging looſe in the form of a bag, on ſome ſtakes driven into the ground for that purpoſe; he poured a ſufficient quantity of water into this bag, kindled a fire below, and thus made it ſerve as a cauldron to boil his victuals. Soldiers like theſe, wholly unincumbered, and who diſlodged themſelves in a moment, could ravage provinces with impunity; and to this particular they chiefly owed the ſucceſs they afterwards met with in their various invaſions.

Though the Engliſh miniſtry would willingly have evaded the war with Scotland, yet they were too ſenſible of the fatal conſequences that muſt have ſucceeded, had they ſuffered ſuch inſults to have paſſed with impunity. Even the young prince conceived the neceſſity of repelling their attempts in ſuch a light, that he earneſtly deſired to lead his troops againſt the enemy and chaſtiſe their inſolence. No objection was made to his attending the campaign in perſon, and he marched to the northward at the head of 60,000 men. He found the enemy encamped on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which was the river Were. But however deſirous Edward was of coming to an engagement, he ſoon perceived that he could not attack the enemy in their preſent ſituation, without expoſing his army to the utmoſt danger. Incenſed at being ſo near the enemy without being able to bring them to an engagement, Edward ſent them a defiance, and challenged them to meet him in the open field, and terminate their quarrel by a deciſive battle. Douglas was highly exaſperated at this defiance, and adviſed to accept the challenge ſent by the king of England; but the motion was over-ruled by Murray, who told Edward, that he never liſtened to the counſel of an enemy in any of his operations. But Douglas, though he could not prevail on Murray to bring on a general engagement with the Engliſh, determined not to continue idle in his camp. He put himſelf at the head of two hundred horſe, paſſed the river in the night, and entering the Engliſh camp unperceived, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a deſign to ſurprize and carry off the king. But the attempt was rendered abortive by ſome of Edward's ſervants, who awaking in the critical moment, made a noble reſiſtance, and ſacrificed their lives in his defence. The king himſelf cut his way through the Scots, who had entered his camp, and eſcaped. The Engliſh were now alarmed, and the greater part of the Scots were ſlain; but Douglas himſelf, with a few followers, found means to retreat to his own army. Soon after the Scots decamped during the night, and marched with ſuch expedition, that Edward, finding it would be impoſſible to overtake them, marched with his army to Durham, and from thence to York, where he diſbanded his forces.

While Edward was at York, he reſolved to ſolemnize his nuptials with Philippa of Hainault, that alliance having been concluded on by his mother, and for which a diſpenſation had been procured from the pope. Accordingly, a procuration was granted to the biſhop of Litchfield to make a contract with Philippa, in the name of Edward, and ſhe was eſcorted into England by her uncle John de Hainault, with a pompous retinue. She arrived at London on the 23d of December, and from thence ſet out for York, where the king at that time reſided, and where the nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp and ſplendor, on the 24th of January, 1328; but the ceremony of her coronation was not performed till about two years after.

The queen-mother and Mortimer, who had uſurped the whole authority of the government, now found themſelves grow daily more and more obnoxious to the thinking part of the nation. The king himſelf was highly incenſed, and was determined to free himſelf from the power of a miniſter who ſeemed totally regardleſs of all national honor. Mortimer ſaw his danger, and thought it neceſſary, at all events, to make peace with the Scots. Accordingly, he entered into a negotiation with Bruce, whom he acknowledged as king of Scotland, renounced the Engliſh claim of ſuperiority, and was contented in return with ſtipulating the payment of 30,000 marks.

Though the queen and Mortimer had ſufficient intereſt to procure a confirmation of this treaty by the parliament, yet it was no ſooner made public, than it excited an univerſal clamour throughout the kingdom; and the people expreſſed their reſentment in the moſt poignant terms. They declared openly, that this peace was neither honourable nor neceſſary; that thoſe who concluded it had baſely ſacrificed both the blood and treaſure of the nation to private views; that the queen-mother, who under pretence of her huſband's incapacity, had uſurped his authority, had now ſufficiently diſcovered how unable ſhe herſelf was to hold the reins of government; and that the errors of the elder Edward were very inferior to thoſe committed by the queen ſince the adminiſtration of affairs had been in her hands.

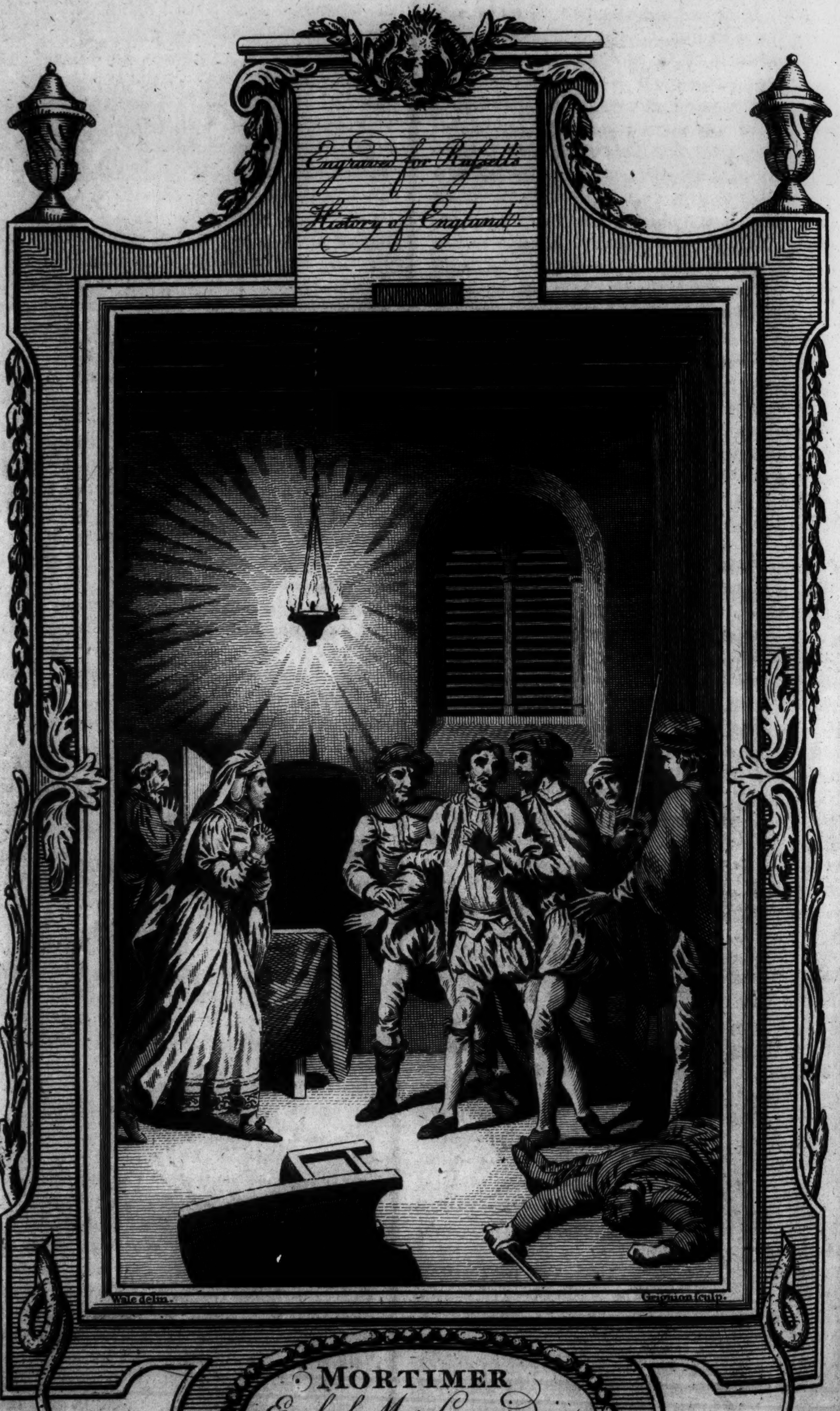
Mortimer appeared thoroughly convinced that his treaty with Bruce had rendered him very unpopular, and he began to dread the conſequences, eſpecially when he was informed, that the earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, and ſeveral powerful barons, had determined to impeach him before the parliament. He knew the conſequence if a majority in that aſſembly ſhould favour the complainants, and exerted all his power to bring about a reconciliation. He very luckily ſucceeded; and it was agreed that all grievances ſhould be redreſſed in the enſuing parliament.

A. D. 1329. Mortimer, who now imagined that he had no farther oppoſition to dread, acted more like a ſovereign than a miniſter, and, like moſt baſe and evil-minded perſons, thought rather to terrify the people into a concurrence with his meaſures, than to win them over by gentleneſs and good offices. He could not reconcile the treatment he had received from the barons; and though he had been obliged to temporize, yet he was determined to have his revenge; to effect which he ſingled out an object that might ſtrike his enemies with terror. The weakneſs of Edmund earl of Kent, (brother to the late king) promoted his criminal intentions. He cauſed a report to be ſpread that Edward the Second was yet alive, and confined in Corfe-caſtle. The earl, who had always retained a ſincere affection for his brother, though he had joined the queen's party to drive the two Spencers from the kingdom, immediately formed a deſign of replacing him on the throne. But the treacherous Mortimer had no ſooner procured ſufficient proofs of his deſign, than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and committed to that priſon where he had flattered himſelf he ſhould meet with his unhappy brother, whom he now diſcovered was no more, and that the report of his exiſtence had only been propagated to enſnare and rob him of his fortune and life.

A. D. 1330. The parliament aſſembled at Wincheſter on the 13th of March, when the earl of

Kent

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JY 73



Engraved for Russell's History of England.

Wale delin.

Grignion sculp.

MORTIMER
Earl of Marche seized in Nottingham Castle.

Kent was formally accuſed of high treaſon, and being found guilty, was ſentenced to be beheaded. The queen-mother and Mortimer, apprehenſive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried on the execution, and the earl ſuffered the next day after his ſentence was pronounced. So beloved, however, was he by the people, that when he was brought upon the ſcaffold the common executioner refuſed to perform his office; nor could any one be found to ſupply his place till late in the evening, when the ſentence was executed by a felon from the Marſhalſea, who, as a reward for his ſervice, received a free pardon for all the robberies he had committed.-----Thus fell this deluded prince, in the 28th year of his age, whoſe greateſt crime was his affection for an unhappy brother, and his deteſtation of the infamous machinations of an unnatural wife and an ambitious favourite.

This execrable piece of treachery, with other iniquitous meaſures taken by Mortimer, rendered him univerſally odious to the people, and all parties now conſpired the deſtruction of this inſolent and perfidious miniſter. The king himſelf, now in his eighteenth year, was deſirous of taking into his own hands the reins of government, and bringing to exemplary puniſhment a man who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the honour of his country, and the lives of the nobility, to his inſatiable thirſt of power. But it was abſolutely neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt precaution. Mortimer had ſo entirely engroſſed the adminiſtration of affairs, that the whole power of the kingdom was at his devotion; he was always upon his guard, was continually attended by one hundred and eighty armed knights and their followers, and had even ſurrounded the throne itſelf with his emiſſaries, who acted as ſpies on the behaviour of the king and his friends.

A prince of leſs fortitude than Edward would have been deterred by ſo many difficulties; but Edward was a ſtranger to fear. He imparted his deſign to William Lord Montacute, and ſeveral other noblemen, who all promiſed their aſſiſtance, and it was determined to ſeize Mortimer during the ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſummoned to meet at Nottingham.

That they might be enabled to carry on their deſigns with more ſafety and ſucceſs, it was propoſed that the king ſhould occupy the caſtle of Nottingham; but in this part of their ſcheme they were fruſtrated, for, on their arrival, they found it already filled with the attendants of Iſabella and Mortimer, one or two apartments only being left for the king. It was now ſufficiently evident, that it would be impoſſible to execute their deſign without the aſſiſtance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the caſtle. Lord Montacute was therefore ſent to gain him over to their party, which was effected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of ſhewing at once his affection for the perſon of his ſovereign, and his deteſtation of thoſe, who by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of deſtruction. But at the ſame time, he informed Montacute that it would be impracticable for him to admit any aſſiſtance by the common entry, the caſtle being ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. He, however, recollected that there was a ſubterraneous paſſage formerly contrived as a ſecret outlet to the fortreſs, but at preſent concealed by a heap of rubbiſh. Through this cavern therefore he undertook to conduct the confederates to Mortimer's apartment. The attempt ſucceeded; Mortimer was ſeized in an apartment adjoining to that of the queen, without the leaſt reſiſtance, and ſent directly under a ſtrong guard to the Tower of London.

The next day a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter for the trial of this tyrannical miniſter, and a proclamation was iſſued for all perſons who had any complaints to prefer againſt him, to appear before that aſſembly, in order to obtain redreſs for all their juſt grievances. Nor was juſtice long deferred. The firſt buſineſs that engaged the attention of the national aſſembly was the impeachment of the tyrannical Mortimer. The accuſation was immediately drawn up, and conſiſted of nine articles, which contained many high crimes and miſdemeanors. Among others, he was accuſed of having uſurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting for his own uſe twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to the parliament with an armed force, diſturbed their deliberations, and threatened ſeveral of the members with death. Theſe facts being all notorious, it was thought unneceſſary to call witneſſes: and Mortimer was condemned to ſuffer as a traitor, without being admitted to make his defence. The ſentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at a place called the Elms, about a mile from London, where this once powerful nobleman was hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.

The queen was confined to her houſe at Riſings in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thouſand pounds a year. The king conſtantly viſited her once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life; but ſhe never recovered the leaſt degree of power or authority in the ſtate.

On the 15th of June this year (1330) queen Philippa was delivered at Woodſtock of her firſt ſon, who was chriſtened by the name of Edward, and was the ſame who afterwards became ſo famous in the annals of Europe, under the title of the Black Prince.

A. D. 1331. Edward having freed himſelf from his governors now publiſhed a proclamation, informing his ſubjects that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands. This intelligence gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the people: they were rejoiced at ſeeing on the throne a prince, of whoſe abilities for government they had already formed the moſt pleaſing idea; and the firſt acts of his public adminiſtration tended to convince them that their hopes were not founded on a chimerical baſis. He reſumed all the grants that had been made of the royal demeſnes during his minority, and rewarded thoſe who had aſſiſted him in ſeizing the ambitious Mortimer. He remitted the fines and confiſcations that had been awarded againſt the barons who had oppoſed the deſtructive meaſures of that miniſter. He reverſed the ſentence of attainder againſt the earl of Kent, reſtored his ſon to the family eſtate and honours, and his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure. He diſplaced all the ſheriffs that had been appointed by Mortimer, diſpatched orders to the judges to adminiſter ſtrict juſtice to all perſons without delay, notwithſtanding any letters that might have been procured from the crown to the contrary; and purſued every meaſure that appeared conducive to eſtabliſh peace and harmony throughout the kingdom.

The diſorders that had crept into the adminiſtration of public affairs, were not the only ones that required the abilities and firmneſs of Edward to remove. The kingdom was infeſted with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had ſet the power of the magiſtrates at defiance, and exerciſed, with impunity, their lawleſs depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them againſt their enemies. It was therefore previouſly neceſſary to deſtroy this alarming connection before the evil could be removed. Accordingly Edward exacted a ſolemn promiſe from his barons, aſſembled in parliament, to break off all connections with ſuch malefactors, as a diſgrace to nobility. He iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all juſts and tournaments, which ſerved as a plauſible pretence for aſſembling great numbers of armed men, to the diſturbance of the public tranquillity, and the terror of the peaceable inhabitants. After taking theſe neceſſary meaſures, he marched in perſon againſt the robbers; and by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken and diſperſed; many were taken and executed, and great numbers flew to the continent for ſafety. The miniſters of juſtice followed the royal example; they were indefatigable in diſcovering and purſuing, and ſtrict in puniſhing criminals. By theſe ſalutary methods the diſeaſe was removed, and the nation continued ſecure from theſe free-booters during the remainder of Edward's reign.

A. D. 1332. An event happened in the beginning of this year, which excited the natural ambition of Edward. Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independency of his country, was now dead, and had left his ſon David, a minor, under the guardianſhip of the earl of Murray. Among other particulars in the late treaty, it was ſtipulated, that both the Scottiſh nobility, who enjoyed lands in England before the commencement of the war; and the Engliſh, who enjoyed eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions. Edward had ſcrupulouſly performed his part of the treaty; but Robert had refuſed to follow the example of the Engliſh monarch. It would have been in vain to attempt any other method for redreſs but that of petition, while Robert ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre; but the feeble ſtate of the kingdom under a minority induced the Engliſh nobles to enter into an aſſociation for recovering their rights. Lord Beaumont was at the head of this confederacy. He claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and propoſed, as the moſt effectual method of obtaining juſtice, to invite Edward Baliol, ſon of John Baliol to make an attempt for the recovery of his father's crown.

Young Baliol, who had lived on his patrimonial eſtate in Normandy ever ſince the death of his father, little thought of reviving the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland; but this propoſal was too flattering to be rejected, and he readily engaged in the enterprize.

Edward was now applied to for aſſiſtance; but he was too prudent to countenance openly the attempt, though he ſecretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, and blew the ſparks of diſcord into a flame.

As ſoon as Baliol and his friends had raiſed a body of forces, they determined to try the fortune of a battle. They therefore embarked at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, and in a few days reached the coaſt of Fife. On their approaching the ſhore they perceived a body of militia, commanded by Sir Alexander Seaton, drawn up on the beach to oppoſe their landing; but the Engliſh charged the Scottiſh general with ſuch reſolution that he was totally defeated, and himſelf, with near a thouſand of his men, ſlain on the ſpot. No farther oppoſition being made to their landing, they advanced to Dumferling, where they ſtrengthened themſelves by ſeizing a large magazine of arms and proviſions.

After this ſucceſs, Baliol marched with his forces to attack the earl of Marre, who lay encamped at Duplin on the oppoſite ſide of the river Erne. The Scottiſh army conſiſted of 40,000 men, who placing their confidence only in the ſuperiority of their numbers, kept no order in their encampments. Baliol was not in the leaſt intimidated, but availing himſelf of their negligence, paſſed the river in the night, and falling on them unexpectedly, they were thrown into confuſion, great numbers of them were killed, and the reſt made a precipitate flight.

The Engliſh now thought they had obtained a complete victory, but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, for early the next morning they perceived the enemy drawn up on a riſing ground. This appearance, however, did not in the leaſt intimidate them, more eſpecially as they ſaw that the ground between the two armies was ſo broken, that not more than eight or ten thouſand men could engage at one time. The gallant Baliol therefore encouraged his determined troops to ſtand their ground againſt the attack of the enemy. The Scots, eager to wipe out the ſtain of their late defeat, ruſhed on with the utmoſt precipitation to the battle, without paying any regard to the broken ground between them and the enemy, in conſequence of which their ranks were broke, and an univerſal diſorder enſued. Baliol perceived their confuſion, ſeized the favourable opportunity, advanced his troops upon them, prevented their rallying, and chaſed them a ſecond time off the field of battle with redoubled ſlaughter. Near twelve thouſand Scots fell in this action, and among thoſe the flower of their nobility: the regent himſelf, the earls of Carrick, Athol, and Monteith, and the lords Hay, Keith and Lindſey. The loſs of the Engliſh is ſaid to have been ſo trifling, notwithſtanding the inferiority of their numbers, that only thirty were killed; an evincing proof of the advantages ariſing from intrepidity and good diſcipline.

Baliol was ſo elated at theſe repeated ſucceſſes, that he advanced to Perth, which he entered without oppoſition, and immediately repaired the fortifications.

This neceſſary work was hardly finiſhed, before the earl of Marche, and Sir Archibald Douglas, at the head of an army of forty thouſand men, appeared, and inveſted the place by land, fully determined to reduce the Engliſh by famine. They alſo collected a few veſſels, under the command of one John Crabbe, a Flemiſh ſailor, in order to block up the place by water. But the Engliſh ſquadron, which were lying at the mouth of the Tay to ſupply Baliol's army with proviſions, ſoon drove Crabbe from his ſtation, and took the greater part of his ſhips.

The Scottiſh generals now perceived that it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth; they abandoned the enterprize; the army diſperſed; and the kingdom was, in effect, ſubdued by an handful of men. The uſual conſequences attended the good fortune of Baliol: the nobility and gentry flocked to make their ſubmiſſion. The young king, and his queen, ſiſter to the king of England, were ſent into France; and on the 27th of September Baliol was crowned king of Scotland.

A. D. 1333. Baliol ſeemed now firmly ſeated on the throne of Scotland, and might, in all probability, have maintained his power, had not his imprudence, or perhaps his neceſſities, induced him to diſmiſs the greater part of his Engliſh ſoldiers. In this weak condition he was attacked near Annan notwithſtanding the truce, by Sir Archibald Douglas, and other chiefs of that party. Baliol at the head of an inconſiderable number of followers made a noble defence, but being overpowered by multitudes, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. His brother John Baliol was ſlain, and he himſelf obliged to make the beſt of his way to England, where he at laſt arrived in a very miſerable condition; having loſt his crown by a revolution as quick as it was acquired.

Before this revolution happened, Baliol had perceived, that it would be impoſſible for him to keep poſſeſſion of the throne without the aſſiſtance of the

Engliſh monarch. Accordingly he ſent a meſſage to Edward, offering to renew the homage for his crown, acknowledge his ſuperiority, and to marry his ſiſter, if a diſpenſation from the pope could be obtained, as her nuptials with David Bruce had never been conſumated. Ambitious of gaining what he had loſt by the treachery of Mortimer, Edward entered into a treaty with Baliol; but that prince being now driven from his throne, there was a neceſſity for replacing him in the ſeat of power.

The proceedings of the Scotch were now ſufficient to rouze a leſs ambitious prince than Edward. Elated with their late ſucceſs againſt Baliol, and allured by the hopes of plunder, they broke into Cumberland, and laid great part of the country waſte with fire and ſword. Edward immediately ſent orders to Sir Anthony Lacy to begin hoſtilities againſt the enemy. His commands were obeyed with the utmoſt alacrity; the invaders were defeated, and obliged to make a precipitate flight to their own country.

This breach of the late treaty greatly alarmed Douglas the regent, who ſpared neither intreaties, excuſes, nor ſubmiſſions, to divert the gathering ſtorm that threatened the deſtruction of his country. But all his efforts were in vain; Edward liſtened only to the voice of ambition. The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Berwick, where Edward commanded in perſon. That place was conſidered by the Scots as the key of their country; and the regent had accordingly furniſhed it with a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of Sir William Keith; while he himſelf formed a numerous army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England, as ſoon as that fortreſs ſhould be inveſted by the Engliſh monarch.

The ſiege continued near two months; when great part of the fortifications being demoliſhed, the garriſon agreed to capitulate, if not relieved in five days. The terms were accepted; and a meſſenger diſpatched to Sir Archibald Douglas, informing him of the conditions, and preſſing him to march immediately to their relief. The great importance of Berwick, and the impatience of his forces to be led againſt the Engliſh, determined him to comply with the requeſt of the garriſon. He marched immediately to their relief, and drew up his forces at the foot of Halidown-hill, a little to the north of Berwick, in ſight of the Engliſh camp.

Douglas's army was divided into four bodies, and headed by the principal nobility of Scotland. The Engliſh were alſo drawn up in four ſeparate bodies, and both wings flanked with archers; and in this diſpoſition Edward waited the attack of the enemy, who began to aſcend the hill with great impetuoſity about five in the afternoon; but the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, the weight of their armour, the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows diſcharged from the bows of the Engliſh, and the large ſtones rolled down upon them, ſoon checked their career. They halted; and their general being that moment transfixed with an arrow, fell lifeleſs to the ground. The utmoſt conſternation now ſeized the Scottiſh army. Edward perceived their diſorder, and commanded lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light-armed infantry, to charge them in flank, while he himſelf attacked their front with a detatchment of veterans. The Scottiſh knights, in order to render the action more ſteady and deſparate, had diſmounted from their horſes, but could not ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh. The whole army fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Near thirty thouſand of the Scots fell in the action, and all the chief nobility were either ſlain or taken priſoners. The town and caſtle of Berwick immediately ſurrendered; and no farther aſſiſtance being apprehended, Edward, after leaving a conſiderable part of his army with Baliol, returned to England.

The Scots now found it impoſſible to oppoſe the power of Baliol: the principal part of their nobility were loſt, their army was diſperſed, their king in France, and their regent ſlain. Submiſſion was their only reſource. Baliol accordingly marched through the whole country; and all the caſtles, except thoſe of Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were deemed impregnable, opened their gates and ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1334. Baliol now ſummoned his firſt parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 10th of February, when he was acknowledged king by the whole aſſembly; the ſuperiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to him; and Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland, were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England.

Such ſhameful conditions could not fail of exaſperating the Scots. They ſubmitted to them indeed, but determined to obſerve the treaty no longer than they were not in a condition to break it. An opportunity ſoon offered: the Engliſh troops returned to their own country, and the Scots immediately flew to arms. They renounced the fealty they had ſworn to Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance under Bruce. At the ſame time they elected Sir Andrew Murray regent, and defeated Baliol in ſeveral ſmall, but deciſive actions.

A. D. 1335. Edward now ſaw, that it was neceſſary for him to ſubdue that ſtubborn people a ſecond time; and he accordingly made preparations for invading Scotland at the head of a very conſiderable army.

The Engliſh monarch reached Berwick early in the ſpring, and purſued his march, without oppoſition, into the very heart of Scotland; the enemy having abandoned all the plains at his approach, and retired to the mountains and faſtneſſes of their country. Edward perceiving it would be in vain to traverſe a wild, deſerted, and barren country, returned to Perth. Several ſmall ſkirmiſhes, however, happened between the Scots and the ſtraggling parties of the Engliſh; in the one of which Sir Andrew Murray, the regent, was taken priſoner.

During Edward's ſtay at Perth, he detached a body of forces, under the command of his brother, John of Eltham, and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the weſtern counties, which were principally inhabited by the Brucean party. The Scots, who imagined themſelves able to face a part of the Engliſh army, left their faſtneſſes, and preſented themſelves in order of battle. A bloody engagement enſued; and the victory was, for ſome time, doutful, but at laſt declared in favour of the Engliſh; and a great number of the Scots periſhed in the field of battle.

The adherents of Bruce were ſo intimidated by this defeat, that they determined to ſubmit to whatever Edward ſhould think proper to impoſe; and a treaty was accordingly concluded on the following terms: "That the Scottiſh noblemen ſhould receive a free pardon for all former offences; that they ſhould enjoy their lands, honours and offices in Scotland, and be reſtored to their Engliſh poſſeſſions which had been forfeited: That all the privileges and franchiſes of the church and boroughs of Scotland ſhould continue unaltered and inviolable: That none but natives ſhould be put into the offices of that crown and kingdom, excepting in ſome particular caſes where their king, Edward Baliol, ſhould make uſe of his prerogative in favour of perſons of another nation." It was alſo ſoon after agreed by the reſt of Bruce's party, who at firſt refuſed to ſign the above treaty, "That Edward Baliol ſhould enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life; and that at his death it ſhould deſcend to David Bruce, who, in the mean time, ſhould be honourably maintained at London."

Matters being thus adjuſted, Edward ordered the fortifications of Perth to be repaired, and the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He alſo appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom; and returned to England, at the head of the greater part of his army.

Although the Scots had again ſubmitted to Edward yet they were far from being reconciled to their condition, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke to which neceſſity alone had compelled them to ſubmit. They did not wait long for this wiſhed-for opportunity. The earl of Athol was not at all adapted to govern ſuch turbulent people. Inſtead of ſoothing the Scots, and applying lenients to heal the wounds of their country, he treated them with rigour; and the caſtle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife had ſhut herſelf up, having ſtill refuſed to open its gates to the Engliſh, the guardian imprudently beſieged the fortreſs; but the garriſon attacked him with ſuch impetuoſity, that his army was routed with great ſlaughter, and himſelf ſlain. Animated with this ſucceſs, they inveſted the caſtles of Coupar and Lochendoris. The ſtandard of war was again diſplayed, and forces were collected in every part of the kingdom. But before any farther hoſtilities were commenced, the pope and the king of France interpoſed their good offices; and a truce was agreed to till the ninth of May, in the enſuing year.

This truce was intended as a prelude to a final peace, and conferences were accordingly opened at Newcaſtle in the ſpring of the following year 1336; but Philip de Valois, who now filled the throne of France, and found his intereſt in the diſſentions between the Scots and Engliſh, gave ſuch inſtructions to his envoys, that though they aſſumed the characters of mediators between the contending parties, they omitted no opportunity of embarraſſing the negociation, and rendering the intended treaty abortive. Philip had already afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance to the Scots; and his envoys now aſſured them, that their maſter would never abandon the cauſe of the unfortunate and injured David Bruce, but ſupport him to the utmoſt of his power.

Elated with theſe promiſes, and exaſperated againſt the invaders of their country, the Scottiſh deputies inſiſted on ſuch high terms, that Edward broke off the treaty in a tranſport of reſentment, and both parties made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

The Engliſh monarch had already been very careful to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects by the moſt popular acts; and being now determined to reduce the refractory Scots to an abſolute ſubmiſſion, which could not be executed without large ſupplies, he wiſely paſſed ſeveral ſalutary laws for the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and the more effectually ſecuring the property and perſons of individuals from the deſigns of ſecret or open enemies. Among others, were ſeveral acts for the freedom and extenſion of commerce, and the preſervation of the weight and quality of the coin; for the more effectually bringing to juſtice the perpetrators of murders, robberies, and other ſpecies of felony; and for reſtraining his officers from committing exceſſes in the caſe of purveyance.

By theſe, and other ſimilar methods, Edward ſo endeared himſelf to his ſubjects, both clergy and laity, that they very readily granted him large ſubſidies not only for ſupporting the conqueſts he had made in Scotland, but alſo to enable him to make that nation totally ſubject to the Engliſh government.

Edward, thus ſtrengthened by ſupplies, marched a fourth time into Scotland, and laid thoſe countries waſte which had declared againſt him. The lord Beaumont, who commanded a ſeparate detachment, laid the town and caſtle of Aberdeen in aſhes, to revenge the death of Sir Thomas Roſſelin, whom the inhabitants had attacked and killed on his landing at Dunotter. Edward met with no oppoſition in his march; but ſtill the nation itſelf was as far as ever from being ſubdued. The Scots had retreated to their faſtneſſes; experience taught them prudence; they knew they were not able to meet the Engliſh in the open field, and wiſely abandoned the Low Countries the ravages of the enemy.

Edward having made a progreſs to the extremity of Scotland, returned to Perth, where, after ſtaying ſome time to recruit his forces, and leaving a ſmall army with Baliol, he returned to England, fully determined to undertake an expedition of the moſt important nature.

A. D. 1337. Edward, on his return from Scotland, ſummoned the parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the 3d of March, when he declared his reſolution to attack France, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to wreſt from Philip de Valois that crown of which he conceived himſelf to be the true heir, as next in blood to the late king.

In this determination Edward was greatly encouraged by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, who having been condemned in conſequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. Inſpired with the moſt implacable revenge againſt Philip, Robert omitted no arguments to induce the king to declare war againſt France, in favor of his title to that crown. Edward was the more inclined to liſten to the arguments of Robert, becauſe Philip had given protection to David Bruce, the exiled king of Scotland.

Philip was no ſooner informed of the counſel given by Robert d'Artois, than he iſſued a ſentence of felony and forfeiture againſt him; and declared, that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, was involved in the ſame ſentence. This menace was eaſily apprehended; it wanted no comment; and Edward made preparations for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigour.

Edward, in order to divert the arms of the French monarch from Guienne, and at the ſame time to make an effectual attack upon Philip's dominions, endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany. The earl of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, and ſeveral other noble perſonages, engaged to join the Engliſh. But this confederacy was not thought ſufficiently formidable, without the acceſſion of Flanders, which required ſome addreſs to accompliſh.

The Flemings, who, by their arts and manufactures, had acquired riches and ſome ſhare of independence, had riſen in tumults, inſulted the nobility, and driven their earl into France. The leader of theſe popular inſurrections was one Jacob Van Ardevelt, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed the people in a more arbitrary manner than any of their lawful ſovereigns. He never appeared in the ſtreets without a guard of fourſcore perſons, who, from the leaſt ſignal given by this demagogue, murdered any perſon who happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. Whatever he thought proper to propoſe in the aſſembly of the ſtates, was never contradicted, becauſe every member feared his power.

Edward courted aſſiſtance of this ferocious leader, who refuſed to join in the alliance, unleſs he would aſſume the title of king of France, in order to remove the ſcruples of the Flemings, who heſitated on the right of invading the territories of their liege lord,

lord. Edward agreed to the condition, and Ardevelt invited him into Flanders. About the ſame time Edward received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might with the better authority command the princes of Germany.

Previous to the opening of the rupture, Edward, willing to ſhew his allies that he was thoroughly in earneſt, ordered the duke of Brabant to demand the crown of France in his name; at the ſame time he conſtituted him lieutenant-general of that kingdom, and iſſued a proclamation, commanding the French, whom he called his ſubjects, to pay him obedience.

Philip was ſo provoked at Edward's preſumption, that he aſſembled a conſiderable army to chaſtiſe his new allies the Flemings, and to reinſtate the earl of Flanders in the poſſeſſion of that country. But Edward ſent a large body of forces to join his new allies, under the command of the earls of Derby and Suffolk, in order to render the deſigns of Philip abortive. The Engliſh, on their arrival on the coaſt, were informed that Guy de Rickenbourg, natural brother to the earl of Flanders, had taken poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cadſand, in order to cut off all communication by ſea to Bruges and Ghent. It was therefore reſolved to drive him from that advantageous poſt. Guy, who was prepared for the attack, gave them a very warm reception; but the Engliſh, after an obſtinate diſpute, made good their landing, when a bloody battle enſued, in which the earl of Derby was thrown from his horſe, and would, in all probability, have been killed or taken priſoner, had he not been reſcued by Sir Walter Manny, a valiant knight of Hainault, who, at the head of a body of horſe, charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury, and took Guy de Rickenbourg priſoner with his own hand. The loſs of their leader ſtruck the French with conſternation; they immediately fell into confuſion, and were routed with prodigious ſlaughter. This victory filled Ardevelt and his party with joy; and the Flemings ſent a meſſage to Edward, preſſing him to come over without delay, and head the allied army in perſon.

A. D. 1338. In the beginning of February Edward called a parliament, of whom he requeſted an aid ſuitable to the projects he had in view. The aſſembly readily complied, and even granted more than he aſked; but notwithſtanding it was much greater than any with which his predeceſſors had been indulged, yet it fell ſhort of his real exigencies, for, excluſive of the prodigious expence attending his armament, his German allies were as inſatiable in their demands as they were dilatory in the performance of their contracts.

Edward, having taken all the neceſſary precautions at home that his prudence could ſuggeſt, ſet ſail from the port of Orwell in Suffolk on the 16th of July, with a fleet of 300 ſhips, accompanied by the chief nobility of England; and, after a quick, and eaſy paſſage, he landed, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, at Antwerp, the capital city of John duke of Brabant.

The remainder of this year, and the greateſt part of the next was waſted in conferences and negotiations. At length, however, Edward took the field, at the head of 40,000 men, and encamped between Marchiennes and Douay, from whence he marched into the Cambreſis, which he laid waſte, and then halted ſome time under the walls of Cambray with a deſign of forming the ſiege of that place; but receiving advice that Philip was advancing, with a formidable army, to give him battle, he paſſed the river Schelde, in order to meet his enemy, and terminate at once a war attended with ſo ruinous an expence.

The two monarchs, however, remained for ſix days encamped within ſix miles of each other without coming to an action. At laſt Edward ſent a herald to offer battle, which was accepted by the other, and the following Friday (being the 22d of October 1339) was the day appointed to decide the quarrel. But, whilſt both ſides were preparing with equal ardor for the engagement, Philip received a letter from Robert king of Naples, who paſſed for a great aſtrologer, fore-telling him ill ſucceſs whenever he ſhould fight the Engliſh, which had ſuch an effect on the mind of the French king, that though Edward, on the day appointed, drew out his forces early in the morning in order of battle, the former declined coming to an engagement, and the two armies returned to their reſpective camps. The next day Edward wheeled off towards Aviſnes for the ſake of a more convenient ſituation, and ſent word to Philip that he would wait for him all Sunday in order of battle. This, however, was a challenge the French king did not chuſe to accept; but breaking up his camp, and fortifying his frontier towns with ſtrong garriſons, he returned back to Paris, and there diſmiſſed his troops.

The Engliſh monarch, finding that Philip had retreated, put his German troops into winter quarters, and marched with his own forces to Bruſſels, where he arrived on the firſt of November.

Though Edward had entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant to ſtay in the Low Countries till the war was ended, he found it impoſſible to keep his promiſe. His abſence had occaſioned many diſorders in England, where bands of robbers diſturbed the peace of the nation; and the Brucean party had not only recovered what they had loſt in Scotland, but alſo invaded the northern counties of England. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons for Edward's leaving the continent; and, in order to ſatisfy the duke of Brabant, who objected ſtrongly to his departure, he left him four Engliſh lords, beſides his queen, who was at Antwerp, as pledges for his return.

A. D. 1340. Edward arrived at Harwich on the 21ſt of February, and on the ſame day iſſued out writs for aſſembling a new parliament at Weſtminſter on the 29th of March following. At the meeting of this aſſembly the members ſhewed an uncommon alacrity in aſſiſting their monarch, and providing for the ſecurity of the realm againſt all invaders. They granted the king a large ſupply; and orders were iſſued for fortifying Southampton and the Iſle of Wight; for fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, to protect the coaſts; for ſending ſupplies of proviſions to the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling; and for raiſing a body of ſeven hundred and eighty-two men at arms, two thouſand light-horſe, and two thouſand and ten archers, for defending the marches of Scotland.

Theſe tokens of affection deſerved a grateful return, and accordingly Edward granted a full remiſſion of all debts due to the crown, and of all proſecutions of foreſt-treſpaſſes ſince his acceſſion to the throne; beſides which, he added a confirmation of the two great charters.

Edward was now making preparations for returning into the Low Countries, when advice arrived from the duke of Gueldres, that the French had aſſembled a powerful fleet to intercept him in his paſſage. Orders were therefore given for fitting out a ſufficient number of ſhips for carrying the king, and a conſiderable body of forces, to the continent. The utmoſt expedition was uſed on this occaſion; and Edward embarked at Orwell on the thirteenth of June, attended by the principal nobility of England. His fleet conſiſted of two hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, having on board a powerful body of men at arms, and archers.

Edward, a few days after his departure, diſcovered the French fleet in the harbour of Sluys, and immediately made preparations for fighting the enemy. Early the next morning, the French, who had left the harbour, appeared in three diviſions; and about eleven the engagement began with the utmoſt fury. The Engliſh had taken care to get to windward of the enemy, and grappled their ſhips ſo firmly with thoſe of the French, that they formed a firm compact body, and the men fought with the ſame firmneſs as on dry land. The French, whoſe number of veſſels was much greater than that of the Engliſh, obſerving a ſhip carrying the royal ſtandard of England, advanced to attack her with the utmoſt intrepidity; but all their efforts were in vain. The examples of the king and his gallant nobles animated to ſuch a degree both the ſeamen and ſoldiers, that they every where maintained a ſuperiority over the enemy. The French could not ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh; many hundreds of them leaped overboard, and periſhed in the ſea. In this critical moment, a reinforcement of Flemiſh ſhips joined the Engliſh, and determined the fortune of the day. Two hundred and thirty of the enemy's ſhips were taken; and thirty-two thouſand Frenchmen were ſlain with two of their admirals.

This defeat was conſidered in France as having given ſuch a fatal blow to the naval force of that kingdam, that none of Philip's courtiers durſt acquaint him with the loſs, till his buffoon diſcovered it to him by the following artful jeſt. Coming into the royal preſence, he cried out ſeveral times, Cowardly Engliſhmen! Daſtardly Engliſhmen! Faint-hearted Engliſhmen!" The king aſked him what he meant by that exclamation? "Becauſe, ſaid he, they durſt not leap into the ſea as our gallant Frenchmen did."

Soon after this victory Edward landed, and marched at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men, compoſed of Engliſh, Germans, Flemings and Gaſcons. The firſt attempt was the ſiege of Tournay; but the city was no ſooner inveſted, than Edward detached fifty thouſand men, under the command of Robert d'Artois, who poſted himſelf near St. Omer's to favour the ſiege. Robert's troops were chiefly compoſed of tradeſmen, who had never faced an enemy, and were wholly ſtrangers to military diſcipline. From ſuch troops little could be expected; and accordingly, notwithſtanding the great abilities of their leader, they were totally routed by a ſally from the garriſon.

Edward was not in the leaſt intimidated at this defeat, but on the contrary puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. At the end of ten weeks the city was reduced to great diſtreſs; and Philip having collected a prodigious army, advanced within a few leagues of the Engliſh camp; not with a deſign to bring on a general engagement, but of being ready to aſſiſt the garriſon whenever an opportunity offered. Edward, exaſperated at the length of the ſiege, ſent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat, or by an action of an hundred againſt an hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip replied, that a vaſſal was not entitled to challenge his liege lord; and that the duel was, beſides, propoſed on very unequal terms; but if Edward would increaſe the ſtake, and put alſo the kingdom of England on the iſſue of the combat, he would willingly accept the challenge.

While theſe matters were in agitation, the counteſs dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip, employed her good offices for bringing about a peace between perſons ſo nearly related to her. Her zeal produced a ſhort ceſſation of hoſtilities, and which the pope in vain endeavoured to convert into a peace; but the demands of Edward were too exorbitant to be admitted. He required that Philip ſhould free Guienne from all claims of ſuperiority, and entirely abandon the protection of Scotland. Theſe conditions were accordingly rejected by Philip; a prolongation of the truce only was agreed to. The ſucceſs of Edward certainly entitled him not to make ſuch demands. His allies were never firmly attached to his intereſt: they were, indeed, deſirous of his money, but never intended to weaken the power of France. Accordingly, when they found that his treaſure was nearly exhauſted, they abandoned the confederacy; and Edward being preſſed by his impatient creditors, was obliged to paſs privately into England.

Edward's embarraſſment had chiefly ariſen from the nature of the ſubſidy granted by parliament. It conſiſted of corn and wool, on account of the ſcarcity of money; and theſe commodities could not be collected and diſpoſed of ſoon enough to anſwer his exigencies. But though this was nothing more than might have been expected, Edward was determined to puniſh the ſheriffs and officers of his revenue; for he conſidered them as guilty of negligence, which had, in ſome meaſure, occaſioned the bad ſucceſs of his expedition. The biſhop of Chicheſter, chancellor; the biſhop of Litchfield, treaſurer; and the archbiſhop, prime miniſter; now felt the weight of his diſpleaſure. The two former were impriſoned; but the primate, fearing the effects of Edward's anger, retired immediately to Canterbury, and determined to defend himſelf by the weapons of the prelacy. He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral, and pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould ſeize the perſons, lands, or goods of the clergy, or inform againſt a biſhop for any crime whatever.

A. D. 1341. Edward found himſelf under the neceſſity of calling together his parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on the 23d of April, when the primate, who had received no ſummons to attend, preſented himſelf at the gate in his pontifical ornaments, and demanded admittance to his ſeat as the firſt and higheſt peer of the realm. He was, however, denied admittance for two days ſucceſſively; but Edward, ſenſible of the dangerous conſequences that might attend his quarrel with the clergy, prudently accepted of the conceſſions made by the churchman, and the primate was again received into favour.

The immenſe debt Edward had contracted on the continent, and the arbitrary meaſures he had taken with regard to the officers of his revenue, alarmed the parliament, and it was determined to ſet proper bounds to the royal prerogative. They required a new confirmation of the great charter; they paſſed a bill whereby it was enacted, that no nobleman ſhould be proceeded againſt or puniſhed, but by the judgement of his peers aſſembled in parliament; that the more important offices of ſtate ſhould be filled by the king, with the conſent of the council and barons; that every ſeſſion theſe offices ſhould be reſumed by him, and the miniſters who diſcharged them reduced to private perſons; that they ſhould, in that condition, anſwer, before the parliament, to any accuſations brought againſt them; and that if they were any ways found guilty, they ſhould finally be diſpoſſeſſed of their dignities, and more ſufficient perſons be ſubſtituted in their place.

Edward ratified theſe acts in full parliament, and by theſe important conceſſions obtained large ſupplies, particularly a grant of twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, to be tranſported to Flanders before Michaelmas, with a prohibition to all perſons from ſending thither any wool, till that period was elapſed.

But though Edward had, by ſacrificing ſome parts of the royal authority, extricated himſelf from his preſent difficulties, he did not ſeem deſirous of continuing the war on the ſide of Flanders, in ſupport of his title to the crown of France. An unforeſeen accident renewed the hoſtilities between the two kingdoms. John III. duke of Britany was deſirous of leaving his dutchy to a daughter of his brother the count de Ponthieve; but in order to prevent the calamities that always attend a diſputed ſucceſſion, he determined to marry her to ſome prince capable of repelling any attempts that might be made to diſturb the tranquillity of his country. Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, appeared to him the moſt proper for his purpoſe. He conſulted the ſtates of Britany, who approved of his choice: the marriage was concluded; and all the vaſſals ſwore fealty to Charles and his ſpouſe, as their future ſovereigns. The count de Montfort himſelf, one of John's brothers by a ſecond marriage, acknowledged the rights of his niece, and made no difficulty of taking an oath of fealty to Charles. But he forgot both his conceſſion and his oath on the death of John, and exerted himſelf in taking poſſeſſion of the country. He engaged many of the moſt conſiderable barons to acknowledge his authority, and made himſelf maſter of the moſt important fortreſſes of the dutchy, particularly thoſe of Rennes, Nantes and Breſt.

Notwithſtanding Montfort had made theſe acquiſitions, yet he was ſenſible he ſhould not be able to ſupport himſelf againſt the attempts of Charles de Blois, unleſs aſſiſted by ſome powerful ally. He therefore determined to apply to the Engliſh monarch. Accordingly, under pretence of ſoliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which had fallen to him by the death of his brother, he viſited Edward; made that prince an offer of doing him homage, and of acknowledging his title to the crown of France, provided he would engage to aſſiſt him againſt Charles de Blois.

Edward immediately ſaw all the advantages that might attend an alliance with Montfort; and being at the ſame time invited by the perſuaſions of Robert d'Artois, he agreed to the conditions, and a formal alliance was concluded between them.

Montfort, not doubting but his treaty with Edward was a profound ſecret, made no heſitation of going to Paris, in order to ſupport his claim to the dutchy of Britany. But he was ſoon convinced both of his error and the imprudent ſtep he had taken. Philip, at his firſt audience, told him plainly, that he had no right to Britany, and at the ſame time reproached him with having done homage to Edward, and entered into an alliance with a prince, who was the profeſſed enemy of France. Montfort acknowledged his having paſſed over to England, but denied the charge of having done homage to Edward; adding, that he was ſatisfied of the goodneſs of his claim, and was ready to ſubmit to the judgment of his peers, with regard to Britany.

Philip immediately appointed a day for diſcuſſing his claim, but in the mean time forbid the earl to ſtir out of Paris.

This injunction greatly alarmed Montfort, who being now convinced that he had every thing to fear, took the reſolution of making his eſcape. He accordingly withdrew from Paris during the night in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and reached Britany in ſafety. Philip was no ſooner informed of his eſcape, than, in a tranſport of rage and indignation, he inſtantly confiſcated the earldom of Montfort, commanded the parliament of Paris, by his ſole authority, even without ſummoning the peers of France, or exhibiting any formal proceſs, to adjudge Britany to Charles de Blois; and the more effectually to carry the ſentence into execution, he ſupplied his nephew with a numerous army, under the command of his eldeſt ſon John duke of Normandy. Montfort, who was unable to face the French army in the field, ſhut himſelf up in Nantes, which was ſoon beſieged by the duke of Normandy. The city was ſtrongly fortified, and capable of holding out a conſiderable time againſt the enemy; but by the treachery of the inhabitants the city was delivered up to the enemy. Montfort himſelf was taken priſoner, and ſent to Paris, where he was confined in the great tower of the Louvre.

A. D. 1342. This event ſeemed to put a final period to all Montfort's pretenſions, but his affairs were ſoon retrieved by an unexpected incident which inſpired his party with freſh life and vigor. Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, the moſt extraordinary woman of that age, was rouzed by the captivity of her huſband, from thoſe domeſtic employments to which her genius had been hitherto confined, and nobly undertook to ſupport the falling fortunes of her family. As ſoon as ſhe received the fatal intelligence, ſhe aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided, and carrying her infant ſon in her arms, laid before them, in the moſt pathetic manner, the calamity of their ſovereign, and recommended to their protection the illuſtrious orphan, the ſole remaining male heir of their antient princes, who had long governed them with ſo much indulgence and lenity, and to whom they had hitherto profeſſed ſo zealous an attachment. She declared herſelf willing to face any dangers with them in ſo juſt a cauſe; diſcovered the reſources which ſtill remained in the alliance with England, and intreated them to make, at leaſt, one effort againſt the uſurper, who being impoſed on them by the arms of France, would, in return, make a ſacrifice to his protector of the antient liberties of Britany. Moved by the affecting appearance, and inſpired by the noble conduct of the princeſs, the audience vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. All the other fortreſſes of Britany embraced the ſame reſolution. The counteſs went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting their plans of defence. And after putting the whole province in a proper poſture of repelling the efforts of the enemy, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebon, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours promiſed by Edward. In the mean time ſhe ſent over her ſon into England, in order at once to provide him a place of ſafety, and engage the king more ſtrongly by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal the intereſt of her family.

Charles de Blois, anxious to make himſelf maſter of ſo important a fortreſs as that of Hennebon, and ſtill more ſo to take the counteſs priſoner, from whoſe vigour and capacity all the difficulties attending his ſucceeding ſucceſſion in Britany now proceeded, inveſted the place with a numerous army, compoſed of French, Spaniards, Genoeſe, and ſome Bretons, conducting the attack with indefatigable induſtry. The defence was equally vigorous: the beſiegers were repulſed in every aſſault; frequent ſallies were made with ſucceſs by the garriſon, and the counteſs herſelf being the moſt forward in all military operations, every one was aſhamed not to do his duty to the utmoſt in this deſperate ſituation. While ſhe was one day giving her orders on the ramparts, ſhe perceived that the beſiegers were entirely employed in an attack, and neglected to guard a diſtant quarter of their camp: on this, ſhe immediately ſallied out at the head of a body of two hundred cavalry, threw them into confuſion, put a great number to the ſword, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines. But when ſhe was preparing to return, ſhe found ſhe was intercepted, and that a large body of the enemy had thrown themſelves between her and the gates. She inſtantly formed her reſolution; ordered her men to diſperſe, and make the beſt of their way to Breſt. She met them at the appointed place of rendezvous, collected another body of five hundred horſe; returned to Hennebon, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received with ſhouts and acclamations by the garriſon, who, encouraged by this reinforcement, and by ſo rare an example of female fortitude and valour, determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity.

Notwithſtanding, however, the noble defence made by the counteſs, yet the town was at length reduced to the greateſt extremity. Several breaches were made in the walls, and the enemy was preparing for a general aſſault, which, had it taken place, muſt infallibly have been deſtructive to the garriſon. It was therefore thought neceſſary to offer terms of capitulation, and the biſhop of Leon was actually ſent for that purpoſe to the camp of Charles de Blois; but the counteſs, who had mounted one of the towers of the fortreſs, diſcovering the Engliſh fleet coming to her aſſiſtance, immediately communicated the joyful tidings to the garriſon, and the biſhop of Leon was recalled. The French were confounded when they ſaw the Engliſh enter the harbour, and laid aſide their deſign of making a general aſſault. This reinforcement conſiſted of a body of men at arms, and ſix thouſand archers commanded by Sir Walter Manny, one of the beſt captains of the age. The courage of the garriſon was now revived, they readily joined the Engliſh in a ſally, drove the beſiegers from their poſts, and obliged them haſtily to decamp.

The counteſs, however, found that this reinforcement was not ſufficient to enable her to take the field againſt the enemy, ſhe therefore determined to paſs over into England to ſolicit in perſon more effectual ſuccours from Edward. Her requeſt was granted; a more numerous reinforcement was immediately embarked under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The counteſs herſelf returned in this fleet, which was attacked in the paſſage, by a French ſquadron commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The counteſs behaved with her uſual intrepidity, till night put an end to the conteſt. Before morning a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated the two fleets; but the Engliſh were ſo fortunate as to arrive ſafe the next day in the harbour of Hennebon.

As ſoon as the troops were landed, Robert d'Artois advanced to attack Vannes, which he carried by aſſault, but was dangerouſly wounded, and during his confinement a party of the Britons, in the intereſt of Charles, attacked and took the place by ſurprize. Robert had the good fortune to eſcape to Hennebon, from whence he embarked for England; but ſoon after his arrival, died in London of the wounds he had received during the aſſault.

Edward was greatly affected at the loſs of this nobleman, and ſwore he would revenge his death; an oath which he punctually obſerved. He aſſembled his army, embarked at Sandwich on the fifth of October, and after a paſſage of two days, landed at Breſt. He formed three important ſieges at the ſame time, and by attempting too much, miſcarried in all; for the duke of Normandy, at the head of forty thouſand men encamped in the neighbourhood of the Engliſh, and cut off their proviſions.

In this dangerous ſituation Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce for three years was agreed on, which being ratified and confirmed on the 19th of January, 1343, Edward, in a ſhort time after, embarked for England, and, after a tedious and ſtormy paſſage of ſeveral weeks, he landed on the 2d. of March at Weymouth, and from thence proceeded to London, where he was received with great joy by his ſubjects.

The truce made between the two monarchs was but of ſhort duration. Edward was highly enraged at Philip, who had put to death ſeveral lords of Britany, under pretence of their having been guilty of treaſon. He was even ſo incenſed, when he firſt heard of the fate of theſe noblemen, that he gave orders for beheading all the priſoners of Philip's party, but was prevailed upon to recall the bloody ſentence, by the remonſtrances of Henry, earl of Lancaſter. He, however, ſent for one of the principal captives, and told him with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen beheaded at Paris was a ſufficient reaſon for retaliating the ſame puniſhment on him and his fellow priſoners, yet he would not ſtain his reputation by imitating ſo bad an example; he would not ſatiate his vengeance in the blood of the innocent; but by the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, he would ſeverely puniſh the author of ſuch unparralleled treachery and barbarity.

A. D. 1344. Edward was far from being deficient in the execution of his threats: fully reſolved to puſh the war with the utmoſt vigour, he ordered a commiſſion to be drawn up, conſtituting the earl of Northampton his lieutenant general in France, as well as in Britany; and, according to the cuſtom of the age in ſuch caſes, commanded him to defy Philip de Valois, as a perjured truce-breaker and an uſurper of the crown of France; and to declare war againſt him in his name, both by ſea and land.

A ſhort time after this, Edward diſpatched the earl of Derby, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to begin hoſtilities in Guienne. Derby was the ſon of Henry, earl of Lancaſter, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen of the Engliſh court. He was at once intrepid and humane, beloved by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. For ſome time he was very ſucceſsful in his invaſions of the enemy's territories. He attacked the count de Laille, the French general encampted at Bergerac, drove him from his intrenchments, and made himſelf maſter of the place. This ſucceſs animated the Engliſh, and they proceeded in their conqueſts with the moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity.

While the earl of Derby was reducing the French towns, the count de Laille, having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, inveſted Auberauche, which had lately fallen into the hands of the Engliſh. Derby haſtened to relieve the place, and arriving near the camp of the enemy in the night, Sir Walter Manny propoſed to attack the French immediately. His advice was followed with ſuch ſecrecy and ſucceſs, that the Engliſh entered one quarter of the French camp without reſiſtance, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the counts de Laille, Perigord and Valentinois, were taken priſoners in their tents, before they had time to recover from their ſurprize; and their troops ſeized with ſuch a panic, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. The confuſion was not, however, general. While one quarter was filled with diſorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms, and advanced againſt the enemy. Elated with ſucceſs, the Engliſh attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garriſon, alarmed by hearing the trumpets ſound a general charge, and diſcovering by the light of the dawn the Engliſh enſigns, ſallied out, attacked the French in flank, and put them to flight. Above ſeven thouſand fell in the action, and twelve hundred were taken priſoners; among whom were nine counts, and above three hundred knights and gentlemen of diſtinction: but the Engliſh did not gain this victory without paying a bloody tribute to the valour of their opponents. However, the force of the enemy in theſe parts being now entirely broken, the earl of Derby put his troops into

nto winter quarters, and, leaving the command to he earl of Pembroke, ſet ſail for England to obtain a einforcement.

About this time John de Montfort, after having uffered a ſevere impriſonment for near four years in he caſtle of the Louvre, found means to make his ſcape in the diſguiſe of a peaſant, and coming over o England, where his counteſs and ſon now reſided, lid homage and ſwore fealty to Edward, as king of rance, for the duchy of Brittany; after which he eturned to that duchy with the earls of Northampton nd Oxford, and a conſiderable body of forces, by hich he was enabled to take the field in the ſpring of he year 1345, and to reduce Dian and other fortreſſes on the ſea-coaſt. This ſucceſs encouraged him to nveſt Quimper Corentim, which had been lately aken by Charles de Blois, who had, with unparalleled nhumanity, ordered fourteen hundred of the inhabiants to be butchered in cool blood. Upon the appearance of the Engliſh forces Charles immediately prepared to give them battle; but John de Montfort, hinking himſelf not ſufficiently ſtrong to hazard an engagement, left his competitor maſter of the field, and returned to Hennebon, where, on the 16th of September, he died of a fever. Nevertheleſs, the earl of Northampton, being reinforced by the arrival of the earl of Derby from England with eight thouſand men at arms, made himſelf maſter of St. Baſil, Roche, Meillant, Montregur, and ſeveral other very capital places.

A. D. 1346. The French king, alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh, collected a numerous army, under the command of his ſon the duke of Normandy, aſſiſted by the duke of Burgundy. The earl of Derby, finding it would be madneſs to meet the French in the open field, was reduced to the neceſſity of acting on the defenſive. He therefore furniſhed all the fortified places with good garriſons, large quantities of proviſions and military ſtores; and then paſſed over to England, to inform Edward of the ſtate of the provinces, and the danger to which they were now expoſed.

The duke of Normandy opened the campaign with the ſiege of Angouleme, the garriſon of which made a noble defence; but were at laſt reduced to extremities. John lord Norwich, the governor, ſaw the impoſſibility of defending the place much longer; but being unwilling to ſurrender at diſcretion, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, to ſave at once his own honor, and his ſoldiers from being made priſoners of war. He aſcended the ramparts, and deſired to ſpeak with the duke of Normandy. His requeſt was granted. The duke approached the walls; and Norwich begged a ceſſation of arms for the morrow, which was the feaſt of the Virgin, to whom the duke, as well as himſelf, paid great devotion. The duke very readily agreed to the propoſal; and Norwich having ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, marched out of the town as ſoon as the morning appeared. Perſuaded they were going to be attacked, the French flew to arms; but Norwich diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke, reminding him of his engagement. "I ſee," exclaimed that prince, "the governor has outwitted me; but let us be contented with taking the place."

Edward, in conſequence of the report he received from the earl of Derby relative to the ſtate of Guienne, determined immediately to lead his army in perſon. He therefore ſummoned all his allies on the ſide of Flanders to furniſh their quota of troops, but they refuſed to fulfil their engagements. Edward, had, indeed, lately loſt his friend, Jacob Ardevelt, the demagogue of Ghent. That popular leader, deſirous of transferring the government from the earls of Flanders to the prince of Wales, had propoſed, in a meeting of the ſtates, to inſiſt that their count ſhould renounce his alliance with Philip de Valois; and in caſe he perſiſted in maintaining that connection, that they ſhould transfer their allegiance to young Edward, adding, that they had nothing to fear from the reſentment of either their own ſovereign or the king of France, as the Engliſh monarch was both able and willing to ſupport them effectually.

The ſtates, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected propoſal, and afraid of contradicting that popular leader, deſired time to conſult their conſtituents, as they had no authority to determine a queſtion of ſuch importance without their conſent. The requeſt was too reaſonable to be denied, and the aſſembly broke up in great confuſion. His enemies laid hold of this attempt to ruin him: they charged him with having embezzled vaſt ſums of the public money; and of having made large remittances to England, whither he intended to retire, in order to enjoy in tranquillity the riches he had procured by deceiving the people. The giddy multitude eagerly ſwallowed the bait prepared for them. The idol they had ſo long worſhipped was now devoted to deſtruction: they thirſted for the blood of a perſon, for whoſe preſervation, but a few weeks before, they would willingly have ſhed their own. Ardevelt ſoon felt the effects of this fatal change in the ſentiments of the people. The enraged populace ſurrounded his houſe, and, after having killed moſt of his guards, dragged him forth, and inſtantly ſacrificed him to their reſentment.

This accident entirely overturned the plan which Edward had formed, and, in the firſt tranſports of his indignation, he vowed ſevere revenge againſt the perpetrators of this cruel deed: but the great towns of Flanders having ſent deputies to clear themſelves from all ſuſpicion of being concerned in the aſſaſſination, and the citizens of Ghent repreſenting it as the ſudden effect of popular fury, he ſuffered policy to get the better of his wrath; and, after renewing his treaty of alliance with them, he returned to England.

Edward, finding himſelf deſerted by moſt of his German allies, and that all proſpect of attacking France by the ſide of Flanders was entirely at an end, embarked with his forces for Guienne; but he was prevented from ſailing by the continuance of contrary winds. In this diſtreſsful ſituation Geoffrey D'Harcourt, a Norman baron, prevailed upon Edward to change the deſtination of his enterprize. D'Harcourt was a nobleman highly eſteemed both for his perſonal merit and valor; but having been perſecuted by Philip, fled into England for protection. He diſplayed the advantages that muſt attend an expedition into Normandy, a province well cultivated, full of rich and flouriſhing cities, deſtitute of troops, and at a great diſtance from the French armies. Hence he very juſtly obſerved, that it would be much more advantageous for the Engliſh to land in Normandy than in Guienne. Edward was convinced of the juſtice of his remarks; and, as ſoon as the wind permitted, put to ſea; and, after a paſſage of two days only, landed at La Hogue without oppoſition. Here Edward knighted his eldeſt ſon, the prince of Wales, a youth then only ſixteen years of age. His army conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, ten thouſand archers, ten thouſand Welſh infantry, and ſix thouſand Iriſh; a number in appearance not at all adapted to the purpoſe of invading France; though the ſucceſs of the campaign far exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations. An univerſal conſternation was immediately ſpread through the whole province of Normandy, where not the leaſt apprehenſions were entertained of an invaſion. The ſhips were deſtroyed at La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourgh. The towns of Valougnes, Carentham, and St. Lo, ſurrendered

rendered at diſcretion; and the Engliſh marched to Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This city was both rich and populous, but without fortifications. Perſuaded that the wealth of Caen would induce the Engliſh to plunder the city, Philip diſpatched the count de Eu, conſtable of France, and the count de Tankerville, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, for its defence. The Engliſh approached the ſuburbs; and the inhabitants, elated with the reinforcements they had received, ſallied out upon the enemy, contrary to the advice of the conſtable. The conſequence was what might naturally be expected when undiſciplined multitudes attack a regular army; they were totally defeated, and the counts d'Eu and Tankerville taken priſoners. The Engliſh entered the city with the fugitives, and a dreadful maſſacre began: neither age, nor ſex, nor condition, were ſpared: all fell a ſacrifice to the ſword of the Engliſh. Edward at laſt put a ſtop to the ſlaughter; the inhabitants laid down their arms, and the city was deliberately plundered. The booty was prodigious; and the whole was embarked, together with three hundred of the richeſt burghers, and all the priſoners of diſtinction, and ſent to England.

Edward now marched with his troops through the biſhoprics of Liſieux and Evreux towards Rouen, the capital of Normandy. In his route he took the towns of Louvere and Liſieux; but on advancing to the banks of the Seine, he found the bridge already broken down, and the French monarch poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the river, at the head of a prodigious army. Edward did every thing in his power to provoke Philip to a battle. He laid the whole country waſte, and burnt the ſuburbs of Pont l'Arche, Vernon, and Mullien. The ſame fate attended the noble palace of St. Germain; and ſome of the light troops carried their ravages to the very gates of Paris. Edward made another attempt to paſs the Seine at Poiſſy, but met with the ſame diſappointment; the bridge was broken down, and Philip's army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the river. Some ſtratagem was therefore neceſſary to elude the vigilance of Philip. Accordingly the Engliſh monarch marched, with great rapidity, farther up the Seine; but by a ſudden countermarch during the night, returned to Poiſſy, repaired the bridge, routed the militia left to guard the paſſage, croſſed the river, and advanced, with quick marches, towards Flanders. In his route he burnt the ſuburbs of Beauvais; and defeated, with great ſlaughter, the inhabitants of Amiens, who were marching to reinforce their king's army. But he ſoon found himſelf in the ſame dangerous ſituation as before: all the bridges on the Somme were either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded. The country was ruined. Philip was advancing againſt him at the head of an hundred thouſand men; and Godemar de Faye was ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide of the Somme, with a numerous army, to obſerve his motions.

In this alarming criſis, Edward offered a reward to any perſon who could lead his army to a place where he might paſs the Somme; and a peaſant of Normandy, preferring riches to the ſafety of his country, pointed out a ford below Blanchetague, where the ſtream was not above a foot in depth at low water. This diſcovery revived the courage of the Engliſh; they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about ſun-riſing the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place exactly anſwered the deſcription given of it by the peaſant; but the oppoſite bank was guarded by Godemar de Faye, at the head of twelve thouſand men. This oppoſition was not, however, ſufficient to intimidate Edward, who was always maſter of his paſſions, and maintained a remarkable coolneſs and preſence of mind in the midſt of the moſt furious battle. He plunged himſelf into the ſtream, calling out, "Let all who love me follow my example."

Animated by the preſence and example of their ſovereign, the ſoldiers threw themſelves into the river with the moſt amazing intrepidity. The French made a noble oppoſition; but nothing was capable of ſtopping the career of the Engliſh: they were not intimidated by any oppoſition; and after a bloody diſpute, they put the enemy to flight, and gained the oppoſite bank, juſt as the van of Philip's army, under the command of the king of Bohemia and John de Hainault, appeared.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the vexation of Philip, in being thus diſappointed of his revenge. He had traced the Engliſh above fifty leagues by the ſmoaking ruins left behind them, and now thought himſelf ſure of overtaking the invaders. But it was in vain to repine; the tide of flood was made up the river, and rendered a paſſage impoſſible, while the Engliſh purſued their march with great tranquillity.

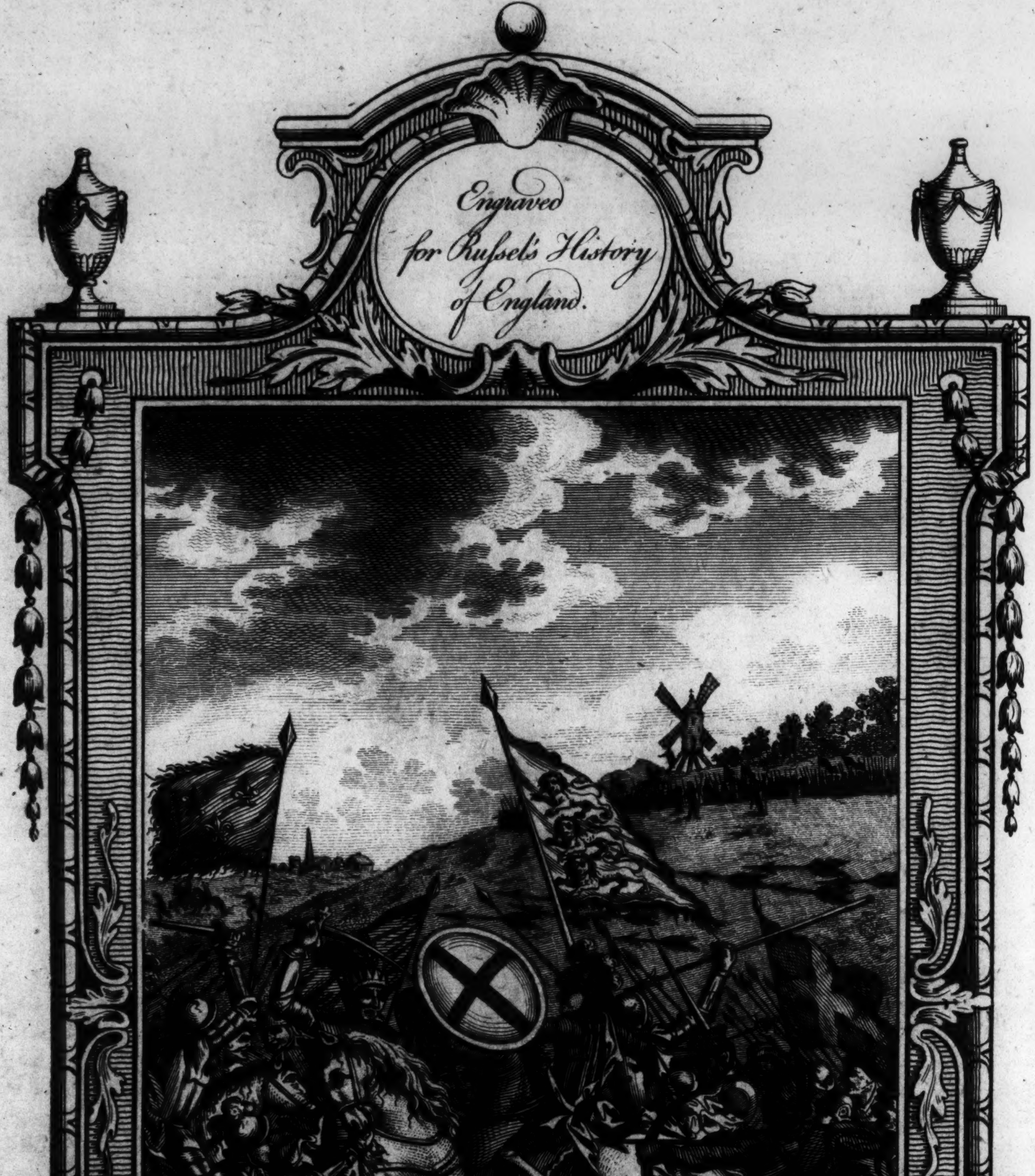
Notwithſtanding Edward had thus eſcaped the danger of being attacked in his late alarming ſituation, yet he was convinced it would be impoſſible for him to purſue his march over the extenſive plains of Picardy, without expoſing his van to inevitable deſtruction by the perpetual attacks of a numerous cavalry: he therefore determined to wait for the enemy, and venture a general engagement. He accordingly choſe an advantageous ſpot of ground near the village of Creſſy; and to ſecure his flank from the furious attacks of the French horſe, he threw up a large entrenchment, and extended it round a ſmall wood, where he depoſited his baggage.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, he drew up his army on a ſmall eminence, and divided it into three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford Geoffrey Hartcourt of Normandy, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delaware, Holland and Cobham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. This line conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Welſhmen. The ſecond line was commanded by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, aſſiſted by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, Baſſet of Sapcote, and Malton; and conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, two thouſand four hundred archers, and four thouſand bill-men. He himſelf commanded the third line, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and five thouſand three hundred bill-men.

Philip, whoſe army conſiſted of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, determined to take the ſevereſt revenge on the Engliſh, who had laid his country waſte, and inſulted the ſtandard of France. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Creſſy, he detached ſeveral of his officers to reconnoitre the poſition of the Engliſh. They readily obeyed, and faithfully deſcribed, at their return, the admirable order of Edward's forces. The count de Balche, one of the beſt ſoldiers in Philip's army, added, that there was not the leaſt danger of Edward's declining a battle; and therefore he adviſed, that inſtead of attacking the Engliſh immediately, the engagement ſhould be deferred till the next morning, that the troops might reſt themſelves after their fatiguing march. But this was over-ruled. The force of numbers was thought ſufficient to balance every inconvenience, and it was determined to begin the action immediately

As ſoon as the French appeared in ſight, Edward, that he might ſtill farther animate his men, rode through the ranks, and urged every motive that had a tendency to raiſe their natural valour, and inſpire them with the noble reſolution of remaining conquerors, or falling in the glorious attempt. He told them,

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
White ſculp.

The famous BATTLE of CRESSY.

hat the number of the enemy ſhould be ſo far from intimidating, that it ſhould inſpire them with courage; hat confuſion would be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch multitudes of undiſciplined forces; and that the order in which he had placed them, added to heir own reſolution, would be abundantly ſufficient to repel all the attacks of the French army. Adding, " I requeſt nothing from you, but that you imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales." The roops caught the courage and noble intrepidity of heir ſovereign; and appered anxious for the comnencement of the battle.

In the mean time Philip endeavoured to marſhal his army; but this was impoſſible. He ſent orders, indeed, for the lines to halt till they received farther inſtructions; but his commands were very imperfectly obeyed. His army being compoſed of a great number of princes and noblemen, jealous of each other's honour, and moſt of them ſtrangers to military ſubordination, preſſed forward to begin the attack; ſo that when the van halted, purſuant to the orders of Philip, the ſucceeding ranks continued to move orward with great impetuoſity, till the whole beame one enormous body moving towards Creſſy n great confuſion; nor was it in the power of Philip o remove the diſorder till they came near the Engliſh rmy, when they ſtopped of themſelves, and gave Philip an opportunity of drawing them up in ſome rder. He divided his army into three lines, conormable to that of the Engliſh. The firſt was led y John de Luxembourg, king of Bohemia, and ompoſed of three thouſand men at arms, twentyine thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand Genoeſe roſs-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria nd Carolo Grimaldi. Theſe were placed oppoſite o the Engliſh archers. Charles, count of Alençon, rother to Philip, led the ſecond diviſion, conſiſting f four thouſand men at arms, and twenty thouſand nfantry. The third diviſion was headed by Philip n perſon; and formed a body of reſerve, amounting o 12000 men at arms, and 50000 foot.

Theſe diſpoſitions took up ſo much time, that it as near three in the afternoon before the French rmy was ready to engage, when Philip gave orders r the Genoeſe to begin the battle; but a ſudden ower of rain having fallen a little before the engement, their bow-ſtrings were relaxed, and their arws fell ſhort of the enemy. The ſame misfortune d not, however, attended the bows of the Engliſh chers: they were preſerved in caſes, whence they w drew them, and poured in ſuch a dreadful ſhower arrows, that the Genoeſe, unable to ſupport the ock, were thrown into diſorder, and fell back upon e count d'Alençon's cavalry. The prince of Wales, ho obſerved the confuſion this accident had proced, ordered ſome battalions of guards to advance d charge them in front, which was done ſo critilly, and with ſo much fury, that both the firſt and cond lines of the French were thrown into the eateſt confuſion.

As ſoon as the count d'Alençon had diſengaged mſelf from the flying Genoeſe, he made a circuit with cavalry, and fell upon the flank of the firſt baton of Engliſh archers. The battle now became perate and bloody. The French opened a paſſage ough the archers, and advanced againſt the prince Wales, who received them with ſuch firmneſs and olution, that numbers of them were ſlain; but the nce himſelf was ſtill in the greateſt danger of being rounded by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. e earls of Arundel and Northampton perceived ſituation, and detatched a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. Philip took advantage of this motion, and ſent three ſquadrons of French and German knights to the aid of his brother. The prince was now attacked both in front and rear; and a meſſenger was diſpatched by the earl of Warwick to the king, to inform him of the danger of his ſon, and deſire him to order a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. The king aſked the meſſenger if his ſon was ſtill alive? and being anſwered that he was, and that he had performed feats of the moſt aſtoniſhing valour, he bid the meſſenger depart, and tell his generals from him, " That they ſhould no more ſend to him while the prince was alive, he being determined that the honour of the day ſhould be wholly his; and that he muſt now, if ever, win his ſpurs." This anſwer being delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, they ſeemed to be inſpired with freſh courage: they were more than a match for the increaſing numbers of the enemy, who exerted all their efforts to break again the compacted phalanx of the Engliſh, who, in their turn, attacked the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were unable to ſtand the ſhock. A dreadful carnage enſued, princes, peers, generals, knights, and common ſoldiers, fell promiſcuouſly, and formed a frightful heap of ſlain.

Philip, enraged to ſee the firſt two lines of his army totally defeated, advanced at the head of the body of reſerve, which the confuſion that reigned in the French army had hitherto prevented from engaging; but there was now no longer any equality in the action. Confounded at the ſight of ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen ſlain, and the whole plain filled with fugitives, the troops anſwered not the courage of their leader, who gave ſignal proofs of his valour and capacity as a general, but it was too late. The French refuſed any longer to face the Engliſh, and a general flight enſued. Philip himſelf was wounded, and carried off the field of battle by John de Hainault. The ſtandard of France was thrown down, and the whole French army diſperſed, every one providing in the beſt manner for his own ſafety.

Edward, finding the victory complete, moved from his ſtation, and, taking his helmet from his head, ran to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in the moſt affectionate manner in ſight of the whole army, ſaying, " My gallant ſon, heaven grant you may perſevere in the glorious courſe you have begun! The heroic manner in which you have acquitted yourſelf to day, ſufficiently proves you deſerve the crown you are born to wear."

Such was the iſſue of the famous battle of Creſſy fought on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt 1346; when, by a moderate computation, there fell by the ſwords of the Engliſh, twenty-four baronets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand infantry; together with the principal nobility of France, among whom were the dukes of Lorrain and Bourbon, the counts of Alençon, Flanders, Blois, Reaudmont, Harcourt, Auxerre, St. Pol, and Sancerre; with the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. The former had been long famous as a general, but age had now deprived him of his ſight. He could not, however, be perſuaded from engaging in the hotteſt part of the battle. He cauſed the reins of his bridle to be interlaced with thoſe of two valiant knights, and ruſhed between them to the ſpot where young Edward fought in perſon, and with whom he exchanged two or three random ſtrokes. But he was ſoon after parted from him, and, together with his valiant companions, fell among the ſlain.* Though

---

The creſt of the king of Bohemia conſiſted of three oſtrich hers; and as he had acted in the capacity of a volunteer, he the motto ICH DIEN, which, in the German language, ſignifies " I ſerve." This device young Edward aſſumed to himſelf in memory of this celebrated victory, and the princes of Wales have ever ſince retained it in their arms.

Though no mercy had been ſhewn by Edward to the living at the battle of Creſſy, yet he treated the dead with peculiar humanity: he ſent back the body of the king of Bohemia to his family; he cauſed the field of battle to be conſecrated, attended in perſon the funeral of the noblemen who had loſt their lives in the action, and ordered the common ſoldiers to be decently interred.

Edward now employed his time in making the beſt advantages he could of the great ſucceſs thus obtained over the French. He had obſerved and regretted the great length of the voyage to Guienne, the only method by which he could ſend troops to defend his provinces, or attack the monarch of France. His great object was, therefore, to ſecure an eaſy paſſage into that kingdom; the death of Ardevelt having deſtroyed his authority in the Low Countries. He had now an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of ſome part on the French coaſt oppoſite to England, and Calais ſeemed the beſt adapted to anſwer his deſigns. Accordingly he led his victorious army thither, and inveſted the place on the third of September. But as this ſiege continued near a twelvemonth, we muſt for the preſent leave Edward with his army before Calais, in order to attend the war carried on in other quarters.

Hiſtory can ſcarcely produce an inſtance of a year more glorious to England than that at preſent under conſideration: the armies of Edward were every where victorious. The duke of Normandy was recalled from Guienne, on the landing of Edward in Normandy; no army was left to oppoſe the progreſs of the earl of Derby; nor did that able general fail to improve ſo favourable an opportunity. He took Maribeau and Luſignan by aſſault; Taillebourg, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Poictiers, opened their gates at the firſt ſummons. Theſe acquiſitions opened him a free paſſage into the adjacent provinces, and Derby extended his incurſions to the banks of the Loire, ſpreading terror and deſolation through all that part of the French dominions.

At the ſame time the war was carrying on in Britany, and the counteſs of Montfort continued to diſplay her heroic virtues. Charles de Blois, at the head of a numerous army, inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Reen, and puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigor. The place was of too much importance for the counteſs to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without making one attempt for its relief. She put herſelf at the head of her little army, and having received a reinforcement of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the French during the night, routed the whole army, and took Charles de Blois priſoner. This misfortune called another heroine from obſcurity. The counteſs of Blois, in whoſe right her huſband claimed the duchy of Britany, ſeized the reins of government, and became a powerful rival to the counteſs of Montfort. She was her equal both in the field and the cabinet; and the war was carried on with the ſame vigor as before the captivity of her huſband.

In the mean time the queen of England ſhewed herſelf to be no ways inferior to theſe illuſtrious heroines, and, during the abſence of her huſband, prepared freſh wreaths to adorn his temples.

The Scots had ſome time recalled their king, David Bruce, from France; and at the inſtigation of Philip, took the opportunity of invading England during the abſence of Edward, at the head of an army of 50,000 men. David, whoſe ſole intention was to ravage the country, levied the moſt oppreſſive contributions, and committed the moſt dreadful diſorders in his march, which he extended to the gates of Durham. The diſtreſs of the people animated queen Philippa to march in perſon to their defence; and having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, ſhe led them againſt the Scottiſh invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies: the firſt was commanded by lord Piercy; the ſecond by the archbiſhop of York and lord Neville; the third by the biſhop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in perſon. In this order the Engliſh approached the army of Bruce encamped at Neville's-Croſs, near the city of Durham. Bruce drew up his army in three lines; the firſt, conſiſting of French auxiliaries and the flower of the Scottiſh nobility, was commanded by the king in perſon; the ſecond by Robert, high-ſteward of Scotland and the earl of Marche; and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas.

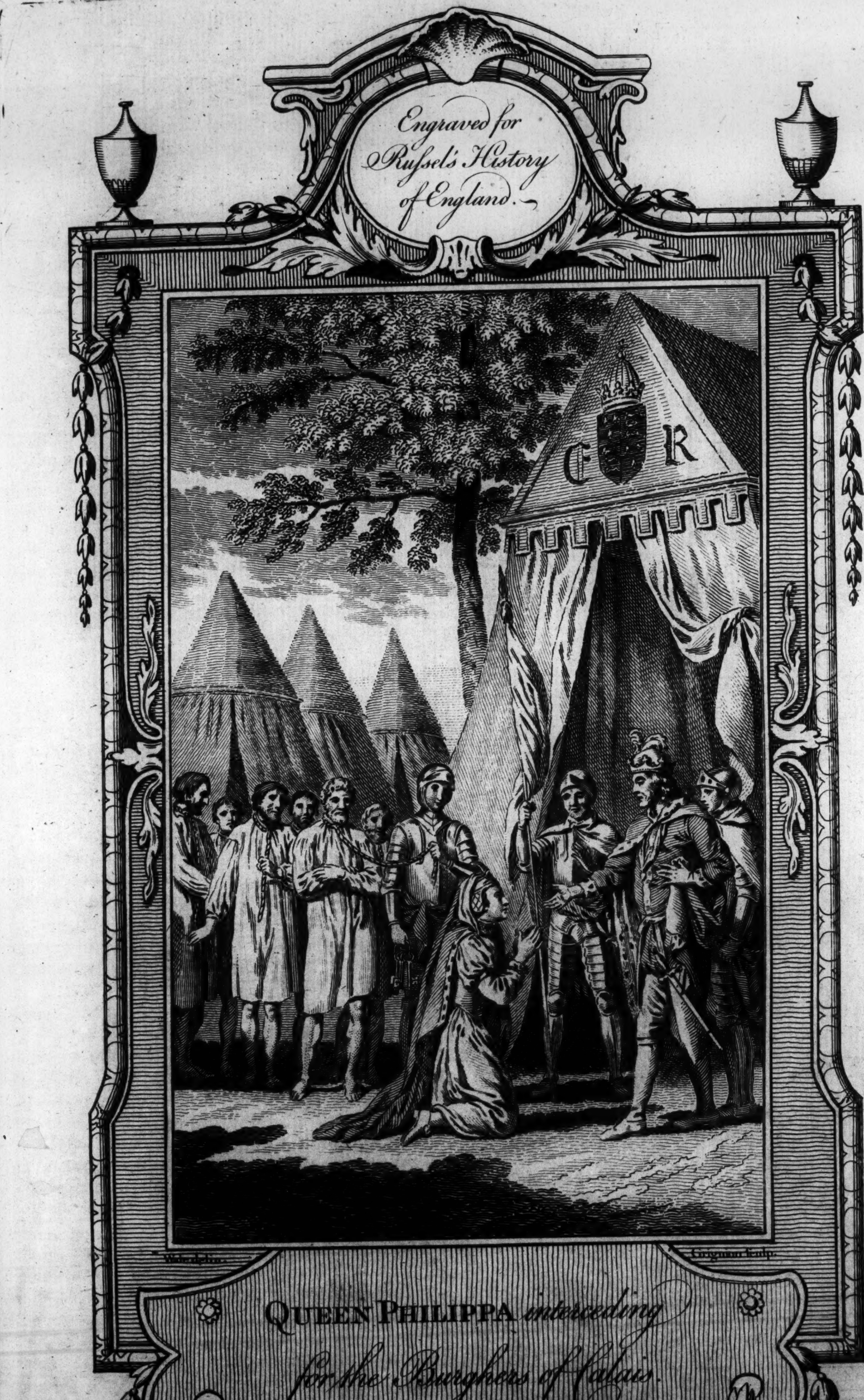
Previous to the commencement of the battle, queen Philippa rode through the ranks of the Engliſh, exhorting every man to do his duty, and to take ample revenge on the barbarous ravagers of their country; after which ſhe retired to ſome diſtance to behold the action, with a kind of reſerve body, and attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The battle was begun by a troop of Genoeſe croſbowmen, who ſerved in the diviſion under Robert; but they were ſoon routed by the more experienced Engliſh archers. Robert perceived the ſuperiority of the latter, and preſſed on furiouſly with his men at arms, to begin a cloſe fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The Engliſh archers opened to the right and left, to let the enemy paſs, but cloſed again immediately, and galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the Engliſh infantry. Robert, however, maintained the fight with the greateſt intrepidity; and it was for ſome time doubtful to which ſide fortune would give the victory. Baliol ſaw the danger, and led up his diviſion to the aſſiſtance of lord Piercy. The Scots were now ſtruck with a panic, and immediately betook themſelves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, wheeled ſuddenly about, and fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity on the flank of the diviſion commanded by the king. David fought with great intrepidity, and, aſſiſted by his barons, made a noble ſtand againſt the attacks of the Engliſh; but the conteſt was unequal; the whole diviſion was broken and put to flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner. The third diviſion, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, ſtill ſtood firm, but were ſoon broken when attacked by the whole force of the Engliſh. Murray was ſlain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas was taken priſoner.

The Engliſh now remained maſters of the field of battle; and this victory would, in all probability, have determined the fate of Scotland, had not Robert rallied his men after he had given way to the attacks of the Engliſh, and retreated in ſuch excellent order, that the other fugitives had time to join him, and form a body which the victors did not think proper to purſue.

In this battle, which was fought on the 17th of October, 1346, there was not leſs than 15000 Scots ſlain; and by the liſt of the killed and priſoners, there appeared ſcarce a noble family in Scotland who did not ſhare in the public calamity. David, and about thirty-ſix noble priſoners, were ſent to the Tower of London; after which queen Philippa, leaving the care of the north to the lords Piercy and Neville, embarked for Calais on the 29th of October, and repaired to the king's camp before that place, where ſhe was received with all the reſpect and joy that her high rank, her great merit, and her ſignal ſucceſs claimed from an affectionate huſband and a grateful people.

Edward had hitherto made but little progreſs in the ſiege of Calais. John de Vienne, a knight of Burgundy,


Engraved for
Ruſsel's History
of England.
C R
Wale delin.
Grignion ſculp.

QUEEN PHILIPPA *interceding for the Burghers of Calais.*

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

gundy, who commanded there, was a perſon of approved courage and fidelity; ſo that the Engliſh monarch, ſenſible of the difficulty of taking the place by force only, had, from the very beginning of the ſiege, determined to reduce it by famine. He accordingly blocked up the place both by land and ſea; ſo that, after a ſiege of ſome months, the place was in want of proviſions; and the governor, in order that the garriſon might ſubſiſt the longer, was obliged to force all thoſe to retire who were uſeleſs; but Edward, with a generoſity not common in this age, not only ſuffered theſe diſtreſſed people to paſs unmoleſted through his camp, but alſo ſupplied them with money to relieve their urgent neceſſities.

A. D. 1347. The French monarch, ſenſible of the importance of Calais, and deſirous of ſuccouring a garriſon that had ſo nobly exerted themſelves in defending that fortreſs, determined to attempt their relief, and approached the place at the head of an army of two hundred thouſand men. But he ſoon perceived that it would be madneſs to attack the Engliſh camp, and therefore had recourſe to negociation. He offered to cede Guienne, together with the earldom of Ponthieu; but theſe offers were rejected. On this Philip diſpatched a herald to Edward, offering to decide their quarrel in the open field; but the Engliſh monarch was too prudent to riſk the whole upon the uncertain iſſue of a ſingle combat; and Philip was obliged to decamp, and diſperſe his numerous army.

The beſieged now deſpairing of relief, and almoſt wholly deſtitute of proviſions, deſired to capitulate. John de Vienne accordingly appeared upon the walls, and made a ſignal for a conference; and Edward ſent Sir Walter Manny to hear what he had to propoſe. The governor told him, that having now no farther hopes of relief, he was willing to ſurrender the place, and deſired no other conditions than that the lives and liberties of the garriſon ſhould be ſecured. Manny anſwered, that Edward was ſo exaſperated againſt the inhabitants of Calais for their pertinacious reſiſtance, that he was ſure he would receive them on no conditions that ſhould confine him with regard to their puniſhment. "Is this," replied Vienne, "the treatment to which brave men are entitled? Would not your king have expected the ſame conduct from any Engliſh knight in my condition, which I have performed for my ſovereign? The noble defence made by the inhabitants of Calais certainly merits the eſteem of every prince, much more of ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we muſt periſh, we ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet ſo reduced, but we can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is, doubtleſs, the intereſt of both ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect that you yourſelf, brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny, ſenſibly ſtruck at the juſtice of theſe ſentiments, exerted all his intereſt with Edward in behalf of the brave garriſon of Calais. He repreſented the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from ſo dangerous a precedent, which could not fail of increaſing the miſeries of war, already ſufficiently ſevere. Edward felt the whole force of his obſervations, and thought proper to mitigate the ſeverity of the conditions he had intended. He conſented to ſpare the lives of the garriſon, on condition that ſix of the principal citizens ſhould repair to his camp with the keys of the fortreſs, bare-headed and bare-footed, with ropes about their necks, to be diſpoſed of as he thought proper.

Theſe ſevere conditions excited the utmoſt horror and confuſion in the breaſts of the inhabitants of Calais. They endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of the victor by the moſt humble ſubmiſſions and affecting remonſtrances. But Edward was inflexible; and it was reſolved by the garriſon to ſubmit to the maſſacre that muſt follow from their refuſal, rather than devote ſix of their brethren to an ignominious death, for no other reaſon than that of having done their duty to their king and country. But before the council broke up, Euſtace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, ſtept forth, and offered to lay down his life for the ſafety of his friends and companions. Affected with this uncommon inſtance of magnanimity, three of his own relations declared themſelves ready to ſhare in the glorious ſacrifice; and two others were quickly found who followed their example. Theſe willing victims marched out of the town, barefooted, in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks, and, when they came to the Engliſh camp, preſented the keys of their city, and proſtrated themſelves at the feet of Edward, who, ſtill burning with reſentment, gave orders that they ſhould be carried to immediate execution. Their backs were already turned on the remorſeleſs maſter of their fate, and they were proceeding, mournful though determined, to meet their doom, when the queen, who was then big with child, pierced with the afflictions of virtue in diſtreſs, fell on her knees before Edward, and beſought him with tears to ſpare the lives of thoſe brave men, whoſe only crime was their attachment to their ſovereign. Edward could not withſtand the force of conjugal affection; he relented, and the heroic burghers were pardoned. But the compaſſion of Philippa did not terminate here: ſhe carried the almoſt famiſhed victims to her tent, ordered them a noble repaſt, made them a preſent of money and clothes, and ſent them back to their friends in ſafety.

A. D. 1348. Edward being now maſter of Calais, took every precaution in his power to ſecure his conqueſt. He knew that it would be impoſſible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, and re-peopled it from England.

Having thus ſecured his new acquiſition, Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope, and concluded a truce with Philip; but the terms of it were very ill obſerved, and an attempt was made to recover Calais, by corrupting the governor.

One Aimery de Pavia, an Italian knight, brave and intrepid in war, but a ſtranger to every principle of honour and fidelity, was entruſted by the Engliſh monarch with the command of this important fortreſs. Geoffrey de Charni, governor of St. Omer's found means to open a negociation with Aimery; who, in conſideration of twenty thouſand golden crowns, promiſed to admit a certain number of Frenchmen into the fortreſs; and the moſt proper methods were accordingly taken to inſure the ſucceſs. Edward, informed of the deſign by Aimery's ſecretary, prepared to turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy. He ſent for the governor to London, and reproached him with his crime; but promiſed to ſpare his life, if he would aſſiſt him in taking vengeance for the perfidious attempt. Aimery readily agreed to this double treachery; a day was appointed for the admiſſion of the French; and Edward having prepared a force of a thouſand men, under Sir Walter Manny, departed ſecretly from London, taking with him the prince of Wales, and without being in the leaſt ſuſpected, arrived at Calais in the evening before the day appointed for delivering up the place. He immediately made a proper diſpoſition for the reception of the enemy, and kept all his forces, as well as the garriſon under arms. On the appearance of Charni, a choſen troop of French ſoldiers was admitted at the poſtern, and Aimery receiving the ſtipulated ſum, promiſed that, with their aſſiſtance, he would immediately open the great gate to the enemy, who were waiting with impatience for the fulfilling of his engagement. But a very different fortune attended them. All the French that entered by the poſtern were immediately ſlain or taken priſoners; the great was gate opened; Edward ruſhed out with cries of battle and of victory: the French, though aſtoniſhed at this event, behaved with valor. They found they were betrayed, but determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. Accordingly a fierce and bloody engagement enſued. As the morning broke, Edward, who was diſtinguiſhed by his arms, and who fought as a private man under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, remarked a French gentleman, called Euſtace de Ribaumont, who exerted himſelf with ſingular vigor and bravery, and was ſeized with a deſire of engaging him in ſingle combat. He accordingly ſtept forth from his troop, and challenging Ribaumont, began a ſharp and dangerous encounter. He was twice beat to the ground by the valor of the Frenchman, and as often recovered himſelf. Blows were redoubled with equal force on both ſides, and the victory remained undecided, till Ribaumont, perceiving himſelf almoſt alone, ſurrendered his ſword into Edward's hand. Moſt of the French being overpowered by numbers, and intercepted in their retreat, were either ſlain or taken priſoners.

All the French officers, who had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, were conducted into Calais, where Edward diſcovered to them the antagoniſt with whom they had been engaged, and treated them with great reſpect and courteſy. They were admitted to ſup with the prince of Wales, and the Engliſh nobility; and after ſupper, the king himſelf came into the apartment, paſſed round the table, and converſed familiarly with many of his priſoners. He even addreſſed himſelf in an obliging manner to Charni, and avoided reproaching him with the treacherous attempt he had made upon Calais during the truce. But Ribaumont was diſtinguiſhed in a very particular manner; the king beſtowed the higheſt compliments on his intrepid behaviour; called him the moſt valiant knight he was ever acquainted with, and confeſſed that he never was in ſo much danger as when he was engaged with him in ſingle combat. Then taking a chaplet of pearls from his own head, he placed it upon that of Ribaumont, deſiring him to wear it for his ſake, and conſider it as a teſtimony of his eſteem for true valor; adding, "You are, ſir, no longer a "priſoner; I acquit you of your ranſom, and you "are at liberty to-morrow to diſpoſe of yourſelf in "whatever manner you may think proper."

As for Aimery, Edward did not think him, after his double treachery, a fit perſon to entruſt any longer with the cuſtody of ſo important a place; and therefore made Sir John Beauchamp governor of Calais. He then returned to England, with the prince his ſon and Sir Walter Manny, whom he liberally rewarded, together with all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this expedition.

A. D. 1349. The king had propoſed, at his return, to hold a parliament, which he had ſummoned to meet on the 19th of January; but as the plague, which had, at the latter end of the laſt year, broke out in the weſt of England, had now reached London, a prorogation was thought neceſſary, nor was any parliament held, or any court of juſtice opened, for two years after; for ſo long this dreadful ſcourge laſted, and with ſuch unremitting fury, that there hardly remained the tenth part of the people in moſt parts of the kingdom. In the firſt ſix months of this year, no leſs than 37,000 perſons are ſaid to have died of it in London and Norwich.

This dreadful viſitation occaſioned a general inactivity, except with the Scots, who availed themſelves of the opportunity of diſtreſſing the Engliſh. They had hitherto eſcaped the plague, but making an inroad upon the Engliſh borders, they caught the infection, of which no leſs than 5000 of them died, and the reſt returned home to carry the ſeeds of peſtilence among their countrymen.

A. D. 1350. This year was uſhered in by a negociation between the French and Engliſh commiſſioners for ſettling a final peace; but the conferences were ſoon broken up by the deaths of the king and queen of France. Philip de Valois, in the beginning of his reign, had acquired the name of Fortunate, which, however, he did not carry with him to his grave: not that he was wanting in military or political abilities; but theſe were obliged to give way to the ſuperior genius and ſucceſs of Edward. He was ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon John, duke of Normandy, a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues, but rather of a private than public nature. With a heart full of the juſteſt ſentiments of honor and ſincerity, he was, of all others, the moſt improper perſon to ſway the ſceptre of France in theſe turbulent times; he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight, that penetration and ſagacity, which the ſituation of his affairs required. His kingdom was filled with domeſtic commotions, which greatly favoured the views of the Engliſh. His relation, Charles, king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into confuſion by aſſaſſinations and perfidies. He entered into a private treaty with the Engliſh, and even ſeduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but that prince being at laſt convinced of the folly of ſuch deſtructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of king John. Some of the moſt obnoxious were led immediately to execution, and the king of Navarre was thrown into priſon.

A. D. 1356. Edward availed himſelf of the diſſentions that had continued for ſome time in France, by inveſting various parts of it with ſucceſs. The prince of Wales, generally known by the name of the Black Prince, from the colour of his armour, having the preceding year made a ſucceſsful expedition into Guienne, now advanced into Quercy, at the head of two thouſand men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and four thouſand foot. The ſucceſs of this young warrior was aſtoniſhing: he waſted Quercy, the Limoſin, and Auvergne, advanced to Berry, and after ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon Bourges and Iſſodun, took Vierzon by ſtorm. Here he refreſhed his army, and here he received the firſt intelligence that the king of France was poſted at Chartres, on the other ſide of the Loire, all the fords of which were ſtrongly guarded. Young Edward now perceived it was impracticable to advance, and therefore reſolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. John perceived his intention, croſſed the Loire, and marched with ſuch expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poictiers. Edward perceiving that a retreat was now impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and all the prudence of the oldeſt and moſt experienced commander. He poſted his handful of men in a place of difficult acceſs, full of hedges, buſhes, and vineyards, where neither the enemy's cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great diſadvantage: at the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance to attack his main body, he placed a ſquare battalion of the flower of his Engliſh archers; nor could the enemy avail themſelves of their vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, while this place continued thus ſecured.

The French army, which conſiſted of above ſixty thouſand men, was encamped between Beauvior and

Maupertuis, and had John known how to have made a proper uſe of his numerous forces, his ſucceſs had been infallible without hazarding a battle. Prince Edward was already ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that a few days would have been ſufficient to have forced him to ſurrender at diſcretion. But the imprudent ardour of the French nobility would admit of no reſtraint; they imagined themſelves ſure of victory, and advanced immediately to attack the Engliſh. Juſt before the charge was ſounded, the cardinal of Perigord reached the French army; and at his intreaty the battle was deferred till he had viſited the Engliſh prince, and endeavoured to ſave the farther effuſion of human blood, by an advantageous peace.

Edward, conſcious of his own dangerous ſituation, told the cardinal that he would agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour, and that of his country. He offered to purchaſe a retreat to Bourdeaux, by reſigning all the conqueſts he had made, during this and the former campaign, and by ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France during ſeven years. Theſe offers were haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily inſiſted, that the prince himſelf, together with an hundred of the chief nobility in his army, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners; and on theſe conditions he offered a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The anſwer of the prince was that of an hero, who fears death much leſs than diſhonour. He declared that neither himſelf nor his knights ſhould be taken but in battle; and that he would rather ſacrifice his life than conſent to ſuch infamous terms.

The important conteſt was now to be decided by the ſword, which was to take place the following morning. No advantage was omitted by Edward: he employed the night in ſtrengthening the poſts he had ſo judiciouſly choſen, with new intrenchments; and detached a body of choſen men under the command of de Greilly, with orders to make a compaſs round the hill, and keep himſelf concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches with which it was ſurrounded, till the battle ſhould begin, and then to fall with the utmoſt fury on the French rear. He then divided his troops into three diſtinct bodies, but ranged them in ſo cloſe a manner, that they ſeemed to form only a ſquare battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were ſecured on one ſide by a ſteep hill, and on the other by a moraſs. The earl of Warwick was ſtationed on the ſide of the hill, with the troops which compoſed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, was poſted behind a hedge about a ſtone's caſt from the lane through which the French muſt march to the attack. At the end of this lane was a pretty large gap, where Edward took his poſt at the head of the main body, which extended itſelf among the vines and buſhes; the weaker part of the field being incloſed by the carriages and baggage waggons.

The French army was alſo divided into three bodies; the firſt was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the dauphin of France, aſſiſted by his two brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the third, which conſiſted of forty thouſand of the beſt troops in France, was led by the king in perſon.

The battle was begun about nine o'clock in the morning by three hundred choſen Frenchmen, who marched up the lane towards the main body of the Engliſh; but were ſo galled by the archers, who lined the hedges, that more than one half of them were ſlain before they reached the front of Edward's diviſion, where the reſt were cut to pieces by an advanced party commanded by lord Audley. The marſhals Clermont and Andrehen, who with a body of choſen cavalry had advanced cloſe behind the men at arms to ſupport them, met with ſo warm a reception from the earl of Warwick, and at the ſame time ſo impetuous an attack from the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the ſpot, and Andrehen obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner: moſt of the corps ſhared the fate of the former. The firſt attack of the French being thus rendered abortive, the dauphin advanced to the charge, but not without great difficulty; his men, diſpirited at the fate of their companions, were not ready to follow their leader. In this critical moment de Buche fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible diſorder: the Engliſh archers plied them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows from every quarter; while the other infantry with ſwords and battle-axes ruſhed upon them and made the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The French threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight, while the lords of Landas, Bodenai, and St. Venant, to whom the care of the dauphin and his two brothers had been particularly committed, carried them off the field of battle, and the whole diviſion followed their example.

The grand diviſion, however, which was compoſed of the houſhold troops, and headed by their king in perſon, aſſiſted by his principal nobility, ſtood firm, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory with the Engliſh, who were far inferior in number. They were, however, greatly diſmayed at the precipitate flight of their companions. The lord Chandois called out to the prince that the battle was won, and Edward immediately mounted his horſe, and advanced at the head of his army to attack the main body of the French. The dreadful ſtruggle for victory now began; all that had paſſed before ſeemed only an exerciſe of arms, in compariſon to the violent ſhock which now enſued. John exerted his utmoſt efforts to retrieve by his valour what he had loſt by his imprudence. The prince of Wales fell with the moſt amazing impetuoſity on a body of German cavalry placed in the front, and a ſtubborn conteſt enſued. Nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, together with the duke of Athenes, conſtable of France, were ſlain; but being left without a commander, they quitted the field of battle, leaving the king himſelf and his young ſon Philip, expoſed to all the fury of the enemy.

John now ſaw himſelf reduced to a ſmall battalion of faithful friends, who were continually leſſening by the ſwords of the Engliſh. At laſt, wearied out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with numbers, he wielded the ſword but faintly, and he might eaſily have been ſlain, but every one was emulous of ſo noble a prize, and therefore as they approached, called out to him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter; but unwilling to yield himſelf a priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank, he cried out, " Where is my couſin the prince of Wales; to him only I will yield." Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he ſtill perſiſted obſtinately to defend himſelf, till Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, made his way through the croud of aſſailants, and requeſted John to yield himſelf his priſoner; and John, after being aſſured that he was a knight, threw him his gauntlet as a ſignal of ſurrender, and both he and his ſon Philip were made priſoners.

The prince of Wales, who had been led a conſiderable diſtance in purſuit of the flying enemy, was repoſing himſelf under a tent he had ordered to be pitched for that purpoſe, when advice was brought him that the king of France and his ſons were ſurrounded, and either ſlain or taken priſoners. Edward immediately diſpatched the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham, at the head of a ſmall detachment, to enquire into the fate of the French monarch, and, if poſſible, to reſcue him from the hands of the ſoldiers. Warwick happily arrived ſoon enough to ſave his life. The Engliſh had taken the royal priſoners from Morbec: the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining them; and ſome of the brutal ſoldiers, rather than yield the prize to their rivals, threatened to put both the illuſtrious captives to death. Both parties were over-awed by the preſence of Warwick, who approaching the monarch with the greateſt marks of reſpect, offered to conduct him to Edward's tent.

The behaviour of the prince was even, if poſſible, ſuperior to the ability and valour he had diſcovered in the battle. Inſtead of indulging a ſupercilious pride, too commonly the attendant on youthful warriors, he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a ſincere regard. He ſympathized with his misfortunes; he comforted him in his afflictions; he paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory to capricious fortune, or to the ſuperior power of an over-ruling providence. He ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner, and he himſelf waited on him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue; and when preſſed by the king, he declared with the greateſt modeſty, "That it was not for a ſubject like him to ſit in the preſence of ſo great a monarch."

The whole army imitated the example of their prince; and the French priſoners were every where treated with the greateſt tenderneſs and humanity. The ſpoils taken in the French camp were ſo great that the meaneſt individual in the Engliſh army found himſelf placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ranſoms of the noble priſoners alone were more than ſufficient for that purpoſe; though theſe were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were conſidered, and no more was exacted of them than they could eaſily ſpare; no man was that day impoveriſhed for his misfortunes; they had ſtill ſufficient to perform their military ſervice for the future in a manner ſuitable to their rank and quality. And after a ſolemn thankſgiving was performed in the Engliſh camp for their late victory, Edward marched at the head of his army to Bourdeaux.

A. D. 1357. Pope Innocent VI. who was a Frenchman, and conſequently very zealous in the intereſts of the king of France, hearing of this fatal defeat, and that John and his ſon were priſoners, ſent the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital to Bourdeaux, with orders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring about a peace; but, failing in their negotiation, they confined their requeſts to the obtaining a truce for two years. The prince of Wales, who was ſincerely diſpoſed to heal the wounds which both nations had received in the courſe of their bloody conteſt, joined his endeavours to thoſe of the legate, and wrote over to the king his father, then in England, in ſuch preſſing terms, that the latter ſent him full powers to conclude a truce by ſea and land for two years, which was accordingly agreed upon at Bourdeaux on the 23d of March.

As ſoon as this truce was concluded, the prince of Wales, having ſettled the affairs of Gaſcony, embarked with his royal captives for England, and landed on the 5th of May at Sandwich in Kent. He was received at every place through which he paſſed with the greateſt expreſſions of joy; but conſtantly refuſed thoſe honors which were offered him, deſiring that the reſpect intended for him might be transferred with every mark of attention and civility to the French monarch. He was met in Southwark by a thouſand of the principal citizens of London on horſeback; and the mayor diſplayed, on this occaſion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was truly magnificent. John was dreſſed in his royal robes, and mounted on a ſtately white courſer, remarkable for its ſize and beauty, as well as for the richneſs of its furniture. Young Edward rode on the left-hand of his priſoner, on a little black palfry, and in a meaner dreſs, as if ſtudious to avoid every mark of diſtinction. The ſtreets through which they paſſed were ſuperbly adorned with plate, tapeſtry, and armour. The proceſſion reached Weſtminſter-hall about noon, where king Edward, ſurrounded by a ſplendid circle of the nobles, and other great men, received his royal priſoner, in all the pomp of ſtate, but at the ſame time with all the courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come voluntary to pay him a friendly viſit. All the pretenſions of Edward to the crown of France ſeemed to be forgotten, and John in captivity received the honors of a king, which were refuſed him when ſeated on the throne. The French monarch behaved with ſo much propriety on this occaſion, as to ſhew himſelf truly deſerving ſo generous a treatment: though conquered and a priſoner, he ſtill preſerved the dignity of a king. The French noblemen and knights met with the ſame generous and humane treatment.

Edward at this time enjoyed a glory which appeared the more dazzling from its being ſo very uncommon: he had in confinement two of his moſt potent enemies; namely, the king of France in London, and the king of Scotland at Odiham in Hampſhire. The latter, indeed, would have received his liberty long before, had not his ſubjects refuſed to pay his ranſom. At this juncture he ſeemed to have little cauſe to expect any favour from a victorious enemy, who had reduced his country to the greateſt diſtreſs, and whom, from the late amazing ſucceſs of his arms in other parts, might, according to the uſual frame of the human mind, be ſuppoſed not very ready to liſten to the dictates of humanity. But he was deceived. Edward, moved by the intreaties of his ſiſter, the queen conſort of Scotland, agreed to a negotiation for ſetting her huſband at liberty. The conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was agreed, "That David ſhould be ſet at liberty, and acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, on his giving hoſtages for the payment of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling in ten years, by equal portions; and that a truce ſhould ſubſiſt, and be inviolably obſerved by both nations, till the whole ſhould be liquidated." This treaty being ratified, David returned to his kingdom, after a captivity of eleven years.

The affairs of Scotland were hardly finiſhed, before the two cardinal legates, who had negotiated the truce with prince Edward, arrived in London, with propoſals for a peace: but of ſo ſtrange a nature, that Edward refuſed to return them any anſwer. Baffled in this attempt, they demanded, in the name of his holineſs, the arrears of the tribute formerly paid to the ſee of Rome, amounting to a thouſand marks. Edward treated this demand as an obſolete and ridiculous claim; and bid them tell the pontiff, "That he held his kingdom of God alone, and acknowledged no other ſuperior, nor would he pay tribute to any mortal upon earth."

A. D. 1358. The captivity of John produced an univerſal confuſion in France. Charles the dauphin was declared regent, and had the mortification of ſeeing almoſt the whole kingdom revolt againſt him. Paris, at that time, began to be a formidable city, for it contained fifty thouſand men capable of bearing arms. Charles found himſelf obliged to releaſe the king

ng of Navarre, whom his father had confined.
his was, in fact, letting looſe an enemy upon himſelf.
e king of Navarre no ſooner obtained his liberty,
n he came to Paris to blow the coals of ſedition,
eady ſufficiently kindled. Marcel, provoſt of the
erchants of Paris, entered the Louvre at the head of
e male-contents, where he cauſed Robert de Cler-
ont, marſhal of France, together with the marſhal
Champagne, to be maſſacred in preſence of the
uphin. In the mean time, the peaſants tumultu-
ſly aſſembled from all parts, and, in the general
nfuſion, attacked every gentleman they met with,
eating them as revolted ſlaves behave towards thoſe
ere maſters who happen to fall into their hands.
hey revenged themſelves, by a thouſand cruel pu-
ſhments, for the meanneſs of their condition. In
e midſt of theſe convulſions of ſtate, Charles of
avarre aſpired to the crown; and a war was
rried on by him againſt the dauphin, till the
ter was obliged to diſſemble his reſentment, by
reeing to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, and par-
ning this too powerful and rebellious vaſſal. The
her cities of the kingdom followed the example of
e capital: they ſhook off the dauphin's authority,
ok the government into their own hands, and ſpread
ſorder into every province. The nobles, whoſe
clinations led them to adhere to the crown, and
re naturally diſpoſed to check theſe tumults, had
ſt their influence; and being reproached with
wardice, on account of their baſe deſertion of their
vereign in the battle of Poictiers, were treated with
iverſal contempt by the inferior orders. The
ſbanded ſoldiers, and the peaſants, who had learned
mething of the art of war, formed themſelves into
rties in the different provinces, eſpecially beyond
e Loire. One of their chiefs called John of Gouge,
burgher of Sens, was declared king of their banditti,
d did almoſt as much miſchief by his depredations
the lawful ſovereign had done in the defence of his
ngdom.

While theſe dreadful ſcenes were tranſacting in
rance, a treaty was concluded between the kings of
rance and England; by which it was agreed, that,
conſideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the
chy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and
aine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs
ould enjoy Guienne, the Angoumois, Xaintonge,
erigord, Quercy, the Limouſin, Poictou, Touraine,
alais, Guiſnes, the Boulonnois, and the county of
onthieu, free and independent of the crown of
rance: and that John and the French nobles, who
d been taken priſoners with him, ſhould pay, for
eir ranſom, four millions of golden crowns, up-
ards of a million and a half ſterling money. Theſe
ticles were ſent over to France, and laid before a
eeting of the ſtates, by whom they were rejected
ith diſdain, as deſtructive at once of the honor and
fety of the nation. Edward was highly exaſperated
this refuſal, and determined to renew the war as
on as the truce was expired; flattering himſelf
at he ſhould ſucceed better by arms than by nego-
ations.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of two princeſſes nearly related to the king of England. The one was Iſabella, his mother, widow of the unfortunate Edward II. whoſe luſt and ambition had not only proved fatal to her wretched huſband, but had given riſe to a long and bloody war. She died at the caſtle of Riſings on the 12th of November, aged 63, after a confinement of 28 years. The other princeſs was Joan, queen of Scotland, who alſo paid the debt of nature much about the ſame time, at Hertford in England. She was buried by the ſide of her mother, in the choir of the Grey Friars, now called Chriſt Church, in London.

A. D. 1359. The truce expiring at Midſummer, Edward determined to proſecute the reſolution he had formed of invading France. No ſooner were his intentions known than the ſplendor of his former victories induced a prodigious number of adventurers to flock to his ſtandard; and he croſſed the ſea to Calais with an army of an hundred thouſand men*. This force was irreſiſtible, and the dauphin was too prudent to hazard a deciſive battle. He allowed the enemy to ſpend their fury in the open country, while he employed himſelf to put all the conſiderable towns in a poſture of defence. It had been determined in a council of war called by Edward near Calais, to penetrate immediately into the heart of France, without loſing time in taking places: a wiſe reſolution had it been punctually obſerved. But after waſting the province of Picardy, and entering Champagne, Edward was deſirous of being dignified with the royal diadem of France in the city of Rheims. He accordingly inveſted the city, where three months were ſpent without effect, while his army daily diminiſhed by ſickneſs, and he was obliged at laſt to raiſe the ſiege.

A. D. 1360. Edward, failing in this attempt, conducted his army into Burgundy, which, together with the Nivernois, were preſerved from his ravages, by paying the contributions he demanded. The Brie and the Gatinois he plundered with the utmoſt cruelty. He advanced to the gates of Paris, burnt the ſuburbs of that city, and challenged the dauphin to give him battle; but not being able to make that prudent prince change his plan of operations, he ſpread his army into the provinces of Maine, Beauſſe, and the Chartraine. Here he was overtaken by ſo dreadful a hurricane, as ſeemed to threaten the diſſolution of the univerſe. The ſhock of the elements, in thunder, lightening, and hail-ſtones of a prodigious ſize, ſtruck the boldeſt with terror. No leſs than ſix thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, were killed on the ſpot. Edward, with all his courage, was not proof againſt this dreadful ſcene: he conſidered it a warning from heaven to him, to ſheathe the deſtructive ſword of war upon equitable terms. Penetrated with theſe ſentiments, he leaped from his horſe, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, with his arms extended towards the church of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, he vowed to agree inſtantly to a peace with France, if it could be obtained upon juſt and honourable terms.

This ſtorm has been conſidered by moſt hiſtorians as the cauſe which inſpired Edward with pacific diſpoſitions; while others (and indeed with great probability) imagine, that, mortified at the little progreſs he had made with ſo numerous an army, and to hide the ſhame of not being able to do any thing more than deſtroying the open country, he was diſpoſed to a reconciliation, and was glad that this event furniſhed him with an opportunity of effecting it. But whatever gave riſe to theſe pacific ſentiments, a negotiation was opened at Bretagne, where a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that France ſhould pay, at three different times, three millions of crowns of gold (about a million and a half ſterling) for the ranſom of king John: That the king of England ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Perigord, the Limoſin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigone, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rovergne; and enjoy theſe territories in the fulleſt manner, and without any feudal ſubjection or homage. That the diſpute between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort, with regard to the duchy of Britany, ſhould be candidly diſcuſſed, and referred to arbitration, under the ſanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither ſhould take any part in the quarrel, though the ſovereignty of Britany ſhould remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in that kingdom: That the king of France ſhould renounce alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings. Forty hoſtages, among whom were the two ſons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the chief nobility of France, were given as ſecurities for the performance of theſe conditions.

---

* While Edward was making preparations for this expedition
e took care to keep up the good humour of his ſubjects by every
t of popularity he could deviſe. Among others there is one
hich ſo ſtrongly marks the genius of his court and the times,
at we preſume an account of it will not be unacceptable to the
ader.

About the latter end of May a ſolemn juſt was proclaimed to
e held at London for three days together. The challengers in
e proclamation were, the lord-mayor, the two ſheriffs, and
enty-one aldermen, who undertook to maintain the field againſt
ll comers. But matters were managed with ſuch ſecrecy, that the
ng perſonated the lord-mayor, and his four ſons, with nineteen of the principal nobility in England, the ſheriffs and other aldermen; being all dreſſed in complete cloſe armour, on which the arms and other diſtinctions of the city were painted. The deceit was not even ſo much as ſuſpected by the citizens themſelves, who were charmed to ſee their magiſtrates (as they thought) acquit themſelves in arms ſurpaſſing that of the braveſt knights in Europe. But they were ſtill more charmed when, at the end of the three days, the beavers being then lifted up, they found, inſtead of their mayor and court of aldermen, who remained all that time concealed, the greateſt perſonages of the court of England.

In conſequence of this treaty of peace, the king of France was ſet at liberty. He immediately went over to Calais, where Edward alſo ſoon after arrived, and both parties there ſolemnly ratified the treaty.

About the latter end of October, Edward embarked for England, and landed at Dover, with all his hoſtages, on the firſt of November. From hence he proceeded to pay his devotions at Canterbury, giving orders, purſuant to an obligation he had entered into, that the hoſtages ſhould every where be treated with all the reſpect due to their high quality, and that they ſhould be admitted upon their parole of honour, to all the liberty of exerciſe and diverſions.

A. D. 1361. The peace between the two kingdoms being concluded in France was productive of dreadful diſorders in that kingdom. Great numbers of adventurers, who had enliſted in Edward's army, joined the band of robbers that had for ſome time deſolated the provinces. Habituated to pillage, and ſtrangers to fear, they committed the moſt dreadful ravages, and were known by the name of "The Companies." At length John, marquis of Montferrat, being at war with the Viſcontis, lords of Milan, took the Companies into his pay, and freed France from theſe formidable bands of ruffians.

A. D. 1362. In the beginning of this year a dreadful peſtilence broke out in France, which carried off upwards of 30,000 inhabitants in Paris, and ſpreading into England, raged with equal violence in London. Among others ſwept away by this contagion was Henry duke of Lancaſter, who, from his great humanity, had obtained the ſurname of the Good Duke. His only ſurviving ſiſter became his heir: ſhe had been ſome time married to John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth ſon, who, in right of his brother-in-law, was the following year created duke of Lancaſter.

This year is alſo remarkable for the marriage of Edward the Black Prince with his couſin, Joan of Kent, the young and beautiful relict of the late earl of Kent, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the preſent reign by the intrigues of queen Iſabella and the infamous Mortimer; and for her exquiſite beauty, ſhe was generally known by the appellation of "The Fair maid of Kent." The young hero, who had raiſed the honour of the Engliſh to ſo exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine, and inveſted with the property of many of the noble poſſeſſions ceded to the Engliſh by the treaty of Bretagne. He ſoon after croſſed the ſea, and fixed his reſidence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and reſpected by all ranks of people.

A. D. 1363. The French hoſtages, who were ſtill in London, began now to grow weary of their confinement, and the duke of Anjou broke his parole and eſcaped to Paris. This act, ſo contrary to the principles of honor and juſtice, filled John with the utmoſt concern; and he determined, at all events, to execute the conditions of the treaty. His council in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign: his purpoſe was fixed, and every argument loſt its force. "If juſtice and good faith", ſaid he, "were baniſhed from the reſt of the earth, they ought yet to retain their habitation in the breaſts of princes." This noble way of thinking, incompatible with the maxims of policy, induced him to return to England, in order to ſubſtitute himſelf in the place of his ſon, the duke of Anjou. But he did not long ſurvive this action, which he thought abſolutely neceſſary. He died ſoon after, in the palace of the Savoy, where he had been royally entertained at the king's expence, and the ranſom was never paid.

A. D. 1365. In the month of January this year a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, when ſeveral laws were enacted which tended to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. Edward alſo iſſued an edict for the apprehending a number of robbers and lawleſs banditti that infeſted the kingdom, conſiſting chiefly of ſoldiers that had been diſbanded at the concluſion of the peace with France; and that theſe delinquents might be more eaſily and ſpeedily brought to trial, he enlarged the judicatory powers of the city of London. He next applied himſelf to the removal of another evil, namely, the corruption of the judges. The lord chief juſtice Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Skipwith, one of the judges, were, for their partiality and extortion, impriſoned, heavily fined, and rendered incapable of holding any public employment.

A. D. 1366. Edward the Black Prince had now lived near three years in his principality of Aquitaine, without having an opportunity of exerciſing his valour, and, indeed, without any proſpect of doing it for a conſiderable time. On a ſudden, however, he was called forth from this ſtate of inactivity by an event which muſt lead us to a country diſtant from France and England, namely, that of Spain.

The throne of Caſtile was filled by Peter, ſurnamed the Cruel, from his ſanguinary and revengeful diſpoſition. He was placed in the ſeat of power while a minor, and in very unfavourable circumſtances. His father, Alphonſo XI. had ſeven natural children by his miſtreſs, Eleanor of Guſman; and ſettled ſuch conſiderable fortunes on them, that they defied the royal authority; while their mother, who enjoyed ſtill more power, inſulted the queen dowager. Caſtile was therefore divided into two parties, one of whom joined the queen mother, and the other Eleanor. When Peter came of age, and took the reins of government into his own hands, he was obliged to maintain a war againſt the faction of his natural brothers. Being victorious in a deciſive battle

attle, he took Eleanor priſoner; and, to ſatisfy his mother's revenge, put her to death. Soon after, he married Blanche of Bourbon, who falling in love with the grand maſter of St. Jago, one of thoſe very baſtards who was then at war with her huſband, ſhe joined the faction, and Peter ſhut her up in a caſtle. This greatly augmented the fury of the faction, and Peter was obliged to fight againſt the king of Arraon and his natural brothers at the ſame time; but victory ſtill followed his ſtandards, and he made a cruel uſe of it. He ſeldom forgave a crime; ſo that ll his relations who had appeared in arms againſt him, were ſacrificed to his reſentment, and among the reſt the grand maſter of St. Jago. During theſe troubles, Blanche of Bourbon died in confinement; nd it was univerſally reported, that ſhe fell by the deteſted arts of poiſon. Henry of Tranſtamare, one of thoſe baſtards, animated with a deſire of revenging at once both the death of his mother, and that of the grand maſter of St. Jago, entered into a treaty with Charls V. king of France, and a powerful army was ſoon raiſed, under the command of John de Bourbon. Bertrand du Gueſclin, a native of Britany, famous for his military abilities, was appointed general in this expedition; and had the addreſs to engage the Companies, now returned from Italy, to follow him into Caſtile. They had been excommunicated by the pope, and were deeply affected by that ſentence, to which they paid a much greater regard than to any maxims of juſtice and humanity; though it was not ſufficient to make them abandon a life of rapine and extortion.

Du Gueſclin advanced with his army firſt to Avignon, where the pope then reſided, and demanded, ſword in hand, an abſolution for all his ſoldiers, and the ſum of two hundred thouſand livres. The former was very readily promiſed; but more difficulty was made with regard to the latter. "I believe," replied du Gueſclin, "my fellows may make a ſhift to do without an abſolution, but the money is abſolutely neceſſary." The pope then extorted from the inhabitants in the city and neighbourhood, the ſum of an hundred thouſand livres, and offered the money to du Gueſclin. "It is not my intention," replied the generous warrior, "to oppreſs the innocent people; the pope and the cardinals themſelves can eaſily ſpare me that ſum from their own pockets. This money, I inſiſt, muſt be reſtored to the owners, and ſhould they be defrauded of it, I ſhall myſelf return from the other ſide of the Pyrennees, and oblige you to make them reſtitution." The pope ſaw the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion, and paid him, from his own treaſury, the ſum demanded. The army, hallowed by the bleſſings, and enriched by the ſpoils of the church, proceeded on their expedition, and paſſed the Pyrenneian mountains.

It is natural to imagine that ſuch experienced and hardy ſoldiers, headed by ſo able a general, muſt eaſily alarm the king of Caſtile, whoſe ſubjects, inſtead of ſupporting their oppreſſor, were ready to join the enemy againſt him. Peter, therefore, thought it moſt adviſeable to fly from his dominions. He firſt repaired to the frontiers of Portugal; but being denied entrance into that kingdom, he repaired to Bourdeaux, to implore the aid and protection of the Black prince.

A. D. 1367. Edward promiſed his aſſiſtance to the fugitive monarch; and having obtained the conſent of his father, he levied a great army, and ſet out upon his enterprize. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter.

Edward's army paſſed the Pyrennees in three diviſions, each conſiſting of 10,000 horſe. At his approach all the Companies left du Gueſclin's army, declaring they would never draw their ſwords againſt their native prince. But notwithſtanding the deſertion of the Companies, Henry de Tranſtamare and du Gueſclin were ſtill at the head of an hundred thouſand men. Both armies were now in ſight of each other, and ſoon after was fought, on the banks of the Ebro near the village of Navarette, the famous battle of that name, between Peter and the Black Prince on one ſide, and Henry de Tranſtamare and du Gueſclin, on the other. Edward acquired more honour in this battle than Creſſy and Poictiers, becauſe the conteſt was much longer diſputed. The victory was complete; above twenty thouſand of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and Bertrand du Gueſclin and the marſhal of Ardrehen were taken priſoners.

Peter was re-eſtabliſhed on the throne of Caſtile, and Henry de Tranſtamare obliged to fly to Arragon. But gratitude was not one of Peter's virtues: he deceived his benefactor when he had no longer any need of his aſſiſtance. He refuſed the ſtipulated pay to the Engliſh forces; and Edward, perceiving that his men daily periſhed by ſickneſs, found himſelf under a neceſſity of leading them back to Guienne. Peter, however, enjoyed not long the good fortune he owed to the perſon he had ſo ungenerouſly treated. The Black Prince had no ſooner croſſed the Pyrennees, and Bertrand du Gueſclin paid his ranſom, than the baſtard of Tranſtamare revived the party of the malecontents, and du Gueſclin began to raiſe a new army. The forces of Arragon, the rebels of Caſtile, and the French auxiliaries appeared on the ſide of Tranſtamare: while Peter's army conſiſted of the greater part of the Caſtalians, the troops of Portugal, and the Moors of Spain; but his new allies rendered him ſtill more odious, and were of very little ſervice in the day of battle. Tranſtamare and du Gueſclin having no longer the genius and fortune of young Edward to contend with, obtained a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The tyrant Peter was again dethroned and taken priſoner, when his brother, in revenge, murdered him with his own hand, and was afterwards placed on the throne of Caſtile, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity.

A. D. 1369. Prince Edward, during his campaign in Caſtile, had contracted, beſides a very dangerous diſorder, an enormous debt, which Peter had refuſed to pay. This obliged him to have recourſe to methods not conſiſtent with good policy. He totally alienated from him the affections of the French, by impoſing on them an unuſual and heavy tax. The nobility of Guienne made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt this impoſition, and even carried their complaints to the king of France as their lord paramount. The principal articles in the treaty of Bretagne, regarded the renunciation of the ſovereignty, and were to have been made reſpectively by John and Edward, but had remained unexecuted, though the failure in exchanging theſe renunciations was wholly owing to the chicanery of France. Charles, who directed all his affairs by the principles of policy rather than thoſe of juſtice, admitted the appeal of the nobility of Guienne, and ſummoned the prince of Wales to appear perſonally in his court at Paris. The prince, exaſperated at ſo inſolent and unjuſt a meſſage, anſwered, with all the ſpirit of a young warrior, that it ſhould be at the head of ſixty thouſand men. Charles was not, however, intimidated; he knew the declining years of Edward, the languiſhing ſtate of the prince of Wales's health, and the extreme animoſity which the inhabitants of the conquered provinces had expreſſed againſt the Engliſh, would act very powerfully in his favour. He therefore immediately declared war, and ſent a letter of defiance to the Engliſh monarch.

An event happened about this time, which greatly affected Edward, namely, the loſs of that illuſtrious princeſs Philippa, queen of England, who died on the 15th of Auguſt at Windſor, after a long and very ſevere illneſs. Her death was in a particular manner lamented by her royal conſort, with whom ſhe had lived forty years in perfect union and had brought him twelve children. Nor was her death lamented only by her family and relations; all ranks of people were ſharers in this calamity, eſpecially the poor, to whom ſhe had been a moſt liberal benefactreſs. She was buried in Weſtminſter abbey under a tomb of black touch-ſtone, on the top of which was her portraiture in alabaſter admirably executed.

A. D. 1370. The French began now to be very active in carrying on the war, which was commenced in Ponthieu, where they met with very little oppoſition. The dukes of Berry and Anjou, brothers to Charles, aſſiſted by du Gueſclin, invaded the ſouthern provinces, and ſoon produced an important revolution. The ſtate of the prince's health would not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. The brave Chandois, governor of Guienne, was ſlain in one action, and du Buche in another. Young Edward ſaw the progreſs of the French with the utmoſt regret; but his diſtemper increaſed ſo faſt upon him, that he was obliged to throw up his command, and return to England.

Edward, incenſed at the injuries he had received from Charles, meditated a ſevere revenge, but the infirmities of age ſuffered him not to head his armies in perſon, with that vigour and activity which attended him in the field of Creſſy. Sir Edward Knowles was for ſome time very fortunate. He marched from Calais at the head of thirty thouſand men, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Paris, but without being able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. He entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, and laid them both waſte: but part of his army being there defeated by the admirable conduct of du Gueſclin, now created conſtable of France, the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed, ſo that inſtead of reaching Guienne, they took ſhelter in Britany, whoſe ſovereign had entered into an alliance with England. The duke of Lancaſter, at the head of twenty-five thouſand men, made, ſoon after, the ſame attempt, and marched the whole length of France, from Calais to Bourdeaux, but his rear was ſo dreadfully harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging parties ſo frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached the place of their deſtination. One province after another fell into the hands of the enemy, till Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais only remained in the hands of the Engliſh, when the neceſſities of Edward obliged him to conclude a truce with the enemy.

A. D. 1376. The military glory which the great Edward once poſſeſſed was now buried in the grave of voluptuouſneſs. His whole attention had been hitherto engroſſed in the purſuits of war and ambition; but thoſe paſſions were now totally extinguiſhed. He began, at a very unſeaſonable time of life, to indulge himſelf in amorous dalliance, and was dwindled into the contemptible ſlave of an infamous woman, called Alice Pierce, who, to the ſcandal of all government, was ſuffered to ſit in the public court of juſtice, and even appeared decked in the jewels of the virtuous queen Philippa, which the now fallen Edward had the weakneſs to make her a preſent of, with all the other moveables of that worthy lady*: in ſhort, the regal authority ſeemed wholly conſigned to the hands of this ſtrumpet, who placed and diſplaced every great officer as ſhe thought proper. The people were no longer able to bear ſuch proceedings; and the parliament, which met on the 24th of April, declared their ſentiments on this ſubject with ſuch freedom, that before they broke up they obliged the king to iſſue a ſentence of baniſhment againſt the ſaid Alice, and to confiſcate her eſtate. At the ſame time, to ſhew that they retained a warm and loyal affection for their ſovereign, even in the midſt of his weakneſſes, they granted him a very conſiderable ſubſidy.

During this ſeſſions of parliament, the nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs by the death of Edward prince of Wales, who expired at Windſor on the 18th of June, in the 46th year of his age*. The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which procured him the admiration of all Europe, form only a ſubordinate part of his merit. His humanity, generoſity, affability, and moderation, gained him the eſteem of all the world; even the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory would have received a luſtre from his virtues; they were celebrated by his greateſt enemies. Charles of France, though his kingdom had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his high eſteem for this diſtinguiſhed hero. He cauſed a ſolemn ſervice to be performed for the repoſe of his ſoul, in the church of Notre Dame, and aſſiſted himſelf in perſon, with the principal part of the nobility of France.

The death of the prince was greatly lamented by the people, who had flattered themſelves with the proſpect of uninterrupted happineſs and glory under his reign. Their concern was likewiſe increaſed by the jealouſies they had entertained of the great power of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, whom they were apprehenſive might ſeize the crown on the death of his father. To remove theſe fears, before the prince was buried, the commons petitioned the king, "that, for the comfort of the nation, his eldeſt ſon, Richard of Bourdeaux, might be brought into parliament, and acknowledged as the true heir apparent to the realm." Edward not only readily complied with this requeſt, but alſo created the young prince duke of Cornwall and earl of Cheſter, and ſoon after conferred on him the title of Prince of Wales.

The grief which Edward felt for the loſs of his ſon, added to the weakneſs that had for ſome time obſcured his great talents, rendered him now in a manner unfit for government, and he retired to a ſolitary life at Eltham in Kent, one of his country ſeats. The duke of Lancaſter availed himſelf of this opportunity ſo favourable to his ambition, by getting himſelf declared regent of the kingdom, with the approbation of the princeſs dowager and young prince Richard, whom he had gained over to his intereſt; and, the more effectually to remove from Edward the thoughts of reſuming the reins of government, he contrived to have Alice Pierce recalled again about the royal perſon; and ſhe ſoon gained ſuch an aſcendancy at court, as to procure the diſgrace of every one ſuſpected by, or obnoxious to, her, or the duke her patron.

Lancaſter, on being inveſted with the government, made it his firſt buſineſs to wreak his vengeance on the earl of Marche and the biſhop of Wincheſter, both men of great power and abilities, and the conſtant oppoſers of his ambitious meaſures: the former of theſe he obliged to reſign the ſtaff of earl-marſhal; and the latter was forbid the court, after having all his temporalities ſeized.

---

* He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb, with an inſcription in French, is ſtill to be ſeen. He had iſſue two ſons, viz. Edward of Augouleſme, who died an infant, and Richard of Bourdeaux, who ſucceded his grand-father on the throne of England. He had likewiſe one daughter.

Lancaſter's next ſtep was, to procure a parliament that would, without heſitation, grant large ſupplies. This was eaſily effected; and the aſſembly meeting on the 27th of January, 1377, the lords and commons very readily granted the king four-pence, by way of poll-tax, from every perſon in the kingdom above fourteen years of age. The commons alſo, to ſhow their eagerneſs to oblige the court party, revoked the ſentence of confiſcation and baniſhment which had been paſſed againſt Alice Pierce; and ſhe was reinſtated in full poſſeſſion of all her former rights, privileges and eſtates.

Theſe meaſures, with the laying on the poll tax, occaſioned the greateſt diſcontent among the people; and the haughtineſs of the duke of Lancaſter and his friend the lord Piercy, on whom he had beſtowed the ſtaff of earl-marſhal, taken from the earl of Marche, ſerved to increaſe the flame which ſoon broke forth into the moſt unwarrantable exceſſes.

About this time John Wickliff, doctor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, began to publiſh his belief upon ſeveral articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. He ſoon gained a number of followers in the kingdom, and among others the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Piercy, earl-marſhal. Wickliff being ſummoned to appear before the biſhop of London at a ſynod held by that prelate in St. Paul's cathedral, the duke and marſhal accompanied him thither, thinking their preſence would be a powerful protection; and, in the courſe of the examination, the duke and marſhal inſulted the biſhop, and even proceded to threats, upon which the ſynod broke up in great confuſion. The populace of London, who adored the biſhop, and were glad of any opportunity to be revenged on thoſe whom they thought their oppreſſors, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and, running to the Savoy, the magnificent palace of the duke of Lancaſter, they rifled the houſe, and ſearched every where for his perſon, which, in all probability, they would have ſacrificed in their unbridled fury; but, on advice of the danger that threatened him, he had eſcaped, with the lord Piercy, to the court of the princeſs of Wales, then at Kennington in Surry, where they remained till the tumult was ſubſided. The duke was ſo provoked that he could not be pacified but by the removal of the then mayor and aldermen, whom he accuſed of not having done their endeavours to quell the rioters. But this ſeverity ſerved only to render Lancaſter more odious and contemptible in the eyes of the people.

The truce with France expiring on the 1ſt of April, hoſtilities were again begun between the two crowns. The French laid ſiege to a ſtrong fort near Calais, which was delivered into their hands by the treachery or cowardice of the commanding officer. On the other hand, the brave Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, made an inroad into the French territories, from whence he returned with a great booty to Calais.

This was the laſt of the numerous military operations which diſtinguiſhed this buſtling reign; as the following was of the public acts of the great Edward. In an aſſembly of the knights companions of the Garter, on St. George's-day, he conferred that order on his grandſon Richard; which was the only honor he could give him, after declaring him his ſucceſſor.

A few days after this the king removed to Shene, where he was ſeized with a diſtemper called the cingles (a kind of St. Anthony's Fire that encompaſſes the body like a belt) which quickly encreaſed to ſo danrous a height as to leave no hopes of his recovery. In this ſituation all his infamous courtiers and attendants forſook him, Alice Pierce alone excepted, who watched with care the royal body ſo long as ſhe thought any life remained in it; but when ſhe beheld him in the agonies of death, ſhe ſtripped him of his rings and jewels, and then left him without a ſingle friend or domeſtic to cloſe his eyes.

Thus deſerted and forlorn lay the once great, but now expiring, Edward. At length, a prieſt of his houſhold, paſſing by accident through the room where he lay in a condition the moſt abject that can befal the human race, had the humanity to approach the bed-ſide, and, finding the poor king yet breathing, addreſſed to him ſome pious exhortations, to which the latter endeavoured to reply, but in words too inarticulate to be underſtood. At laſt, however, making a final effort, he pronounced the word Jeſus! and cloſed his eyes upon this world and all his former glories.

Here let humanity take its ſympathizing ſtand! here let ambition drop its aſpiring head! and contemplate (in the deplorable exit of this conqueror of nations) the vanity of all ſublunary greatneſs! while the hiſtorian, turning his eyes from this humiliating object, endeavours to trace the lineaments of a character ſo conſpicuous in the Engliſh annals.

Edward III. was in perſon tall of ſtature, but ſo juſtly proportioned, and of ſo noble and majeſtic an aſpect, as at once engaged affection and commanded reſpect. He was gracious and obliging to the virtuous and deſerving; ſtern and inexorable to the bad and faithleſs. In converſation he was affable and communicative, nor did he diſdain to receive inſtruction from thoſe beneath him, in inſtances where they were enabled to give it: at the ſame time he was poſſeſſed of ſo juſt a diſcernment, that few princes ever made a more happy choice of ſervants, either in the domeſtic, the civil, or the military departments. He was a friend to the poor, the fatherleſs, the widow, and when he relieved, it was as a king, by putting them above the return of their miſeries. In the diſtribution of rewards and dignities, he ſhewed a diſtinguiſhed judgment, and an invariable regard to merit. He had a taſte for the liberal arts, much above what could be expected for the age in which he lived; witneſs the edifices of Windſor Caſtle, King's Hall in Cambridge, and the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen (now the room where the commons of Great Britain aſſemble) all which he built, and the two laſt endowed.

It remains now that we ſhould ſay ſomething of his political character. If we view him in this light he will appear to us one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, whether we behold him as a warrior, a legiſlator or a monarch. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed that the love of glory was his predominant paſſion, and that, on ſeveral occaſions, he ſcrupled not to indulge it even at the expence of humanity, the lives of his ſubjects, and the intereſt of his country; but then it muſt be conſidered that he was but a man, and, as ſuch, liable to errors; and that the diſtracted ſtate of affairs on the continent, and the jarring intereſts of its princes, concurred in flattering his ambition, and inſpiring him with views which otherwiſe, perhaps, he might never have conceived. His conduct with regard to Scotland, and his claim to the ſucceſſion of France, involved his ſubjects and himſelf in many difficulties; but theſe very difficulties ſerved in the end to wean them from the vain notions they had entertained on their king's amazing ſucceſſes, and at the ſame time taught them that victories may, under certain circumſtances, ſerve only to diſtreſs, and conqueſts to encumber. The obtaining of conqueſts, however, ſeems to have had but a ſecond place in Edward's glory: he was a true lover of the conſtitution of his country, with which he was intimately acquainted, and ſhewed himſelf on all occaſions as anxious to defend the privileges of the people, as to preſerve the prerogatives of the crown.

As to his weakneſs at the cloſe of his life, in ſuffering himſelf to be made the dupe of an artful and worthleſs woman, we may in ſome meaſure excuſe him, by ſuppoſing that his paſſion might at firſt be only an amuſement to divert the melancholy reflections ariſing from the diſappointments with which his latter days were clouded; and conſidering, that he who had not had leiſure in his youthful hours to be acquainted with the power of love, was the leſs able to guard againſt it in his old age.

This great prince died at Shene (now Richmond) on the 21ſt of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age, and the 51ſt of his reign. He was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey near his queen Philippa, by whom he had the following iſſue:

1. Edward the Black Prince.
2. William of Hatfield, who died in his infancy.
3. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence; who was firſt married to Elizabeth de Burgh, heireſs of William de Burgh, earl of Ulſter. After her death, he married Violante, daughter to the duke of Milan; and died in Italy ſoon after the conſummation of his nuptials, without leaving any poſterity by that princeſs.
4. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, from whom ſprung that branch which afterwards poſſeſſed the crown. He firſt married Blanche, daughter and coheireſs of Henry duke of Lancaſter, to whoſe title he ſucceeded. His ſecond wife was Conſtance, eldeſt daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Caſtile, in whoſe right he aſſumed the arms and title of that kingdom. After her death, he married Catherine Swinford, who had already bore him ſeveral illegitimate children.
5. Edmund de Langley, earl of Cambridge, conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and afterwards duke of York.
6. William of Windſor, who died an infant.
7. Thomas of Woodſtock, who received the title of earl of Buckingham from his father, and duke of Glouceſter from his nephew.

The daughters were,

1. Iſabella, married to Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Bedford.
2. Joan, who died of the plague at Bourdeaux.
3. Blanche, who died in her infancy.
4. Mary, married to John de Montfort, earl of Britany.
5. Margaret, married to John de Haſtings, earl of Pembroke.

The remarkable occurrences that happened in the reign of Edward III. were as follow:

In the fourth year of his reign, on the 10th of July, there happened a great eclipſe of the ſun; and the rains were ſo violent this year, that the harveſt did not begin till Michaelmas. At Chriſtmas, a violent weſterly wind overthrew ſeveral private houſes and public edifices, tore up trees by the roots, and did other conſiderable miſchief.

In his ninth year, the rains were ſo fatal, that the corn was ſpoiled; a dearth enſued, wheat being ſold for forty ſhillings a quarter, (as much as twenty ſhillings a buſhel now) and the cattle was deſtroyed by a murrain.

In his twelfth year, it rained almoſt continually from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, and then came a froſt upon it, which laſted twelve weeks; yet, though the corn was deſtroyed by it in a great meaſure, the war with Scotland made money ſo ſcarce, that all ſorts of grain were ſold at a reaſonable rate.

In his thirteenth year, an hundred and twenty laymen, and ſeveral prieſts, beſides women, were drowned, by an inundation of water, at Newcaſtle upon Tyne.

While the battle of Creſſy was fighting, in the twentieth year of his reign, there fell a violent ſtorm of hail, accompanied with an eclipſe, and terrible thunder, at which times prodigious flights of crows hovered over the Engliſh and French armies.

In his twenty-ſecond year, it rained from Midſummer to Chriſtmas ſo conſtantly, that there was not one day or night dry together. This wet ſeaſon cauſed great floods, and a peſtilence, which raged for a whole year. The earth was, at the ſame time, barren, and even the ſea did not produce ſuch plenty of fiſh as formerly. The mortality was ſo great, that, in the city of London, two hundred corpſe were buried every day in the Charter-houſe-yard, beſides thoſe interred in other common burying-places; and this laſted from Candlemas to Eaſter.---This year was alſo remarkable for the inſtitution of the Order of the Garter, which probably owed its origin to the love Edward bore to the counteſs of Saliſbury. That celebrated lady, at a court ball, dropped her garter, which the king took up; and obſerving that ſome of his courtiers ſmiled, as if he had not obtained that favor merely by accident, he called out, "Honi ſoit qui "mal y penſe." Evil be to him who evil thinks. Theſe words became the motto of the order. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than twenty-four perſons beſides the ſovereign; though it ſoon became a capital object of ambition to courtiers.

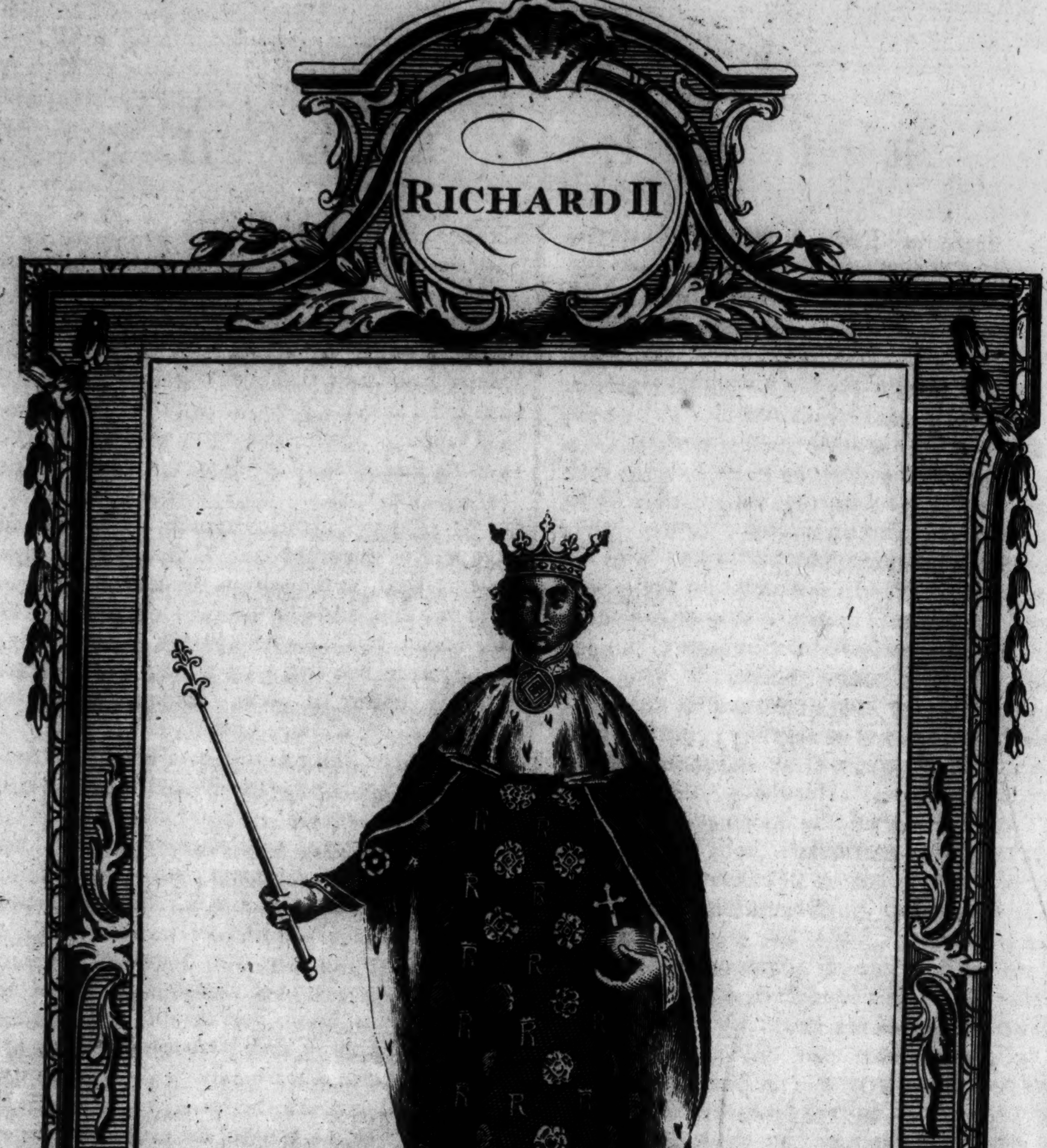
His twenty-ſeventh year was remarkable for the ſcarcity of corn and proviſions in England and France, occaſioned by a great drought. It was called the Dead Summer. Rye was brought out of Zealand to ſupport the poor, who otherwiſe muſt have periſhed for want of ſuſtenance.

In his thirty-fourth year great deſtruction was made both among men and beaſts by dreadful ſtorms of thunder and lightning; and to add to theſe calamities, the plague again broke out with great violence, which was diſtinguiſhed from that already mentioned by being called the Second Mortality.

In his thirty-ninth year the rains were again violent, and a great dearth and peſtilence followed. Flights of ſparrows fought in the air, and prodigious numbers of them were found dead on the ground.

In his forty-ſecond year a comet appeared in March, between the north and weſt; the beams were darted towards France, and were thought to preſage new troubles to that kingdom in the following year. The weſtern parts of England, and particularly Oxford, were greatly afflicted with a peſtilence.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Wale delin. Roberts sculp.

SECTION IV.

RICHARD II.

ON the death of Edward III. his grandſon Richard ſucceeded to the throne; and was imediately proclaimed king by the name of Richard II. which time he was only in the eleventh year of his ge. The beauty of his perſon, joined to the enthuaſtic fondneſs of the people for his illuſtrious father e Black Prince, occaſioned his acceſſion to be celerated with univerſal joy throughout the whole kingom. And ſo impatient were the people to ſee their ew monarch decorated with the enſigns of royalty, at the day of his coronation was fixed for the 15th of uly, when the ceremony was performed with the eateſt magnificence*. On this occaſion the young ng created his uncle, Thomas of Woodſtock, duke Glouceſter; and conferred the honour of knightood on ſeveral of the young nobility.

A few days after the king's coronation, the parliaent eſtabliſhed a council of regency; and the comons proceeded to increaſe their influence, and to onfirm their privileges. But the greater power of e king's uncles directed the meaſures of governent. Lancaſter in particular, though very unpolar, and of a genius not at all adapted to any bold terprize, yet having been accuſtomed to govern ring the latter part of the late reign, took upon nſelf the chief direction of affairs, though, what is ry remarkable, neither himſelf or his brothers were med in the council of regency.

The war with France was ſtill carried on with gour on both ſides, and ſeveral places were taken, ough no action of real importance had happened tween the two kingdoms. In the month of Ocber the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, in der to deviſe the proper means of checking the ogreſs of the French arms. The commons dened giving their opinion in a matter of ſuch mont, without the advice and aſſiſtance of the duke Lancaſter; but as that nobleman, for various ighty reaſons, excuſed his attendance, the comons granted a conſiderable ſupply for the ſervice of e public, on condition that the money ſhould be dged in the hands of two truſtees, John Philpot and illiam Walworth, merchants of London. Theſe triotic citizens had fitted out ſeveral ſhips at their n expence, which ſailing in queſt of one Mercer, a ottiſh mariner, who had greatly annoyed the Engliſh ſters, took him, together with fifteen Spaniſh ſhips ich had entered into his ſervice.

The Scots had not only made captures at ſea, but mmenced hoſtilities by land, in violation of a truce ich had been lately concluded between the two gdoms. They ſurprized and took the town and caſtle Berwick, on which the earl of Northumberland rched with an army of 10,000 men, and ſummon- the fortreſs to ſurrender, was anſwered by Ramſey, vernor of the garriſon, that the place had been en by virtue of a commiſſion from the king of France, in whoſe name he would defend it to the laſt extremity. An aſſault was therefore immediately made, and the place being taken, the whole garriſon were put to the ſword. The earl, after this, ſent Sir Thomas Muſgrave with a party of 600 men to reconnoitre the country that he might make farther advances; but Sir Thomas's party being totally routed, and himſelf taken priſoner, the earl, who was fearful of not getting ſubſiſtence for his men, thought proper to return to England.

A. D. 1378. In the month of March, Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, burnt upwards of twenty ſhips in the port of Boulogne, which town he laid in aſhes, and carried off a conſiderable booty. In his return to Calais he was informed that the people of Picardy had betrayed to the French the caſtle of March, a fort of great conſequence not far from Calais, in the abſence of the governor; but Sir Hugh attacked the place ſo vigorouſly, that he ſoon retook it, and hanged up all the Picards who had betrayed it, as guilty of treaſon.

About the ſame time Richard entered into a treaty with the duke of Bretagne, who agreed to deliver up into the hands of the Engliſh the ſtrong town, caſtle and harbour of Breſt, on condition that the ſame ſhould be reſtored to him in caſe of a peace, that he ſhould raiſe the ſum of 1000l. ſterling, and be allowed a penſion of 800l. per annum. He alſo engaged to bring about an alliance between the courts of England and Flanders.

A. D. 1379. In the ſpring of this year, a dreadful plague broke out in the north of England, which depopulated the greateſt part of the country. The Scotch took advantage of this calamity by making a furious irruption into that part of the country, where they not only plundered many towns and villages, but committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities on the helpleſs inhabitants.

In the month of September, in the following year died Charles V. king of France, leaving his throne to his ſon Charles VI. a minor under twelve years of age. This event might have proved of conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh, had the duke of Bretagne continued firm to his engagements; but thinking it the ſafeſt way to take advantage of the confuſion of the court of France in the beginning of a minority, he quickly concluded a treaty with the new king; ſo that all expectations of aſſiſtance from him were totally annihilated.

In the mean time the Scots continued their depredations in the northern counties, which they ravaged with fire and ſword; and the Engliſh government, inſtead of exerting themſelves to puniſh thoſe inſolent and cruel invaders, meanly propoſed a treaty of peace, which was gladly embraced by the Scots, and was concluded for three years by the duke of Lancaſter

---

* It is at this coronation that hiſtory firſt mentions a champion, appeared compleatly armed, in Weſtminſter-hall, where his eſty dined. He was attended by the high conſtable and marof England; and preceded by the heralds. When the cham reached the middle of the hall, he threw his gauntlet on the nd, and challenged all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould dare ſpute his majeſty's title to the crown. The origin of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is, however, utterly unknown: for though this is the firſt time we find it mentioned by hiſtorians, it is, doubtleſs, of a much earlier date; ſince Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office at the coronation of Richard II. was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Scrivelſby, in Lincolnſhire, held by him in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir John Marmion.

(who had had a commiſſion for that purpoſe) on the 6th of September.

Though no action of importance had yet been performed in the war againſt France, yet the great expence attending the ſeveral expeditions had quite exhauſted the treaſury; and the parliament, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, impoſed a new and extraordinary tax of three groats on every perſon male and female, above fifteen years of age; but they ordained, that in levying this tax, the rich ſhould relieve the poor by an equitable compenſation. As the money was immediately wanted, and the common method of gathering it would require ſome conſiderable time, the court farmed out the grant to a ſet of rapacious collectors, who extorted it with the utmoſt rigor from the people. This impoſition, added to the cruelty and preſumptuous behaviour of the tax-gatherers, occaſioned one of the moſt ſingular mutinies recorded in the annals of hiſtory. The people had already acquired ſome idea of independence, and given ſeveral indications of their deſire of breaking thoſe chains which had ſo long been impoſed upon them by a haughty nobility. Enthuſiaſm alſo aſſiſted to augment this deſire, and make the populace acquainted with their own importance.

One John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, viſited various parts of the kingdom, and every where inculcated on his audience the maxims of equal right and liberty to all the goods of nature; and the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions introduced by a few inſolent rulers, in order to aggrandize themſelves, and degrade the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies. Doctrines like theſe, ſo agreeable to the populace, were embraced with avidity, and kindled in the minds of the vulgar thoſe ſparks of rebellion which the inſolence of the tax-gatherers blew into a flame.

A. D. 1381. The inſurrection began at Deptford, in Kent; where one of the collectors came to the houſe of Walter, a tyler by profeſſion, afterwards better known by the name of Wat Tyler, and demanded three groats for one of his daughters. The peaſant refuſed to comply with the demand, urging, that ſhe was under the age preſcribed by act of parliment. The inſolent tax-gatherer not only refuſed to acquieſce in this deciſion, but offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary; and, at the ſame time laid hold of the girl. Enraged at this inſolence, Tyler beat out the fellow's brains with his hammer. The action was highly approved by the populace of the neighbourhood, who inſtantly flew to arms. Their example was followed by the peaſants of Eſſex, Surry, Suſſex, Hertfordſhire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln; ſo that even before the government had any warning of the danger, the diſorder was become too great for oppoſition.

The inſurgents having appointed Blackheath as the place of general rendezvous, they accordingly aſſembled there, to the number of an hundred thouſand men, under their principal leaders, Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw. The duke of Lancaſter was now on the borders of Scotland, and the number of regular troops in the kingdom very inconſiderable; ſo that the government was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, as having every thing to fear from this lawleſs aſſembly. A council was called in the Tower, where a reſolution was taken to ſend a meſſenger to the inſurgents, to enquire the cauſe of this tumultuous meeting. The mutinous rabble received the meſſengers with the moſt haughty inſolence; and returned for anſwer, "That they were come to ſpeak to the king about certain important affairs; and deſired he would repair to the camp in perſon, and hear what they had to propoſe." Many of the council, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Haies, the treaſurer, oppoſed the king's going in perſon to treat with the rebels; thinking it at once both derogatory to his dignity, and dangerous to his life. But it being repreſented to the council, that the inſurgents were in full march for London, and that it would be impoſſible to prevent their gaining admittance into the city, the king went down the river in a barge, as far as Rotherhithe; but on approaching the ſhore, he perceived ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he put back, and returned to the Tower.

Exaſperated at this diſappointment, the peaſants, who were by this time joined by the city rabble, advanced to the bridge, and threatened to burn the ſuburbs firſt, and then the capital itſelf, if the gates were not immediately opened. Intimidated by theſe threats, which they were able to carry into execution, their demand was complied with. They entered the city, and immediately gave a looſe to every ſpecies of exceſs. They plundered the houſes of the moſt wealthy citizens, and abuſed their perſons, together with thoſe of their wives and daughters. A party of them ran immediately to the duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, and ſoon reduced that magnificence ſtructure, together with all its ſplendid furniture, to aſhes. Another party ſet fire to the Temple; while a third repaired to the elegant monaſtery of St. John of Jeruſalem, at Clerkenwell, near Smithfield, and burnt the whole ſtructure, together with all the books, records and papers. They beheaded all the gentlemen that fell into their hands, and particularly attornies and thoſe who had any connexions with the law.

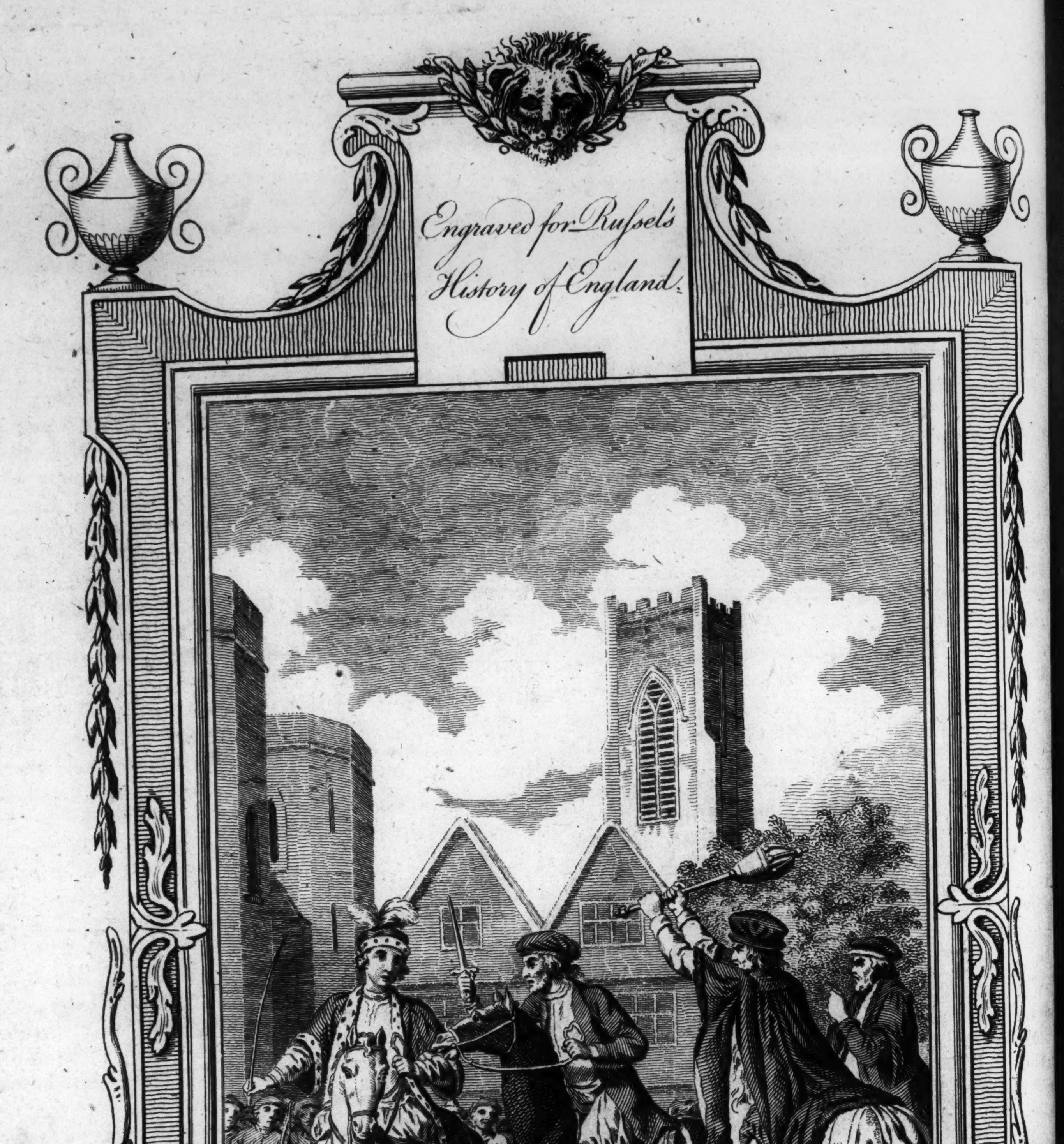
Early the next morning they divided themſelves into three bodies. The firſt diviſion, under Jack Straw, marched to Highbury-manor, about two miles to the northward of London. The ſecond retired to Mile-End. And the third, under the command of Wat Tyler himſelf, took up their ſtation in St. Katherine's, and round the Tower, to prevent the eſcape of the miniſters and noblemen who had taken ſhelter in that fortreſs, and whom the rabble had devoted to deſtruction. The king, who had alſo retired thither for ſafety, finding the fortreſs, which was but weakly garriſoned, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, incapable of making any long defence, found means to eſcape during the night; and hearing that the rebels at Mile-End were the moſt tractable, and had expreſſed a deſire of treating with the government, he repaired thither, and demanded to know the reaſon for this tumultuous aſſembly; telling them, that he was their king, and that he was come to hear and redreſs their grievances. They inſiſted upon a general amneſty; the abolition of all ſlavery; liberty of trade in all market-towns, without paying either toll or impoſt; and that a ſtated rent ſhould be laid upon lands, inſtead of the ſervice impoſed upon villanage. Theſe requeſts the king granted very readily, but inſiſted on their laying down their arms immediately. They made no difficulty of obeying; and returned very quietly to their own houſes, leaving a few of each pariſh to carry down with them the general pardon, and charters of their freedom.

The rebels, however, under Wat Tyler were not to be ſo eaſily pacified. They were determined to revenge the evils they had ſuffered on the heads of the nation, and if poſſible, carry the romantic ſcheme of government they had formed into execution. Accordingly, while the king was treating with one diviſion of the inſurgents, Wat Tyler demanded admittance into the Tower; and the garriſon were ſo intimidated by the multitude of rebels, that they refuſed to defend the place, and the gates were accordingly thrown open.

This puſillanimous conduct raiſed the inſolence of the rabble to the higheſt pitch; and their behaviour was at once brutiſh and barbarous. They ſeiz Simo

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.


Wale delin.
Grignion sculp.

Sir William Walworth striking **WAT TYLER** with his **MACE** in Smithfield.

imon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then hancellor, dragged him to Tower-hill, and beheaded im with the utmoſt cruelty. Sir Robert Hales, ord treaſurer, and Legg, the Flemiſh farmer of the nd-tax, ſuffered the ſame fate; and a Franciſcan iar was put to death merely becauſe he had been in- imate with the duke of Lancaſter.

The deeper theſe rebels plunged themſelves into uilt, the more their views of murder and confuſion ere enlarged; every perſon of note that fell into eir hands, was ſacrificed as a victim to their lawleſs arbarity. The citizens now ſaw their error in ad- itting ſuch a turbulent multitude into the city. Their vage practices rouſed them to revenge, and re- overed them from their conſternation. Walworth, e lord-mayor, and Philpot one of the aldermen, romiſed the king, that they would ſupport him againſt e rebels, provided ſome method could be found to muſe them with propoſals. Sir John Newton was erefore ſent to acquaint them, that the Eſſex men d accepted certain conditions from the government, conſequence of which they had retired peaceably their habitations; and that he was impowered to ffer them the ſame terms, on their making the ſame bmiſſion. But the ſavage plebeians, fluſhed with eir late ſucceſs, had now formed the moſt chimeri- l deſigns; they propoſed to murder the king, to- ther with all the whole nobility, and bury all vernment in general anarchy, in order to deſtroy ery ſpecies of ſubordination, and render all men ual. Tyler, therefore, made no other anſwer to king's meſſage, than that he would conſent to a ace if he liked the terms.

Three different charters were ſent ſucceſſively Richard, in the ſpace of a few hours, but were rejected with the moſt provoking inſolence. The niſtry and principal men of the city were now roughly exaſperated, and Richard, attended by lord mayor, and chief officers of London, rode Smithfield. Sir John Newton was again ſent to demagogue, inviting him to a conference with king, in order that his majeſty might know his mands, and, if poſſible, give his conſent to their ng granted. Tyler now ſeemed to be alarmed, moved towards Smithfield, at the head of the ble, with a very ſlow and deſultory pace. New- told him the king was waiting for him, and de- d he would quicken his march. Make what e you pleaſe yourſelf," replied the inſolent rebel, I ſhall take my own time." The true reaſon for delay in the demagogue aroſe from his expect- a large reinforcement from Hertfordſhire and adjacent counties, and therefore he would will- y have deferred the conference till their arrival. the government was now in a capacity to defeat ir ſchemes, and therefore unwilling to ſuffer them exerciſe their ſavage barbarity any longer. The giſtrates of London had aſſembled a large body well-armed and well affected citizens, and Sir Ro- t Knowles was juſt arrived at the head of a thou- d veterans. When Tyler came into Smithfield, re the king waited for him, Sir John Newton told that both decency and duty required that he ld be uncovered in the preſence of his ſovereign; the traitor, inſtead of complying, was ſo highly nded, that he would have ſheathed his dagger in heart, had not the king ſuddenly advanced, and off his attention, by aſking what he had to re- ſt? Tyler was greatly diſconcerted; and made extravagant propoſals, and delivered himſelf in coherent a manner, that the king could make no y. He demanded that all the antient laws ſhould boliſhed; that all bondmen ſhould be free; that warrens, parks and chaſes ſhould be laid open, every perſon, the poor as well as the rich, ſhould have free liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt in every part of the kingdom. He added ſeveral other particulars relative to the levelling ſcheme he had formed, but in ſo confuſed a manner that they were not underſtood. The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate leader had advanced, returned no anſwer, which Tyler conſidering as a contemptuous refuſal, raiſed his dagger, and at the ſame time laid hold of the bridle of the king's horſe. Walworth, the mayor, who had with difficulty curbed his reſentment at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, was now ſo exaſperated that he rode up to him, and diſcharged ſo violent a blow on his head with the mace he carried in his hand, that Tyler fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe, when Philpot with his ſword immedialy diſpatched him.

The Kentiſh men ſeeing their leader fall, cried out, "Our Captain is killed; let us revenge his death!" and bending their bows, prepared to let fly a ſhower of arrows againſt the king and his attendants, which might have ſlain the greateſt part of them, had not young Richard, with an admirable intrepidity and precence of mind, rode up alone to the incenſed multitude, whom he addreſſed with a chearful yet reſolute air, ſaying, "What is the meaning of this diſorder, my good people? what are you about to do? Would you kill your king? Give yourſelves no concern about the death of that traitor; I will be your captain: follow me, and you ſhall have whatever you can reaſonably deſire."

After the king had thus addreſſed them, he gently turned his horſe, and putting himſelf at their head, rode towards the fields of Iſlington. The mob was ſo confounded at the bold action of Walworth, and death of their leader, and at the ſame time ſo overawed with the preſence and magnanimity of the young king, that they implicitly followed him, without knowing whither they were going. They had no ſooner left the city than they perceived a large body of forces marching towards them, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles: this ſight ſtruck them with ſuch terror that they imagined the whole city was in arms to attack them; and the foremoſt ranks, throwing down their weapons, called out for mercy. This ſo frightened the reſt, that they immediately followed the example, and falling on their knees begged for quarter.

Sir Robert Knowles would have perſuaded the king to put a mumber of them to death, in order to ſtrike a terror into their companions in other parts of the kingdom; but Richard, with equal juſtice and lenity, obſerved, that as many had joined them more from force than inclination, he was not willing to confound the innocent with the guilty by an undiſtinguiſhed carnage: and granting them the ſame charters with which he had indulged the Eſſex men, the whole multitude diſperſed without the effuſion of any blood except that of their leader.

The king afterwards returned to the city, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on Walworth the lord mayor, John Philpot, Nicholas Brambre, and Robert Laud, aldermen, for the ſignal ſervice on this occaſion; and likewiſe beſtowed grants in land of 100l. per annum to the firſt, and 40l. to the others, to them and their heirs for ever.

The overthrow of the Kentiſh rebels had ſuch an effect on thoſe in the other parts of the kingdom, that after ſome little reſiſtance, they were very glad to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy. The charter of enfranchiſements and pardon were revoked by another charter, dated the 2d of July; the common people were reduced to the ſame ſtate of ſubmiſſion and dependence in which they had formerly been placed; and ſeveral of the ring-leaders were executed in different parts of the kingdom.

On the 2d of May, this year (1381) a treaty of marriage was concluded between young Richard and Anne, daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. and ſiſter to the reigning emperor Wenceſlaus king of Bohemia. In this treaty the king's council appear to have had more regard to the merit of this princeſs than to her fortune; for inſtead of Richard's receiving any thing with her as a dowry, he gave the emperor her brother no leſs than 10,000 marks for his alliance, and was alſo at the whole expence of her coming over to England, where ſhe arrived about the latter end of December, and was married to the king, in the chapel royal at Weſtminſter, on the 14th of January 1382, at which time ſhe was alſo crowned with great ſolemnity.

The remarkable intrepidity and conduct of Richard in ſuppreſſing the Kentiſh rebels, had inſpired the people with the higheſt expectations of his future behaviour. But the preſages of early youth are often deceitful. As Richard advanced in years, his conduct abundantly demonſtrated that their hopes were built on a deluſive foundation; and it was ſoon evident, that he wanted both judgment and capacity. What rendered this want of ability the more alarming to the Engliſh was the unſettled ſtate of affairs on the continent, and which threatened to involve all Europe in confuſion. On the death of Gregory X. Brigano, Biſhop of Barri, was elected pontiff, and took the name of Urban VI. But his paſſionate and turbulent diſpoſition rendered him a very improper perſon to be placed at the head of the church. He had not long been ſeated in St. Peter's chair, before he declared, in full conſiſtory, that he was determined to puniſh the kings of France and England, as the diſturbers of the peace of Chriſtendom. Cardinal de la Grange, a Frenchman, and equally paſſionate with the pope himſelf, roſe from his ſeat, and ſhaking his fiſt at the pontiff, told him that "he lied." This raſh expreſſion involved all Europe in confuſion.

The greater part of the cardinals, ſhocked at the brutal diſpoſition of Urban, withdrew to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the late election void, and proceeded to the election of a new pontiff; and Robert, ſon to Amadeus III. count of Geneva, was elected, and took the name of Clement VII. The new pontiff was a perſon of great parts, eloquent, polite, liberal, and allied to moſt of the princes of Europe. England, Flanders and Hungary, declared for Urban; France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorrain, for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors and univerſities joined alſo in the conteſt. The two popes beſtowed on each other the appellations of Antichriſt and Uſurper, and proceeded to mutual excommunications. A civil and religions war was kindled in Europe, and the moſt horrid cruelties committed by the advocates of both parties

Clement preached up a cruſade againſt Richard and his ſubjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications againſt all the adherents of Clement, but alſo ſent over a commiſſion to Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, nominating him the leader of a cruſade againſt his rival. With this commiſſion the pope ſent him plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the ſame indulgencies to all who engaged in this expedition, as to thoſe who carried arms againſt the infidels. The publication of this cruſade in England anſwered the moſt ſanguinary wiſhes of the pontiff. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almoſt all ranks of people, engaged in it with the ſame ardour and alacrity as if they had been going to fight againſt an enemy that threatened to put a period to the chriſtian name.

A. D. 1383. All neceſſary preparations being made, the biſhop of Norwich embarked for the continent, and landed at Calais on the fourth of May, at the head of 50,000 foot and 2000 horſe. His firſt attempt was upon Gravelines, which he carried by aſſault. Intimidated by this ſucceſs, the inhabitants of Dunkirk opened their gates to the victor. Bourbourg, Caſſel, Berg, Furnes, Nieuport, Oſtend, Blankenberg, and all the towns on the ſea-coaſt as far as Sluys, followed the example of Dunkirk. Alarmed at this progreſs of the Engliſh, the count of Flanders determined to give them battle. Norwich, depending on the enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition of his followers, marched to meet the enemy, and a bloody battle enſued, in which the count was totally defeated. The king of France, at the head of an army of an hundred thouſand men, now advanced to check the progreſs of the cruſaders. The prelate, on a general muſter of his forces, found that they amounted to ninety thouſand men, occaſioned by the continual arrival of freſh reinforcements from England. But many of theſe were the very dregs of the people, and at once ignorant of diſcipline and impatient of command. It was, however, reſolved in a council of war to fight the French army; but this was oppoſed by a large party of the troops, who inſiſted on their beſieging Ypres, where they expected to acquire an immenſe booty. It was in vain to oppoſe this ſtrange determination; and the biſhop, in order to prevent a mutiny in his army, was obliged to undertake the reduction of that place; a ſtep which ultimately proved fatal to his enterprize. The approaches were carried on with great intrepidity; but he was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and ſend to England for a reinforcement. But ſo many difficulties occurred, that the ſeaſon was loſt before any thing could be effected; and the biſhop returned to England with the poor remains of his army.

Thus ended this memorable cruſade, undertaken for the ſole intereſt of Urban, without that pontiff or England receiving the leaſt benefit from it. The miſcarriage of the prelate did not, however, put an end to the ſchiſm of the church; for it laſted in a greater or leſs degree for upwards of forty years, during which ſpace of time, religion was made a pretence for the greateſt enormities.

A. D. 1384. During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the Scots had made the moſt horrid depredations in the northern counties; and a conſiderable army was now raiſed to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Richard headed his army in perſon. He entered Scotland by Berwick; while the Scots, who dreaded a pitched battle with the Engliſh, abandoned the low country, croſſed the Engliſh borders on the weſt, and plundered the counties of Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaſhire.

Richard, in the mean time, advanced to Edinburgh, and deſtroyed all the towns and villages that lay in his rout. He reduced that city to aſhes. He treated in the ſame manner Perth, Dundee, and other places in the low country. But when he was deſired to march towards the weſtern coaſt, in order there to wait the return of the enemy, and take a ſevere revenge on them for the devaſtations they had committed, his impatience to be in England, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, were more prevalent; and he came back with his army, without effecting the intended purpoſes of his expedition.

A. D. 1385. The court of France had long been deſirous of wreſting their ſea-ports out of the hands of the Engliſh; and they were perſuaded that an opportunity now offered for that purpoſe, the duke of Lancaſter having carried into Spain all the flower of the Engliſh military force, in order to proſecute his empty claim to the crown of Caſtile. Great preparations were therefore made in France for an invaſion of England, as the moſt proper method of ſucceeding in their deſign. They collected an immenſe fleet and rmy at Sluys. All the nobility of France were engaged in this enterprize, and the Engliſh were kept r ſome time in perpetual alarms. The French rmy, when reviewed at Arras, conſiſted of eighty houſand men at arms, with their followers on horſeack, beſides a prodigious number on foot. Twelve undred and eighty-ſeven veſſels of all ſorts were ready t Sluys to carry over this numerous army; and ſeveal warlike engines of a new conſtruction were put on oard the fleet.

This amazing armament engaged the attention of ll Europe. The Engliſh were intimidated, particularly the citizens of London. The militia of the ingdom were ordered to the ſea coaſt; the ports and harbours were put in a poſture of defence; and all he beacons on the coaſt prepared for giving the larm, whenever the enemy ſhould appear. A fleet as alſo fitted out to guard the channel, and every rudent meaſure was taken that could be projected or the ſafety of the kingdom.

The great preparations, however, which France ad made againſt England proved of none effect. Envy and ambition, ſo often the deſtruction of ublic undertakings, had poiſoned the French councils. The duke of Berry, a prince of a covetous and ſpiring diſpoſition, was no friend to this undertaking, in which he thought neither his dignity nor intereſt had been ſufficiently conſulted, and therefore determined to render the whole abortive. In order to this, he proceeded ſo ſlow in aſſembling the troops, that it was the middle of September before he joined the army at the head of his diviſion. The forces were, however, embarked, and the fleet ſailed out of the harbour with a fair wind. But they had not left their own coaſt above two hours before the wind changed to the oppoſite quarter, and a dreadful ſtorm ſucceeded, which, in a few hours, ſcattered the whole navy. Some of the ſhips were driven back into the harbour of Sluys; ſome were daſhed on the rocks, others foundered at ſea, and many of the ſtragglers were taken by the Engliſh. Such was the end of thoſe mighty preparations which had held all Europe in ſuſpence.

A. D. 1386. Richard, like moſt weak princes, was fond of pomp and ceremony. He had for ſome time conſidered the reſtraint he was ſubject to from his uncles with regret, and now determined to break theſe ignoble chains. Accordingly, he placed his whole confidence in Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very diſſolute manners, more calculated to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engroſſed the affection of Richard, who knew not how to ſet bounds to his liberality. He created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the ſovereignty of that iſland; even the whole authority of the government was by degrees lodged in his hands. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, whom he had lately created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites. He was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and had ſerved in the army with applauſe. He had alſo been employed in ſeveral embaſſies and treaties of peace, in all which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his prudence, integrity, capacity and judgment; but his particular friendſhip for the duke of Ireland rendered him obnoxious to the people.

The king's uncles, and the chief nobility, who now ſaw themſelves ſtripped of their power, determined to attack the favourites, and recover their former influence. An impeachment was accordingly drawn up againſt the chancellor, and Glouceſter undertook to carry it to the houſe of lords. It was, however, thought proper to obſerve the appearance of decency at leaſt, and accordingly the commons ſent a meſſage by their ſpeaker to the king, importing, that unleſs the chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the diſpatch of public buſineſs.

Richard, who little expected a motion of this nature, received the addreſs with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the ſpeaker very ſharply, "That it would better become the parliament to attend to the buſineſs for which they were ſummoned, than to concern themſelves with his ſervants." Nor did he give them leave to renew their addreſs: he ſet out immediately for Eltham in Kent, leſt his preſence ſhould be conſtrued as a ſanction to the proceedings of the parliament, who he plainly ſaw were bent upon the ruin of his favourites.

As ſoon as it was known that the king had withdrawn himſelf from the national council, a meſſage was ſent him by the duke of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Ely, deſiring him, in the name of the Parliament, to return: declaring, in caſe of refuſal, that they would immediately diſſolve themſelves. Richard finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, agreed to the impeachment being carried on againſt Suffolk; but at the ſame time it was ſtipulated that no attack ſhould be made againſt any other of his miniſters. The accuſation was at once both frivolous and unjuſt; but innocence was but a poor defence againſt the turbulent envy of the barons, Suffolk was convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine and ranſom to the king; and in the mean time was committed to the cuſtody of the duke of Glouceſter, who, as conſtable of the kingdom, ſent him to Windſor Caſtle.

The fall of the earl of Suffolk was only a prelude to greater exceſſes. Glouceſter and his aſſociates, indeed, obſerved their ſtipulation with the king: they attacked no more of his miniſters; but they went much farther by attacking the regal power. The king was deprived of his authority, and the exerciſe of the ſovereign power intruſted to fourteen commiſſioners, whoſe juriſdiction was limited to a twelve-month, though it was ſufficiently evident, that the party of Glouceſter never meant to reinſtate their monarch in his prerogatives. This was not all; they furthermore obliged the king not only to grant a commiſſion, under his own hand and ſeal, for veſting this committee with the neceſſary powers, but alſo to give his aſſent to a ſtatute, by which any perſon who ſhould dare to propoſe a revocation of the powers granted to this committee ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit his eſtate; and for the ſecond be puniſhed as a traitor.

Richard, however, puſillanimous as he was, proteſted againſt this violence at the end of the ſeſſion, and declared in full parliament, "that the prerogatives of his crown, notwithſtanding his late conceſſion, ſhould be deemed entire and unimpaired."

A. D. 1387. The commiſſioners, however, paid no attention to Richard's proteſt: they immediately proceeded to the exerciſe of their office; and the king found himſelf deſtitute of all authority. Richard was, however, determined to make one attempt for the recovery of his power. He aſſembled the judges and lawyers, who made no ſcruple of declaring, that the commiſſion was derogatory to the royal authority; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the king to conſent to it, were puniſhable with death; that thoſe who compelled him were guilty of treaſon; that thoſe were equally criminal who ſhould perſevere in maintaining it; that the king has the right of diſſolving parliaments when he pleaſes; that the parliament, while they ſit, muſt proceed firſt on the king's buſineſs; and that they cannot, without the king's conſent, impeach any of his miniſters and judges.

No ſooner were the duke of Glouceſter and his party informed of this ſecret conſultation, than they immediately had recourſe to arms, and demanded that the perſons who had ſeduced the king by their pernicious counſel, ſhould be delivered up as traitors to the ſtate. A few days after they appeared in his preſence armed, and attended by their followers; where they accuſed the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Brambre, as public and dangerous enemies to the kingdom. The duke of Ireland ſaved himſelf by flight; but the others were condemned and executed. Force became the only rule of law in thoſe unfortunate times, when the paſſions of the great ſeemed to have annihilated every idea of juſtice.

A. D. 1388. While the Engliſh government was thus in a mere ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, the Scots took the advantage by making the moſt horrid depredations in the northern counties. In the beginning of Auguſt they entered Northumberland with a ſmall army, conſiſting of three hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, all veterans, and commanded by the two Douglaſes, the earls of Fife, Murray, and Dunbar, the moſt celebrated commanders in the Scottiſh army. They ravaged the whole country through which they paſſed, and advanced as far as the gates of Newcaſtle, where the lord Henry Piercy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, ſon to the earl of Northumberland, firſt oppoſed them. But his troops were defeated, and himſelf unhorſed in ſingle combat by the younger Douglas, who having ſeized his lance, vowed to carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory. Inflamed with rage at his late misfortune, Hotſpur vowed that Douglas ſhould never carry his lance to Scotland in triumph. He accordingly collected a body of ſix hundred horſe and eight thouſand foot, and putting himſelf at their head marched in purſuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were haſtening to join him under the command of the biſhop of Durham.

The Scots, elated with their late ſucceſs, had undertaken the ſiege of the caſtle of Otterborn, and were lying before that fortreſs when Piercy, by forced marches, reached their camp. Rage had ſtifled prudence in the breaſt of Piercy: he would not delay the engagement for a moment, though his troops were ſo greatly fatigued with their long marches, and though night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a diſappointed warrior, but the darkneſs rendered it impoſſible to continue the conteſt, and they ſeparated without either obtaining the victory. The moon riſing at midnight, however, occaſioned the battle to be renewed with great fury, and at laſt victory declared for the Scots. The younger Douglas was ſlain in the battle; Piercy, with upwards of an hundred gentlemen and officers of diſtinction were taken priſoners; and above twelve hundred of the Engliſh were left dead on the field.

The biſhop of Durham, who was on his march with 10,000 men to Piercy's aſſiſtance, hearing of the defeat of the Engliſh, immediately made the beſt of his way to Newcaſtle, leaving the Scots at liberty to return home, enriched with a great booty, and exulting in the triumph over an enemy, before whom they had ſo often fled.

A. D. 1389. The authority of Richard appeared now to be totally annihilated: the combination of the princes of the blood and chief nobility had ſo far engroſſed the royal power, that a revolution was apparently inevitable. But the event proved otherwiſe. Richard, who was now in his twenty-third year, declared, in a full council held at Eaſter, his intention of directing the affairs of his kingdom and houſhold by his ſole authority, and taking into his own hands the reins of government. No oppoſition being made to ſo reaſonable a deſign, Richard immediately demanded the great ſeal from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and gave it to William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter. He removed the duke of Glouceſter and the earl of Warwick from the council-board, and ſupplied their places with others whom he thought more worthy of his confidence. The biſhop of Hereford was deprived of his office of treaſurer, and the earl of Arundel of that of admiral. Theſe changes were made without the leaſt oppoſition; the dukes of Glouceſter and York affected to return to their duty; and Richard, by paſſing a general amneſty, and remitting ſome ſubſidies which had been granted him by parliament, acquired the affections of the people, who eaſily paſs from one extreme to another.

From this period the kingdom enjoyed tranquillity for a conſiderable time. A truce of twenty-five years was concluded with France, which was followed with the reſtitution of Breſt and Cherbourgh; and Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to the daughter of Charles VI. though at this time only a child of ſeven years of age.

A. D. 1397. The ſtrong alliance which Richard had formed with France, by his marriage, gave great offence to the Engliſh, who had contracted a violent antipathy againſt that nation; and the conduct of Richard was not calculated to procure the reſpect of his ſubjects. A ſlave to pleaſure, and incapable of applying himſelf to buſineſs; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profuſely laviſhed the revenues of the crown and the grants of the people; and ſullying the dignity of his rank by admitting perſons of very mean condition to his familiarity; he was conſidered as totally unworthy of ſwaying the Britiſh ſceptre.

The duke of Glouceſter availed himſelf of the king's weakneſs. He abſented himſelf from the court; hardly ever appeared in council but to oppoſe the meaſures of the adminiſtration; and exerted all his abilities to cultivate and increaſe his popularity with the nation. The invectives he made uſe of againſt the government, againſt the long truce concluded with Charles, and againſt the marriage of Richard, joined to his addreſs in fomenting the hatred againſt France, and in reviving the deſire of ravaging again that hoſtile kingdom, made the deepeſt impreſſions on the minds of a people diſpoſed at all times to revolt, and ever impatient under imaginary diſtreſs.

Richard, whoſe precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation, was ſo enraged at Glouceſter's conduct, that he ordered him to be unexpectedly arreſted. The attempt was made with ſucceſs; the duke was ſeized, and hurried on board a ſhip which lay in the river ready to receive and carry him over to Calais, where alone it was thought he could be ſafely detained in cuſtody. The earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the lord Cobham, Glouceſter's aſſociates, were arreſted the next day, and all of them committed priſoners to the Tower of London.

In order to prevent all poſſibility of their making the leaſt reſiſtance, a parliament was immediately ſummoned at Weſtminſter, and the members entered with violence into all the meaſures of the court. They annulled the act of amneſty, which Richard had voluntarily confirmed: they proſecuted the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel, Warwick and other noblemen, ſeveral of whom were condemned and executed, for having been engaged in former attempts againſt the crown, notwithſtanding the pardon they had received.

The proſecution againſt Glouceſter was juſt going to be commenced, when intelligence arrived of his death. It was pretended that he died ſuddenly of an apoplexy; but it was the general opinion that he had been murdered in conſequence of orders from his nephew; and in the ſucceeding reign, undoubted evidence was produced in parliament of his having been ſuffocated with pillows by thoſe who had the care of his perſon.

Thus fell Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the victim of his enemies treachery, and of his own imprudent conduct. With many great and good qualities, he joined an inordinate thirſt after popularity, in the purſuit of which he too often loſt ſight of that reſpect which ſhould always be preſerved to majeſty; and whatever advantages he might intend to procure to his country, the meaſures he took for that purpoſe were ſuch as no court, that had the leaſt regard to its own honour or conſequence, could implicitly admit.

No ſooner was Glouceſter's death known, than his brothers, the duke of Lancaſter and York, haſtened to London at the head of a numerous body of forces, threatening to take the moſt ſevere revenge on the authors of this execrable tragedy, not excepting even the king himſelf. Richard had, however, taken all the precautions neceſſary to divert the force of the expected ſtorm. He had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; but alſo collected an army of twenty thouſand veterans, and ſtationed them in the neighbourhood of London. Nor did he depend on the forces he had raiſed; he had recourſe alſo to the milder methods of negotiation, and the two brothers, finding that all reſiſtance would be in vain, liſtened to an accommodation.

A. D. 1398. The duke of Glouceſter's party was hardly ſuppreſſed, before another aroſe which proved fatal to Richard. The principles of honour were at this time ſo little known among the nobility, that Henry earl of Hereford, ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, accuſed, before the council, the duke of Norfolk, of having ſpoken in private many ſlanderous words againſt the king. Norfolk gave him the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat, a method of trial then authorized by the laws of the kingdom. The challenge was accepted, and the diſpute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in preſence of the king and his whole court.

On the day appointed, both the noblemen appeared, the trumpets ſounded, and they were preparing to ruſh againſt each other, when the king interpoſed, to prevent the effuſion of noble blood, and commanded them to depart the kingdom; but their ſentences were unequal; the exile of Norfolk, was for life; but Hereford only for ten years. Both, however, obeyed the royal mandate. Norfolk, who knew he had nothing to expect from Richard, retired into Germany, and afterwards to Venice, where he ſoon after paid the debt of nature: he did not live to ſee the revolution which ſoon happened in his country. The earl of Hereford was more reſigned to his fate; he waited on the king to take his leave before he quitted the kingdom, and this ſubmiſſive and reſpectful behaviour had ſuch an effect upon Richard, that he remitted four years of the time aſſigned for his baniſhment; and alſo empowered him, by letters patent, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion of any eſtates that might fall to him during his exile.

A. D. 1399. The earl of Hereford had left the kingdom but a few months, when his father John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, paid the debt of nature*; and his ſon, in conſequence of his rights, and the letters patent he had received, deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtate and juriſdiction of his father. But Richard, to the eternal ſtain of his memory, denied this requeſt, revoked the letters patent he had given to Hereford, decreed his baniſhment ſhould be perpetual, and confiſcated all his paternal eſtate.

It is little to be wondered at that a nobleman of Hereford's rank and character ſhould be deſirous of reſenting ſuch a complication of injuries. He was of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit: he had ſignalized his courage and intrepidity both at home and abroad; he was beloved by the people, and adored by the ſoldiers. He was always cool, ſedate, and prudent; and was conſidered as the only Engliſh prince that deſerved the public confidence and eſteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. He was ſecretly invited to return to England, and aſſured of being ſufficiently ſupported in the recovery of his lawful inheritance.

Hereford, (now duke of Lancaſter) determined to accept this generous offer; and an event ſoon happened which gave him all the advantages he could deſire. Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, lord lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a rencounter with a ſmall party of the Iriſh; and Richard, in order to reduce the rebels to ſubjection, and revenge the death of Mortimer, reſolved to paſs over into that iſland, and head his army in perſon. He accordingly embarked at Briſtol, and after a ſhort paſſage landed at Waterford, at the head of 2000 men at arms and 10,000 archers. Struck with conſternation at ſeeing the king of England at the head of ſo powerful an army, the moſt conſiderable part of the rebels ſubmitted, and the reſt were ſoon reduced to obedience.

While Richard was in Ireland, the duke of Lancaſter embraced the opportunity of returning to England. He embarked at Nantz with a retinue of ſixty perſons, and landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, D'Arcy, and Beaumont, and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, attended by a numerous body of vaſſals and adherents. A few days after, his party was increaſed by the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, with his ſon Hotſpur Piercy, and his brother the earl of Weſtmoreland, at the head of ſuch a numerous body of forces, that Lancaſter's ſmall retinue was increaſed to an army of 60,000 men. The duke now took a ſolemn oath, that his ſole deſign in this invaſion was that of recovering the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him. At the ſame time, he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of equity and their country, to ſecond him in this reaſonable and moderate pretenſion.

The duke of York, who was left guardian of the realm, during the king's abſence, aſſembled an army of 40,000 men, and marched at their head to St. Alban's; but, upon reviewing his forces, the ſoldiers declared to a man, that they would not draw a ſword againſt Henry of Lancaſter. The guardian himſelf did not, indeed, ſeem to be well affected to the cauſe he had undertaken to defend: he made no difficulty of declaring, that he would ſecond his nephew in recovering his juſt rights. It is, therefore, no wonder that he liſtened to a meſſage ſent him by Henry, who intreated him not to oppoſe a loyal and humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian was ſo far from oppoſing, that he joined the party of Henry; and the ſoldiers joyfully followed the example of their leaders.

---

* On the 20th of February 1772, as ſome labourers were breaking up a part of the ground in the cathedral of Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, they diſcovered a leaden coffin, which on examination, appeared to contain the remains of Thomas Beaufort, third ſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and ſon to king Edward III. The body was entire, the features and lineaments of the face quite perfect, the hair brown intermixed with grey, and the nails on the fingers and toes complete. The body was about ſix feet in length, and the face was covered with a maſk. In the coffin were ſeveral materials belonging to embalming, as alſo a ſilver crucifix. He died at Eaſt Greenwich in 1427, in the reign of Henry VI. and was buried in this cathedral, to which he was a great benefactor.

Henry, now finding himſelf maſter of the kingdom, marched to Briſtol, where ſome of Richard's miniſters had ſhut themſelves up, in order to defend the caſtle againſt the attempt of an enemy whoſe favour they had no hopes of obtaining. The garriſon, however, made but a poor defence; they ſoon ſurrendered; and Henry, yielding to the requeſt of the people, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſſy, and Sir John Green, who were taken priſoners, to be executed immediately, without even the form of a trial.

As ſoon as Richard received intelligence of this invaſion, he haſtened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-haven with a body of twenty thouſand men. But his ſoldiers, like the reſt of their brethren, were ſo ſtrongly attached to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaſter, that his army melted away like ſnow before the ſun; and he ſoon perceived that he was in no condition of meeting the enemy.

Richard, diſtracted with a variety of thoughts, knew not what courſe to purſue. Wavering and irreſolute, he knew not whom to truſt, or whom to fear. At length he determined to deſert his forces, and take refuge in Wales. Accordingly he retired, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the biſhop of Carliſle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-caſtle; propoſing to take the firſt opportunity of embarking for Ireland or France, and there wait for ſome favourable criſis of recovering his crown, which he was now incapable of defending.

Henry, ſenſible of his danger, ſhould Richard find means to execute his deſign, diſpatched the earl of Northumberland to him, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion; when that nobleman, by the moſt infamous treachery and falſe oaths, made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, and carried him to his enemy at Flint-caſtle. Henry loſt no time in conveying his royal captive to London, where he was received with the moſt barbarous inſults, and committed priſoner to the Tower.

But though Lancaſter had acquired poſſeſſion of the perſon of his ſovereign, he was very uneaſy with regard to the beſt method of diſpoſing of that unfortunate monarch, and ſeveral councils were held on that ſubject. At laſt it was reſolved to perſuade Richard to make a formal reſignation of his power, and to procure an authentic confirmation of the deed by the parliament. For ſome time Richard refuſed to ſubmit to ſo humiliating a circumſtance; but at laſt, finding himſelf abandoned by all his friends, and ſenſible of his incapacity to reſiſt the torrent of popular hatred, or, perhaps, deſirous of gaining time to ſave his life, and procure aſſiſtance from France, Richard ſubmitted; and, in the preſence of a great number of lords aſſembled on the occaſion, the king ſurrendered up the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty; and then taking the ſignet-ring from his finger, he preſented it to the duke of Lancaſter. At the ſame time, he deſired the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Hereford, to notify to the parliament his reſignation of the crown; and to acquaint them, that he wiſhed his couſin, the duke of Lancaſter, might be choſen his ſucceſſor.

Lancaſter, however, well knowing that this reſignation would plainly appear the reſult of force, propoſed, notwithſtanding the danger of the precedent to himſelf and his poſterity, to have the king ſolemnly depoſed in parliament, for his pretended tyranny and miſconduct. Accordingly a charge, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up againſt him, and preſented to that aſſembly; who, without examining one of the articles, though many of them were falſe in fact, depoſed their ſovereign. Nor was there found more than one man who had courage and virtue ſufficient to ſtand up, and plead in defence of his unhappy maſter. This was the biſhop of Carliſle, who nobly ſuſtained the cauſe of fallen majeſty; but his eloquence was exerted in vain; and Lancaſter, exaſperated at the bold truths he uttered, committed him priſoner to the Tower.

As ſoon as the aſſembly had pronounced the depoſition of the king, they declared the throne vacant; upon which the duke of Lancaſter aroſe from his ſeat, and after croſſing himſelf on his forehead and breaſt, declared, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit," that the vacant throne belonged to him as the deſcendant of Henry III. and "through the right which God had ſent him, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, to recover a kingdom which was on the point of being ruined by miſconduct and oppreſſion."

In order to conceive the meaning of theſe perplexed and obſcure expreſſions, it muſt be obſerved that Henry of Lancaſter, ſuppoſing the throne really vacant, was not the immediate heir. The duke of Clarence, the elder brother of the late duke of Lancaſter, had left a grandſon, whoſe title was undoubtedly preferable to that of Henry. He therefore went back as far as Henry III. in order to avail himſelf of an abſurd but popular tradition, which ſuppoſed that Edmund, earl of Lancaſter, ſon to Henry III. was really the elder brother of Edward I. but that, by reaſon of ſome deformities, in his perſon, he had been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion, and his younger brother impoſed upon the nation in his ſtead. This pretence, however, was deſtitute of the leaſt foundation; but the parliament made no enquiry; the moſt palpable abſurdities would have paſſed for truths; and Henry was, in the preſence of the whole aſſembly, formally placed on the throne of England.

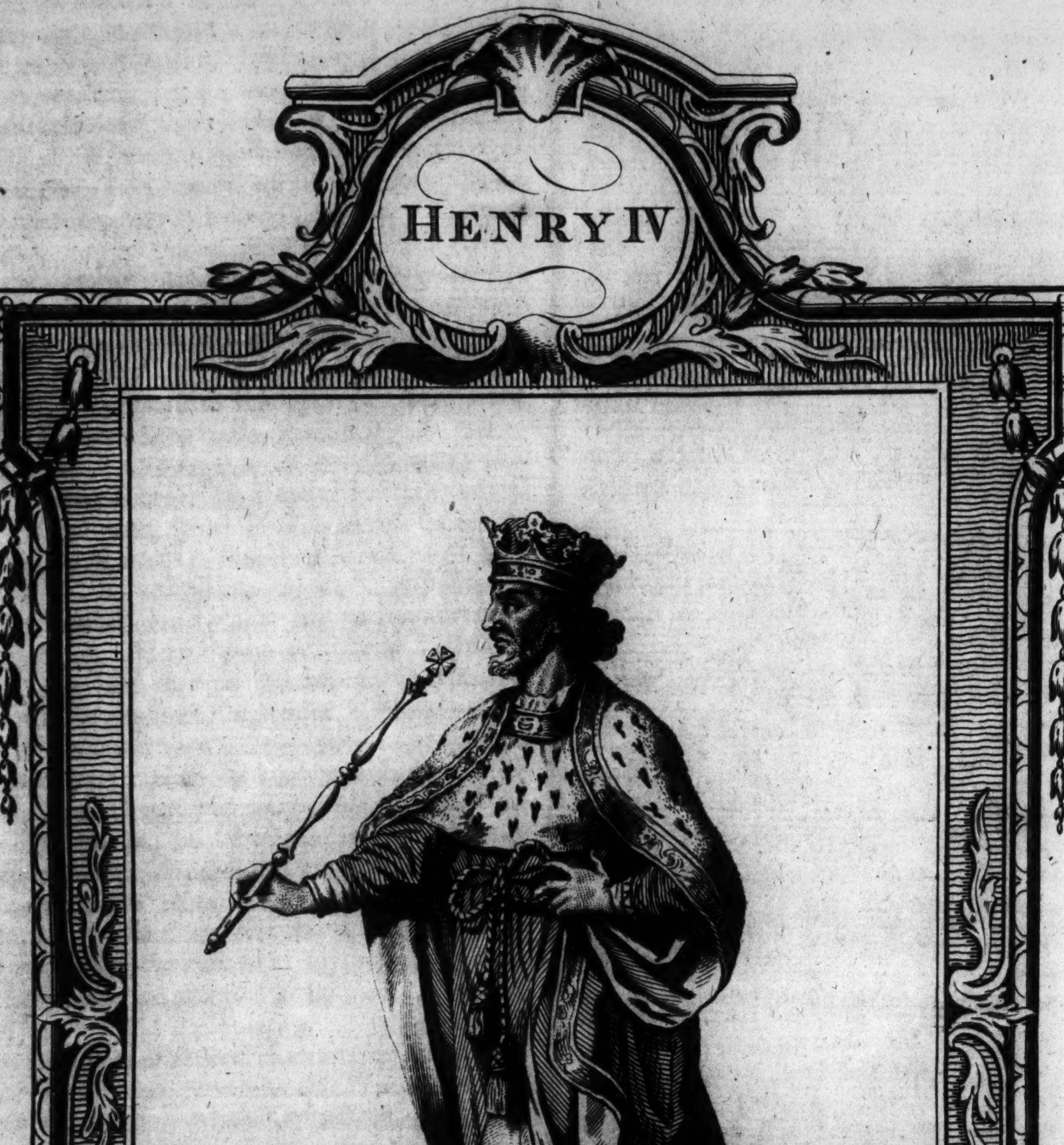
Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a prince, who, in the beginning of it, had filled all his ſubjects with the moſt pleaſing hopes of his future good government; but, by ſuffering himſelf afterwards to become corrupted by flattery, loſt all their affection; and by aiming at a power greater than the conſtitution of the kingdom permitted, forfeited a crown which he might otherwiſe have worn with honour and happineſs.

Notwithſtanding that Richard, in general, led a diſſolute life, he was never known to be engaged in any private amour that produced illegitimate iſſue: this might, perhaps, be owing to ſome natural defects, eſpecially when we conſider that he had no children by his firſt wife, Anne, daughter of Charles IV. emperor of Germany, who was an amiable princeſs, with whom he lived twelve years in the utmoſt conjugal harmony. As for his ſecond wife, Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of Charles VI. king of France, her nuptials with him were never actually conſummated, for ſhe was but juſt turned of ten years of age at the time of his death, the particulars of which will be noticed in their proper place.

The remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Richard II. were as follow:

In the fifth year of his reign, when his firſt queen Anne came from Bohemia, ſhe had no ſooner landed than ſuch a tempeſt aroſe as had not been ſeen for many years: ſeveral ſhips were daſhed to pieces in the harbour, and that in which the queen came over was ſunk. It is further obſervable that his ſecond wife brought with her a ſtorm to the Engliſh coaſt, in which the king's baggage was loſt, and many ſhips of his fleet caſt away.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


HENRY IV
Waleddin.
White sculp.

On the 21ſt of May, in the 6th year of his reign, there happened a dreadful earthquake in London, which threw down many churches and other public edifices; and on the 24th of the ſame month, the water in the river Thames was ſo agitated, that the veſſels beat againſt each other with ſuch violence, that ſome were ſunk, and others received conſiderable damage.

About this time the uſe of cannon was projected; and Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, was the firſt that employed them in the Engliſh ſervice.

In his tenth year wine was ſo cheap, that the beſt was ſold for 20s. a tun; and the more indifferent ſort at 13s. 4d.

In his thirteenth year there happened a violent hurricane, which threw down many houſes, tore up trees by the roots, and deſtroyed a great number of cattle.

On the 9th of July, in his fifteenth year, the ſun appeared to be obſcured by thick and dreary clouds between that and the earth: its beams ſeemed of the colour of blood, and gave little or no light from noon till it ſet: theſe clouds roſe daily for almoſt ſix weeks together.

About this time the north and eaſt parts of England were greatly afflicted with a peſtilence; inſomuch that in the city of York only upwards of eleven thouſand ſouls periſhed in a few weeks.

In his ſixteenth year wool was ſo cheap, that in ſome places it was ſold for 22d. the ſtone. The ſame year a dolphin was taken near London-bridge ten feet long. His coming ſo far up the river was conſidered as an ill omen; which was in ſome degree verified by the national confuſion that happened a ſhort time after.

The moſt remarkable men that lived in England from the acceſſion of Edward I. to the depoſition of Richard II. were as follow:

Robert Kilwarby, archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of Edward I. He was a prelate of eminent learning, and wrote ſeveral theological tracts, which were of infinite repute. Being made a cardinal, he reſigned his archbiſhopric, and died at Rome.

In this reign flouriſhed the learned and ingenious Francis Bacon (a Franciſcan Friar of Oxford.) His great ſkill in mathematics brought on him the character of a magician, in an ignorant age, inſomuch that he was ſent to Rome by the general of his order, where he was impriſoned; but afterwards he cleared himſelf, and returned to England. He died in 1284, leaving ſeveral works behind him, of which ſome are ſtill preſerved in manuſcript at Oxford. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that invented ſpectacles.

Nicholas Trivet, prior of a monaſtery of Dominican Friars in London. He wrote a general Hiſtory of Europe, beginning with king Stephen, and continued down to the year 1307. This work is chiefly valuable for the excellent Chronological Tables, ſhewing, at the beginning of every year, the year of Chriſt, the year of the reigns of the popes, the emperors, and the kings of France and England.

Richard Fitz-Ralph, archbiſhop of Armagh, was a great enemy to the Mendicant Friars, whom he attacked vigorouſly by his preaching and writings. He tranſlated the bible into Engliſh, and wrote two treatiſes, one in defence of pariſh prieſts againſt the friars, and the other on auricular confeſſion.

Geoffrey Chaucer (the greateſt poet of his time) was a man of quality, and made a conſiderable figure in the courts of Edward III. and Richard II. In 1374 we find Edward III. allowing him a pitcher of wine a day from his cellar, and a yearly ſalary; which is ſuppoſed to be the origin of the butt of wine and ſalary allowed to the king's poet laureat*: both theſe were continued to him by Henry IV. Chaucer poſſeſſed an admirable fund of humour, painted the manners of life with great ſtrength of colouring, and helped to improve and purify the Engliſh language. But it was the fate of this great poet, (though poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, and a more ample genius; though loved by his prince, who employed him in many honourable poſts; though admired by his countrymen, who were enamoured with his writings) to fall into misfortunes in private life. He died in the year 1400, and was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory.

The laſt perſon we ſhall take notice of among the learned men of this age was, John Gower, the friend and companion of Chaucer, and aſſiſtant to him in his attempts to bring the Engliſh language to a greater purity. His genius was leſs extenſive than that of Chaucer; but his language is remarkably pure for the time in which he lived.

---

* Though this cuſtom is ſtill nominally obſerved, yet, for ſome years paſt, in lieu of the butt of wine, the ſum of 26l. is allowed, which, added to the fixed ſalary, makes the whole 126l. per annum.

BOOK VIII.

From the Acceſſion of Henry IV. *(the firſt* Engliſh *King of the Line of* Lancaſter) *to the Depoſition of* Henry VI.

SECTION I.

HENRY IV. SURNAMED *of* BOLINGBROKE.

THE Parliament had no ſooner acknowledged Henry of Lancaſter for their king, than every neceſſary preparation was made for the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great magnificence at Weſtminſter, on the 13th of October, 1399, the crown and all the coronation jewels having fallen into the duke of Lancaſter's hands on Richard's return from Scotland.

Henry, on the very day of his coronation, iſſued a proclamation, declaring that he aſcended the throne by right of conqueſt, the reſignation of Richard in his favour, and as next heir male to the late king: thus he excluded the very title of which he ought to have availed himſelf, namely, the conſent of the people; and, with a ſhameleſs impudence, trampled upon the rights of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche who yeilding to the torrent of Lancaſter's fortune, retired to a private life, in his caſtle of Wigmore, on the marches of Wales.

Henry's uſurpation was ſo palpable, and the earl of Marche's right ſo clear and evident, that it required all the courage, diſcernment and capacity of the new monarch to ſecure that crown he had ſo illegally obtained. The city of London, indeed, and the adjacent counties, were, in general, well affected to him; but Wales and its marches, where the Mortimer intereſt lay, and which had been always diſtinguiſhed by Richard, wanted only an opportunity of breaking out into rebellion. Several conſultations were held for reſtoring of Richard, who was now removed from the Tower of London, to the caſtle of Leeds, and afterwards to that of Pontefract in Yorkſhire.

A. D. 1400. The parliament had ſcarcely finiſhed ſettling the buſineſs of the nation before a conſpiracy was formed to deprive Henry of a crown to which he had no legal claim. Several of the principal nobility of the kingdom were engaged in this deſign; and in order to render their undertaking ſucceſsful, they prevailed on one Maudlin, a prieſt, who greatly reſembled Richard both in ſhape and features, to perſonate him; and that this part of their plan might have the greater effect, they agreed to dreſs him in royal robes, and carry him to different parts of the kingdom till the real Richard could be releaſed from his confinement.

The conſpirators were perſuaded that it would not be difficult to ſurprize Henry, who was at this time in a bad ſtate of health at Windſor, attended by a few of his nobility. It was therefore agreed, in order to aſſemble a ſufficient number of perſons without ſuſpicion, to propoſe a tilting-match of twenty-one on a ſide to be held at Oxford. Henry was to be invited as a ſpectator of this manly exerciſe. If he accepted the invitation, they imagined it would be very eaſy to ſeize his perſon: if he refuſed it, they were to march ſecretly to Windſor-caſtle, where they flattered themſelves with obtaining an eaſy admittance.

The conſpiracy being thus digeſted, the members entered into a ſolemn aſſociation, and ſix ſeveral copies of an indenture for that purpoſe were taken, and delivered to the ſix principal noblemen concerned in this dangerous undertaking.

Henry, not ſuſpecting the treacherous deſigns of his nobility, accepted the invitation of being preſent at the Oxford tournament; but was prevented from attending by a circumſtance of the moſt ſingular nature, and which rendered the whole plot totally abortive. The earl of Rutland had no ſooner received the copy of his indenture, than he left Weſtminſter to pay a viſit to his father the duke of York in his way to Oxford. While he ſat at table, the duke, obſerving a parchment with ſeveral ſeals appended to it, hanging out of his ſons boſom, was very deſirous of knowing the contents, which the latter abſolutely refuſed. This alarmed his father, who ſnatched the writing from his ſon, and, on peruſing it, diſcovered the whole conſpiracy.

The duke of York, who had pledged his own life to the king for the loyalty of his ſon, ſharply upbraided him for the unnatural and ungrateful part he had acted, by expoſing, at once, the life of his father, and abuſing the goodneſs of his prince. It was in vain for the ſon to offer any defence againſt the charge; and finding his father had ordered his horſes to be ſaddled, in order to inform the king of his danger, reſolved to prevent him, by being the firſt meſſenger and informer of his own treaſon. Accordingly he mounted his horſe, arrived at Windſor before his father, and, gaining admittance to the king, ingenuouſly diſcovered the whole of the conſpiracy, and obtained the promiſe of a pardon.

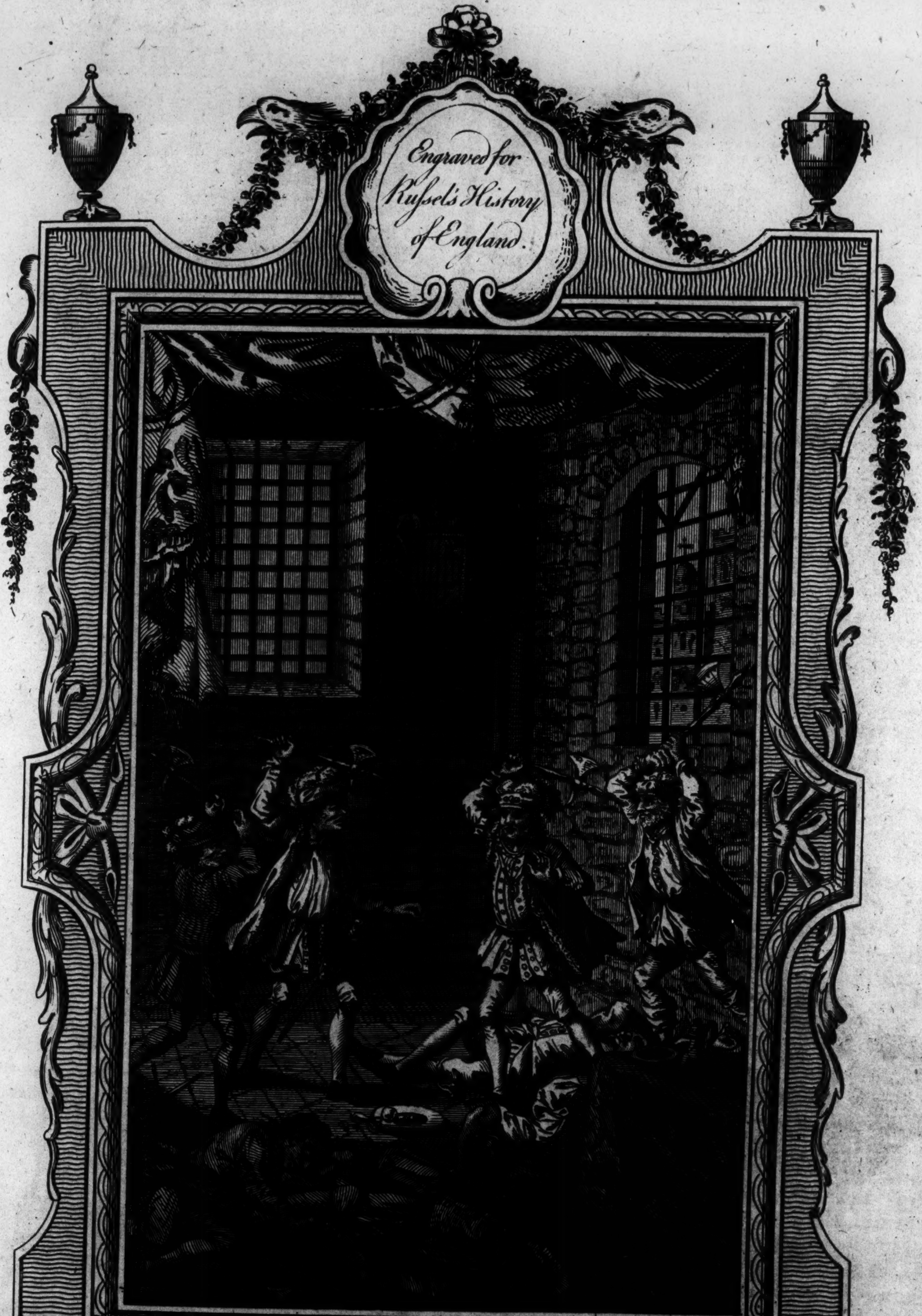
Henry immediately ſet out for London, where he was ſure of being ſupported by the citizens, and would therefore be in a condition of giving the rebels battle, in caſe they ventured to approach the capital. In the mean time the conſpirators, ſuſpecting their deſign diſcovered, marched immediately to Windſor, and ſurpriſed the caſtle, but were confounded when they found that Henry had made his eſcape. Henry appeared next day at Kingſton upon Thames, at the head of twenty thouſand men, moſtly drawn from the city; and the rebels, unable to reſiſt his power, diſperſed themſelves with a view of raiſing their followers in the ſeveral counties, where their intereſt more immediately lay. But they were ſo cloſely purſued by the royal party, that the earls of Kent and Saliſbury were ſeized at Cirenceſter by the inhabitants, and beheaded the next day without farther ceremony.

The earl of Huntingdon and ſeveral other noblemen, were taken priſoners, and ſuffered death by the expreſs commands of the king. As for Maudlin, after being publickly expoſed on the pillory to the inſults of the populace, he was taken out half dead and carried to the gallows, where he was hung up by the heels till he expired.

This conſpiracy greatly alarmed Henry, who could not think himſelf ſafe while Richard was alive. That unhappy prince was ſtill at Pontefract caſtle, where he was ſhewn ſome ſmall remains of royal reſpect. Sir Peirce de Exton, one of thoſe wretches who think nothing too barbarous for gratifying either their own ambition or that of their maſter, determined to deſtroy Richard, and free Henry from the uneaſineſs that he could not conceal. Accordingly he imparted his deſign to eight ruffians, who all agreed to diſpatch the unhappy prince, not doubting but they ſhould receive a noble reward, as the action was at once too deteſtible for the king to command, and too dangerous for any but abandoned ruffians like themſelves to undertake.

The horrid deſign being formed, Exton and his ruffians ſet out for Pontefract caſtle, in order to execute their barbarous intentions. On the day of their arrival Richard perceived, at dinner, that his victuals was not taſted as uſual: enquiring the reaſon, he was told by the perſon who uſed to perform that ceremony, that the king had ordered it to be omitted; upon which Richard, loſing all patience, ſtruck the taſter on the face with his knife, ſaying, "The devil take Henry of Lancaſter and thee!" Exton coming in at the inſtant, with five of his attendants, attempted to lay hold of Richard, who, gueſſing their deſign, wreſted a pole ax out of the hands of one of them, and defended himſelf ſo bravely that he ſlew four of the ruffians: but at length Exton, getting upon a chair behind him, the villain diſcharged ſuch a blow with an ax upon his head, that he laid him dead at his feet.

Thus fell Richard in the thirty-third year of his age, condemned to perpetual impriſonment by his parliament, removed from his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The injuries he did in his life-time ſeem to have periſhed with him; but his high birth, his elegant perſon, and the miſery of his fate, awakened in the breaſts of the Engliſh, all the compaſſion ſo naturally due to majeſty in diſtreſs. He was then conſidered as a prince miſled by habit, rather than cruel by diſpoſition; as one who might have been fortunate had he not been a king, and who might have held the reins of government till old age, had he not been called to it in early youth. The flattery of his parliament was the moſt deadly drug infuſed in the poiſon that intoxicated his brain with regard to his own power as a king. He had by repeated



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

The Aſsaſsination of RICHARD II.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

peated acts of the legiſlature, raiſed himſelf above the law; but he had not learned that maxim ſo neceſſary to all princes, that principles give way to feeling, and profeſſions to ſafety. Had he acted with moderation, he might have held the ſubſtance of arbitrary power; but the violence with which he graſped it, diſſolved it in his hand. The allegiance of his ſubjects melted before the heat of his government, and Richard became a melancholy inſtance, that thoſe men who abandon the intereſt of their country, will alſo forſake their ſovereign in the hour of danger,

Henry now ſaw himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation. He well knew that the death of Richard, and the late executions, muſt give riſe to animoſities that are always injurious to the royal authority; and therefore determined, if poſſible, to gain the clergy over to his intereſt. It was ſuſpected that he had imbibed all the opinions of his father in favour of Wickliff's doctrine; but he now made no difficulty of ſacrificing his principles to his intereſt. He cauſed a law to be paſſed by the parliament, whereby it was enacted, that when any heretic, who had relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular power, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate, before the whole people. This ſanguinary ſtatute was the ſource of additional diſtreſs to the people, who were already ſufficiently acquainted with misfortunes. Nor was it long before this execrable law was carried into execution. William Soutre, rector of St. Oſithe's in London, having embraced the doctrine of Wickliff, was condemned by the ſynod of Canterbury, and the unhappy man was immediately committed to the flames.

A. D. 1401. In the beginning of this year one Owen Glendour, a deſcendant of the ancient princes of Wales, made various incurſions into the Engliſh territories. In conſequence of this a troubleſome and tedious war was kindled, which the Welſh prince long ſuſtained by his valour and activity, aſſiſted by the natural ſtrength of that country, and the untamed ſpirit of the inhabitants. In one of theſe encounters the earl of Marche, who had armed his followers in defence of Henry, was taken priſoner, and committed to a loathſome and ſtrict confinement. But notwithſtanding his loyalty, Henry, with unpardonable ingratitude, ſuffered him to remain in captivity; nor would he permit the earl of Northumberland, to whoſe aſſiſtance he was indebted for his crown, to treat with Glendour for his ranſom.

The ſucceſſes of the Welſh gave encouragement to the Scots, who committed the moſt dreadful ravages in the northern counties. The largeſt diviſion of them, conſiſting of 12,000 men, was headed by the earl of Douglas. Hotſpur Piercy attacked the invaders at Homeldon, or Haly-down-hill; and, after a furious engagement, obtained a complete victory. Above 7,000 Scots were killed on the field of battle; and the earls of Douglas, Fife, Angus, Athol, and Montieth, with a great number of other officers of diſtinction, were taken priſoners.

As ſoon as Henry received intelligence of this victory, he wrote a letter full of the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude to the Piercies but at the ſame time ſtrictly enjoined them not to ranſom any of their priſoners, but to keep them to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper. This injunction was conſidered as an arbitrary uſurpation of power, all priſoners being (by the laws of war which then prevailed) the ſole property of thoſe by whom they were conquered.

A. D. 1403. The commands of Henry relative to the Scotch captives highly exaſperated the Northumberland family, who had been materially inſtrumental in placing him on the throne. Beſides the perſonal inſult offered them by Henry on this occaſion, Thomas Piercy earl of Worceſter, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had other cauſes to excite his reſentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard: he loved the perſon of his old maſter and benefactor while living, retained a grateful ſenſe of his benefits after his death, and could not but deteſt Henry, as the author of his murder, and the uſurper of his crown. He therefore joined his brother, to drive from the throne a perſon who had no title to fill it, and whoſe power was founded on the blood of his maſter.

Preparations were made by the powerful family of the Piercies for wreſting the ſcepter from the hands of Henry. An alliance was concluded with Glendour; and Hotſpur offered earl Douglas his liberty without ranſom, if he would join the Northumberland army; a propoſal which that martial nobleman very readily accepted, as he had long borne an inveterate hatred to the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

In a ſhort time a very conſiderable army was aſſembled; but before the troops were ready to take the field, the earl of Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick, and the chief command devolved upon Hotſpur Piercy, who led his forces to Shrewſbury, in order to join the troops of Glendour.

Piercy now ſent a manifeſto to Henry, in which he renounced his allegiance, and ſet that prince at defiance. He likewiſe enumerated all the grievances of which the nation ſo loudly complained, and which he was now determined to redreſs. He accuſed Henry of perjury: for ſoon after his landing at Ravenſpur, he had ſworn upon the goſpels, in preſence of the earl of Northumberland, that his ſole intention was that of recovering poſſeſſion of the duchy of Lancaſter, and that he would ever remain a faithful ſubject to king Richard. He aggravated his guilt in firſt dethroning, and then murdering that prince; and in uſurping upon the title of the houſe of Mortimer, to whom the crown juſtly belonged both by lineal deſcent, and the declaration of parliament. He complained loudly of the cruelty exerciſed againſt the earl of Marche, who was ſuffered to remain a captive in the hands of the enemy, nor were any of his friends permitted to treat for his ranſom. He charged him with perjury in loading the nation with heavy taxes, after having ſworn, that, without the utmoſt neceſſity, he would never levy any impoſitions upon his ſubjects.

Henry, in order to exculpate himſelf from the crimes with which he was charged, immediately ſent an anſwer to the manifeſto, in which he accuſed the Piercies, in his turn, of having excited an unnatural rebellion againſt the eſtabliſhed government; and againſt him, who had, on all occaſions, diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of his ſubjects by every act of munificence and friendſhip that a ſovereign could beſtow upon his moſt favourite counſellors. He offered to lay aſide every privilege of prerogative, to grant the Piercies a ſafe conduct, and ſuffer them to lay all their complaints before their peers, where they ſhould be candidly heard, and, if well founded, both theirs and the public grievances redreſſed.

Henry, however, was not inſenſible that remonſtrances were of very little uſe among his ferocious nobility: fortunately for him, he had, at that time, an army which had been aſſembled againſt the Scots, ready to take the field; and he immediately ſet out on his march in order to give the rebels battle.

Piercy, who did not ſo ſoon expect to be oppoſed by a royal army, was obliged to abandon the ſiege of Shrewſbury, which he had juſt inveſted, and prepare for an engagement. He encamped at Hartlefield, where he reſolved to hazard a battle, though he had not yet been joined by Glendour's forces. The great bravery of the two leaders promiſed an obſtinate conteſt for the palm of victory; and the equality of the two armies, each being about 12,000 men, gave ſufficient reaſon to expect, that the field of battle would be deluged with the blood of the contending parties.

The ſhock was at once both dreadful and conſtant. Henry's infantry immediately gave ground, and the whole army would have been thrown into confuſion, had not the impetuous valour of Piercy and Douglas given the royaliſts an opportunity of rallying. Theſe two chiefs fought ſide by ſide, and opened themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where the royal ſtandard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in perſon, both contending who ſhould have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Piercy ſupported that renown which he had acquired in ſo many bloody combats; and Douglas, his antient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amidſt the horrors and confuſion of the battle. Their ardour, however, proved fatal to their cauſe: they charged with ſuch deſperate fury, and pierced with ſuch rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. They performed ſuch prodigies of valour, that they were ſoon ſurrounded by heaps of dead bodies, and the royal ſtandard was thrown to the ground. Nor did Henry flinch from the ſtorm of battle; he expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight. His gallant ſon, whoſe military atchievements afterwards became ſo famous, followed the example of his father; and even a wound, which he received in his face with an arrow, could not oblige him to quit the field. Henry, however, in order either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his perſon, or to encourage his own men by the belief that he was preſent every where, had dreſſed ſeveral perſons in the royal garb; and the ſword of Douglas, who ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould fall by his arm, rendered that honour fatal to many.

But while both armies were contending in this furious manner, Piercy fell by an unknown hand. This accident decided the victory in favour of the royaliſts. About two thouſand five hundred gentlemen are ſaid to have periſhed in this ſanguinary conteſt; but the perſons of the moſt diſtinction in the royal army were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Ganſel Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Maſſey, and Sir John Caverly. About 6000 private men were ſlain, of whom two thirds belonged to Piercy's army. The earls of Douglas and Worceſter were taken priſoners, the former of whom was diſmiſſed without ranſom on account of his diſtinguiſhed valour; but the latter, with ſeveral others, was beheaded at Shrewſbury. The body of Hotſpur Piercy was at firſt buried in the field of battle; but it was afterwards dug up by order of Henry, and ſent in quarters to the chief towns in the kingdom, while his head was carried to London, and there expoſed on the bridge.

At the time the above victory was obtained, the earl of Northumberland, being recovered from his illneſs, was advancing at the head of a very conſiderable body of troops to reinforce his ſon's army; but hearing of the total defeat of his ſon, and that the king was advancing againſt him at the head of his victorious troops, he ſhut himſelf up in Warkworth-caſtle. He afterwards diſmiſſed his army, and came to the king at York. Northumberland pretended that his ſole intention of raiſing an army was to mediate a peace between the two parties, and Henry, unwilling to drive ſo powerful a nobleman to deſpair, admitted his apology, and granted him a pardon.

A. D. 1405. The Piercies, notwithſtanding their defeat at Shrewſbury, remained ſtill in great power and credit with the public, and the earl of Northumberland acquired an additional eſteem on account of the ſufferings of his family. Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only duke of Hereford, had accuſed of high treaſon, and by that means procured his perpetual baniſhment, and Richard Scroope, archbiſhop of York, ſtill continued to harbour an implacable rancour againſt Henry. The duke of Northumberland alſo, who well knew that he ſhould never be cordially forgiven, was ſtill determined to procure redreſs for the wrongs his family had received. Accordingly he joined theſe malecontents, and a plan was concerted for taking the field againſt Henry. The conſpiracy ſoon after received an additional ſtrength by the junction of the lords Bardolf, Haſtings, and Fauconbridge, and a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their reſpective counties. The earl of Northumberland viſited the courts of France and Scotland, in order to prevail upon thoſe powers to ſupport the confederates and wreſt from the hand of Henry the ſcepter of England. He was received with the utmoſt reſpect, and met with great encouragement in his negotiation. The hopes of foreign aſſiſtance gave new life to the conſpiracy, and a plan was formed for making an inſurrection into the north, while the French not only made a deſcent in Wales, but alſo laid ſiege to the moſt important places belonging to the Engliſh on the continent.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of this conſpiracy, he immediately exerted himſelf to ſuppreſs it. He well knew that Glendour had joined the confederacy, and therefore ſent an army into Wales, under the command of his ſon, who attacked one of Glendour's detachments, and obtained a compleat victory.

The conſpirators now perceived that Henry was no ſtranger to their intentions, and precipitately took the field, before the earl of Northumberland was ready to join their army. A manifeſto was alſo publiſhed by the archbiſhop of York againſt Henry, in which he reproached that prince with his uſurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king; requiring that the right line ſhould be reſtored, and all the public grievances redreſſed.

The earl of Weſtmoreland, aſſiſted by ſeveral noblemen of conſiderable power in the north, having been appointed to watch the Scottiſh marches, no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he advanced at the head of his forces, hoping to ſurprize the rebels before they were prepared for defence. In this, however, he was deceived; for on his reaching Shipton-Moor, he perceived the inſurgents, amounting to 17,000 men, drawn up in excellent order, and ready to engage. Weſtmoreland, not being able to give the enemy battle, had recourſe to negotiation, and prevailed upon the archbiſhop and the earl of Nottingham to lay down their arms, and ſubmit themſelves to the goverment. The inſurgents, who had juſt received advice that Henry himſelf was within three days march, at the head of a powerful army, and that it would be impoſſible for the earl of Northumberland to join them before the royal body of forces arrived, ſurrendered themſelves to the earl, and were ſent priſoners to York.

Henry, however, inſtead of agreeing to the terms offered by Weſtmoreland, determined to make theſe mutinous leaders feel the weight of his reſentment. But knowing that the trial of the archbiſhop, if conducted in the uſual form, would prove both troubleſome and tedious, and that the celerity of the execution alone could render it ſafe and prudent, he determined to follow the ferocious cuſtoms of the age, and put the prelate to death, without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, to paſs the ſentence of high treaſon on the archbiſhop. But Gaſcoigne refuſed to act contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Fulthorpe was therefore appointed a judge on this occaſion;

ſion; who, without any indictment, trial or defence, condemned the prelate to ſuffer death. Nor was the execution of the ſentence delayed; the archbiſhop immediately ſuffered in a very ignominious manner. This was the firſt inſtance in England of a capital ſentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham, Sir John Lamplugh, and Sir Robert Plumpton, ſuffered at the ſame time. The pope was ſo highly incenſed at this alarming attack on the privileges of the church, that he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all who were concerned in the death of the archbiſhop; and it was with great difficulty that Henry could procure abſolution.

As ſoon as the earl of Northumberland heard of the fate of the inſurgents, he fled into Scotland with lord Bardolf; and Henry ſoon after reduced all the caſtles belonging to thoſe noblemen. The unfortunate earl, however, did not long enjoy the benefit of his aſylum: an event ſoon after happened which obliged him to ſeek his ſafety on the continent. Robert III. king of Scotland, was by no means qualified to hold the ſceptre in theſe ferocious times. He was a prince of a ſlender capacity, but extremly innocent and inoffenſive; virtues which were then ſo far from being admired, that they rendered him contemptible. His brother, the duke of Albany, a prince of a more violent and boiſterous diſpoſition, aſſumed the reins of government; and deſirous of rendering his power perpetual, he threw David, the eldeſt ſon of Robert, into priſon, where he was inhumanly ſtarved to death. James, a younger brother of David, was now the only obſtacle that oppoſed the tyrant from mounting the throne on the death of his brother. Robert, ſenſible of his ſon's danger, embarked him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him into France, not doubting but he would there find ſufficient protection from that friendly power. But Robert was deſtined to misfortunes: the ſhip was taken by the Engliſh, and Henry, notwithſtanding the truce which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, refuſed to reſtore the young prince to liberty. Worn out with grief and infirmities, Robert was unable to ſupport this laſt misfortune. He ſunk under the weight of his diſtreſs, and left the government in the hands of his brother. Henry now ſaw all the importance of his acquiſition: the duke of Albany was entirely dependent on the Engliſh monarch; becauſe a ſingle attempt to prejudice the intereſt of Henry would be ſufficient to diſplace him from the throne. James was about nine years of age when he was firſt brought to London; and if any thing could atone for this breach of faith, it was the excellent education which Henry beſtowed upon him, and which afterwards qualified him for filling the throne of his anceſtors with great applauſe. It is little to be wondered at that the duke of Albany ſhould, from theſe circumſtances, refuſe to protect a nobleman ſo obnoxious to Henry as the earl of Northumberland: he therefore obliged him to leave the kingdom, and the earl retired to the continent.

A. D. 1407. In the beginning of this year a dreadful plague broke out in England, which obliged the king to remove his court to Glouceſter. Thirty thouſand perſons periſhed of this diſtemper in London only, and a proportionable number in ſeveral parts of the country.

A. D. 1408. The earl of Northumberland, being now weary of his exile, determined to make one effort for the recovery of thoſe poſſeſſions of which he had been deprived by his ſovereign. Accordingly, in the ſpring of this year he landed in the north of England, accompanied by his faithful companion the lord Bardolf. He was immediately joined by a party of Scottiſh free-booters, and in a few days found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable force, by whoſe aſſiſtance he retook ſeveral of the caſtles which had been reduced after the battle of Shrewſbury. Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the government, and orders were immediately iſſued for raiſing an army againſt the rebels, who were now become very formidable, and had appointed Thirſk in Yorkſhire for the place of their rendezvous. While the court was making levies to oppoſe the earl, Sir Thomas Rockeſby, ſheriff of the county of York, thinking it his duty to ſtop the progreſs of the inſurgents, raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally deſirous of coming to an action with the ſheriff, perſuaded that if he could defeat Rockeſby's forces he ſhould not only diſappoint Henry of ſo eſſential a reinforcement, but alſo, by this ſucceſs, engage the city and county of York to declare in his favour. He accordingly put his army in motion, and met Rokeſby on Beaham Moor, where a bloody engagement enſued, in which the rebels, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were totally routed, notwithſtanding they had greatly the ſuperiority of numbers. The earl of Northumberland was ſlain on the ſpot, and the lord Bardolf taken priſoner, but ſo mortally wounded that he died a few days after.

This fortunate event, together with the death of Glendour, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies. No more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow; and he enjoyed the crown he had uſurped without any farther oppoſition.

A. D. 1410. Henry was never remarkable for favouring the clergy; but their power was now ſo great, that his private ſentiments were obliged to give way to his public intereſt. The common people, however, were in general inclined to favour the reformation begun by Wickliff; and were encouraged in their oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip, by a ſchiſm in the Romiſh church, where two different popes laid claim to St. Peter's chair. The perſecutions that had for ſome time been carried on againſt the Wickliffites, or Lollards, had no other effect than increaſing their number; many of whom held places of truſt and power under the government. Alarmed at the great progreſs of theſe ſectaries, whoſe numbers were daily augmenting, the clergy determined to carry the laws into execution, in order, by ſome dreadful example, to prevent this ſchiſm from extending its influence, which threatened the foundation of their wealth and power. One Bodby, a taylor, took upon him, to exclaim violently againſt the abſurdity of the real preſence in the ſacrament. This perſon, therefore, was ſingled out by the clergy for exemplary puniſhment. He was accordingly tried and condemned to the ſtake; and the prince of Wales had the curioſity to be a ſpectator of the execution. When the flames firſt reached the body of the criminal he cried out in ſo horrid a manner, that the prince ordered the fire to be removed, and offered the man his life, together with a penſion out of his private purſe, as the flames had diſabled him from following his buſineſs, on condition he would renounce his opinions. Bodby, however ſhocked when he firſt felt the flames, refuſed the offered pardon; he loved his opinions better than his life; and he was accordingly committed again to the fire, and there reſigned his breath as a forfeit to his faith.

A. D. 1412. Though Henry had now no domeſtic enemy to contend with, yet his days were greatly embittered by the irregular courſes of his ſon the prince of Wales. He was at this time in full vigour of youth, and of an active, ſprightly ſpirit. While he was employed in the field, no actions of immoral tendency ſtained his character. But a life of indolence was not agreeable to his nature. He now plunged himſelf, with the utmoſt violence, into all the extravagancies of debauchery, and bluſhed not for a conduct the moſt diſorderly and licentious. But his outrages proceeded not ſo much from a depraved diſpoſition as from the violence of his temper, which not being directed to uſeful objects, induced him to give full ſcope to his paſſions. At the ſame time, however, many gleams of ſpirit and magnificence were obſerved to break through the cloud, which a wild conduct had thrown over his character.

The king was too good a judge of mankind to deſpair of his ſon's reformation; and his hopes on that head were not a little heightened by an accident which gave a real picture of his ſon's diſpoſition. One of young Henry's favourites having been indicted for ſome miſdemeanor, was condemned, notwithſtanding all the intereſt the prince, who was preſent at the trial, could make in his favour. Young Henry was ſo incenſed at the iſſue, that he ſtruck Sir William Gaſcoigne, the judge, as he ſat on the bench. But the magiſtrate was not to be intimidated; he acted with a ſpirit ſuitable to his character, and inſtantly ordered the prince into cuſtody. This ſally of paſſion in the prince was immediately ſucceeded by a noble return of reaſon; he ſuffered himſelf, with the utmoſt reſignation, to be conducted to priſon by the officers of juſtice. When the king was informed of this tranſaction, he ſaid, "I thank God I have a judge poſſeſſed of ſo much courage to execute the laws, and a ſon endowed with ſo much obedience as to ſubmit to ſuch chaſtiſement."

A. D. 1413. Henry's health had for ſome time been viſibly declining: he was ſubject to fits, which for a time bereaved him of his ſenſes; and though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was viſibly approaching. He was naturally of a peeviſh and jealous diſpoſition, which was now greatly encreaſed, and he too readily liſtened to the vile ſuggeſtions of his courtiers, who inſinuated that his eldeſt ſon had formed unnatural deſigns upon his crown and life. Theſe inſinuations filled Henry's breaſt with the moſt anxious fears and apprehenſions; and he even removed the prince from his poſt of preſident of the council.

Young Henry was now greatly alarmed: fond as he was of pleaſure and diſſipation, he was ſtill very ſuſceptible of the nobler paſſions, and could not, without the moſt piercing anguiſh, reflect, that his own conduct had given too much reaſon for his enemies to aſperſe his character. But ſtill he knew himſelf innocent with regard to his having formed even a wiſh to the prejudice of his father's authority; and determined to purſue every method in his power to convince the king of his duty and loyalty.

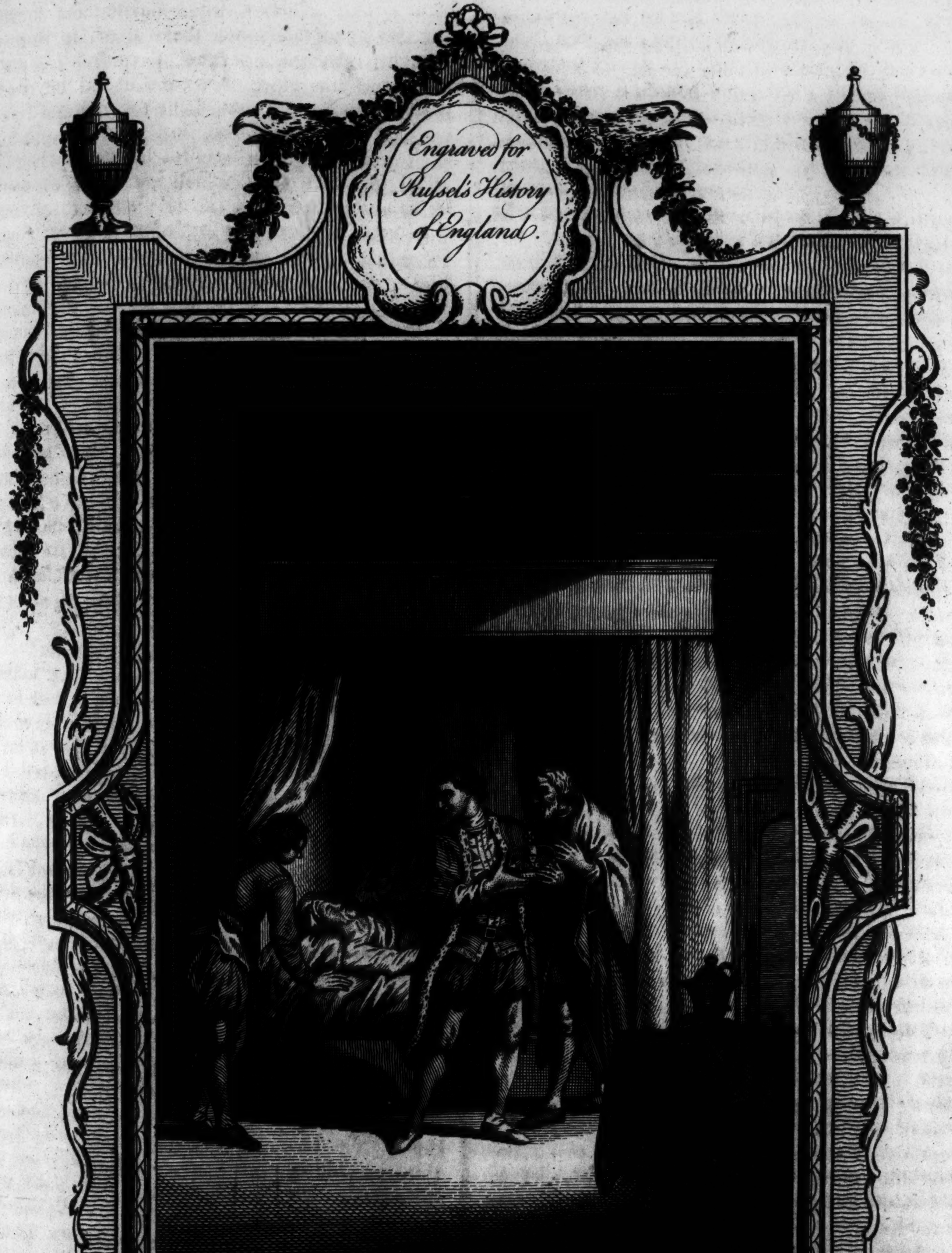
With this view, after having received the euchariſt, he dreſſed himſelf in a mourning habit, and repaired to court, in order to requeſt a private audience of the king. Being admitted to his father's preſence, he immediately fell on his knees, and addreſſed himſelf to him in the following words:

"Moſt dread ſovereign, and honoured father, it gives me the moſt ſincere concern to find that I am ſuſpected by your highneſs of an unnatural deſign againſt your crown and perſon; which I, more than any other ſubject of your majeſty, am bound to reverence and defend. I confeſs, indeed, with ſhame and contrition, that my irregularities and exceſſes have given ſufficient cauſe for your diſpleaſure. But I call the Almighty, who knows the inmoſt ſecrets of the heart, and never fails to puniſh thoſe who dare to invoke him to ſanctify a falſhood, to witneſs, that I never harboured a ſingle thought inconſiſtent with that duty I owe your majeſty as my ſovereign and my father. Thoſe who charge me with contrary intentions, ſeek only to diſturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your ſon and ſucceſſor. I would willingly remove theſe anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpoſe. Let me beſeech you, therefore, to let my actions be tried by the utmoſt rigour, with the ſame ſeverity as if I was the meaneſt of your ſubjects; and if I am found guilty, in any reſpect, of the attrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever uſed any expreſſion that indicated diſloyalty or want of affection, let me be puniſhed as the vileſt miſcreant that ever diſgraced the name of ſon or ſubject. I will readily ſubmit to any puniſhment you may think proper to inflict. I again, therefore, beſeech you, with the utmoſt humility, both for the eaſe of your own mind, and the vindication of your injured ſon, to iſſue the neceſſary orders for making the rigorous ſcrutiny I now demand."

This ingenuous and pathetic addreſs greatly affected the king. He took the prince in his arms, embraced him with tears, and aſſured him, that all his ſuſpicions were entirely removed, and that he would never, for the future, harbour a thought prejudicial to his loyalty and honour. He even promiſed, that in order to remove every ſuſpicion from the minds of all ingenuous perſons, he would give him the names of his accuſers, that they might be brought to juſtice in the enſuing parliament.

But the death of Henry put a total ſtop to this enquiry. The dreadful fits with which he was ſo often attacked impaired his ſenſes; and he had been ſo frequently in danger of loſing his crown, that his imagination ſeems to have been ſtrongly impreſſed with that idea, which increaſed as his ſtrength and reaſoning faculties decayed, even to a degree of childiſh anxiety. He would not ſleep unleſs the royal diadem was laid on his pillow. One day he remained ſo long in a ſwoon, that his ſervants thought him actually dead; and the prince took the crown from the pillow, and carried it into his own apartment. The king recovering the uſe of his ſenſes, and obſerving the diadem was removed, aſked who had dared to take it from his pillow? and being told that the prince had carried it away, he ordered him to be brought into his preſence. When young Henry appeared, the king with an angry countenance, ſaid, "What! would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I took it, thinking your majeſty was really dead, as my lawful inheritance; but now, happily perceiving my miſtake, I return the diadem with far greater pleaſure than I took it." He accordingly re-placed the crown on the king's pillow; and having received his father's bleſſing, retired. A ſhort interval between the attacks of this dreadful diſeaſe inſpired Henry with the pleaſing hopes of recovery; and, agreeable to the cuſtom of that age of bigotry, he aſſumed the croſs, and made a ſolemn vow to heaven, to ſpend the remainder of his days in a war againſt the infidels, in order, if poſſible, to recover the Holy City from the enemies of the Chriſtian name. But he lived not to put his deſign in execution. He was ſeized with his laſt fit as he was paying his devotions before the ſhrine of St. Edward; and being carried into the Jeruſalem Chamber, belonging to the abbot of Weſtminſter, he expired, on the twentieth of March, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

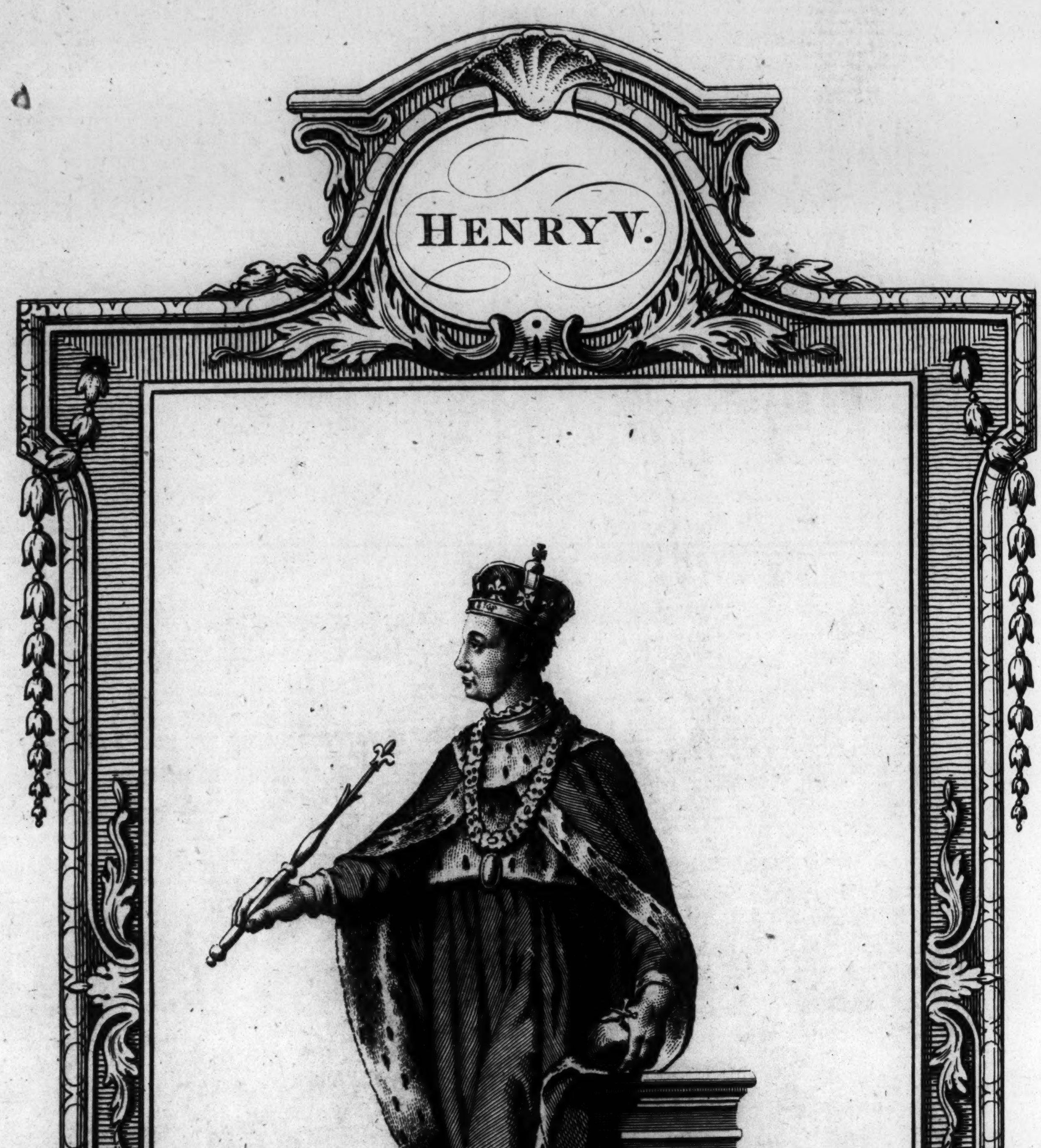
The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he obtained the crown, and which had ſo greatly aſſiſted him in the acquiſition of it, was entirely loſt ſeveral years before the end of his reign, and he governed his people more by terror than by affection; more by his own policy than by their ſenſe of duty or allegiance.


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Wale delin.
White ſculp.

PRINCE HENRY taking the CROWN from the Pillow of his Father KING HENRY IV.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


HENRY V.

The crimes he committed in order to uſurp the ſeat of power muſt be conſidered as perpetual ſtains on his memory by every man who makes the leaſt pretenſions to follow the dictates of conſcience, or the eternal precepts of the moral law. It may, indeed, be ſaid, that the injuſtice with which he had been treated by Richard gave occaſion to his crimes: for, in all probability, he never would have uſurped the crown, if that monarch had not deprived him of his patrimony. But one crime cannot juſtify another. The murder of a king, his near relation, and the excluſion of the true heir from the throne, will always render the name of Henry of Lancaſter obnoxious to the virtuous and the good. He ſeemed, indeed, himſelf, to be ſufficiently conſcious of the turpitude of his crimes; and the uneaſineſs with which he poſſeſſed his envied greatneſs, and the ſtings of conſcience which he perpetually felt, cannot fail of rendering him an object of our pity, even when ſeated upon the throne. At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that he was endowed with many great and amiable qualities, which would have rendered him one of the greateſt monarchs that ever wore the diadem of England, had he not waded to the throne through the blood of his ſovereign. His prudence, his vigilance, and his foreſight, were admirable; his command of temper and preſence of mind remarkable; his courage, both military and political, free from fault. In a word, it was the flame of ambition that rendered Henry a tyrant, and the commiſſion of one crime made way for that of another.

This monarch was twice married. By his firſt wife Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the earl of Hereford, he had four ſons, Henry his ſucceſſor on the throne, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphry duke of Glouceſter; and two daughters, Blanche and Phillippa; the former was married to the duke of Bavaria, and the latter to the king of Denmark. His ſecond wife Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was daughter to the king of Navarre, and widow to the duke of Britany, brought him no iſſue.

The remarkable occurrences that happened in this king's reign were as follow:

In the third year of his reign, about the beginning of March, appeared a very terrible blazing ſtar, ſending forth its fiery ſtreams at firſt towards the north-eaſt, and at length towards the north, where it ſeemed to fix, which was afterwards thought to portend the bloody wars between the Scots and Engliſh, and the ſeveral executions done upon the malcontents under the government.

In the ninth year of his reign, a little before Chriſtmas, began a froſt of that violence and long continuance, that the like was ſcarce ever heard of in England. It laſted fifteen weeks, and, being accompanied with abundance of ſnow, was ſo deſtructive, to the birds eſpecially, that almoſt all the ſmaller ones died with cold and hunger.

In the tenth year of his reign, there was a play acted at Skinner's-well, near Clerkenwell, London, repreſenting the chief matters of the world from the creation; it laſted eight days, and moſt part of the nobility and gentry of England were preſent at it. From thence they went to royal juſts in Smithfield, between the marſhal of Hainault, and certain Hanovers, challengers, and the earl of Somerſet, and an equal number of Engliſhmen, defendants. The victory was on the Engliſhmen's ſide; for the earl overcame, as did all the Engliſh, but one.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the Guildhall in the city of London, which was but a mean cottage before, was made a ſtately building by the mayor and aldermen, at the charge of the city. And the company of grocers laid the foundation of their hall, upon a piece of ground, which they purchaſed for three hundred and twenty marks, in Cunihope-lane, now called Grocer's-alley.

SECTION II.

HENRY V.

HENRY the Fifth was about twenty-five years of age when he acceded to the throne of England. His mind had been properly cultivated in learning by an education at the univerſity of Oxford; and thoſe ſeeds of erudition falling into a fertile ſoil, its luxuriancy had encouraged ſome weeds of immorality to ſhoot up in the harveſt of royal virtues. But the latter now growing to full maturity, had ſo effectually choaked the malignancy of the former, that he ſucceeded to royalty with every merit that could adorn it.

No ſooner had he aſſumed the reins of government, than he increaſed the good opinion the people already entertained of him by his judicious and prudent conduct. He called together his former aſſociates, and after exhorting them to imitate his example, and inhibiting them from appearing any more in his preſence if they continued their licentious conduct, he diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents. He publiſhed a general amneſty for all crimes already committed, except rape and murder. His new council was compoſed of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous perſons in the kingdom: he made no diſtinction between thoſe who had adhered to Richard, * and thoſe who had joined his father; he was deſirous of extinguiſhing all parties. He ſhewed a noble reſolution of reſtoring purity to the courts of juſtice, by diſplacing all thoſe who had not filled their poſts with integrity. Gaſcoigne the chief juſtice, who had committed him when prince of Wales to priſon, and who, on that account, trembled to approach the royal preſence, was received with the utmoſt marks of eſteem; his ſtrict and impartial execution of the laws was applauded, and inſtead of reproaches, he was loaded with favours.

---

* As a proof of this he cauſed the corpſe of Richard II. to be removed from Langley-abbey, where it had been buried in an obſcure manner, to Weſtminſter, in which place it was re-interred near the remains of his queen, Anne of Luxembourg. He alſo ordered that tapers ſhould be burnt day and night by his tomb, a dirge to be ſung one day in the week, and the next morning a maſs of requiem; after which eleven ſhillings and eightpence ſhould be given to the poor. And, by way of attonement for his father's uſurpation, he founded three monaſteries near Shene, in Surry; where prayers were alſo read for the ſoul of Richard.

In ſhort, Henry uſed his utmoſt endeavours to win the hearts of his people. He treated the earl of Marche with ſo much attention and reſpect, that he forgot his right to the ſceptre of England, to which he had, by birth, an undoubted title. He reſtored the noble family of Piercy to their former honours and eſtates, and laboured ſincerely to bury all animoſities in the grave of oblivion.

In the mean time the parliament met at Weſtminſter, when ſeveral acts were paſſed for ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and the freedom of parliament. But while they were thus providing for the civil, the clergy were induſtrious in deſtroying the religious liberty of the ſubject. Notwithſtanding all the ſeverities that had been exerciſed againſt the Lollards, yet that ſect were every day increaſing in the kingdom, and not only appeared extremely dangerous to the church, but even formidable to the civil power. Sir John Oldcaſtle, ſtiled, in right of his wife, lord Cobham, was conſidered as the head of the Lollards. He was a perſon of great parts, invincible courage, and eminently diſtinguiſhed for his experience in military affairs; virtues which had greatly recommended him to the favour of Henry. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was highly incenſed againſt the Lollards, was deſirous of indicting lord Cobham, perſuaded that the leader of the party was the moſt proper victim of eccleſiaſtical ſeverity. But Cobham was too great a favourite with the king for the archbiſhop to proceed without his leave. He therefore waited upon Henry, and requeſted permiſſion to proceed againſt Sir John Oldcaſtle. The king, who was no friend to eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, repreſented to the primate, that reaſon and perſuaſion were the beſt means of ſupporting truth, and correcting error; that every gentle method ſhould be uſed in order to bring back theſe deluded people to the boſom of the church; and that he himſelf would endeavour to reconcile Cobham to the catholic faith. Henry, however, found that all his arguments were in vain; Cobham, though greatly attached to him, refuſed to ſacrifice truths of the utmoſt importance to conciliate the favour of majeſty; and the king gave the primate leave to proceed againſt him to the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws. The violence of eccleſiaſtical authority was now exerted, and the primate, aſſiſted by his three ſuffragans, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and St. David's, condemned Cobham to the flames; but he made his eſcape from the Tower before the day arrived which was appointed for his execution.

A. D. 1414. Cobham was no ſooner at liberty than he formed a deſign of ſeeking revenge on his enemies. He aſſembled his partizans and began an open rebellion againſt the government: but the vigilance of Henry prevented the conſequences. Great numbers of the Lollards were ſeized, ſeveral of them executed, and the whole conſpiracy rendered totally abortive. Cobham himſelf eſcaped, nor was he brought to juſtice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body burnt on the gibbet, conformable to the ſentence pronounced againſt him as a heretic.

Henry had for ſome time intended to undertake a war againſt France, in order to recover the provinces that had been wreſted from his predeceſſors; and thinking this the moſt favourable opportunity, he determined to carry his deſign into execution. Charles VI. had been ſeized with a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and though he recovered from this diſorder, he was ſo ſubject to relapſes, that his ſenſes were gradually but inſenſibly impaired; ſo that he was incapable of purſuing any ſettled plan of government. This misfortune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his couſin-german, after ſuſtaining the moſt violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, agreed to enter into a ſtrict friendſhip, and ſwore at the altar to the ſincerity of their intentions. But notwithſtanding they had invoked heaven as a witneſs between them, very little regard was paid to the ſacredneſs of their promiſe; the duke of Orleans was ſoon after aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris by order of the duke of Burgundy, who had the inſolence to avow openly and defend the juſtice of the action, which he termed tyrannicide. The dreadful conſequences of ſo vile a tenet were ſoon diſplayed. A reconciliation between the two parties was now impoſſible; the whole kingdom in general, and the capital in particular, became a moſt dreadful ſcene of blood and violence.

A. D. 1415. Henry, in order to conceal his real intention againſt France, ſent over a ſplendid embaſſy to that court with the offer of a perpetual peace and alliance between the two crowns; but demanded in return the French king's daughter in marriage, with two millions of crowns for her portion; the payment of one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as the arrears of the late king John's ranſom: the immediate poſſeſſion, and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces, which Philip Auguſtus had wreſted from the crown of England, together with the ſuperiority of Britany and Flanders.

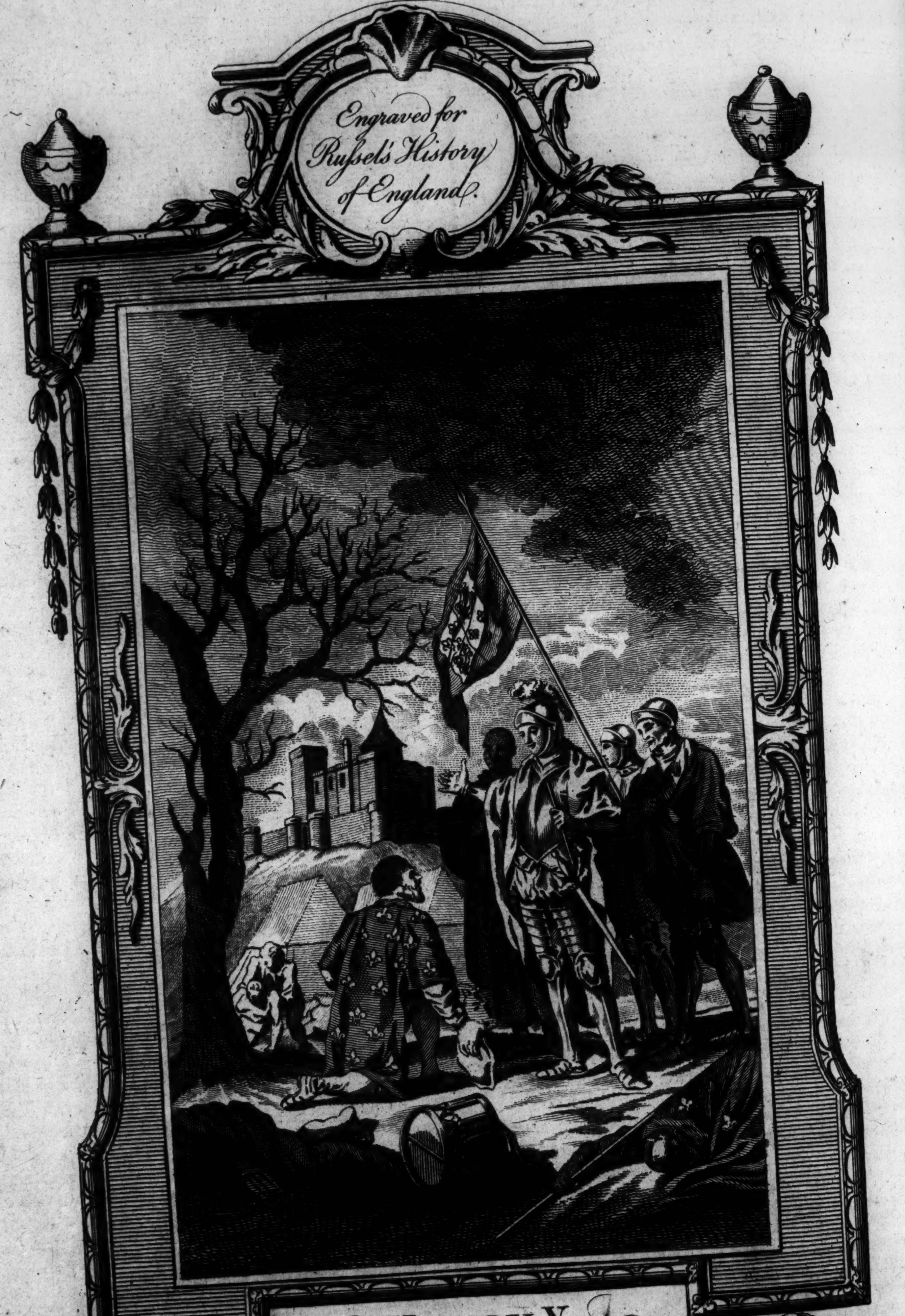
It is evident, from the exorbitant nature of theſe demands, that Henry was fully ſenſible of the diſtreſſed condition of the French monarchy; and the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, ſufficiently ſhew their own conſciouſneſs of the ſame melancholy truth: they agreed to give him the princeſs in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns; to inveſt him with the intire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the counties of Perigord, Bouvergne, Angoumois, and other territories.

Though the terms thus offered by the French were more than might have been expected, yet they were refuſed by Henry, who determined to erect his ſtandard in the fields of France. The ardour of the nation to follow their ſovereign exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations, and freed him from any apprehenſions of his finnaces being inſufficient for the payment of his forces. Several of them raiſed a number of men at their own expence, and Henry ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army.

But while the neceſſary preparations were making for this expedition, Henry received advice of a deteſtable conſpiracy formed againſt his crown and life by thoſe whom he leaſt ſuſpected. The perſons who were to execute this horrid deſign, were Richard earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the duke of York; the lord Scroop, treaſurer of England, and Sir Thomas Gray, a knight of Northumberland. The earl of Cambridge was remarkably ambitious, Scroop was inſatiably covetous, though immenſly rich, and Gray was a diſcontented courtier. Theſe conſpirators were to place the earl of Marche on the throne, as ſoon as Henry was embarked for France with his army. But the earl, inſtead of joining in the project, diſcovered the whole to Henry, who inſtantly ordered the conſpirators to be arreſted, and tried by a ſpecial commiſſion directed to the duke of Clarence, as lord high ſteward, the earl mareſchal, and other judges. The priſoners, being all found guilty on the cleareſt evidence, received ſentence of death. The earl of

Cambridge

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

HENRY V. naming the Battle of AGINCOURT.

Cambridge and Sir Thomas Gray were beheaded; but lord Scroop was hanged, drawn and quartered, his guilt being aggravated with the circumſtance of ingratitude to Henry, who had diſtinguiſhed him with many particular marks of favour and affection.

This conſpiracy being ended, Henry embarked his forces at Southampton, and after a ſhort paſſage landed at Caux in Normandy, with an army of 6,000 men at arms and 24,000 foot, moſt of whom were archers. His firſt views were directed to the caſtle of Harfleur, which he immediately beſieged. The place was commanded by the lord of Ercouteville, at the head of a numerous garriſon of veterans, who made a noble defence. But the artillery of the Engliſh forces made large breaches in the walls, and the governor agreed to ſurrender the place, if not relieved by a certain time. The conditions were accepted, and all hoſtilities ceaſed; but the governor delaying, under various pretences, to open the gates, agreeable to the articles of capitulation, Henry ordered a general attack; the place was taken by ſtorm, and all the garriſon put to the ſword, except a few gentlemen, whom the troops thought proper to ſpare, in order to profit by their ranſom.

The reduction of the ſtrong port of Harfleur alarmed the whole French monarchy; and a numerous army was immediately raiſed to check the progreſs of the invaders. Private animoſities were now laid aſide, and all parties joined in oppoſing an army whoſe progreſs threatened the deſtruction of the ſtate. The dauphin himſelf took the field in perſon, at the head of an army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and was ſoon joined by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and Brabant, the conſtable d'Albret, the counts of Nevers, Vendome, and Richemont, the flower of the French nobility, and above forty thouſand men, eager to ſignalize their loyalty to their king, and their valour againſt the invaders of their country.

Henry's troops were at this time in a very indifferent ſituation. They had ſuffered greatly during the ſiege of Harfleur, by ſickneſs; two thouſand common ſoldiers, beſides a great number of perſons of diſtinction, had been carried off by a bloody flux, and many had been obliged to return to England, in order to recover their health by the aſſiſtance of the air of their natural climate. The diſtreſs of his people afflicted the heart of Henry; his fleet had been diſperſed by ſtorms; proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp, and the only reſource in his preſent condition was to march his army by land to Calais, over a prodigious extent of land, in an enemy's country, and in the face of an army greatly ſuperior in numbers to his own.

Henry ſaw all the dangers of his ſituation; but was determined to perſevere. Accordingly he proceeded by ſlow and deliberate marches, that his own army might not be diſcouraged by the appearance of a precipitate flight, nor ſo frequently expoſed to the attacks of the light ſquadrons of the enemy. In this manner he continued his rout to the banks of the Somme, which he intended to paſs at the ford where Edward the third croſſed that ſtream, when reduced to a ſimilar ſituation by Philip de Valois. But he found the ford was now rendered impaſſable by a great number of ſharp ſtakes drove into the bed of the river, and the oppoſite bank ſtrongly guarded by numerous detachments of the enemy. He was therefore obliged to change his courſe, and was fortunate enough to ſeize by ſurprize a paſſage near St. Quintin, where his whole army paſſed with ſafety.

Henry, however, ſoon perceived that the paſſage of the Somme was not the only difficulty that oppoſed his intended march to Calais. He beheld, from the heights of Blangi, the whole French army, conſiſting of above an hundred thouſand men, drawn up on the plains of Agincourt, to oppoſe his paſſage. Henry's army was reduced to almoſt half the number that landed near Harfleur, and even theſe were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and debilitated by ſickneſs and continual duty. In this alarming ſituation, Henry offered to ſacrifice his conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe paſſage to Calais; but the French generals prided themſelves ſo much on their ſuperiority of numbers, that they rejected his propoſals with contempt.

As a battle appeared now inevitable, Henry employed every means that human prudence could ſuggeſt to inſpire the troops with courage for the approaching conteſt. He recalled to their remembrance the glorious actions of their predeceſſors in the fields of Creſſy and Poictiers, againſt an amazing ſuperiority of the enemy. The ſoldiers caught the heroic ſentiments of their leader: the advantage of numbers were no longer regarded; and they wiſhed only to be led againſt the French.

On the 25th of October, the day appointed for the battle, Henry, as ſoon as it was light, drew up his little army between two woods which guarded each flank; and in that poſition waited for the attack of the enemy.

The French army was now divided into three lines, the firſt of which, beſides a great number of other troops, was compoſed of eight thouſand gentletlemen, commanded by the conſtable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome and Richemont, the famous marſhal Bouiccaut, David Rambure, grand-maſter of the croſs-bow-men, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The ſecond line was led by the duke of Alencon, aſſiſted by the duke of Barre, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenberg, and the ſieur de Lannoy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached 400 lances to take poſt in a wood on the right; and alſo a party of 250 archers to lay in ambuſh on the left, in a low meadow covered with buſhes. The right wing of Henry's army was commanded by the duke of York, aſſiſted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. The center was commanded by Henry in perſon, attended by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, the earl-marſhal, the earl of Oxford, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, which conſiſted wholly of archers, and ſuch as were armed with ſpears, halberts, and bills, was led by the earl of Dorſet. The chief ſtrength of the Engliſh army conſiſted of infantry; and Henry, fearing that the French horſe would break them by the fury of the firſt charge, ordered the archers to fix into the ground piles, or ſtakes, pointed at both ends with iron, and ſix or ſeven feet long, in their front, and alſo on their flanks, or intervals between the horſe and foot. Theſe formed a kind of temporary fortification, behind which the archers were not only ſecure themſelves, but had the opportunity of annoying the enemy as they advanced.

Thus, differently arranged, the two armies ſtood facing each other the greater part of the day; the Engliſh not caring to advance, leſt they ſhould loſe the advantage of the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more crowded together than they were already. At length Henry advanced at the head of his main diviſion, the two wings moving at the ſame time, till he came very near the village of Agincourt; when the French horſe moved forwards to attack the Engliſh archers. Upon which the latter halted, pitched their ſtakes, interweaving them together, and bending them a little towards the enemy. Guarded by this fence, they diſcharged a ſhower of arrows which nothing could reſiſt: the ranks were thinned, and the line thrown into great diſorder. The archers who lay in ambuſh among the buſhes of the meadow charged the French in flank, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. The Engliſh took advantage of the enemy's diſorder, fell upon them with their battle-axes, and cut them to pieces, almoſt without reſiſtance. The conſtable perceiving the diſtreſs of his advanced party, haſtened to their aſſiſtance, but under terrible diſadvantages; for the ſoil being wet and miry, both horſe and foot moved with the greateſt difficulty; and continuing ſtill to preſs more cloſely upon one another, preſented a defenceleſs front to the Engliſh, who ſoon threw the whole line into irretrievable diſorder: their buſineſs was rather that of executioners than ſoldiers. The field was now covered with the diſmounted, the ſlain, and the wounded; men and horſes were blended in one dreadful confuſion. The conſtable himſelf, together with the principal commanders of the firſt line, were left dead on the field of battle. The whole body was totally defeated, and the few that remained alive preſerved themſelves by a precipitate flight.

The ſecond line of the French, under the duke of Alencon, ſtood firm in an adjoining field, and were eager to engage, hoping by their valour to repair the diſgrace of their countrymen. Henry met them at the head of his center, and a dreadful conteſt enſued, eſpecially about the king's perſon. D'Alencon, in order to ſnatch, if poſſible, the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valor to watch attentively the motions of the Engliſh monarch, and uſe their utmoſt efforts either to kill, or take him priſoner. But the genius of Henry ſaved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the amazing ſucceſs of his archers, and deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by actions worthy of an Engliſh monarch, the king alighted from his horſe, and advanced, at the head of his diviſion, with a confidence which ſeemed to inſure the victory. He charged the enemy with ſuch fury as was almoſt irreſiſtible, and was met by D'Alencon with a ſpirit worthy of his rank. He received the attack with a firmneſs that deſerved a better fate. The French knights, who had never loſt ſight of Henry, cut themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where he fought in perſon; and ruſhing upon him with the utmoſt violence, would, probably, have made themſelves maſters of his perſon, had not David Gam, a Welſh captain, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their ſovereign, flown to his aſſiſtance; and all the eighteen knights ſoon fell, breathleſs, on the field; but Gam, and his two gallant countrymen, were alſo mortally wounded. Henry, to ſhew his gratitude for their generous aſſiſtance, knighted them all as they lay on the field. Having paid this generous tribute of acknowledgment to merit and loyalty, Henry darted into the thickeſt part of the battle, to revenge the late attempt againſt his life; but his ardour and impetuoſity again involved him in the moſt imminent danger. His brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who had fought by his ſide, was ſtruck to the ground, and the enemy preſſed in crowds to avail themſelves of the incident. Henry was again ſurrounded by a hoſt of foes, but he was a ſtranger to fear: he covered the body of his brother with his ſhield, and defended him with his ſword. In this ſituation he received ſo violent a blow on his helmet with a battle-axe, that he fell on his knees, and would, poſſibly, have been ſeized by the enemy, had not the duke of York advanced to his aſſiſtance, at the head of a freſh body of troops. This intimidated the enemy; they fell back, and Henry and his brother had time to recover from their alarming ſituation. Another reinforcement immediately followed that led by the duke of York; and Henry again attacked the French with ſuch fury, that they were unable to ſupport the ſhock; they fell into diſorder, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued.

The duke of Alencon, driven to deſpair at ſeeing the defeat of his diviſion, made one furious effort, determining either to retrieve the battle, or ſpare himſelf the mortification of ſurviving the diſgrace of his country. He put himſelf at the head of a choſen band of volunteers; and cutting his way to the ſpot where Henry fought in perſon, ruſhed upon the monarch, killed the duke of York by his ſide, and, with a furious ſtroke of his ſword, cleft the crown on Henry's helmet. The monarch returned the ſalutation with ſuch violence, that Alencon fell to the ground, and was immediately diſpatched by Henry's ſoldiers. The death of Alencon was attended with the total defeat of the line which he commanded.

The third line of the French were ſtill freſh and in good order: they were more numerous than the whole Engliſh army, and might have renewed the battle with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs, had they not been ſeized with a general panic. But the deſtruction of their countrymen had deprived them of all thoughts of reſiſtance, and they retired from the field of battle without having exchanged a ſingle blow with the Engliſh.

The firſt line had now rallied themſelves, and ſeemed to advance with a reſolution of making another effort for the palm of victory. At the ſame time, ſome gentlemen of Picardy having collected about ſix hundred peaſants, had fallen on the Engliſh baggage, and were deſtroying the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, on ſeeing the enemy both in his front and rear, began to entertain apprehenſions leſt his priſoners ſhould alſo join in the attempt to tear the wreath of laurel from his brow; and therefore thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death. As ſoon, however, as he perceived he had nothing to fear from the enemy, he immediately put a ſtop to the ſlaughter.

This conqueſt proved fatal to France, on account of the great number of princes and nobility either ſlain or taken priſoners. Among the former was the conſtable d'Albret, the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and Alencon, the count of Marle, and the archbiſhop of Sens. Among the priſoners, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the marſhal de Boucicaut, were the moſt remarkable. Henry was maſter of fourteen thouſand priſoners. Ten thouſand men are ſaid to have been ſlain in this battle; and as the ſlaughter fell chiefly on the cavalry, it was computed that eight thouſand of them were gentlemen. The loſs of the Engliſh was very inconſiderable: the only perſons of note that fell were the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk.

As ſoon as the battle was over, Henry ordered a public thankſgiving to be held in the Engliſh army for ſo ſignal and unexpected a victory; and after that decent tribute of gratitude was performed, he ſent for Montjoy, a French herald, who had been diſpatched from the dauphin to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead, and aſked him to whom he thought the victory belonged; the herald replied, to the Engliſh. Henry then deſired to know the name of a caſtle to which he pointed with his hand; and being told it was called the Caſtle of Agincourt, "Let this action" ſaid the king, "be hereafter known by the appellation of The Battle of Agincourt."

Notwithſtanding the great advantages Henry had thus obtained over the French, yet he attempted not to profit any farther from his victory. He purſued his route, by eaſy marches to Calais, without meeting with any obſtruction in his way. Having ſtaid here about three weeks to recruit his troops, he embarked with them for England on the 16th of November, and, after an eaſy paſſage landed the ſame evening at Dover, from whence he ſet out the next day for London, where he was received by the people with every honour due to the glory and ſucceſs of his military atchievements.

A. D. 1417, The great diſtreſs occaſioned by the battle of Agincourt was ſo far from being ſufficient to put a period to the fury of factions in France, that they continued to rage with ſtill greater violence. All the principles of honour, and all the motives of intereſt, were ſacrificed at the altars of ambition and revenge. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to reinſtate himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the goverment. Iſabella of Bavaria, the wife of the unfortunate Charles VI. deteſtable in her character, and capable of the greateſt crimes, having been baniſhed to Tours, entered into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt the dauphin, who was attached to the oppoſite party. The duke of Burgundy now entered France at the head of an army, reduced ſeveral ſtrong places, releaſed the queen from her confinement, and made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon. Paris was a ſecond time deluged with blood; and nothing but an invaſion from England was wanting to complete the ruin of that divided kingdom.

Nor was this additional ſcourge long delayed; for, on the firſt of Auguſt in the following year, Henry landed at Beville in Normandy, at the head of an army of 28,000 men. Falaiſe, Cherbourg, Evreux and Caen, ſubmitted to him, and he inveſted the city of Rouen; but the place being defended by a numerous garriſon, Henry was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade.

A. D. 1419. Several negotiations for a peace were carried on between Henry and the leaders of the French factions, but without ſucceſs. The garriſon of Rouen was now reduced to extremity by famine, and deſired to capitulate. Henry very readily liſtened to their propoſals; and it was agreed, that on paying a ſtipulated contribution, the city ſhould be preſerved from plunder.

The ſurrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the towns and fortreſſes in Upper Normandy. But a ſudden reconciliation taking place between the dauphin and the Burgundian faction, greatly contributed to diminiſh Henry's expectations of ſucceſs. This reconciliation was, however, blaſted, even in the bud. The duke and the dauphin having agreed to an interview on the bridge of Montereau, the former was there aſſaſſinated by ſome noblemen in the train of the latter. They had ſeized this opportunity of revenging the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans. The moſt dreadful conſequences followed this deſperate act. The dauphin was accuſed of the crime, becauſe it was perpetrated in his preſence, and by his moſt intimate friends. The new duke of Burgundy and the queen threatened the prince with deſtruction, and conſpired the ruin of the kingdom. Every ſentiment of honour, of patriotiſm, and even of perſonal intereſt, gave way to the tranſports of revenge.

During theſe tranſactions, Henry had made himſelf maſter of Pontoiſe and Giſors, advanced to the gates of Paris, and obliged the court to remove to Troye. His enemies, inſtead of combining againſt him, abandoned to him the kingdom.

A. D. 1420. The queen and the duke of Burgundy now made propoſals to Henry for a general peace; and the terms being agreed on, the latter, accompanied by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, repaired to Troye, where he was met by the duke of Burgundy. The imbecility into which Charles had fallen, made him incapable of ſeeing any thing, but through the eyes of thoſe who attended him; and even they ſaw every thing through the medium of their paſſions. The treaty, being already concerted among the party, was immediately drawn, ſigned, and ratified. Henry's will ſeemed to be the only law that governed the negotiation; his advantages alone were conſidered.

The principal articles of this famous treaty were: That Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catherine: That Charles, during his life, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: That Henry ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government: That the crown of France ſhould deſcend to his heirs: That France and England ſhould be for ever united under one king; but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges: That all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, both that they would adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and alſo pay him preſent obedience as regent: That Henry ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the pretended dauphin; and that thoſe princes ſhould make neither peace nor truce with him, but by common conſent and agreement.

The above treaty was alſo ratified by the parliament of Paris, who ſwore obedience to Henry, and he immediately aſſumed the reins of goverment as regent of the kingdom; a few days after which Henry's marriage was performed with the princeſs Catherine, the greateſt fortune and the fineſt woman of her age. Henry was attended on this occaſion by forty Engliſh princes and noblemen, and the royal bride and queen of France were uſhered in by the duke of Burgundy and forty of the principal nobility of France. The peace was again ſworn to by both parties, and the agreement between Henry and the duke of Burgundy was mutually renewed. The duke promiſed to obey Henry as regent of France, and heir of the crown, while Henry engaged to give up into his hands all who had any concern in the murder of his father. In ſhort, no formality, either on the part of France or England, was omitted, to give this treaty all the ſtrength, permanency and ſolemnity it was capable of receiving.

In the mean time the dauphin behaved with ſurprizing ſpirit and intrepidity. He had diſpatched the count of Vendome to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Scots, and thoſe people, wiſely conſidering that if Henry became abſolute maſter of France, Scotland would certainly be the next victim to his ambition, readily liſtened to his requeſt, and immediately ſent him a ſupply of 7000 men, under the command of the earl of Buchan. Aſſiſted by theſe forces, the dauphin made himſelf maſter of Pont de l'Eſprit and Niſmes in Languedoc; and placed ſtrong garriſons in Campeigne, Meaux, Montargis, Montereau and Malun.

The great progreſs of the dauphin alarmed Henry, who immediately reſolved on taking the field to oppoſe him. He accordingly marched againſt Sens, which ſubmitted, after a very faint oppoſition. Montereau opened its gates at the firſt ſummons, and ſeveral ſmall towns followed the example. But the reduction of Melun was attended with more difficulty. Great part of that city was encompaſſed with the river Seine, and the whole defended by a ſtrong wall, flanked with bulwarks and towers. De Barbaſon, one of the beſt officers in France, commanded the garriſon, and made a noble defence. The place was inveſted on the twelfth of July, and did not ſurrender till the eighteenth of November, when famine forced the garriſon to ſubmit; but not without capitulating for their lives; it being agreed that none of the garriſon or inhabitants ſhould be put to death, except ſuch as had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. Barbaſon himſelf was ſuſpected of being one of the aſſaſſins, and the duke of Burgundy inſiſted on his execution; but by the interceſſion of Henry his puniſhment was changed into impriſonment for life.

A. D. 1421. The complicated exigencies of affairs requiring greater ſupplies than the French ſtates were able to grant, Henry found it neceſſary to paſs over into England in order to procure a ſubſidy from the parliament. They granted his requeſt, but the ſupply was far from being equal to his wants; it was therefore fortunate for him that he had other reſources, beſides pecuniary ſupplies from his native ſubjects. The provinces he had already conquered maintained his troops; and the hopes of farther advantages allured to his ſtandard all men of ambitious ſpirits in England, ſo that in a ſhort time he raiſed a new army of 24000 archers and 4000 horſemen.

While Henry was in England, the dauphin, aſſiſted by the Scots, under the command of the earl of Buchan, defeated the duke of Clarence at Baugé in Anjou. The duke was ſlain in the battle, and the earls of Somerſet, Huntingdon and Suffolk were taken priſoners. Upwards of 1100 men fell in the action. The earl of Buchan, as a reward for his conduct and courage, was honoured with the office of conſtable of France.

When Henry was informed of theſe circumſtances, he was greatly alarmed, and immediately went over to Calais with his new-raiſed army. The dauphin, knowing it would be madneſs for him to meet the Engliſh monarch in the open field, retired beyond the Loire, and determined to act wholly on the defenſive. In the mean time Henry recovered moſt of the places he had loſt, and made himſelf maſter of Dreux, Tilliers, Nogent, Gallorders, and ſeveral other caſtles.

The garriſon of Meaux had for ſome time greatly haraſſed the inhabitants of Paris, at whoſe particular requeſt Henry inveſted the place, which was ſtrongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by one Vaurus, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf both by his courage and cruelty againſt the Engliſh. After a ſiege of ſeven months, the garriſon, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity, deſired to capitulate; their requeſt was granted, and it was agreed that all the inhabitants and ſoldiers ſhould have their lives preſerved: but that all the Engliſh, Welſh, Iriſh, and Scotch, who carried arms in the place, ſhould be entirely at the king's mercy, together with the baſtard of Vaurus, and three other officers of the garriſon. Theſe terms were agreed to, and all the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh, found among the garriſon, together with all thoſe who had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, were immediately put to death. The governor Vaurus, underwent an exemplary fate; the bravery of that officer could be exceeded by nothing but his cruelty; he uſed to hang, without any diſtinction of age or quality, all the Engliſh and Burgundians that fell into his hands: Henry, highly incenſed at ſuch a barbarous and ſhocking practice, cauſed him to be hanged on the ſame tree, which he had made the inſtrument of his inhuman executions.

A. D. 1422. The reduction of Meaux was followed by that of Campeigne, Gamaches and St. Valery; and Henry found himſelf maſter of all France on this ſide the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, and the caſtles of Guiſe and Crotoy in Picardy. To add to his ſatiſfaction, ſoon after the ſurrender of Meaux, he received advice that his queen was delivered at Windſor of a ſon, who was called by his father's name, and whoſe birth was celebrated with equal joy both in London and Paris.

But the moment was faſt approaching, in which Henry, who ſeemed now to have almoſt attained the ſummit of human grandeur, was to find his courſe ſtopped ſhort by the hand of nature, and all his mighty projects made to bow before an univerſal conqueror. He was ſuddenly ſeized with a fiſtula, which the ſurgeons at that time knew not how to cure; and it evidently appeared that his diſeaſe was mortal.

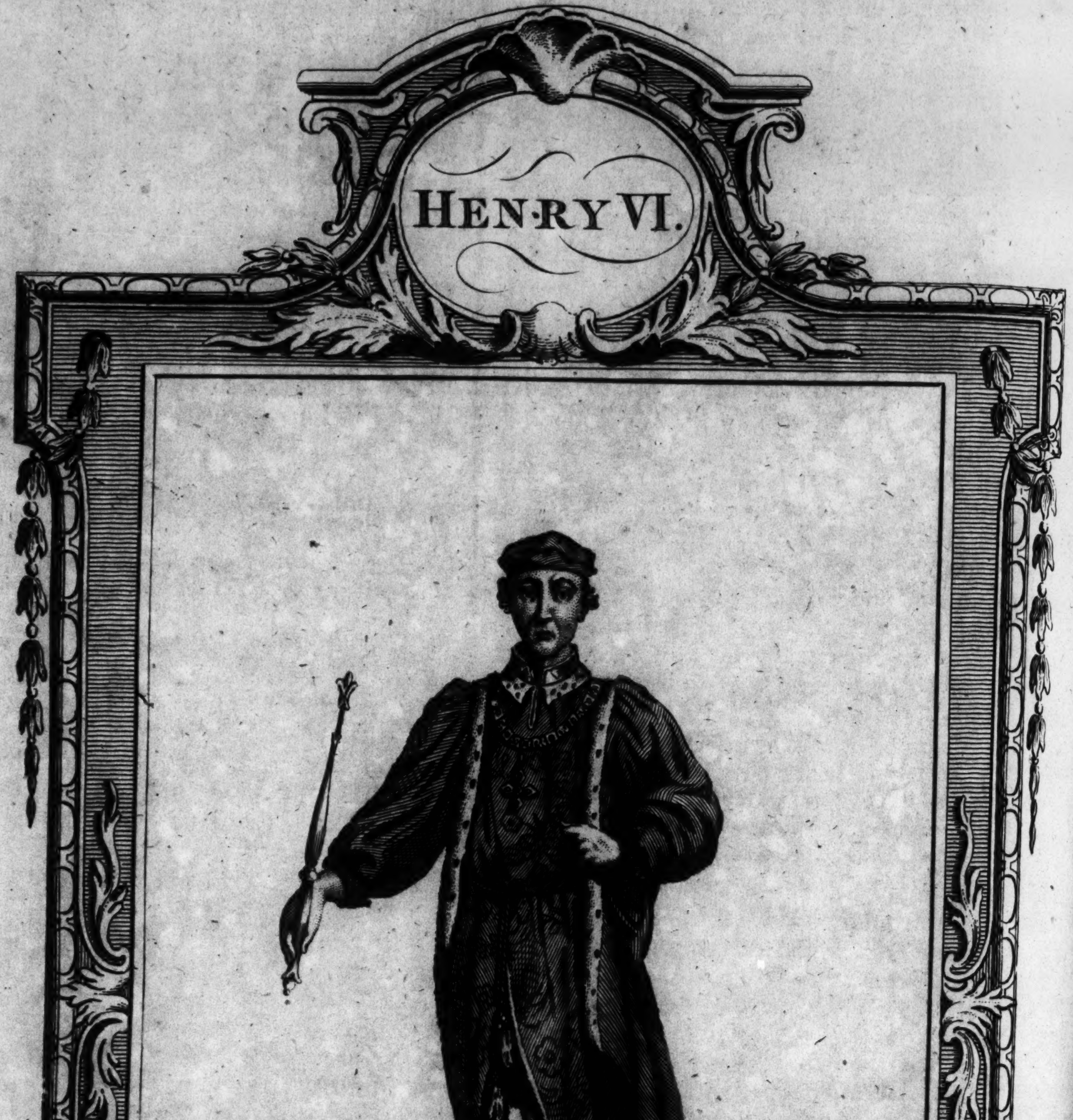
Henry, being apprized of his dangerous ſituation, ſent for his brother the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and the Engliſh nobility who happened to be near him, and delivered to them with great tranquillity his laſt inſtructions, which were to the following effect. He began with obſerving, that though his life had been ſhort, it had been replete with glory, and employed in promoting the happineſs of his people; that though his pretenſions to the crown of France had proved the deſtruction of many thouſands, yet theſe calamities ought not to be imputed to him, but to thoſe whoſe obſtinacy and injuſtice had forced him to have recourſe to arms, by refuſing to accept of a reaſonable peace: that he ſhould have beheld the approach of death without concern, had not his laſt moments been ſomewhat embittered by the reflection, that he had not been able to finiſh a war he had ſo happily begun; but hoped they would continue toward his infant ſon the ſame fidelity and attachment which they had profeſſed during his life, and which had been cemented by ſo many mutual good offices. He added, as his laſt advice, that if they found themſelves unable to place his ſon on the throne of France, they would never at leaſt make peace with that kingdom, unleſs the duchy of Normandy was for ever annexed to the crown of England; and earneſtly requeſted that they would aſſiduouſly cultivate the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy, and never give liberty to the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his ſon was of age, and able to hold the reins of government. He left the regency of France to his eldeſt brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother the duke of Glouceſter, and the care of his ſon's perſon to the earl of Warwick.

The noblemen promiſed faithfully to obey his dying commands: upon which Henry declared that he had now done with the things of this world; applied himſelf to his devotions; and ordered his chaplain to read the ſeven penitential pſalms. When the prieſt came to that paſſage in the 55th pſalm, "Build thou the walls of Jeruſalem," he interrupted him, and ſolemnly declared, that he fully intended, after reſtoring peace to France, to undertake a cruſade againſt the infidels, in order to wreſt from them the city of Jeruſalem. After making this declaration, he ordered the prieſt to proceed, and expired about the time the ſervice was finiſhed, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, in thirty-fourth year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

The royal corpſe was brought with great pomp to London, and interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, near the tomb of Edward the Confeſſor. A monument of grey marble was erected for him by his queen, and on it was placed a royal image, of ſilver gilt, which remained there till about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. The only part now left of this image is the trunk, which is of ſolid oak.

Henry V. excelled all his cotemporaries in perſonal courage and military prowеſs: he was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring the extremes of cold, hunger and fatigue, than any ſoldier in his army. He was in his manners affable, polite, generous and magnificent: he had an excellent underſtading with a clear head and ſound judgement; and had admirable talents both for the cabinet and the field. But the glare of his ſucceſſes, or the luſtre of his great qualities, will not be found ſufficient

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

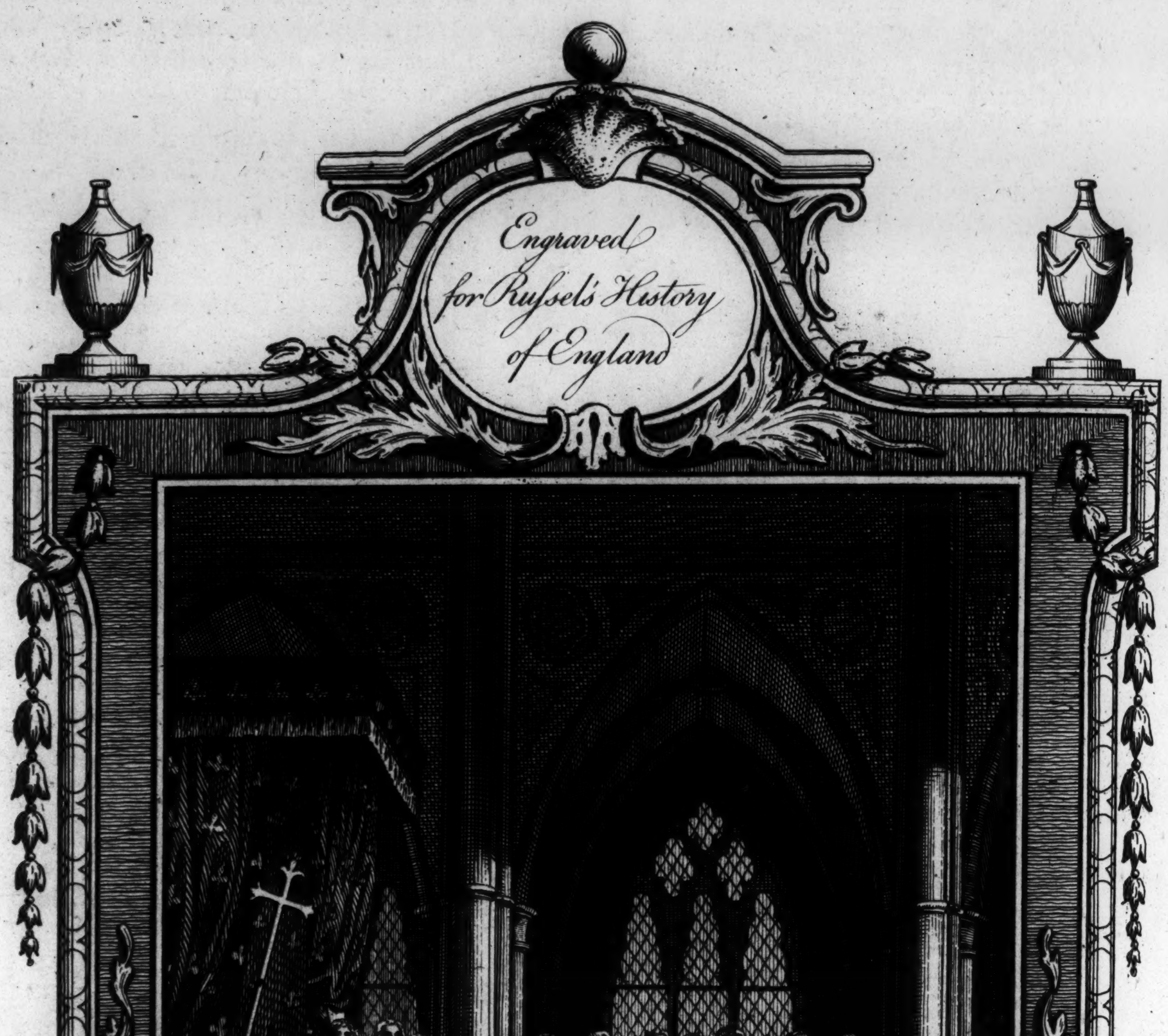


HENRY VI.

Wale delin.

Taylor sculp.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England

Wale delin.
White sculp.

HENRY VI
Crowned King of France, in the Church of Notre Dame, at
PARIS.

ent to conceal the defects in his character. He had ertainly no juſt pretenſions to the crown of France, n the purſuit of which he ſacrificed ſo many thouſand ives: and in order to remove the guilt of all this bloodſhed from his own door, he laid it at that of a eople, whom he had ſo unjuſtly invaded, and ſo ruelly oppreſſed. Truth obliges us to confeſs, that Henry gave ample teſtimony of his not being able to diſtinguiſh between the art of war and the trade of death, nor know how to join the feeling with the manly heart: and in the hour of his exit he was a ſtriking example how eaſily conſcience is brought over o eſpouſe the cauſe of any ruling paſſion; for, as we annot ſuſpect him of any diſſimulation at ſuch a uncture, we muſt ſuppoſe that he died in full conviction of having acted according to the dictates of equity; though impartial poſterity will place him among the number of thoſe warriors, whoſe ambition has ſpread ruin and devaſtation through the earth, and who ſacrifice the character of humanity to acquire that of the hero.

Henry married the princeſs Catherine, daughter of Charles VI. king of France, by whom he had only ne child, who ſucceded him on the throne. Catherine, ſoon after his death, married Sir Owen Tudor, Welſh gentleman, ſaid to have deſcended from the ntient princes of that country: ſhe bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper, the firſt of whom was created earl of Richmond, and the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, which was firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, afterwards aſcended the throne of England.

The following are the moſt remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Henry V.

On Candlemas day, in the third year of his reign, ſeven dolphins were ſeen in the river Thames, four of which were taken and preſented to the king.

The firſt commiſſion of array, which occurs in the Engliſh hiſtory, was iſſued in the courſe of this reign. The military part of the feudal ſyſtem was now entirely aboliſhed, and could no longer ſerve for the defence or ſecurity of the kingdom. For this reaſon, when Henry went to France in 1415, he empowered certain commiſſioners to take a review of all the freemen in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in conſtant readineſs to oppoſe any attempts that might be made by the enemy.

It was alſo this king that firſt inſtituted the office of Garter, king at Arms, and made ſeveral regulations relative to that order. He likewiſe appointed a new herald, by the title of Agincourt King at Arms.

SECTION III.

HENRY VI.

(The third and laſt King of the Line of Lancaſter.*)*

HENRY VI. at the time of his father's death, was only nine months old; and notwithſtanding is ſucceſſion to the throne was manifeſtly diſputable, et, from the great reputation his father acquired, nd the affections of the people to his memory, he as acknowledged king without the ſhadow of oppotion.

The parliament, which met ſoon after the death of he king, made ſeveral regulations for the good order nd government of the nation: but at the ſame time hey took ſuch meaſures as evinced that they were not nſenſible of their own authority. They paid little egard to the verbal will of their late monarch; for nſtead of appointing the earl of Warwick the guardian of his ſon's perſon, they entruſted the care of im to the biſhop of Wincheſter. They changed e name of regent into that of protector, from a erſuaſion that the latter implied leſs authority than e former. They appointed the duke of Bedford, ho was at this time in France, to that office, but ermitted the duke of Glouceſter to diſcharge the uties of it during his abſence. Nor did they think prudent to truſt this power wholly in the hands of ther; for they appointed a council, without whoſe dvice and concurrence no meaſures of importance ould be determined.

The French monarch, Charles VI. lived but two onths after the death of Henry. He was ſucceeded his ſon, who was immediately proclaimed and owned king at Poictiers by the title of Charles VII. hough he was at this time only twenty years of age, t he poſſeſſed great penetration, addreſs and couge: his manners were mild and engaging; and hen he aſſumed the ſovereign power, it was performed with ſuch an air of modeſty, that the people re convinced he was leſs ſenſible of his own dignity, than of their diſtreſſed circumſtances. In ſhort, he appeared likely to gain over to his cauſe a great number of partiſans, and to recover that affection from the French which had been loſt during the reign of his father.

On the other hand the duke of Bedford purſued every meaſure that had the leaſt tendency towards ſtrengthening and ſupporting the intereſt of his royal nephew. Young Henry was proclaimed king of France at Paris; the arms of both nations were impreſſed on all ſeals and devices; and the whole French nobility, who adhered to the Engliſh or Burgundian party, ſwore allegiance to the new government.

A. D. 1423. While the duke of Bedford was thus taking every neceſſary precaution to ſerve the intereſt of the king his nephew, Charles was no leſs intent to his. Though he was reduced to a low ebb of fortune, yet he was ſtill maſter of ſeveral capital places; and his power was the more reſpectable from his officers and miniſters being men of great ability and integrity.

The duke of Bedford, finding Charles's intereſt increaſe, and fearful of the conſequences, ſent over to England for a reinforcement of troops, which were accordingly ſent him by the duke of Glouceſter. He alſo took care to ſtrengthen his alliance with the dukes of Burgundy and Britany; with the former of whom he added private, to political intereſt, by marrying one of his ſiſters.

The young French monarch was determined to uſe his utmoſt efforts in regaining his natural rights; and the firſt conqueſts he made were the towns of Ferte-Milon, and Meulon on the Seine, both of which he took by ſurprize.

As this laſt place lay in the neighbourhood of

Paris, Bedford looked upon the reduction of it as an inſult offered to his arms, and therefore reſolved to retake it at all events. Accordingly he formed the ſiege of it, accompanied by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, the lords Scales and Poynings, Sir John Faſtolf, and others of his beſt officers. The garriſon for ſome time oppoſed the beſiegers, but finding themſelves too weak, and being diſappointed of receiving a reinforcement from Charles, as was expected, they delivered up the place; the ſurrender of which was followed by that of the fortreſſes of Marcouſſi, Montleri, la Ferté, Milan, and ſeveral others of leſs note.

Among other meaſures concerted by the miniſtry of England for ſtrenghening the intereſt of Henry in France, it was determined to releaſe James king of Scotland, who was ſtill a priſoner in London. Previous to the execution of this matter, however, they ſent advice of their intentions to the duke of Bedford, who highly approved of it, imagining that much might be expected from James's friendſhip when laid under this obligation for his crown and liberty. Accordingly conferences were opened at the city of York in the beginning of September, when the commiſſioners of both nations ſigned a truce for ſeven years, by which James engaged to recall his troops as ſoon as poſſible from the French ſervice. Thus was the Scotch monarch, after a captivity of ſeventeen years, reſtored to his crown and kingdom.

A. D. 1424. Whilſt the king of Scotland's liberty was negotiating in England, the war was continued in France with various ſucceſs. At one time fortune was favourable to the French, and at another to the Engliſh; places were taken and retaken ſucceſſively, without any remarkable advantage. Charles, however, rather gained the advantage, and his ſtrength was increaſed by the aſſiſtance he received from the duke of Milan, who ſent him a reinforcement of a thouſand men at arms and five hundred lances: but his chief reliance was upon the Scottiſh auxiliaries, whom he called guardians, and of whom he had now no leſs than 15,000 in his ſervice. The earl of Buchan was already created conſtable of France, and Charles now conferred the title of earl of Evreaux on General Stuart, and that of duke of Terouranne on the earl of Douglas, who was eſteemed one of the greateſt generals of Europe.

In the month of June this year the duke of Bedford received advice that one of Charles's partiſans had reduced Ivri on the frontiers of Picardy. As this was a place of very conſiderable importance, Bedford determined, if poſſible to regain it, and accordingly marched at the head of his army, and inveſted the place. The governor, perceiving that it would be impoſſible to defend the town for any length of time, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by a certain day. This propoſal was accepted, and no army appearing within the limited time, the place was delivered up to the beſiegers.

Charles, however, had not neglected the neceſſary means of endeavouring to ſuccour a place of ſo much importance. He had diſpatched the earl of Buchan, aſſiſted by the earl of Douglas and ſeveral French noblemen, at the head of a detachment of 20,000 men, being the flower of his whole army, to relieve Ivri; but before they reached the neighbourhood of that place, the term had been for ſome days expired, and the town was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

The earl of Buchan, finding it impoſſible to retake the place, led his army to Vernueil, which the inhabitants delivered up to him in ſpite of the garriſon. The duke of Bedford, anxious to make the beſt uſe of his time, immediately followed him at the head of 15,000 men; and on his arrival near the camp of the enemy, under the walls of Vernueil, he took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſpot of ground, flanked by a hill, on which he poſted a body of two thouſand archers, and furniſhed all his infantry with ſharp ſtakes, like thoſe uſed with ſo much ſucceſs at the battle of Agincourt, to check the fury of the French cavalry. The earl of Douglas having ſurveyed the poſition of the Engliſh camp, declared that, in his opinion, the French army ſhould ſtand upon the defence, and not begin the battle, as the enemy had choſen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great diſadvantage. This prudent advice, which was ſeconded by the conſtable, and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viſcount of Narbonne, a headſtrong, imprudent man, as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in expreſs terms, with puſillanimity, and of diſhonouring, by their meanneſs, the arms of France. No anſwer was, however, made to his invective, which ſo highly exaſperated him, that, ſnatching up one of the ſtandards of the diviſion, he exclaimed, "Let all who love their ſovereign follow me;" and ruſhing immediately out of the line, he advanced to the charge with the moſt irregular impetuoſity. Douglas and the conſtable ſeeing the confuſion that now prevailed in their army, and finding their authority deſpiſed, determined to periſh like ſoldiers in the inevitable deſtruction which they knew muſt be the conſequence of this headſtrong raſhneſs.

The duke of Bedford had given orders for all his cavalry to diſmount, and to place their horſes in the rear of the army, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army. The attack, though made in the utmoſt diſorder, was ſo furious, that a body of the French horſe on the right wing broke the oppoſite wing of the Engliſh, and advanced to the barricade which ſurrounded their horſes, and behind which a body of archers were placed. Theſe received them with ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, as obliged them to fall back. At the ſame time the party, who were poſted on the hill, ſo galled thoſe who were marching up in another line, that they fled with great precipitation. This gave the body of reſerve an opportunity of forming themſelves, and marching to the ſupport of the main body where the fight had continued for three hours with great obſtinacy, without any perceiveable advantage; but this ſeaſonable reinforcement turned the ſcale of victory in favour of the Engliſh. The French horſe were driven back upon their foot by the arrows of the Engliſh, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Douglas and the conſtable perceiving the total rout of their army inevitable, and determined not to ſurvive the diſgrace, ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the battle, and fell among a heap of foes. Beſides theſe two great generals, the headſtrong Narbonne, the ſon of the earl of Douglas, and the counts Aumale, Ventadour, and de Tonnerre, the lords Grandville, Manni, Gamaches, and Guitri, with many other perſons of diſtinction, periſhed in the action. The duke of Alencon, the marſhal de la Fayette, the lords of Goucour and Mortemar, were taken priſoners. About four thouſand French, and ſixteen hundred of the Engliſh, were ſlain on the field of battle.

The day after this victory Vernueil ſurrendered to the conquerors; and there being no longer any arm to oppoſe the Engliſh in the field, they made themſelves maſters of the ſtrong fortreſſes of Rambouill Vitry en Patrois, la Ferre Bernard, and ſeveral oth places in the neighbourhood.

But, while the affairs of the Engliſh were ſo proſperous, that it ſeemed beyond the power of hum courage to check them; and while thoſe of Charl were ſo depreſſed, that it ſeemed above the reach human policy to ſupport them, fortune, or rath

Providen

Providence, threw an incident in the way which gave the latter ſome reſpite. Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault, animated by a violent antipathy to her huſband, the duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy, determined to diſſolve her marriage, where nothing but the ceremony had probably as yet intervened. She was a princeſs of a maſculine ſpirit, and uncommon underſtanding; and her huſband of a ſickly conſtitution, and weak intellects. She, however, knew her huſband's family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from diſſolving the marriage; and, therefore, in order to effect her purpoſe with more facility, ſhe made her eſcape to England, and put herſelf under the protection of the duke of Glouceſter, who being enamoured of her perſon and fortune, ventured to marry her without waiting for the papal diſpenſation.

Glouceſter was endowed with many noble qualities, but at the ſame time of an impetuous temper, and very paſſionate. He conſidered not the conſequences of an action he was determined to perform. Soon after his marriage, he repaired into the Low Countries, to take poſſeſſion of his wife's dominions. The duke of Burgundy exclaimed loudly againſt this conduct; and conſidering himſelf as inſulted by it, marched in perſon to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Brabant. A ſharp war was now kindled in the Low Countries. The labours of the duke of Bedford to reſtrain the impetuous temper of his brother were in vain; nor was he able to ſoften the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy. He now found it would be uſeleſs to puſh the conſequences of his victory at Vernueil, and therefore took a journey to England, where the departure of his brother had excited troubles in the adminiſtration.

This ceſſation of hoſtilities gave Charles leiſure to recover from his defeat. He laboured aſſiduouſly to gain the friendſhip of the princes of the blood, whoſe revolt had almoſt occaſioned the total ruin of the monarchy. The duke of Burgundy was diſguſted with the Engliſh, but he had not yet overcome his hatred to Charles; the murder of his father ſtill filled his breaſt with reſentment. The duke of Britany had received no ſuch injury, and therefore liſtened to the propoſals made by Charles for an accommodation; and the count of Richemont accepted of the dignity of conſtable. That great general, who was an excellent ſubject, but a bad courtier, had been diſgraced for the violence he exerciſed againſt the miniſters and favourites of Charles; but he ſoon regained, by his ſervices, the favour and friendſhip of his ſovereign.

A. D. 1426. The duke of Bedford, irritated at the defection of the duke of Britany, declared war in form againſt the Britons. The earl of Warwick immediately took the field; and laying ſiege to Pont Orſon, carried the town by aſſault. He afterwards took and fortified Beauvron, where he fixed his head quarters, and thence extended his ravages over the adjacent country, to the very gates of Rennes.

The conſtable Richemont exerted all his power to raiſe a ſufficient number of troops to put a ſtop to theſe incurſions, and was fortunate enough to ſucceed. He ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men, and marched immediately againſt the enemy. Warwick, whoſe whole corps did not amount to more than eight thouſand, ſhut himſelf up in Beauvron. The conſtable immediately inveſted the town, and propoſed to reduce it by famine. But Giac, prime miniſter to Charles, and who hated the conſtable, neglected to ſend him the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money, ſo that Richemont deſpaired of being able to effect his purpoſe; but, exaſperated to find himſelf baffled in his firſt attempt, he raſhly reſolved to make a general aſſault. The garriſon behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity; the beſiegers were every where beaten off; and Warwick, perceiving a great diſorder in the ranks of the enemy, ſallied out, and falling upon their rear, put them to flight with great ſlaughter.

This conqueſt, added to the diſſentions which prevailed in Charles's councils, encouraged the earl of Warwick to undertake the ſiege of Montargis, as a place of the utmoſt importance for facilitating Bedford's intention of carrying on the war beyond the Loire. He therefore inveſted the town, and ſoon reduced the garriſon to the laſt exremity. The baſtard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois, reſolved to march to the relief of Montargis. Accordingly, he advanced at the head of no more than ſixteen hundred men, and attacked the Engliſh camp with ſo much fury, that the earl of Warwick, who knew nothing of his approach, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

A. D. 1427. In the beginning of this year the duke of Bedford, having ſettled his affairs in England, returned to France; and after forming a numerous army on the frontiers of Britany, fell ſo unexpectedly into that province, that nothing could reſiſt his progreſs. All the attempts of the duke of Britany were in vain; ſo that after ſeeing the greater part of his territories waſted with fire and ſword, he deſired an interview with Bedford; and a treaty was ſigned between them, by which the duke of Britany not only returned to his former engagements with the Engliſh, but alſo ſigned the treaty of Troye, acknowledging the duke of Bedford regent of France, and engaging to do homage for his duchy of Britany to the king of England.

A. D. 1428. Soon after the duke had accompliſhed this treaty, the earl of Saliſbury arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement from England, and the earl of Warwick paſſed over to that kingdom in order to take upon himſelf the education of the young king. On receiving this reinforcement, the regent reſolved on an undertaking, which if ſucceſsful, promiſed fair to open the way for the conqueſt of France. This was the ſiege of Orleans, a ſtrong city ſituated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and thoſe poſſeſſed by Charles, and opened an eaſy entrance to either.

The conduct of this ſiege was committed to the earl of Saliſbury, one of the moſt courageous and experienced generals of the age. He marched from Paris about the latter end of July, at the head of an army of 16,000 men, aſſiſted by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, Sir John Faſtolf, and other excellent officers. He immediately advanced through the country of Beauſſe, and made himſelf maſter of all the towns that lay in his route to Orleans.

As the proceedings of the Engliſh ſufficiently indicated their intentions of beſieging Orleans, every neceſſary precaution was taken for its defence. This important city was commanded by the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and experience, and inviolably attached to the family of Orleans. Many other officers of diſtinction threw themſelves into the place. The troops that formed the garriſon were all veterans, and long familiar with danger. The citizens themſelves had acquired the military turn, ſo common in that age, and were therefore extremely well qualified to aſſiſt the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raiſed, the old ones repaired, and the greater part of the buildings in the ſuburbs pulled down, that they might not be uſed by the Engliſh in carrying on the ſiege.

The firſt attack of the Engliſh was againſt a bulwark erected to cover the caſtle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The artillery ſoon demoliſhed the parapets, and made a breach ſufficiently large for ſtorming it. The French, however, ſenſible of the importance of the place, defended it with ſuch courage that the Engliſh were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. But this repulſe ſerved only to increaſe the ardour of the beſiegers; they continued battering the bulwark with ſuch fury, that it was ſoon abandoned by the French, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it without any farther oppoſition. Forts were now erected both above and below the bridge, for battering the city. But ſtill the place was inveſted only on one ſide; that towards the Beauſſe was entirely open; and the baſtard of Orleans found means to throw himſelf into the city at the head of eight hundred men. It was eaſily perceived, that while the city could be ſupplied with troops and proviſions, it would be impoſſible to reduce it. The earl of Saliſbury, therefore, ordered ſixty ſmall forts or redoubts to be built at proper diſtances round the city; but while he was pointing out the proper ſpots where they ſhould be erected, a ſtone diſcharged from a cannon in the place put a period to his life. The death of this great man was an irreparable loſs to the Engliſh, and greatly damped the alacrity of the ſoldiers in the progreſs of the ſiege.

The command of the Engliſh army now devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who, aſſiſted by the famous Talbot, one of the greateſt captains of that age, puſhed the ſiege with unremitting vigour. Sallies were frequently made by the garriſon, and the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour were performed both by the beſiegers and the beſieged.

A. D. 1429. After more than three months had been ſpent in continual ſallies and engagements, the duke of Bedford ordered a convoy to ſet out from Paris with ſalt-fiſh, herrings, and other proviſions of a ſimilar kind, for the uſe of the beſiegers during the Lent. This convoy was eſcorted by a guard of ſeventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Faſtolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had advanced to Chinon, a town in Touraine, about twenty leagues diſtant from Orleans, receiving intelligence of the march of this convoy, ſent the count de Clermont, at the head of three thouſand men, to attack the Engliſh in their route. The count came up with the convoy at Rouvrai St. Denis on the twelfth of February. Faſtolf, apprized of his approach, and knowing himſelf too weak to ſuſtain the impetuous ſhock of the French in the open field, drew up his men behind a barricado of his waggons, and in this poſition received the firſt ſhock of the French, which was made with their uſual fury; but they were not able to force the temporary fortification. At the ſame time they met with ſo warm a reception, that they were thrown into confuſion. Faſtolf perceiving his advantage, ſallied from his barricado, and routed the enemy with prodigious ſlaughter. In this action, generally called The Battle of the Herrings, one hundred and twenty French noblemen and perſons of diſtinction loſt their lives, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers. The count de Dunois, having received notice of the count of Clermont's march, found means to eſcape from Orleans, and advanced to ſupport him at the head of a body of veterans; but he arrived too late. He, however, ſecured his retreat; and the convoy reached the Engliſh camp, without meeting with any farther interruption.

When the French court were informed of this defeat they were greatly alarmed; and an offer was immediately made that Orleans ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy. But Bedford rejected the propoſal with indignation; and obſerved, "That he was not in an humour to beat the buſhes while others ran away with the game." This ſarcaſm ſo diſguſted the duke of Burgundy, that he recalled all his troops from the ſervice of the Engliſh.

But notwithſtanding this defection, the place was every day more cloſely inveſted by the enemy. The utmoſt ſcarcity prevailed in the city; and Charles, deſpairing of ſucceſs, formed the inglorious reſolution of retiring into Dauphine. But he was prevented from carrying this deſign into execution by the remonſtrances of his queen, who inſpired his mind with ſuch different ſentiments, that he determined to conquer or periſh. At this dangerous criſis, when the reſtoration of his affairs ſeemed almoſt impoſſible, he unexpectedly received aſſiſtance from the daughter of a peaſant, who laid the foundation of one of the moſt remarkable revolutions recorded in hiſtory.

The name of this heroine was Joan d'Arc, afterwards much better known by the name of the Maid of Orleans. She was born at the village of Dom. Remi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of the Lorraine. At this time ſhe was about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable character, and had not hitherto been remarked for any ſingularity. She, indeed, poſſeſſed a genius ſuperior to moſt in her claſs of life, and had been wholly employed in country buſineſs. A continual recital of the calamities of France had made ſo great an impreſſion on her imagination, that loſing ſight of every other object, and abandoning herſelf to the tranſports of enthuſiaſm, ſhe fancied that ſhe heard heavenly voices, and doubted not but ſhe was called upon by the Deity to undertake the defence of the kingdom. She communicated her viſions to the governor of Vaucouleurs, who at firſt treated her with neglect; but her frequent returns prevailed upon him to ſend her to the king. She ſupported before the court the character of an inſpired perſon with an aſtoniſhing candour and firmneſs. An aſſembly of divines, and the parliament of Poictiers, who examined her on the ſubject of her miſſion, pronounced that there was ſomething ſupernatural in her. It was an object of policy to make her caſe be conſidered as miraculous; but in an age devoted to ſuperſtition, admiration and wonder, it was hardly neceſſary to employ art to effect this purpoſe. Her enthuſiaſm, therefore, joined to the extraordinary qualities ſhe poſſeſſed, could not fail of making lively impreſſions on the vulgar. She promiſed to deliver Orleans, and conduct Charles to Rheims, that he might be crowned in that city; and at the ſame time wrote a letter to the duke of Bedford, commanding him, in the name of God, to raiſe the ſiege, and evacuate France.

Every method was taken to publiſh the predictions of the Maid of Orleans, and which were believed with the moſt implicit faith. She had demanded of the king, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword which was preſerved in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen, it was ſaid ſhe deſcribed with ſo many particular circumſtances, as plainly proved her ſupernatural knowledge. The Engliſh affected to ſpeak of her with deriſion; but were ſtruck with the opinion which every where prevailed of her heavenly miſſion. The French troops gave credit to all her predictions, and ſo prepoſſeſſed themſelves with an aſſurance of victory, that they were ready to attempt the moſt daring actions.

Every thing being prepared, it was determined to try the force of this extraordinary engine on the enemy. She was accordingly armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a fine horſe richly capariſoned. The ſword of St. Catherine was ſent for, and delivered to her with great formality. It was reſolved to ſend this inſpired leader with a large convoy of proviſions and ammunition to the beſieged, who were by this time reduced to the laſt extremity. Joan accordingly marched at the head of twelve thouſand choſen men deſtined to eſcort the convoy, with a conſecrated banner in her hand. She was aſſiſted by the lords of Gaucourt, Ray, and St. Severe, the admiral Crevant, and other excellent officers. The garriſon of Orleans were informed of the deſign, and a great number of boats were prepared to carry the convoy over the Loire. As ſoon as the maid appeared on the ſide of Sologne, the count de Dunois made a vigorous ſally on the Engliſh on the ſide of Beaſſe, to prevent their ſending troops to the other ſide of the river, while the boats were loading with the proviſions and ammunition deſtined to the town. The Engliſh on that ſide were too weak to encounter ſo ſtrong an eſcorte; and their inaction being conſidered by the French as the effect of terror imprinted on their minds by heaven, to facilitate the enterprize of the Maid of Orleans, they fell upon them with ſuch enthuſiaſtic fury, that they were defeated, after a long reſiſtance, and the convoy paſſed into Orleans. A natural event ſerved alſo to increaſe the ſuperſtition of the French. During the time of the action, there happened a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightening, and hail. This it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, was conſidered as the voice of heaven declaring in their favour. Had the attempt miſcarried, it would, in all probability, have been interpreted in an oppoſite ſenſe.

Joan was received into Orleans as a tutelar angel, and the whole ſucceſs attributed to her: her preſence diſpelled every thought of danger. The garriſon believed themſelves invincible under her ſacred influence, and the frequent and ſucceſsful ſallies which they made, completed the conſternation of the enemy. The Engliſh were obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire, after having ſtood it out for upwards of ſeven months.

This ſucceſs animated the deſpairing Charles, who now ſuffered his army to take the field. At the ſame time the Engliſh, by a ſtrange miſtake, after raiſing the ſiege of Orleans, inſtead of keeping their forces in a body to act powerfully againſt the enemy, diſtributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had ſubdued when they firſt paſſed that river. Being thus ſeparated, the French met with little reſiſtance in the places they attempted. The Maid of Orleans ſtill headed their troops; and whereever ſhe appeared, the Engliſh were ſtruck with a panic, while the French believed themſelves ſupported by an inviſible hand. Gargeau, a ſmall fortreſs, into which the earl of Suffolk had been ſo imprudent as to throw himſelf, with four hundred men only, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and the earl himſelf was taken priſoner. Meulan ſuffered the ſame fate, with many other towns and caſtles garriſoned by the Engliſh.

After the captivity of the earl of Suffolk, the command of the Engliſh army was given to lord Talbot, who found that his whole force did not exceed 6,000 men. He therefore endeavoured to avoid an engagement with the enemy, who were at leaſt double that number. But being overtaken at Patay, a battle became inevitable; and the event was what might be expected from a handful of men oppreſſed by the power of ſuperſtitious prepoſſeſſion. They were totally defeated: above two thouſand fell in the action, and about two hundred were taken priſoners; among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, Sir Thomas Rempſton, and ſeveral other very conſiderable officers.

The Maid of Orleans had now performed one part of her promiſe, the relief of that city; but the other and more difficult taſk, remained ſtill to be executed, the crowning of Charles at Rheims. Before this could be done, it was neceſſary to paſs over a large track of country occupied by the Engliſh; an enterprize that was raſh, and, perhaps, impracticable in any other conjuncture than the preſent. Charles, who had hitherto never expoſed his perſon, allowed himſelf to be carried away by the torrent of his ſucceſs, and the inſtigation of the Maid of Orleans. This interval of enthuſiaſm ſecured his victories. Without proviſions, without reſources, he marched at the head of twelve thouſand men, through the midſt of his enemies. Troye and Chalons opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims drove out the Engliſh garriſon, and ſent him the keys of their city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed in preſence of the Maid of Orleans, who attended with her conſecrated banner in her hand. Charles now appeared more venerable in the eyes of his ſubjects. Numbers immediately joined him; they returned from their prepoſſeſſions and errors, and conceived the utmoſt averſion to the ſhameful yoke of ſlavery they had ſo long endured.

The Maid of Orleans conſidering her commiſſion as accompliſhed, was ſolicitous to return to the place of her nativity, affirming that ſhe had now accompliſhed the deſign of her miſſion; but her influence was ſo great over the troops, that the count de Dunois prevailed on her to continue in the army till the Engliſh ſhould be intirely driven out of the country.

The duke of Bedford, during this reverſe of fortune, acted with the moſt conſummate prudence. He retained Paris in ſubjection by his vigilance and ſeverity. He alſo renewed his alliance with the duke of Burgundy; and being joined by five thouſand men, which the biſhop of Wincheſter was conducting on a cruſade againſt the Huſſites, he was once more in a condition of taking the field againſt the French, and checking their rapid ſucceſs.

When Bedford had advanced as far as Montereau, on the Yonne, he ſent a herald to Charles, offering to give him battle in any indifferent place he ſhould name, in order to put a final period to the war by a general engagement. But Charles, who had learned wiſdom in the ſchool of adverſity, refuſed to hazard his crown on the uncertain event of a battle. Bedford, therefore, returned into the Iſle of France in order, by his preſence, to prevent the towns from revolting, and to preſerve the intereſt of the French nobility, who having ſerved as volunteers at their own expence, were now heartily tired of this tedious campaign.

A. D. 1430. The Engliſh parliament having determined to ſend young Henry into France, in order to his being crowned at Paris, he embarked at Dover with a ſplendid retinue, and landed at Calais on the nineteenth of May. But the army of Charles being then in the neighbourhood of Paris, it was thought prudent to carry the young king to Rouen, till the enemy was removed farther from the capital: and in order to effect that deſign, Bedford laboured aſſiduouſly to induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour than he had done ſince he recalled his troops from the ſiege of Orleans. Accordingly he ceded to him all the places the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Champagne and Brie; and the duke immediately entered France at the head of a powerful army. He reduced Troye and Soiſſons; and being joined by the earls of Suffolk and Arundel, he inveſted Compeigne. The garriſon was commanded by Flavi, a brave and experienced officer, and ſo well provided as to be able to make a long and vigorous reſiſtance.

On the firſt news of this enterprize, the Maid of Orleans, and Xaintrailles, a celebrated general, threw themſelves into the place, which gave freſh ſpirits to the garriſon. The next day Joan, at the head of a conſiderable party, made ſo deſperate a ſally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, the Burgundian general, that he was driven from his poſt. The fury of that enthuſiaſtic leader carried her too far. Her retreat was cut off; and, after making the moſt deſperate reſiſtance, ſhe was taken priſoner by the baſtard of Vendome, who immediately delivered her up to the Burgundian general.

The captivity of the Maid of Orleans was thought equal to a deciſive victory. Te Deum was publicly ſung at Paris, and Bedford obtained from the duke of Burgundy the cuſtody of that extraordinary woman. The garriſon of Compeigne, however, continued to make a noble defence, and a large detachment arriving from Charles's army, the Engliſh were obliged to abandon the ſiege.

While theſe things were tranſacting, young Henry continued at Rouen; but it was now determined to perform the ceremony of his coronation. He accordingly repaired to Paris, attended by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a ſplendid train of the nobility of both nations. Sunday, the ſeventeenth of December, was appointed for the ceremony, which was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, in the church of Notre Dame; where the cardinal of Wincheſter placed the crown on the head of Henry, and the nobility ſwore allegiance to him.

A. D. 1431. Notwithſtanding the conduct of the Maid of Orleans had been irreproachable, and ſhe was certainly entitled to be treated as a priſoner of war, yet it was determined to try her as a ſorcereſs and impoſtor. Religion was to be intereſted in this act of oppreſſion. The biſhop of Beauvais, in whoſe dioceſe Joan was taken priſoner, demanded that ſhe ſhould be tried before an eccleſiaſtical court, affirming her guilty of hereſy and magic. The univerſity of Paris (a body appointed for the inſtruction of mankind) weakly ſupported the abſurd requeſt of the prelate; and ſeveral clergymen of rank, among whom was the cardinal of Wincheſter, were ſelected to paſs ſentence upon her. She appeared before the court in her military apparel, but loaded with irons. During four months they haraſſed her with captious queſtions, which ſhe anſwered with wonderful art and intrepidity; ſhe was not intimidated though before a tribunal of eccleſiaſtics, whoſe perſons ſhe had been always taught to revere. She boldly avowed the deſigns ſhe had formed againſt the Engliſh; ſhe told them, with an air of confidence, that it would not be long before they were driven out of France. Being interrogated about her pretended revelations, and whether ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of the church with regard to their being real? ſhe only anſwered, "That ſhe was certain they came from heaven, to whoſe judgment ſhe would leave the deciſion; determined not to give them up to any other authority, even though the church ſhould declare them illuſions." When aſked, Why ſhe aſſiſted with a conſecrated banner in her hand, at the coronation of Charles, "It is but juſt," ſaid ſhe, "that the perſon who had ſhared in the danger of the enterprize, ſhould alſo partake of the glory." She, however, ſoon perceived ſhe had gone too far, in refuſing to ſubmit to the deciſion of the church; ſhe appealed to the pope; declared herſelf willing to recant; and acknowledged the illuſion of thoſe revelations which the church had rejected. In conſequence of this recantation, ſhe was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, and to be fed on bread and water only during the remainder of her life.

Though this ſentence was certainly very ſevere, yet it was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of Joan's enemies. Enough had indeed been done to convince both the French and the Engliſh, that the opinion of divine influence, which had ſo much encouraged the one and daunted the other, was wholly without foundation. Had they ſtopped here, their proceedings might have been vindicated upon political reaſons; but her death was determined. Suſpecting that the female dreſs, which ſhe had ſince her ſentence conſented to wear, was not agreeable to her, they purpoſely placed in her apartment a ſuit of men's apparel, and watched the effect of that temptation. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. Joan, at the ſight of a dreſs in which ſhe had acquired ſo much honour, and which ſhe once believed ſhe wore by the appointment of heaven, revived all her former enthuſiaſtic notions: ſhe ventured in her ſolitude to clothe herſelf again in the forbidden garment. Her inſidious enemies caught her in that ſituation: her fault was interpreted to be nothing leſs than a relapſe into hereſy: no recantation would now ſuffice, and no pardon could now be granted her. She was delivered over to the civil magiſtrate, on pretence of hereſy and magic, who immediately ſentenced her to death, and ſhe was burnt alive in a ſlow fire, in the market-place of Rouen.— Such was the end of the famous Maid of Orleans, whoſe actions had ſtruck the Engliſh with terror, and had ſaved her country from impending deſtruction.

A. D. 1432. Young Henry had, ſoon after his coronation at Paris, retired to Rouen, where he ſtill continued; but thinking it moſt adviſeable to return to England, he accordingly embarked, and arrived ſafe at Dover about the middle of February; from whence he proceeded to London, and was received by his Engliſh ſubjects with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy.

A. D. 1433. The Engliſh had flattered themſelves that by the death of the Maid of Orleans, they ſhould be able to recover the advantages they had loſt through her means: but they were ſtill unfortunate; and their affairs grew every day worſe and worſe. In this alarming criſis an event happened which gave a fatal blow to their future hopes and expectations. The dutcheſs of Bedford, ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the church of the Celeſtines at Paris. This unfortunate event diſſolved the connection that had hitherto ſubſiſted between the two dukes; and the marriage of Bedford, about four months after her death, with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, occaſioned a breach between them that was never after repaired.

A. D. 1434. Philip, duke of Burgundy, now ſhewed himſelf no leſs inveterate againſt Bedford than he had hitherto appeared in friendſhip with him. He had for ſome time ſeen his error, and began to repent of the wounds he had given to his country, and of the injury he had done to himſelf, by placing its crown upon the head of a foreigner. Time, reflection, and the public calamities, made an impreſſion upon his heart, which was naturally diſpoſed to generoſity, and weakened that ardent deſire of revenge, which had armed him againſt his ſovereign. Charles diſavowed the aſſaſſination of the duke's father; offered all the ſatisfaction and atonement that could be deſired of him, and baniſhed Tannegui du Chatel, the murderer of that prince, from his court. This proof of his deſire to remove every difficulty which might oppoſe a reconciliation had the deſired effect: a congreſs was appointed at Arras, under the mediation of the pope and the council of Baſle. The French offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to the Engliſh, but on condition of doing homage to Charles, conformable to the antient cuſtom. This offer was rejected with diſdain, and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries departed immediately from the congreſs. Nothing now remained but to diſcuſs the pretenſions of Charles and Philip; and this was ſoon performed, becauſe the vaſſal was in a capacity of giving law to his ſovereign. It was ſtipulated that Philip ſhould receive reparations and acknowledgements for the murder of his father; that Charles ſhould cede to him all the towns of Picardy ſituated between the Somme and the Low Countries,

tries, and ſeveral other territories, which, as well as thoſe in poſſeſſion of Philip, ſhould be held, during his life, without doing any homage, or ſwearing any fealty to the preſent king. At the ſame time Charles releaſed his ſubjects from all obligations to allegiance if he ever infringed this treaty. So diſhonourable were the conditions, by which France purchaſed the friendſhip of the duke of Burgundy.

A. D. 1436. In the beginning of this year, the duke of Bedford paid the debt of nature at Rouen. He was juſtly eſteemed one of the greateſt perſons of the age; and it is difficult to ſay whether he ſhone moſt in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater general or politician, and whether he was moſt eſteemed for his valour, his equity, or his moderation.

The death of the duke of Bedford greatly encreaſed the misfortunes of the Engliſh in France, and gave Charles every advantage he could wiſh for extending his conqueſts; and ſuch parties were formed in the Engliſh council, that it was ſeven months before the commiſſion of the duke of York, who was appointed regent of France, paſſed the ſeals. The French monarch wiſely improved every moment, and made a rapid progreſs in eſtabliſhing his authority, which he had nearly effected when the duke of York arrived. The capital had been ſome time reduced, ſo that the territories of the Engliſh now chiefly conſiſted of Guienne and Normandy.

A. D. 1437. This year the duke of Burgundy attempted to reduce Calais with an army of fifty thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city. The Flemings, who were then much more famous for manufacture than war, vainly imagined that the appearance of their numerous army would be ſufficient to intimidate the garriſon, and the gates would be opened at their approach. They were deceived. The garriſon, inſtead of being intimidated, dreadfully haraſſed their camp, with ſucceſsful ſallies. In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, landed at Calais, and ſent a herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. Philip accepted his challenge: but his Flemings had ſo ſeverely felt the effects of the valour of the Engliſh, that they could not be prevailed upon to meet them in the open field; they quitted their camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing that the garriſon of Calais might take advantage of this confuſion in his army, drew up his regular troops to ſecure his retreat, and retired in good order to Gravelines, leaving behind him all his baggage and artillery.

The duke of Glouceſter, determining to revenge the inſult of the duke of Burgundy, led his army into Artois, and after laying the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, returned to Calais loaded with plunder. Nor was this all the loſs the duke of Burgundy ſuſtained; he was hardly returned to his own dominions before he had the mortification to ſee the maritime parts of his poſſeſſions in Flanders, ravaged by an Engliſh fleet; while he himſelf was in the utmoſt danger of loſing his life in a ſedition at Bruges.

A. D. 1438. During the courſe of this and the two following years, the hoſtilities in France were carried on by both parties in a very languid manner. Deſtitute of reſources, of induſtry and of commerce, the two nations were drained by the expences of war; and their troops were obliged to ſubſiſt by plundering and oppreſſing the country both of friends and enemies. Terms of peace were often propoſed, and as often rejected: both inſiſted on ſuch as could not be granted. At the ſame time both the Engliſh and French courts were filled with factions. The duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter, continually oppoſed each other, and the intereſt of the nation was ſacrificed to their perpetual enmities. The dauphin of France headed a faction againſt his father. He was of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition, and found means to bring over to his intereſt the dukes of Alencon and Bourbon, with the counts of Vendome and Dunois. Charles perceived his danger, and was very deſirous of procuring the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, who had continued a priſoner in England ever ſince the battle of Agincourt, as the only perſon whoſe merit and rank could balance the credit of the dauphin's party. After a tedious negotiation, which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Glouceſter, it was determined to ſet him at liberty on his paying a ranſom of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds of our preſent money, an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, and nearly equal to two thirds of all the extraordinary ſupplies granted by the parliament to ſupport the war, during an interval of ſeven years. The duke of Burgundy diſplayed a noble inſtance of generoſity on this occaſion; he renounced his antient reſentments, and paid the ranſom of a prince who had been long his enemy.

A. D. 1441. The great enmity that ſubſiſted between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter occaſioned diviſions in the Engliſh council, and was productive of moſt unhappy conſequences. Nothing leſs than the deſtruction of the former could ſatisfy the malice and ambition of the latter. Wincheſter, however, was unable to attack Glouceſter in perſon, and therefore formed the moſt inhuman plot, infamous by its agents, and deteſtable by its motives. He cauſed his ducheſs to be accuſed of witchcraft; and it was pretended that a waxen image of the king was found in her poſſeſſion, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Margaret Jordan, of Eye, melted before a ſlow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by the like inſenſible degrees. The accuſation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain belief in an ignorant age. The ducheſs was accordingly brought to trial with her confederates. The nature of the crime, ſo oppoſite to all common ſenſe, ſeemed ſufficient to exempt the witneſſes from obſerving common ſenſe in their evidence. But this was of no conſequence in a court, where it was determined to find the priſoner guilty. The ducheſs was condemned to do public penance and ſuffer perpetual impriſonment in Cheſter caſtle. Theſe violent proceedings, however, produced not the intended effect. Glouceſter, who was loyal to a degree of madneſs, bore his wrongs with the utmoſt reſignation, and the diſgrace of his wife, inſtead of incurring him the contempt of the people, tended only the more to inflame their reſentment towards his enemies.

A. D. 1444. Both France and England were now equally weary of a tedious and expenſive war, which had ſo long raged without interruption. The princes and grandees of France groaned under the fatigues and loſſes they had ſuſtained, and the kingdom was ſo depopulated, that it could no longer furniſh men for the ſervice. The dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were continually ſoliciting the king to attend to terms of accommodation, and the French nation in general anxiouſly wiſhed for the final concluſion of a calamitous war.

The Engliſh were no leſs deſirous of peace than the French; and the earl of Suffolk was commiſſioned to treat with them on that head. Conferences were accordingly opened, but the parties diſagreeing concerning the terms, the ſole reſult was a truce for two years.

The earl of Suffolk, having executed this part of his commiſſion, proceeded to finiſh another point of no leſs importance. At the inſtigation of Wincheſter and his party he propoſed a match between the king his maſter and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reguier the nominal king of Sicily; a lady endowed with all the qualifications that could render her an agreeable conſort for a prince of Henry's character.

Though this propoſal was equally agreeable to France, Charles managed the treaty ſo artfully, that Suffolk, inſtead of demanding a dower with Margaret, promiſed, in the name of his maſter, that the province of Maine, then in the hands of the Engliſh, ſhould be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou.

The duke of Glouceſter was no ſooner informed of theſe proceedings, than he exerted his utmoſt efforts in order to defeat the intended match, but in ſpite of all his oppoſition the contract was ratified in London: Suffolk was dignified with the title of Marquis, and even received the thanks of the parliament for concluding the treaty of marriage.

A. D. 1445. The nuptials were ſolemnized at Tours, in preſence of Charles and all his court, with great magnificence. On the 18th of April Margaret arrived in England, and was re-married in the priory of Southwark, from whence ſhe proceeded to London, and on the 13th of May was crowned at Weſtminſter.

Margaret had been but a ſhort time in England before ſhe ſufficiently indicated her intentions of being miſtreſs of her huſband's conduct as well as his affections. The oppoſition made by the duke of Glouceſter to her marriage had filled her mind with envy, and induced her to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the cardinal and the marquis of Suffolk, who, ſtrengthened by her friendſhip, and animated by their common hatred againſt the duke of Glouceſter, reſolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly ſtripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council board. But this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding raiſed ſuch commotions in the nation, that the authors of this diſgrace thought it abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſafety, to colour over their baſe proceedings with a ſhew of juſtice.

Accordingly, in the begining of the following year, 1446, they declared their intentions of impeaching the duke before the parliament; but he was too great a favourite with the citizens of London, for them to attempt the execution of their baſe deſigns in the capital. The members were ſummoned to meet at St. Edmunſbury, and the duke cited to appear. Conſcious of his own innocence, the duke determined to attend, and accordingly was preſent at the opening of the parliament on the tenth of February. But the very next day he was arreſted, and put under a ſtrong guard. The people were highly exaſperated at this method of proceeding, but, perſuaded that the duke, on his trial, would ſufficiently exculpate himſelf from every charge that could be exhibited againſt him, no tumult was excited in his favour.

But Glouceſter's enemies did not intend to bring him to a fair and open trial. The lords who were to ſit as his judges took no pains to conceal their ſentiments with regard to his innocence; they even threw out ſeveral intimations of their being determined to do ſtrict juſtice upon his accuſers, provided they were unable to prove the charge againſt him. This ſufficiently intimidated the faction, and the duke was ſoon after found dead in his bed. It was, indeed, pretended, that his death was natural; and his body was accordingly expoſed to public view, without exhibiting any marks of external injury; but no one doubted his having fallen a ſacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies.

Thus fell, by the treacherous hand of malice, Humphrey of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the moſt learned perſon of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the firſt public libraries in England, and was a generous patron to men of ſcience, and able artiſts of every profeſſion. His hearſe was watered by the tears of the people. His enemies ſaw the grief of the people with terror, and thought it abſolutely neceſſary to give ſome colour to their proceedings. Several of the duke's domeſtics were accordingly tried, and received ſentence of death; but they were no ſooner ſuſpended, than they were cut down, and received their pardon.

A. D. 1447. The perfidious cardinal of Wincheſter did not, however, long triumph over the fall of Glouceſter. He died about ſix weeks after him, in all the horrors of a guilty conſcience. Happy would he now have thought himſelf, had he applied his mind more aſſiduouſly to provide for his paſſage into eternity, and not have embrued his hands in the blood of the innocent. By the death of the cardinal, the queen and her favourite, Suffolk, were deprived of the great ſupport they derived from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his order; and left expoſed to all the effects of the unpopular meaſures they afterwards purſued. The miniſter did not, however, immediately feel the reſentment of an injured people. He, for ſome time, enjoyed his power; and the next ſeſſions of parliament he was created duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1448. While theſe domeſtic troubles were raging in England, the French king employed his time in proſecuting ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the happineſs of his people, and the welfare of his kingdom. That nation was now in a condition to act with vigour in recovering thoſe dominions which were ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh; and an accident ſoon happened which gave Charles an opportunity of re-commencing hoſtilities.

The duke of Glouceſter's death ſeemed to offer a fair opportunity for ceding the province of Maine to Charles of Anjou, purſuant to the marriage contract. But the Engliſh miniſtry ſtill endeavoured to poſtpone the ceſſion, as they well knew it muſt be attended with a popular clamour, which might probably ſhake their authority. At length, however, orders were ſent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the country, to deliver that city into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Surienne, who was a native of Arragon, and had ſerved the Engliſh above twenty years, diſputed the authenticity of the order, and abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the place. The count de Dunois was therefore ſent, at the head of a numerous body of troops, and a large train of artillery, to reduce it by force. Surienne made a noble defence, but was at laſt obliged to capitulate; by which the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, were ſuffered to march out, with all their effects. They retired into Normandy; but being refuſed admittance into any of the fortified towns, and falling into great diſtreſs, Surienne led his troops into Britany, ſurprized the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pont Orſon and Beuvron, and procured ſubſiſtence by extending his depredations over the whole province.

On advice of this breach of the truce, in which Britany had been included, the French monarch demanded ſatisfaction from the duke of Somerſet, governor of Normandy. Somerſet replied, that he was greatly concerned for theſe indefenſible actions; but that the whole had been executed without his privity and conſent, nor had he any authority over the troops that had committed the ravages of which he complained. Application was now made to the court of England, who diſavowed the inſult, and redreſs was promiſed for the injuries received. But the court of France, deſirous of rendering an accommodation impracticable, eſtimated the damages at no leſs than one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns.

A. D. 1449. The truce expiring in the month of

June, Charles determined to avail himſelf of his preſent ſuperiority over the Engliſh. He therefore declared war againſt Henry, and his conqueſts were ſo rapid that he ſoon annexed Normandy to his dominions. The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, indeed, ſupported his reputation and glory to the laſt. But the province was invaded in four different places, and he had only a handful of forces under his command; ſo that nothing could be expected from that gallant officer, eſpecially as the greater part of the garriſons conſiſted of Normans, who opened their gates to the enemy almoſt at the firſt ſummons. The province of Guienne ſuffered the ſame fate; and after having for three centuries formed a part of the dominions of the crown of England, was now re-united to thoſe of France.

The loſs of Normandy and Guienne, however, were but trifling misfortunes to thoſe which threatened the Engliſh. The ſword of civil war was ready to be drawn, in order to drench the fields with the blood of their owners. The duke of York, firſt prince of the blood, was deſcended, by his mother, from the houſe of Mortimer, which enjoyed an inconteſtible title to the crown of England, after the demiſe of Richard II. when the rights of ſovereignty were uſurped by the houſe of Lancaſter. His perſonal merit was great, and he had contracted ſeveral powerful alliances. He had married the daughter of Nevil, earl of Weſtmorland, whoſe family was more important than any other in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was one of that family, a nobleman extremely popular, and ſo amazingly rich, that 30,000 perſons were conſtantly ſupplied at his tables in his different manors and caſtles. His hoſpitality and munificence rendered his authority over his numerous partiſans almoſt abſolute. The duke of York, who had commanded with great applauſe in France, had lately been deprived of his commiſſion, without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſo imprudent an exertion of power. On his return to England, ſome dark hints, with regard to the pretenſions of his family to the crown, were dropped by his partiſans, and had the deſired effect. His virtues and the great ſervice he had performed for his country, obtained him the univerſal reſpect of the people.

The increaſing popularity of the duke of York greatly alarmed the queen and Suffolk; and a commotion having lately happened in Ireland, it was thought proper to inveſt him with the title of lord-lieutenant, and ſend him into that iſland, as the only perſon capable of reſtoring tranquillity. York well knew the true reaſon for his being ſent out of the kingdom, but made no difficulty of accepting the commiſſion. His mild and gentle behaviour ſoon produced the deſired effect; and he not only appeaſed the inſurgents without bloodſhed, but even attached to his intereſt the people of that kingdom.

A. D. 1450. Complaints and invectives now prevailed throughout the kingdom againſt the duke of Suffolk. The people, ever ſince the death of Glouceſter, had deſerted him as an aſſaſſin of that patriotic nobleman. He was hated by the great as prime miniſter, and the declared favourite of the queen; and as the poverty of the crown obliged him to have recourſe to arbitrary meaſures, it was impoſſible for him to eſcape the machinations and reſentment of ſo formidable a faction.

The popular clamours aroſe to an amazing height; and Adam Moleyns, biſhop of Chicheſter, was murdered in a tumult excited by a patriotic leader of the multitude. In the agonies of death, the biſhop charged Suffolk with being a traitor to his country.

This charge increaſed the public diſcontent, and the Houſe of Commons determined to impeach him. Accordingly they accuſed the duke of high-treaſon. They aſcribed to him the loſs of the Engliſh dominions on the continent; and even inſiſted, that he had entered into a deſign to dethrone the king. The violence of faction had, however, carried the Commons too far; their accuſation could not bear examination; it was ſupported by no evidence. A new charge of miſdemeanors was therefore drawn up againſt him, chiefly regarding the perverſions of authority, and, in all probability, founded entirely upon facts. Henry was now alarmed for his miniſter. He perceived that the Commons were determined to carry on the proſecution with the utmoſt vigour, and feared the upper houſe would declare him guilty. He therefore ſent for all the lords ſpiritual and temporal, to his apartment, produced Suffolk before them, and aſked him what he could ſay in his own defence. He denied the charge, but ſubmitted himſelf to the pleaſure of the king, who baniſhed him the realm for five years, during which he was prohibited from reſiding in France, or any other country belonging to the French dominions.

The lords, however, were far from being ſatisfied with this ſentence. They returned, in a very ill humour, to their houſe, and entered a ſtrong proteſt againſt theſe proceedings. They declared, “That the ſentence pronounced on the duke of Suffolk was not the reſult of their advice, but purely the king's own act, which ſhould not at all infringe their privileges; and that if Suffolk had inſiſted on his right, and not ſubmitted voluntarily to the king's pleaſure, he was intitled to a trial by his peers.”

Suffolk, ſo far from repining at his ſentence, rather conſidered it as the only expedient that could ſave him from the fury of the people, and therefore prepared, with great alacrity, for his departure; flattering himſelf, that as he ſtill enjoyed the queen's favour and confidence, he ſhould be recalled. But his enemies were determined that his life ſhould pay the forfeit of his crimes. They accordingly employed a captain of a ſhip to cruiſe off Dover, and intercept him in his paſſage to the continent. The captain, who had imbibed the common prejudices, performed his duty with great exactneſs. The duke was ſeized near Dover, his head ſtruck off on the ſide of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the ſea. The latter was afterwards taken up and interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk.

The duke of Somerſet ſucceeded the late miniſter in all his power and credit with the queen; and as he was the perſon who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were loſt, the public, who always judge by the event, ſoon made him the object of their animoſity and hatred. Somerſet was now in the ſame dangerous ſituation experienced by Suffolk; and the parliament was no ſooner broke up, than various commotions were excited in different parts of the kingdom. They were, indeed, ſoon quelled; but they ſufficiently indicated the diſpoſition of the people, and proved a prelude to an inſurrection of a more alarming nature, and which, for ſome time, threatened the nation with very dangerous conſequences.

It had been ſtrongly reported that the court intended ſending an army to lay waſte the whole county of Kent, in revenge for the duke of Suffolk's murder committed by one of that county; in conſequence of which the inhabitants (who were ſtrong advocates for the duke of York) were in ſuch an univerſal ferment, that every thing ſeemed ripe for a revolt.

At this time there dwelt, or rather ſkulked about, in thoſe parts, a deſperate fellow called John, or (more commonly) Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, who having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed in Suſſex, had taken ſanctuary, and was forced to abjure the kingdom. He, however, ſoon after returned into Kent, and obſerving the diſcontents of the people, determined to turn them to his own advantage. He took upon himſelf the name of John Mortimer, pretending that he was the ſon of Sir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded in the beginning of the preſent reign, and conſequently a near relation of Richard duke of York, the perſon from whom the people hoped for redreſs of all their grievances. The very mention of that popular name was ſufficient to procure him multitudes of followers, and Cade ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men. The arch rebel perceiving that vaſt numbers daily flocked to his ſtandard, advanced to Blackheath, giving out that he was going to reform the government, and eaſe the people of that load of taxes, by which they had been ſo long oppreſſed.

As ſoon as the court received intelligence of this inſurrection, they ſent a meſſage to the inſurgents, demanding the reaſon for their appearance in arms. Cade replied, that they had no deſign to offer the leaſt violence to the perſon of the king; they only deſired to preſent a petition to the parliament, that the miniſters who oppreſſed the people might be removed from the royal preſence. At the ſame time, he delivered to the deputies two papers, enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other particulars, they prayed that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed, as the principal author of the loſs of Normandy; that the king's counſel might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious perſons; and not with vicious and profligate men of bad principles and corrupt morals, from whom the people could neither expect happineſs or tranquillity.

Theſe remonſtrances were, however, ſo far from producing the intended effect, that the miniſtry, thinking themſelves highly inſulted, determined to have recourſe to violent methods for quelling the rebellion. An army of fifteen thouſand diſciplined forces under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, was ſent againſt the inſurgents. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired with the main body of the rebels to Sevenoak, but left a ſtrong detachment in ambuſcade to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without obſerving the neceſſary cautions, and were ſo furiouſly attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight, leaving their commander lifeleſs on the field.

Cade, animated by this ſucceſs, returned to Blackheath, and again ſent a remonſtrance to the king and council, demanding, "That the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, ſhould be recalled to court; that the murderers of the duke of Glouceſter, together with all thoſe who had contributed to the loſs of the Engliſh territories on the continent ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment."

The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the ſecret friends of the duke of York were on the point of declaring themſelves, reſolved, if poſſible, to purchaſe their ſafety by ſacrificing ſome individuals to the fury of the populace. The lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themſelves very popular, were committed to the Tower; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were ſent to treat with the inſurgents.

Cade received them with the utmoſt complaiſance, but told them he was abſolutely determined not to lay down his arms till the king came in perſon and granted their requeſts. The effect of this conference was reported to the council; and the king, perſuaded he had every thing to fear from the fury of the inſurgents, ſet out with his whole court for Kenelworth-caſtle.

In the mean time Cade marched to London, the citizens of which, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the rebels, immediately opened their gates, and Cade entered in triumph, at the head of his forces. He had even the inſolence to ſtrike his ſword againſt London-ſtone, crying out, "Now is Mortimer lord of London." He however, maintained, for ſome time, great order and diſcipline among his followers. He always led them out at the approach of night into the fields, where they continued till the morning, when they again returned into the city. But being reſolved, in order to gratify their malevolence againſt Say and Cromer, to put thoſe miniſters to death, he could no longer reſtrain their riotous diſpoſitions. They plundered the houſes of the more opulent citizens, and committed ſo many diſorders, that the inhabitants perceived there was a neceſſity for joining the regular troops, in order to prevent the deſtruction with which they were threatened. Accordingly, when Cade marched out of the city in the evening, they ſeized the gates, and put the detachments that guarded them to death.

In the morning, when Cade and his followers returned, they found the gate of the bridge ſhut and barricadoed againſt them. They attempted, however, to force a paſſage. A battle enſued, and the conteſt continued till night, without either party gaining any remarkable advantage. The rebels were greatly diſpirited at not being able to open themſelves a paſſage into the city; and the miniſtry took advantage of their timidity. They drew up a general pardon for the inſurgents, provided they would lay down their arms; and another for Cade in particular, on condition of his abandoning his rebellious projects. Theſe pardons were iſſued under the great ſeal, and prudently publiſhed during the night in the camp of the inſurgents. The effect was aſtoniſhing. The morning no ſooner appeared than Cade found himſelf deſerted by the greater part of his followers, and retreated to Rocheſter, where the reſt diſperſed, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances and artful ſpeeches, by which he endeavoured to perſuade them, that the pardon they had received was of no effect, as it had not received the ſanction of the parliament. Perceiving that all his arts were exerted in vain, he fled into the woods of Suſſex, with a few of his friends who were determined to ſhare his fate. A price was now ſet upon his head by the government, and he was ſlain by one Iden, a gentleman of Suſſex, who ſent his head to London; and for which he was rewarded with the government of Rocheſter caſtle.

A. D. 1451. The duke of York was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having excited this inſurrection, in order to make a trial of the ſentiments of the people. He was ſtill in Ireland, where his ſucceſs had entitled him to the public eſteem and confidence; but he now haſtened to return to England, perſuaded that his perſonal ſecurity depended upon the vigour of his meaſures. Though Cade's enterprize had failed, the duke received ſeveral advantages from that inſurrection. The numbers who eſpouſed their cauſe evidently demonſtrated that the people were ripe for joining in any attempt againſt the miniſtry, and that the houſe of Marche was ſtill remembered with regard.

A ſhort time after the duke landed in England, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the king, in which he pointed out the grievances of the nation, and offered his beſt ſervices to reform the abuſes that had crept into the government. The miniſtry perceived the duke's real intention; but their preſent ſituation obliged them to act cautiouſly; and it was reſolved to return a civil anſwer. Accordingly the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "That he had for ſome time been ſenſible of the neceſſity of reforming

ing the government, and intended to nominate a council for that purpoſe, and for conſtituting the duke of York as their preſident." It was imagined by the miniſtry that this remarkable condeſcenſion of the king would deprive the duke of York of all pretenſions for taking up arms; but in this they were miſtaken; the offers were declared unſatisfactory by the duke's friends, and it was determined to proceed in their ſcheme early in the enſuing ſpring.

Accordingly, in the month of March, 1452, the duke of York, who had been ſome time in Wales, having joined his friends, entered England at the head of a very formidable army. No acts of hoſtility, however, were committed; they marched peaceably forward, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that their ſole intent was to promote the good of the nation; to releaſe the oppreſſed ſubject from a burden he was unable to bear; and to bring a corrupt adminiſtration to juſtice.

Theſe plauſible reaſons produced the deſired effect. The people, who groaned under enormous taxes, gladly joined the duke's ſtandard; he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and directed his march towards London, expecting to have met with no oppoſition from the royal army: but he was miſtaken; the queen and Somerſet had exerted all their power to raiſe a number of forces ſufficient to meet the duke in the open field, and their attempts were ſucceſsful. The king marched from London againſt him; but before the two armies met, York being informed of his danger changed his route, and, by forced marches, reached the capital, before Henry knew that he intended to evade a battle. But the duke ſoon perceived that he had placed too much confidence in the promiſes of the Londoners; for inſtead of receiving him with open arms, they ſhut their gates againſt him.

As ſoon as Henry received intelligence that the duke had paſſed him, he returned with the utmoſt expedition towards the capital; while the duke of York croſſed the Thames at Kingſton, and being joined by Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, he encamped on Bremheath near Dartford. The king followed him cloſe, and, marching over London-bridge, encamped on Black-heath. The duke of Somerſet, who attended the king on this occaſion, and ſeems to have been an able politician, adviſed Henry to cruſh this rebellion in its bud, and not wait till it had gathered ſtrength, and become formidable. He obſerved, that this was the time to attack the inſurgents, who might be defeated with eaſe, and the nation freed from all future attempts of this kind, as the great ſuperiority of the royal army almoſt inſured a victory. But Henry was ſo impolitic as to neglect this prudent counſel. He liſtened to the advice of ſome timorous, perhaps treacherous noblemen, and had recourſe to negotiation. This counſel was indeed better adapted to the pacific genius of Henry, and to that averſion he always entertained to ſpilling the blood of his ſubjects. Certain prelates and noblemen were ſent to know the reaſons for the duke's appearing in arms, and upon what terms he was willing to reſtore the tranquillity of the kingdom.

The duke, with the greateſt appearance of reſpect and moderation, told the meſſengers, that the proſperity of his country was his ſole intention; that he deſired nothing more than to reform the government, by bringing to juſtice the duke of Somerſet, and others of the counſel, who had trampled on the laws of the kingdom, and oppreſſed the people. He added that he was willing to diſband his forces, and throw himſelf at Henry's feet, if the perſons he had mentioned were ſeized, and brought to anſwer the charge he was ready to exhibit againſt them in parliament.

Henry made no difficulty of complying; Somerſet was put under arreſt, and the duke of York, by this condeſcenſion, deprived of all excuſes for keeping up a body of forces. He ſaw his error, but determined to keep his word. Accordingly he diſmiſſed his army, and repaired to court without arms, and without a paſſport. When he came into the royal preſence, he openly avowed the cauſe of his taking up arms, and inſiſted that the duke of Somerſet ſhould be immediately brought to trial; when, to his great aſtoniſhment, that miniſter came from a private cloſet in the preſence-chamber, and bitterly reviled him for his treaſonable practices.

The enraged Somerſet inſiſted on putting the duke of York to death immediately; but the more diſpaſſionate members of the council, fearful of carrying matters to ſuch extremities, would not conſent to any violence being offered to his perſon. Any attempt of that kind would, indeed, in all probability, have been attended with very diſagreeable conſequences to the government. The duke was accordingly diſmiſſed, after making a formal ſubmiſſion to the king, and acknowledging, upon oath, his title to the crown of England.

In the beginning of the year 1453, deputies arrived from Gaſcony, offering to renounce the dominion of France, and return to their former allegiance under Henry. In conſequence of this the earl of Shrewſbury was immediately diſpatched to the continent with a body of 8000 men, in order to aſſiſt the Gaſcons in throwing off the French yoke. He was admitted into Bourdeaux without oppoſition, and ſoon reduced Fronſac, Caſtillon, and ſome other places. But after he had made a conſiderable progreſs in ſubduing the province, he was attacked by a ſuperior force, and himſelf, together with his gallant ſon the lord l'Iſle, were ſlain in the action. The towns which Shrewſbury had reduced were inſtantly recovered by the French arms; Bourdeaux was again obliged to ſubmit to its former maſter, and all hopes of re-annexing Gaſcony to the crown of England were for ever extinguiſhed.

The bad ſucceſs of this enterprize, together with the birth of a ſon to Henry, which happened on the 23d of October, ſerved, once more, to kindle the flame of civil diſcord, and increaſe the activity and zeal of the partiſans of the houſe of York. But it was thought neceſſary to conceal their intentions under the maſk of ſubmiſſion, as the candour of his late conduct in diſbanding his forces, and the oath he had taken to the king, had lulled the court into a perfect ſecurity.

The king had for ſome time been afflicted with a dangerous diſeaſe, which had occaſioned the meeting of parliament to be poſtponed ſeveral times. The friends of the duke of York were determined not to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity of procuring that nobleman his ſeat in the council, from which he had been unjuſtly excluded. They accordingly inſinuated to the queen and Somerſet, that when the preſent diſpoſitions of the people were conſidered, there was little reaſon to expect that the parliament would be very ready to comply with their deſires; on the contrary, it was ſufficiently apparent, that, conformable to the wiſhes of the nation, that aſſembly would appoint a new miniſtry. They added, that the only ſure method of preventing that misfortune would be to admit into the council, the duke of York, the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, and ſome other popular noblemen, in order to convince the public that they had no intention of making their own wills the ſole rule of government. This advice appeared plauſible to the queen and her favourite, who ſo dreaded the effects of a parliamentary cenſure, that they readily embraced the propoſal, and theſe noblemen took their ſeats at the council-board before the time appointed for the parliament to aſſemble.

A. D. 1454. No ſooner had the Yorkiſts gained admittance into the council, than their credit ſuperceded that of their adverſaries. The proceedings of government were changed; they renewed the proſecution againſt Somerſet, and even ventured to meet him in the queen's preſence, and to ſend him priſoner to the Tower.

The council was now entirely governed by the duke of York, and the king ſtill continuing in a ſtate incapable of holding the reins of government, it was thought neceſſary to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom; with powers to hold the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament in the king's name; and ſoon after the title of lieutenant was changed into that of Protector.

York, however, enjoyed this plenitude of power but a ſhort time. The king recovered from his indiſpoſition, and the duke's commiſſion was ſuperſeded. Somerſet was releaſed from his confinement, reſtored to his former power in the adminiſtration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of government.

The duke of York had now every thing to fear, and after concerting meaſures proper to be purſued in this alarming conjuncture, retired into Wales in order to raiſe a body of forces. He well knew that the proceedings of the council in releaſing Somerſet, without bringing him before the parliament, would be conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for renewing his pretences to reform the government. He was not deceived. The popular clamour againſt the miniſter was ſoon as loud as before; and the people flocked from all parts to his ſtandard, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army.

York, now thinking himſelf ſufficiently powerful to reſiſt any force the king could bring into the field againſt him, marched directly to London, hoping to ſurprize Henry in the capital. But he was deceived in his expectations. The king, at his approach, marched out to meet the inſurgents, though his army conſiſted of no more than two thouſand men. Richard, without advancing any pretenſions to the crown, demanded only a reformation of government. This requeſt was denied, and a battle was fought at St. Alban's between the two parties, in which the Yorkiſts were victorious. The duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with many knights and gentlemen of eminence, and above 800 common ſoldiers were killed on the ſpot. The king himſelf fell into the hands of the duke of York, who treated him with the greateſt reſpect and tenderneſs.

A. D. 1455. The parliament, which met ſoon after the battle of St. Alban's, granted to the Yorkiſts a general indemnity, and reſtored the protectorſhip to the duke; but at the ſame time they renewed their oaths of fealty to Henry. The queen did not behold the ſucceſs of the duke of York with idle reſignation. Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, the ſon of him who fell at St. Alban's, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father. Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was equally enflamed in a deſire of vengeance for the loſs of his ſon, who periſhed in the ſame conteſt; and all the princes and nobles, allied or attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, determined to exert their utmoſt endeavours to pluck the duke of York from the ſeat of power.

Richard, regardleſs of this oppoſition, lived in ſuch apparent ſecurity as aſtoniſhed his enemies. Perſuaded that an attempt to wreſt the ſceptre from a family who had held it near ſixty years, would be attended with the utmoſt difficulty, and, perhaps, prove abortive, after deluging the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants; he reſolved to wait for ſome favourable opportunity for aſſerting his rights, and ſeizing the crown to which he had an indiſputable title. His great care was to acquire the love of the people, without which he knew all his efforts muſt be ineffectual. Deſirous of convincing them that his conduct was not influenced by paſſion or intereſt, he paid the utmoſt attention to the affairs of the royal family: he eſtabliſhed the houſhold of the prince of Wales, and ſettled on him a decent maintenance; and, at the ſame time, left the king and queen at liberty to act as they thought proper. He was perſuaded it was not in their power to diveſt him of the dignity of protector, becauſe his patent could not be revoked without the conſent of parliament. But the queen was of too active and enterprizing a ſpirit to be diverted from her purpoſe by ſuch obſtacles.

A. D. 1456. The king having recovered his health, the enemies of the duke, with the queen at their head, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity to deprive him of his protectorſhip. The parliament met on the 12th of February, when Henry came to the houſe, and declared from the throne, that, as he was now in a condition to reſume the reins of government, he did not think the kingdom had any farther occaſion for a protector; he therefore deſired the parliament would diſcharge the duke of York from that office. No oppoſition was made to the king's declaration: he was declared to be reinſtated in his ſovereign authority; and Richard's patent was revoked.

A. D. 1457. Had Margaret been ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, ſhe might, perhaps, have enjoyed her authority for ſome time without diſturbance; but, elated with this favourable turn of fortune, ſhe reſolved to ſecure her future tranquillity by arreſting the perſons of York, Saliſbury and Warwick. To effect this dangerous undertaking with more ſecurity, the court removed to Coventry; and letters, under the privy-ſeal, were diſpatched to thoſe three noblemen, commanding them to attend the king on affairs of importance. They made no ſcruple to obey the order; but when they were within a few miles of Coventry, they received intelligence from their friends, that deſigns were formed againſt their liberties and lives. They immediately ſeparated themſelves. Richard withdrew to his caſtle of Wigmore, in Herefordſhire; Saliſbury to Middleham, in Yorkſhire; and Warwick to his government of Calais, which had been conferred on him after the battle of St. Alban's.

This treacherous attempt deſtroyed all remains of confidence; and an unuſual degree of animoſity took place between the partiſans of the houſes of York and Lancaſter. But ſtill the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other perſons of peaceable diſpoſitions, hoped it was not yet too late to interpoſe their good offices for bringing about a reconciliation between the two parties, and prevent the dreadful conſequences of a civil war, which otherwiſe appeared inevitable. For ſome time, all offers were rejected; but at laſt their labours ſeemed to promiſe a happy termination of theſe alarming diſſentions; and it was agreed that the principal leaders of both parties ſhould meet at London, in order, if poſſible, to effect a permanent reconciliation.

A. D. 1458. The parties on each ſides aſſembled about the middle of January; but their appearance rather reſembled the meeting of two numerous armies, than that of the chief nobility of the ſame kingdom. The earl of Saliſbury came with a body of 500 men; and the duke of York with 400, both of whom took up their quarters near each other for mutual ſecurity. The ſame precaution was obſerved by the chiefs of the other party; and the mayor of London, at the head of five thouſand men, patrolled the ſtreets, to keep the peace between them. At length an apparent reconciliation was effected; but the terms upon which it was founded took not away the ground of difference. This agreement was, however, notified to the public by a ſolemn a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's cathedral, where the duke of York led queen Margaret, and a chief of one party walked hand in hand with a chief of the oppoſite; exhibiting every appearance of a cordial reconciliation and undiſguiſed confidence. But, unfortunately for the peace of the nation, there was very little ſincerity on either ſide. Inſtead of labouring ſincerely in the great ends of union; inſtead of taking their places at the council-board, to which they were now entitled, the confederated lords ſuddenly retired to the places where their intereſt was moſt conſiderable; the duke of York to the borders of Wales; the earl of Saliſbury to the north; and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1459. When parties are exaſperated againſt each other, the ſmalleſt accident, without any formed deſign, is ſufficient to blow the ſmothered embers into a flame; and had the intentions of the leaders been ever ſo amicable, they would have found it very difficult to reſtrain the animoſity of their followers. This was too ſoon evinced. The earl of Warwick having returned to London to juſtify his conduct with regard to ſome ſhips he had taken in the channel, a fray happened between one of his ſervants and a domeſtic belonging to the queen; in which the latter, who was the aggreſſor, was deſperately wounded. The companions of each party took ſhare in the quarrel; the ſtreets of London were filled with blood and confuſion; the attorney-general was killed in the commotion, and the earl himſelf narrowly eſcaped.

Both parties now openly made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword. Armies were raiſed in different parts of the kingdom; and it was expected, that when the reſpective forces of each party were joined, the diſpute would be determined by a general engagement. The earl of Saliſbury, having raiſed a number of troops, was marching to join the duke of York; but was overtaken on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by lord Audley, at the head of a much ſuperior body of forces. The river Stow, a ſmall ſtream, but of conſiderable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined with lord Audley's troops. Saliſbury well knew that his forces were not able to engage thoſe of the enemy in the open field, and had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ordered a detachment of his beſt archers to advance briſkly to the banks of the river, and pour a ſhower of arrows upon the royaliſts; which being effected, he ſounded a retreat, and his forces retired with the appearance of precipitate confuſion. This produced the deſired effect. The royaliſts were deceived; and thinking the Yorkiſts were flying before them, began to paſs the ſtream with great precipitation; but when part of the royal army had paſſed the brook, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned upon them; and partly by ſurpriſe, and partly by the diviſion of the enemy's forces, totally routed them. The reſt of the army being ſeized with a panic, fled in the utmoſt diſorder, and Saliſbury obtained a complete victory. Lord Audley himſelf, and ſeveral of his principal officers, fell in the action.

The duke of York, encouraged by this ſucceſs, joined the earl of Saliſbury at Ludlow, and openly declared his pretenſions to the crown. He was ſoon after joined by the earl of Warwick, who had brought with him a conſiderable body of veterans from Calais; ſo that York was now in a very formidable ſituation.

The queen and all the nobility in the intereſt of the houſe of Lancaſter, were ſenſibly convinced of the neceſſity of exerting their whole power to prevent the Yorkiſts from wreſting the ſceptre from Henry's hand; and an army, ſuperior in numbers to that of the inſurgents, was ſoon ready to take the field. The Yorkiſts were encamped near Ludlow; and the royaliſts advanced immediately to Worceſter, where they halted. Henry, in order to prevent the effuſion of human blood, ſent Richard Beauchamp, biſhop of Saliſbury, with an offer of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms. But his propoſals were refuſed, and both parties prepared to decide their quarrel by the ſword.

On the evening, however, preceding the intended engagement, a circumſtance happened, which greatly prejudiced the duke of York's intereſt. The Calais veterans, who had hitherto imagined they were going to reſcue the king from the hands of a wicked miniſtry, perceived their miſtake. They found that the conteſt was to wreſt the ſceptre from the hand of Henry, whom they conſidered as their lawful ſovereign, and therefore deſerted to the royal army. This defection ſo intimidated the Yorkiſts, that they ſeparated the next day, without making the leaſt diſpoſition for a battle. The duke of York fled to Ireland; and the earls of Marche, Saliſbury, and Warwick, into Devonſhire, where Sir John Denham provided them with ſhips, which carried them over to Calais.

The parliament meeting ſoon after at Coventry, an act of attainder was paſſed againſt the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, and their principal adherents; who were all declared traitors, their eſtates forfeited, and their heirs diſinherited.

A. D. 1460, All hopes of accomodation were now at an end, and little elſe was to be expected than war and deſolation. The earl of Warwick, who was greatly beloved both by the ſoldiers and ſeamen, was very ſucceſsful in his cruiſes; and having received invitations from his partiſans, he landed in Kent, with the earls of Saliſbury and Marche, at the head of fifteen hundred men. He was ſoon joined by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord Cobham, and marched directly to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people. The city gates were immediately thrown open; and his troops continually increaſing, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition of facing the royal army, which haſtened from Coventry to attack him. The two armies met at Northampton, and a furious battle enſued. For ſome time the victory continued doubtful; but the lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded the van-guard of the royal forces, deſerting to the enemy in the heat of the engagement, the whole army was filled with conſternation, and Warwick obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Egremont and Beaumont, Sir William Lucy, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were among the ſlain. Henry himſelf, that empty ſhadow of a king, was again taken priſoner, but uſed with great tenderneſs and reſpect, the innocence and ſimplicity of his manners having procured him the higheſt regard of the people.

The king was conducted to London; and ſoon after his arrival a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter the beginning of October. The duke of York arrived from Ireland three days after the opening of the ſeſſion. He repaired immediately to the Houſe of Lords, and advanced towards the throne; but was ſtopped by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him if he had yet paid his reſpects to the king? York was confounded at this queſtion, and for ſome time continued ſilent; but at laſt replied, That he knew of no perſon to whom he owed that title. This ſudden declaration alarmed the aſſembly; and Richard, ſtanding near the throne, complained to the houſe of the various calamities his family had ſuffered ſince the depoſition of Richard II. enumerated the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had paved their way to the ſeat of power; inſiſted on the miſeries which had attended the government of Henry, and exhorted them to do juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor.

This regard to law and liberty was very unuſual in times of violence and licentious tumult. The aſſembly were ſtruck with ſo uncommon a precedent, and examined, with the utmoſt calmneſs and tranquillity, the duke's pretenſions. At laſt they pronounced a deciſion, calculated, as far as poſſible, to pleaſe both parties. They declared, that the duke's title was indefeaſible; but as Henry had now enjoyed the crown thirty-eight years without any oppoſition being made to his title, they determined that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs both the title and dignity during his life; but that the adminiſtration of the government ſhould, in the mean time, remain with Richard, who ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy, and ſucceed to the crown immediately on the deceaſe of Henry: that every one ſhould ſwear to maintain his ſucceſſion: that it ſhould be high treaſon to attempt his life; and that all former acts for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, during the two laſt reigns, ſhould be null and void.

The whole legiſlative body aſſented to this act; and the accommodation was celebrated by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, at which Henry and both houſes of parliament aſſiſted. The king himſelf appeared not to be the leaſt affected with this ſudden revolution in his affairs. Satisfied with the preſent tranquillity he was permitted to enjoy, he devoted his time to exerciſes of devotion, and committed entirely the care of the adminiſtration to thoſe who acted under the ſanction of his name and authority.

The ſentiments of queen Margaret, however, were very different to thoſe of the king. She was a woman whom no dangers could intimidate, and who was capable of the utmoſt efforts of heroiſm. She had taken refuge in Scotland with the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and was now exerting all her talents to bring the northern counties of England over to her intereſt. The duke of York was ſoon appriſed of the impending ſtorm, and trembled for the conſequences. A ſummons was ſent her to repair immediately to London, in order to put a ſtop to her enterprizes, or of procuring a pretence of baniſhing her from the kingdom. No regard was paid to the mandate; but advice was ſoon received that ſhe was advancing towards the capital at the head of twenty thouſand men. Richard had only five thouſand, but marched at the head of this little army to ſtop the progreſs of the queen; while his ſon, the earl of Marche, repaired to the borders of Wales, in order to raiſe a more conſiderable body of forces, and join his father.

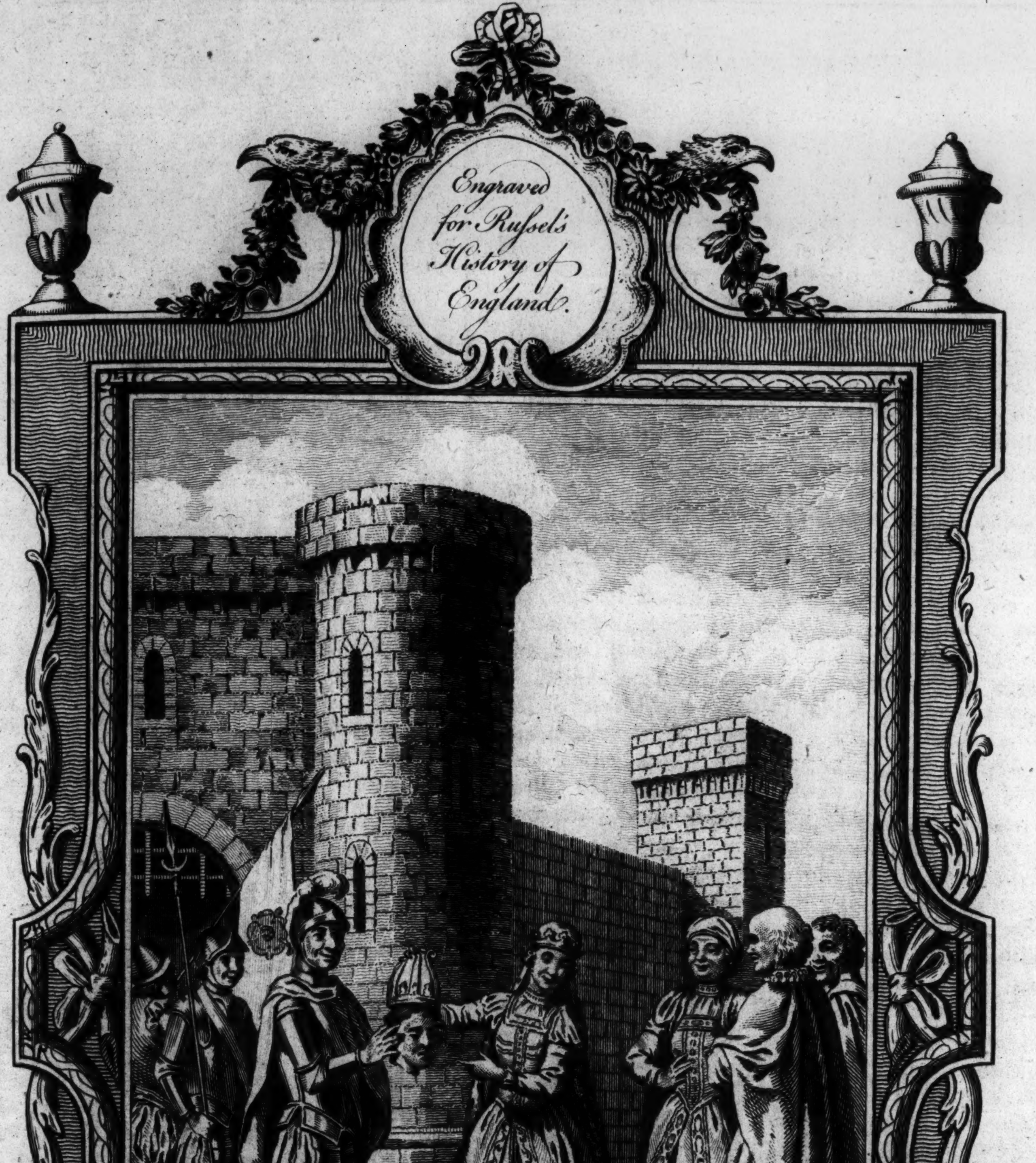
The queen determined not to loſe the opportunity of attacking Richard before his army was increaſed by the additional forces of his ſon. She therefore quickened her march; and the duke of York conſcious of his being unable to meet, in the open field, an army ſo ſuperior in numbers, threw himſelf into Sandal caſtle, in the neighbourhood of Wakefield. Margaret advanced to the gates of the fortreſs, and uſed every method in her power to provoke the duke to a battle. For ſome time all her arts were vain; but at laſt ſhe effected by ſtratagem what could not be done by any other method. She marched, at the head of the main body of her army, towards the capital, leaving only a ſmall detachment in the neighbourhood of the caſtle. But during the night, ſhe ſeparated her army into two diviſions, and placed them in ambuſh on the ſides of Wakefield-green. On the queen's departure, York drew out his forces, and determined to give the enemy battle; but he had hardly drawn them up in proper order, before he was attacked, both in flank and rear, by the two bodies placed in ambuſh for that purpoſe. He now perceived his error, but it was too late to retrieve it, and he reſolved to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. His courage was changed into deſpair. He attacked the enemy with the utmoſt fury; and his followers catching the enthuſiaſtic valour of their leader, purſued his track of ſlaughter in a firm, compacted body. The conteſt did not laſt above half an hour, but that ſhort interval of time was crowded with deſtruction. Above two thouſand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces, and he himſelf fell in the action. His ſon, the duke of Rutland, a youth of ſeventeen, whoſe exterior figure, as well as other accompliſhments, are repreſented by hiſtorians as extremely amiable, was murdered in cold blood by lord Clifford. The earl of Saliſbury was wounded and taken priſoner, and immediately beheaded, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, by martial law, at Pomfret. The body of the duke of York being found among the ſlain, his head was cut off by lord Clifford, and ſent to Margaret, who cauſed it to be fixed on the walls of York, encircled with a paper crown, in deriſion of his pretenſions to the throne.

Thus periſhed, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantaganet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and who ſurely merited a better fate. He loſt his life by adhering to principles which render him an object of our eſteem. Had he followed the ferocious practice of the times, and founded his throne on the blood of his enemies, he might, in all probability, have enjoyed the Engliſh ſceptre, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the houſe of Lancaſter. He left behind him three ſons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

A. D. 1461. But the triumph of Margaret's bloody ſucceſs was of no long continuance. After the above defeat ſhe ſeparated her army into two diviſions; ſending one of them, under the command of Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, againſt Edward, now duke of York, who was raiſing forces on the borders of Wales; while ſhe herſelf marched with the other diviſion towards the capital, where the earl of Warwick was left to command the Yorkiſts. As ſoon as Edward had finiſhed his levies, he began his march towards London, in order to join the earl of Warwick, and retaliate on Margaret the cruelty his friends had ſuffered. He was met by the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Croſs, in Herefordſhire, where a battle enſued; but Pembroke's army being far inferior to that of Edward, they were ſoon routed, and above four thouſand men fell in the action. He himſelf eſcaped by flight; but his father, Sir Edward Tudor, was taken priſoner, and, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, put to death.

In the mean time, the queen, with her ſon the prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, and ſeveral other of the nobility and gentry well affected to her cauſe, were on their march towards London, at the head of a very conſiderable army. The earl of Warwick, appriſed of her approach, advanced as far as St. Alban's to meet her; and a battle enſued upon Barnard-heath. For ſome time, the Yorkiſts had the advantage; but lord Lovelace, who commanded a conſiderable diviſion of the army, treacherouſly withdrawing from the combat, victory declared for Margaret. About two thouſand five hundred Yorkiſts were ſlain in the conteſt, and the perſon of the king himſelf fell again into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonneville and Sir Thomas Kiriel, to whoſe care the king had been entruſted, continued with him after the defeat of the army, relying on the royal promiſe of protection. But Margaret, regardleſs of her huſband's promiſe, ordered them both to be beheaded.

Edward ſtill continued his march towards the capital,



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

QUEEN MARGARET crowning the HEAD of the Duke of York with a PAPER CROWN.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

pital, and was ſoon after joined by the earl of Warwick, at the head of the remainder of his forces. Margaret, who thought it imprudent to remain in the neighbourhood of London, retired into the north, where ſhe hoped to encreaſe her army to ſo formidable a number as would enſure ſucceſs againſt all oppoſition. Edward, therefore, continued his march, and was received by the citizens as their guardian angel. He was, indeed, formed to attract the love of the people. His external figure was beautiful beyond deſcription; his conſtitution active and hardy; his judgement quick and penetrating; and his abilities as a ſoldier ſurpaſſed by none of his age. More reſolute than his father, and more certain of the attachment of the people, whom he had entirely gained over by his popular manners, he determined to aſſume the title and dignity of king; perſuaded that all the miſfortunes of his family were owing to their timidity in not ſupporting their claim to the crown with the neceſſary firmneſs and intrepidity.

But Edward well knew that before this could be done with any propriety, it was neceſſary to procure a national acknowledgement of his title to the crown, or at leaſt ſomething that might be conſidered as ſuch. Time would not permit the aſſembly of a parliament, which might alſo be attended with other inconveniences; a leſs regular method therefore was choſen. The army was ordered to aſſemble in the fields near Clerkenwell, whither an infinite crowd of people reſorted. In the midſt of this multitude, an harangue was pronounced, diſplaying the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the Lancaſter family. After which, the people were aſked, whether they were ſtill deſirous that Henry of Lancaſter ſhould continue to hold the ſceptre of England? The whole multitude exclaimed againſt the propoſal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, duke of York, for their king? The anſwer was a loud and general exclamation of applauſe. The experiment having thus far happily ſucceeded, a great council was called at Baynard's-caſtle, where the popular election was confirmed, and the new king was proclaimed on the fifth of March, in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. which had laſted upwards of thirty-eight years, without his having intermeddled in all that time with the adminiſtration of public affairs. He was in the fortieth year of his age, when he was diſpoſſeſſed of a crown, which he had worn almoſt from his birth. He ſtill lived, however, to be the ſport of fortune, as will appear in the courſe of the following reign, where we ſhall again ſee him veſted with the regal power.

Henry VI. was poſſeſſed of many virtues: he was compaſſionate, devout and religious; but theſe qualities fitted him rather for a cloiſter than a throne. His intellects were weak and narrow, and his temper unſteady and irreſolute; ſo that he was eaſily drawn into every cruel or oppreſſive meaſure that the paſſion of his wife, or the views of his miniſters ſuggeſted: and yet ſo free was he from cruelty in his diſpoſition, that he could not, without extreme reluctance, conſent to the puniſhment of thoſe malefactors who were ſacrificed to the public ſafety, and would ſuffer the groſſeſt inſult offered to his own perſon without the leaſt mark of reſentment. He was ſo inoffenſive in the whole of his conduct, that the biſhop, who had been his confeſſor for ten years, avowed, that in all that time he had not committed any crime deſerving of penance. It is little, therefore, to be wondered at that a prince of ſuch a diſpoſition ſhould be unable to govern a ferocious people. Had the times been leſs violent, and the laws more reſpected, he might probably have ſwayed the Engliſh ſcepter with applauſe. His virtues, indeed, rendered his perſon reſpectable; but they were not ſufficient to ſupport him againſt the powerful attacks of inſatiable ambition.

Henry had iſſue, by his queen Margaret of Anjou, only one ſon, Edward, prince of Wales, who, at the time of his father's depoſition, was but in the eighth year of his age.

The remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were as follow:

In the fifth year of his reign, on the 30th of September, a dreadful earthquake happened between two and three o'clock in the morning, which was attended with dreadful claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightning.

In his thirteenth year, a violent froſt began on the 24th of November, which continued till the 10th of February following. This froſt was ſo very ſevere that the Thames was frozen over as far down as Graveſend; by which means all goods brought thither in ſhips were conveyed to London by carriages.

In his ſixteenth year, on the 25th of November, there happened a moſt violent hurricane of wind, which blew off the leads of the Grey Friars church, and almoſt beat down the ſide of the ſtreet called the Old Exchange.

In his ſeventeenth year there was ſo great a dearth, that in ſome parts of the nation the diſtreſſes of the people were ſuch that they made bread of fern-roots and ivy-berries.

In the courſe of this reign Queen Margaret began Queen's College, Cambridge, which was afterwards completed by Edward IV. Archbiſhop Kemp erected the divinity ſchool in Oxford as it now ſtands, together with St. Paul's Croſs. William Eſtfield, mayor of London, built at his own charge the water-conduit in Fleet-ſtreet; and John Wells, while he filled the ſame poſt, laid the conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap. In the year 1446, Sir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granery for the city. And in 1453 Sir John Norman, while he enjoyed the ſame office, went by water to Weſtminſter, to take his oath: he was the firſt mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predeceſſors having rode on horſeback.—Harriſon's Survey of London.

The moſt remarkable learned men that flouriſhed from the acceſſion of Henry IV. to the depoſition of Henry VI. were as follow:

John Seguard was a very fine latin poet, and poſſeſſed a variety of polite learning. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf about the year 1414. His great patron was Richard Courtney, the martial biſhop of Norwich.

Richard Snettiſham acquired ſuch great reputation at Oxford, that, though not more than twenty-five years of age, he was elected chancellor of that univerſity. He was reckoned one of the beſt diſputants of the age, and was indefatigable in his endeavours to expound the holy ſcriptures in the public ſchools.

William Lyndwood was one of the greateſt canoniſts this nation ever produced, and a moſt conſummate ſtateſman. He was keeper of the privy ſeal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negotiations, particularly to the courts of Spain and Portugal. He was ſent by Henry VI. to the council of Baſil; and in the year 1434 he was made biſhop of St. David's, but died in 1446. His great work, and indeed the only one of the kind we have compoſed by an Engliſhman, is his "Provinciale ſeu Conſtitutiones Angliæ;" in which the provincial decrees of forty archbiſhops are digeſted into order, with large and learned commentaries.

The principal hiſtorian that graced this period was Sir John Froiſſart, who wrote a general hiſtory of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up from his youth in the court of Edward III. and familiarly converſant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court language of England. An edition of his works in Engliſh was publiſhed by Sir John Bourchier, at the command of Henry VIII.

BOOK IX.

From the Acceſſion of Edward IV. *(The firſt King of* England *of the Line of* York*) to the Death of* Richard III.

SECTION I.

EDWARD IV.

EDWARD IV. was not quite twenty years of age when he mounted the throne of England. The beauty of his perſon greatly tended to enhance his intereſt with the people. In his diſpoſition he was intrepid and prudent, and in conſtitution active and hardy; but the ſeverity of his temper rendered him impregnable to the tender feelings of compaſſion.

The very commencement of his reign was attended with a circumſtance, which evinced an arbitrary turn of mind, and ſhewed what the nation might expect in future. One Walker, a grocer in the city, whoſe ſhop was known by the ſign of the Crown, having told his ſon in a jocular manner, that he would make him "heir to the crown," the expreſſion was conſtrued as a ſarcaſm on Edward's title; and the particulars being related to the king, he ordered the innocent, but unfortunate man, to be beheaded in Smithfield, which was accordingly done on the eighth day after his elevation to the throne.

Though Edward had aſſumed the title and authority of king, yet he was far from being eſtabliſhed in the quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the crown. The three laſt reigns had given the family of Lancaſter many opportunities of obliging ſome of the firſt nobility in the kingdom: the perſon of Henry was beloved, while, with more than female genius, his queen Margaret availed herſelf of every favourable circumſtance, and rouſed the people to remember the glories of the two laſt Henrys, and the unſullied virtues of the preſent. Could the affairs of the houſe of Lancaſter have been retrieved, her ſpirit and conduct would have done it. In beauty ſhe exceeded her own ſex; in courage ſhe equalled the braveſt of the other; but her greateſt excellence conſiſted in being always a ſtranger to deſpair. Defeat after defeat ſerved only to renew her endeavours to make a freſh attempt; and her conduct was as prudent as her ſpirit was manly. The lords of her party were all firmly attached to her intereſt; the principal of them were deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, and the others were ſuch as acted either through principle, gratitude, or intereſt.

Edward now found he had a powerful adverſary to encounter in the perſon of Margaret, who exerted all her abilities to recruit her army, and engage the uſurper of her huſband's throne. She had already rendered herſelf exceeding popular in the northern counties, and ſoon found herſelf at the head of 60,000 diſciplined forces.

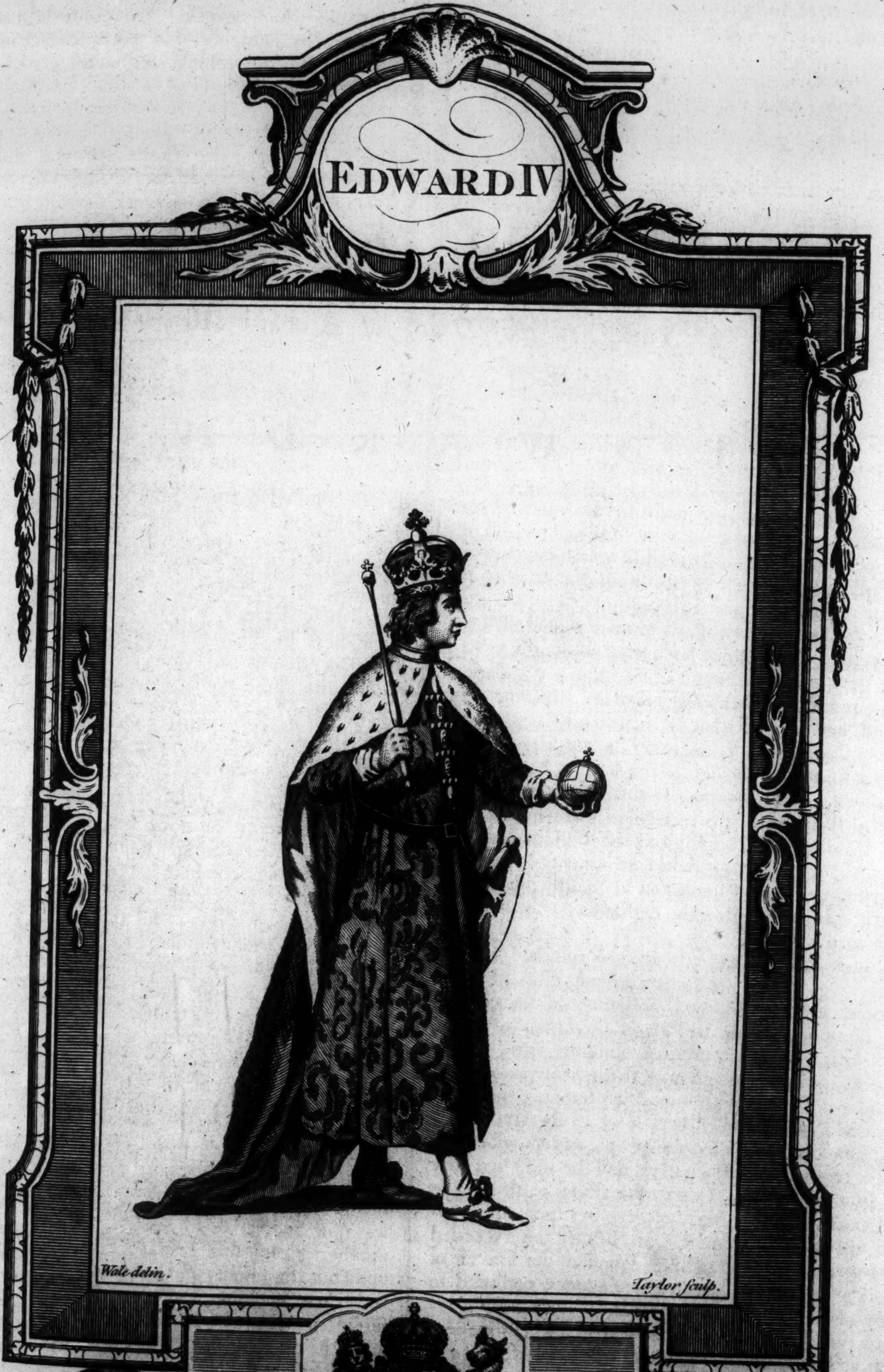
In the mean time the people, divided in their affections, took oppoſite ſymbols of party: the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe the red roſe as their mark of diſtinction; and thoſe of the houſe of York were denominated from the white. Hence the civil wars that followed were known throughout Europe by the name of the Quarrel between the two Roſes.

Margaret had now marched with her army into Yorkſhire, at which Edward was ſo alarmed, that he immediately ſet out, at the head of 40,000 veteran ſoldiers, to check her progreſs. He was accompanied by the earl of Warwick, and continued his march with the utmoſt expedition till he reached Pontefract in Yorkſhire. From hence they diſpatched a body of troops under the command of lord Fitzwalter to ſecure the paſſage of Ferry-bridge over the river Aire, which lay between them and the enemy. Fitzwalter accordingly took poſt at the place aſſigned him, which was on the north ſide of the river. This ſurprizal of Ferry-bridge diſconcerted the queen's army, which was commanded by the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, all of them famous for their military abilities, and unſhaken friends to the Lancaſter family. Theſe generals immediately determined, if poſſible, to recover the advantageous ſpot poſſeſſed by the enemy. Accordingly, the lord Clifford marched, during the night at the head of a party, and attacked Fitzwalter's detachment ſo unexpectedly, that they recovered the paſs, after putting moſt of the party that defended it to the ſword; and Fitzwalter himſelf was ſlain in the action.

This defeat might have proved fatal to Edward, had it not been for the courage and preſence of mind of the earl of Warwick. He was ſenſible that a battle was now inevitable; he knew the diſproportion of numbers; and that Edward had nothing to depend upon but the fidelity and reſolution of his troops. He rode up to the king to acquaint him of his dangerous ſituation, and then diſmounting, in ſight of the whole army, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed his horſe; after which, kiſſing the hilt of the weapon, he ſwore that he would ſhare the fate of the meaneſt ſoldier, and either conquer or periſh. At the ſame time, a proclamation was iſſued, by which every perſon who pleaſed was at full liberty to retire; but the whole army declared they would gain the victory, or fall with their leaders.

Animated by this reſolution, lord Fauconbridge undertook to recover the paſs in poſſeſſion of lord Clifford. Accordingly he paſſed the Aire at Cailleford, three miles above the place; and marched with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that Clifford was ſurpriſed, his detachment routed, and he himſelf found among the ſlain.

The next day (March 24, 1461) Edward led his troops againſt the enemy; and the two armies met at a place


EDWARD IV
Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

a place called Touton, where a bloody battle enſued. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge, there happened a heavy fall of ſnow, which being driven by a briſk wind in the faces of the Lancaſtrians, prevented them from knowing, with any degree of exactneſs, the diſtance of the enemy. Lord Fauconbridge, who led the van of Edward's army, improved this advantage. He ordered his men to advance as near as poſſible; and after diſcharging a flight of arrows on the enemy, to retire with the utmoſt expedition to their former poſt. This ſtratagem produced the deſired effect. The Lancaſtrians perceiving, by the force of the arrows, that the enemy was very near, emptied their quivers by repeated diſcharges, without producing any great effect; and then advanced, ſword in hand, to decide the dreadful conteſt. The Yorkiſts, who had kept their arrows, poured in ſo dreadful a diſcharge, that the advanced line fell back on the main body. The earl of Northumberland perceiving the diſadvantage of his forces, preſſed forward, and the battle ſoon became very obſtinate and bloody. The dreadful conteſt continued ten hours with unremitting fury, and without any perceivable advantage on either ſide. The field was covered with dead, and the groans of the wounded augmented the horrors of the battle; but, at the cloſe of he day the Lancaſtrians began to give ground, and retreat in good order towards Tadcaſter bridge.

The Yorkiſts, animated with the appearance of the victory, redoubled their efforts, and attacked the enemy with ſo much fury, that they were unable to ſupport the charge. Their ranks, which they had hitherto maintained with ſurpriſing firmneſs, were broken, and a precipitate flight enſued. Edward had ſſued orders to give no quarter, ſo that the carnage was ſhocking to humanity. Above thirty-ſix thouſand perſons periſhed that day by the ſwords of their countrymen. Among theſe were the earl of Weſtmoreland, and his brother Sir John Nevil, the earl of Northumberland and the lords Dacres and Welles, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonſhire, who had lately eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, was taken priſoner, and ſoon after beheaded at York. Henry, his queen, and the young prince, eſcaped into Scotland; but the inteſtine diviſions which then prevailed n that kingdom prevented their receiving any effecual aſſiſtance.

Edward, having taken all neceſſary meaſures for preventing farther inſurrections in the northern parts of England, returned to London, and was crowned at Weſtminſter on the 29th of June. After this he ſummoned a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on the fourth of November. No oppoſition was made to Edward's title to the crown; hey even declared that he was properly poſeſſed of the throne from the moment he aſſumed e government, tendered to him by the acclamations f the people. They reverſed ſeveral acts paſſed in e late reigns, particularly the attainders of the earls f Cambridge, Saliſbury, and Glouceſter, and that of rd Lumley. They alſo paſſed an act of forfeiture d attainder againſt Henry, queen Margaret, their fant ſon prince Edward, and their principal parſans.

A. D. 1462. This year commenced with a ſcene proſcription and bloodſhed, the fatal effects of alous ſovereignty. Edward, not contented with e dreadful ſacrifice that had been already made to ſafety, thought it neceſſary that others, though they d never appeared in arms againſt him, ſhould feel e weight of his power. John de Vere, earl of xford, a nobleman venerable for his years, and vaable for his virtues, together with his ſon Aubrey Vere, were tried by martial law, for a pretended rreſpondence with Margaret, and beheaded on Tower-hill. Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir William Tyrrel, Sir Baldwin Fulford, and John Montgomery ſuffered the ſame fate; and Edward diſtributed their eſtates among his own adherents.

During theſe tranſactions, Margaret was ſoliciting the court of France for aſſiſtance to replace Henry in the ſeat of power. Lewis XI. who had lately ſucceded his father, was ſufficiently inclined to feed the flames of civil diſcord among ſuch dangerous neighbours, by aſſiſtance to the weaker party: but having formed the project of humbling his own nobility, he was not in a capacity of furniſhing Margaret with a ſufficient number of troops to effect the intended purpoſe. He, however, ſent a ſmall body of forces, under the command of Varenne, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who landed in Northumberland, and made himſelf maſter of Alnwick-caſtle.

As little could be expected from this handful of men, Margaret went over to France, in order to ſolicit, in perſon, a more powerful aſſiſtance. She even offered to deliver up Calais, on condition of receiving an army ſufficient to drive Edward from the throne. The duke of Britany ſupplied her with 12000 crowns, and Lewis with 2000 men at arms.

With this reinforcement Margaret landed at Bamburgh in Yorkſhire, and found means to take poſſeſſion of that caſtle; but on receiving advice that Edward was advancing againſt her, at the head of a numerous army, ſhe retired into Scotland. Edward ſoon reduced the caſtles of Bamburgh and Alnwick; and finding no enemy in the field to oppoſe him, he returned to London.

A. D. 1463. While Margaret was in Scotland, ſhe exerted herſelf with ſuch ſucceſs, that ſhe raiſed a numerous army, who followed her ſtandard chiefly for the ſake of plunder. She entered Northumberland about the latter end of April, and for ſome time was extremely fortunate. She ſurpriſed the caſtle of Bamburgh; and being joined by the duke of Somerſet and Sir Ralph Piercy, with their followers, ſhe took a conſiderable number of places in that part of the country.

The firſt check ſhe met with was from Montague, who routed a detachment of her forces on Hedgley Moor, where Sir Ralph Piercy, their leader, was ſlain. Elated with this ſucceſs, Montague determined to give battle to Margaret's army, without ſtaying for the reinforcements he expected from Edward, who was marching to the northward at the head of a powerful army. Montague accordingly advanced againſt the queen's forces, encamped on a plain near Hexham. He made a furious attack during the night, and was received with equal intrepidity. But after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he forced the trenches, and put the Lancaſtrians to flight. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Hungerford, Roſe, and Moleyns, Sir Thomas Huſſey, Sir Thomas Wentforth, and Sir John Findcarn, were taken priſoners, and their heads ſtruck off by martial law.

Henry being well mounted, made his eſcape, and fled into Lancaſhire, where he continued concealed for ſome time; but was at length diſcovered, and committed priſoner to the Tower.

Margaret, with her infant ſon, fled into an adjacent foreſt, where the ſplendor of her attire ſoon betrayed her into the hands of robbers, who ſtripped her of her rings and jewls. Fortunately for her the richneſs of the booty occaſioned a quarrel among them; and while they were thus engaged, Margaret and her ſon made their eſcape into the thickeſt part of the foreſt, where they wandered for ſome time, ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and oppreſſed with terror and affliction. In this wretched condition the queen perceived another robber approaching with a naked ſword in his hand. There was now no poſſibility of effecting an eſcape, and ſhe trembled for the life of her ſon. But happily recollecting, that he might poſſibly be one of thoſe perſons, who had been unfortunately proſcribed for adhering to the intereſt of her huſband, ſhe approached the robber with an air of majeſtic confidence, and preſenting to him the young prince, called out, “ Here my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of the king's ſon.” Struck with awe at the name of his prince, and penetrated with compaſſion at beholding perſons of the higheſt rank reduced to ſuch melancholy diſtreſs, the robber, who was not wholly loſt to humanity and virtue, vowed to devote himſelf to her ſafety and protection. He accordingly conducted her out of the foreſt to a village by the ſea-ſide, whence ſhe ſoon after eſcaped to the continent.

The captivity of Henry, the baniſhment of queen Margaret, and the extirpation of the moſt conſiderable Lancaſtrians, removed all farther fears of oppoſition, and Edward now found himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne. He therefore applied himſelf to acquire a general popularity. He lived with his ſubjects in the moſt familiar manner. He attended leſs to the cares of royalty, than to the diſſipation of amuſements and the allurements of paſſion. He became the general patron among the men, and the general lover among the ladies. Even foreign princes courted his alliance; and ſeveral matches worthy of him were propoſed, particularly Margaret, daughter to the king of Scotland; Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry IV. of Caſtile; and Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to the queen of France. The laſt was choſen, and the earl of Warwick was ſent to demand that princeſs in marriage.

But while the earl was labouring to promote at once the glory of his maſter and the advantage of his country, an event happened which rendered his negotiation abortive. Edward being at a hunting match at Wychwood-foreſt, took the opportunity of paying a viſit to the ducheſs of Bedford, who then reſided at Grafton-manor, near Stony Stratford. The ducheſs, ſoon after her huſband's death, had married Sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman, to whom ſhe bore ſeveral children, particularly Elizabeth, remarkable at once for the grace and beauty of her perſon, and her mental accompliſhments. This amiable lady had married Sir John Gray, of Groby, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; but her huſband having embraced the Lancaſtrian party, and falling in the diſpute between the two Houſes, his eſtate was forfeited to the crown, and his widow had retired to her father's ſeat, where ſhe lived in the greateſt privacy.

The preſence of the king was thought a favourable opportunity for the beautiful widow to obtain ſome grace from the young monarch, who was ſo greatly celebrated for his condeſcenſion and gallantry, eſpecially to thoſe of her ſex. She accordingly threw herſelf at the king's feet, and, with a flood of tears, implored his pity on her diſtreſſed family. The ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction ſtrongly affected the amorous Edward; love ſtole inſenſibly into his heart, under the appearance of compaſſion, and her ſorrow, ſo becoming a woman of virtue, ſoon rendered his eſteem and regard equal to his affection. He raiſed her from the ground with aſſurances of favour; he found his paſſion increaſe every moment, by the converſation of the amiable object, and he was ſoon reduced in his turn to the poſture and ſtile of a ſupplicant at the feet of Elizabeth. But the lady, averſe to diſhonourable love, obſtinately refuſed to gratify his paſſion, and nobly anſwered, “ That “ as ſhe was too good to be the concubine, and “ too mean to be the wife of a king, ſhe would “ ſtill continue in her humble ſtation.” Such modeſty, ſuch generous indifference, increaſed at once his paſſion and veneration for the amiable object. Fame, glory, and empire, ſunk before his love, and his only deſire now was to enjoy, on any terms, the object of his affection. He married this beloved widow privately at Grafton, and endeavoured to keep the tranſaction ſecret from the nation.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick had laboured ſo aſſiduouſly in conducting his negotiation, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the bringing over the princeſs to England; but when he heard of Edward's clandeſtine marriage, (which was not long before it tranſpired) he conſidered it as the higheſt inſult that could have been offered to his honor, and inſtantly breaking off the negotiation, he returned to England, glowing with rage and indignation.

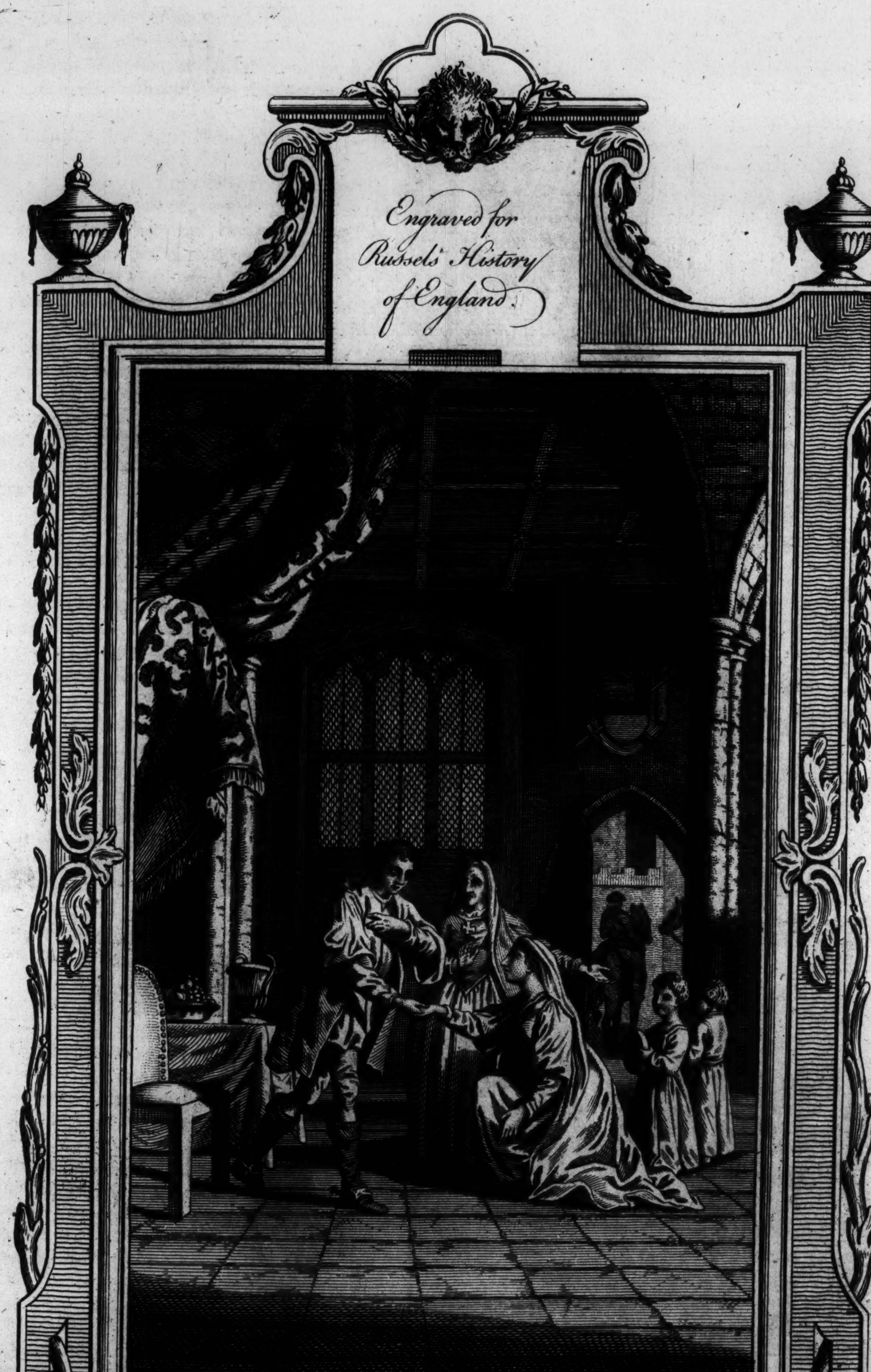
A. D. 1465. The king's marriage being now publickly declared, the queen received the compliments of all the nobility; and on the 26th of May was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The indiſcreet Edward endeavoured not to regain the friendſhip of Warwick, to whom he was indebted for his crown: on the contrary, he took methods which tended directly to widen the breach between them. He laviſhed a profuſion of honours and eſtates on the family of his queen. Her father was created earl of Rivers, and made high conſtable of England. Her brother, John Woodville, was married to the daughter and heireſs of lord Scales, to whoſe honors and eſtates he ſucceeded; and all her friends and relations were raiſed and enobled by the royal favour.

This partiality excited an uncommon degree of jealouſy among the nobility, eſpecially as Edward had obtained from parliament a general reſumption of all the grants which had been made ſince his acceſſion to the throne. Warwick ſaw the diſcontents of the people with a ſecret ſatisfaction, and hoping to be in a condition to make Edward feel the weight of his reſentment, he retired from court, and repaired to his caſtle at Warwick.

A. D. 1466. Edward knew the cauſe of Warwick's ſequeſtering himſelf from the affairs of government, and took the moſt prudent methods for rendering any attempt, that might be made by that ambitious nobleman, abortive. He concluded a treaty of alliance with Phillip, duke of Burgundy, a deſcendant of the houſe of Lancaſter, but who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing to his political ambition the intereſt of that unfortunate and oppreſſed family. The duke of Britany alſo entered into an alliance with him, and the king of Scotland prolonged the truce for forty years. He was equally ſucceſsful in obtaining ſupplies from his parliament; they granted him ſubſidies with a liberality unknown in any former reign. The Commons alſo paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the ſmall remains of the Lancaſtrian party; and by theſe forfeited eſtates the king was enabled to gratify his friends; but his favours were chiefly beſtowed on the queen's family. That princeſs now procured her ſiſter Catherine to be married to the young duke of Buckingham, a minor, and a ward of the crown. William Herbert having eſpouſed Mary, another of her ſiſters, was created lord Dunſter, and afterwards earl of Huntingdon: and Anne, a third ſiſter, married a ſon and heir of Grey, lord Ruthyn, who was now honoured with the title of earl of Kent.

A. D. 1468. The earl of Warwick and his friends ſaw this profuſion of favours laviſhed on the Woodville family with ſecret indignation; and were joined by a multitude of diſcontented nobles; among whom was the duke of Clarence, Edward's elder brother. Warwick, however, ſtill preſerved the external mark


Engraved for Russel's History of England.

Wale delin. White sculp.

Lady Elizabeth Grey at the Feet of **EDWARD IV** imploring a maintenance for herself and Children.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

marks of ſubmiſſion to Edward but redoubled his attention to increaſe his popularity. His houſe was always open, his tables always ſpread for every one who choſe to partake of his hoſpitality; and hence he became a greater favourite with the people than ever.

The duke of Clarence, already diſguſted with the meaſures of the court, now contracted an intimate connection with Warwick by marrying his eldeſt daughter Iſabella, with whom he obtained a conſiderable ſettlement; after which the earl retired to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1469. The ſpirit of faction now threatened the kingdom with all the horrors of civil diſcord. Various inſurrections happened in different parts, but by whom they were incited was not known. The firſt of theſe, which began in the north, was headed by one Rober tHillyard, generally called Robin of Ryddeſdale; but the inſurgents were ſoon routed, and their leader executed. The malecontents were, however, rather animated than diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of their firſt attempt. They again aſſembled in more formidable numbers; and were joined by lord Fitz Hugh, and Henry Neville, ſon to the lord Latimer. But as both theſe noblemen were totally ignorant of military affairs, the command was given to Sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and experience. Their firſt intention was to make themſelves maſters of the city of York; but being diſappointed in procuring a ſufficient train of artillery, they reſolved to direct their march towards the capital; and openly declared, "That they were marching to deliver their lawful ſovereign, king Henry, from his confinement, and re-place him on the throne of his anceſtors."

Edward, alarmed at the progreſs of the rebels, and the continual augmentation of their numbers, iſſued orders to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the earl of Rivers, to aſſemble an army in Norfolk, and the adjacent counties. He alſo wrote to his friend the earl of Pembroke, commanding him to aſſemble the Welſh, and croſs the country immediately, in order to intercept the march of the rebels from the north.

The earl ſo exerted himſelf in the diſcharge of theſe orders, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and marched with great expedition againſt the inſurgents, who were then in the neighbourhood of Northampton. In his route he was joined by the earl of Devonſhire, at the head of a conſiderable body of archers. As ſoon as the two armies came in ſight of each other, Pembroke deached all his cavalry, under the command of his rother, Sir Richard Herbert, with orders to oberve the poſition of the enemy, and if he thought practicable to attack their rear. Sir Richard exeuted his orders; but perceived that ſuch wiſe preautions had been taken by the leader of the inſurents, that an attack muſt be attended with the utoſt diſadvantage. The fiery ſpirit of the Welſh ould not, however, be reſtrained by prudential reans: they fell upon the rear of the enemy, and ere repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter.

In the mean time, the earl of Warwick arrived om Calais; and the rebels, flattering themſelves ith being powerfully aſſiſted by that popular noblean, changed their route. Inſtead of purſuing e road to London, they directed their march toards Warwick-caſtle. Pembroke, impatient of venge, followed the rebels with ſuch expedition, at he came up with them near Banbury, and the o armies encamped near each other. During the ght, a trivial difference about quarters ariſing beeen the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, the ter retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels. This deſertion filled the inſurgents with hopes of obtaining a complete victory; and Sir Henry Neville, one of their leaders, having charged the royaliſts at too great a diſtance from the main body, was ſurrounded, and taken priſoner. This misfortune checked the ardour of the rebels, and they returned to their camp. But Pembroke having, without any form of trial, put the noble priſoner to death, they were exaſperated to a degree bordering on madneſs. They attacked the Welſh army with a fury that was irreſiſtible, put them to the ſword without mercy; and, having taken Pembroke and his brother priſoners, cauſed them both to be immediately beheaded.

The rebels, elated with their ſucceſs, detached a party to Grafton-manor who ſeized the earl of Rivers and his ſon John, and ſtruck off their heads in the market-place at Northampton. But here their diſorders ended. Satisfied with having deſtroyed the moſt obnoxious of Edward's miniſters, they diſperſed, and returned quietly to their reſpective habitations.

The king, perſuaded that the ſucceſs of the rebels was owing to the deſertion of the earl of Devonſhire, ordered that nobleman to be beheaded, which ſentence was executed at Bridgewater on the 17th of Auguſt.

A. D. 1470. In the beginning of this year another rebellion broke out in Lincolnſhire, where the inſurgents were headed by Sir Robert Welles, ſon to the lord of that name. The army of the rebels amounted to 30,000 men; but lord Welles was ſo far from favouring this rebellion of his ſon, that he fled to the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, in order to ſecure his perſon againſt the anger or ſuſpicion of the king. Edward marched at the head of his army againſt the rebels, and ſent a preſſing meſſage with aſſurances of ſafety to lord Welles, requeſting he would attend him in his expedition. Not ſuſpecting that the king would forfeit his word ſo ſolemnly given, the nobleman obeyed the ſummons, and joined the royal army. During their march, the king prevailed upon lord Welles to write a preſſing letter to his ſon, perſuading him to abandon the party of the rebels, and return to his duty. The ſon, naturally imagining his father to be under confinement when this letter was wrote, and thinking that his engagements of honor ought not to be broken, by filial compliance, refuſed to aſſent: upon which Edward, with a cruelty which nothing but the barbarous proceedings in a civil war can account for, put the father to death for the diſobedience of his ſon.

The report of this inhuman proceeding effected, even in thoſe barbarous times, a general horror, and inſpired Sir Robert Welles with fury for revenge. He immediately engaged the royal army, but the conteſt was unequal. The firſt charge of the rebels was, however, ſo furious that fifteen hundred of Edward's army were cut to pieces, but the former being undiſciplined they were ſoon broken, and driven from the field of battle, with the loſs of ten thouſand men killed upon the ſpot. Their general, Sir Robert, was taken while fighting obſtinately at the head of about ſeventy gentlemen of note, and ſoon after beheaded at Stamford.

Theſe inſurrections were only preludes to thoſe of a more ſerious nature. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick (who were more firmly attached to each other from the former having married the eldeſt daughter of the latter) now engaged in open rebellion; but the meaſures they took were ſo ill concerted, that they were obliged to apply to the court of France for protection. Lewis XI. one of the moſt politic princes of his age, now undertook to reconcile Warwick with queen Margaret, who then reſided at her father's court. Perhaps no two perſons ever entertained a greater animoſity againſt each other than Warwick and Margaret. His father had been executed by the orders of the queen. He himſelf had twice reduced Henry to captivity, and baniſhed Margaret, and put her moſt zealous friends and partizans to death. He had been the ſcourge of the houſe of Lancaſter. But all theſe difficulties Lewis found means to remove. They were both highly exaſperated againſt Edward, and their common intereſt formed an union between them. It was determined to re-eſtabliſh Henry on the throne. At the ſame time, it was agreed, that Warwick and the duke of Clarence ſhould direct the adminiſtration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's ſon; that prince Edward ſhould marry the lady Anne, ſecond daughter of that nobleman; and that in caſe of failure of male iſſue in the prince, the crown ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence.

Edward received authentic intelligence of this extraordinary treaty from the duke of Burgundy, who had fitted out a large fleet to intercept Warwick in his paſſage; but he availed himſelf not of the diſcovery. He was even ſo confident of rendering the attempt abortive, that he declared, the duke might have ſaved himſelf the trouble of guarding the ſeas, as he wiſhed for nothing more than to ſee Warwick in England. It was not long before that nobleman appeared. He landed at Dartmouth about the middle of September, and immediately declared for king Henry. The name of Warwick, ſo dear to the Engliſh, his immenſe credit and the turbulent diſpoſition of the Engliſh, drew to his ſtandard, in a few days, an army of ſixty thouſand men.

This unexpected defection of the Engliſh greatly alarmed Edward. He ſaw his folly when it was too late to prevent the conſequences. He was then with his army in the north, and employed in quelling an inſurrection raiſed in Yorkſhire by the lord Fitz Hugh, who had married one of the ſiſters of the earl of Warwick. But on receiving advice of the ſucceſs of that popular nobleman, he immediately altered his route, and directed his march towards London with the greateſt expedition.

Warwick, being determined, if poſſible, to engage Edward before he reached the capital, advanced acroſs the country, and came up with the royal army in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The marquis of Montague, the brother of Warwick, had raiſed an army of ſix thouſand men, and was folloing Edward, in order, as it was imagined, to reinforce the royal army. But the king had no ſooner halted, on account of the approach of Warwick, than the marquis fell upon the rear of the royal army, during the night, with the utmoſt fury, and the air reſounded with the cry of "God ſave king Henry!" The king, alarmed at the noiſe, ſtarted from his bed, and was ſoon convinced that it was the cry of war, generally uſed by the Lancaſtrian party. Lord Haſtings haſtened into his apartment, and informed him of his danger; urging him to make his eſcape from an army where he appeared to have ſo many concealed enemies, and ſo few zealouſly attached to his ſervice. He had hardly time to get on horſeback before the enemy attacked his quarters. A few minutes would have determined the fate of Edward. He fled with the utmoſt precipitation, attended with a ſmall retinue, to Lynn in Norfolk, where he fortunately found ſome Dutch ſhips ready for ſea, and ſailed immediately. But his danger did not terminate with his embarkation. A fleet of ſhips belonging to the Eaſterlings, or Hans-towns, who were then at war both with France and England, were hovering on the Norfolk coaſt, and gave chace to the king's veſſels; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they eſcaped into the port of Alcmaer, in Holland.

No ſooner was the king fled, than the earl of Warwick proceeded with all expedition to London, delivered Henry VI. from the Tower, replaced him on the throne, and proclaimed him king with the utmoſt ſolemnity. The moſt conſiderable partiſans of the York family either ſought protection beyond the ſeas, or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries where the eccleſiaſtical privileges afforded them ſhelter from the inſults of their enemies. It is computed, that in London alone, no leſs than two thouſand perſons ſaved themſelves in this manner; and among the reſt Edward's queen, who went privately by water from the Tower to Weſtminſter-abbey, in order to avoid the violence of the citizens, who now appeared as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward. The earl of Worceſter, conſtable of England, fell into the hands of the Lancaſtrians, and was ſoon afterwards beheaded.

A parliament was now ſummoned, in the name of Warwick, to meet at Weſtminſter; and as that aſſembly could pretend to no liberty amidſt ſuch enraged factions, their proceedings were entirely directed by the ruling party. The treaty with Margaret was here fully ratified. Henry was acknowledged king; but as his incapacity for government was univerſally acknowledged, the regency was intruſted to Warwick and Clarence, till prince Edward reached the age of majority; and in default of that prince's iſſue, Clarence was to ſucceed to the crown. Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an uſurper of the throne. Even the paternal eſtate of the York family was allowed to be forfeited. All his friends were attainted; particularly the duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother. The attainders of the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Pembroke, Oxford, Richmond, and Ormond, were reverſed; and all who had ſuffered for adhering to Henry were reſtored to their honors and eſtates.

The conjunctive regents now aſſumed the government in Henry's name, and diſpoſed of all poſts both civil and military. The judges, ſheriffs, and coroners, were changed in every part of the kingdom. The archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed chancellor, and the duke of Clarence lord lieutenant of Ireland. At the ſame time, the paternal eſtate of the York family was ſettled upon him. The marquis of Montague was reſtored to his favourite poſt of warden of the eaſt marches of Scotland, and a long truce was concluded with France.

When Edward landed at Alcmaer he was kindly received by De Bruges, governor of Holland, under the duke of Burgundy. But that prince was greatly perplexed with regard to the meaſures moſt proper for him to purſue in this unexpected revolution. He was fearful of plunging himſelf into a war with England, by giving the unfortunate exile an aſylum in his dominions; and he was already attacked by Lewis XI. who had made himſelf maſter of Amiens and St. Quintin. He therefore ſent his ſecretary, Philip de Comines, to Calais to ſee what Vauclere the governor would do in this ſudden change of affairs, and to take meaſures for preventing a rupture with England. He found the governor, the garriſon, and all the inhabitants of the town, dreſſed in Warwick's livery, which they had aſſumed on the firſt news of that nobleman's ſucceſs, and was aſſured that the earl was ſending over four thouſand men to begin hoſtilities in the duke's dominions, who, as the protector of Edward, had been declared the enemy of England.

Philip, though alarmed at this intimation, told the governor that his maſter's treaty, which was made with the kingdom as well as the king of England, was ſtill in force: and that the duke of Burgundy conceived himſelf bound to obſerve the articles, the change of the king's name from Edward to Henry making no difference. Theſe arguments would, however, have had little weight with the Engliſh government, had they not been ſupported by the merchants of London and Calais, who had then great influence on the affairs of the nation, and who were afraid of loſing the principal part of their commerce with the duke of Burgundy. At their inſtances therefore the earl of Warwick put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, and it was agreed that the treaty ſhould continue in force; and the duke, on his part, promiſed to give no aſſiſtance to Edward.

This covenant, however, was very ill obſerved; for though the duke refuſed to ſupply him openly, he equipped four large veſſels in the name of ſome private merchants, and cauſed fourteen ſhips to be ſecretly hired of the Eaſterlings. This ſmall ſquadron, together with a conſiderable ſum of money, he delivered to Edward, who immediately ſailed for England, with a ſmall retinue and a body of two thouſand men.

A. D. 1471. Edward, after a ſhort paſſage, attempted to land on the coaſt of Eſſex, but found it impracticable from the diſaffection of the inhabitants. He therefore ſteered to the northward, intending to land at Cromer in Norfolk, but being informed by Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham, whom he ſent on ſhore to learn the ſentiments of the people, that the inhabitants were not willing to receive him, he again put to ſea; and a ſtorm ariſing ſoon after, he was obliged to land at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire.

Edward was ſoon convinced that the policy of the earl of Warwick with regard to changing the magiſtrates was very detrimental to his intereſt, and that it would be neceſſary for him to have recourſe to art and diſſimulation to effect his purpoſe. He pretended, and even took an oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but to recover his paternal eſtates, which had been unjuſtly taken from him by the parliament. This political diſſimulation produced the deſired effect upon the minds of the people. Compaſſion ſupplied the place of affection: numbers, deceived by his humble pretenſions, flocked to his ſtandard, and the nobility were very willing to receive him as a fellow-ſubject, though not as a king. He marched directly for the capital of the county where he landed, and found the inhabitants univerſally diſpoſed to aſſiſt him in recovering the eſtates he enjoyed from his anceſtors, though not in the recovery of the crown. It was, therefore, thought neceſſary to give them every ſatisfaction in his power with regard to his pretenſions; and he ſcrupled not to take a ſolemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his claim to the crown of England.

But Edward was far from deſigning to keep this oath longer than it tended to promote his intereſt and anſwer his future expectations. His army was now conſiderably increaſed, and he determined to march towards the capital, where he flattered himſelf he had many powerful friends. Warwick had aſſembled an army in the neighbourhood of Leiceſter, and advanced to give him battle; but Edward by following another road paſſed him unmoleſted, and preſented himſelf before the gates of London. The citizens readily admitted him, and he once more triumphantly entered the capital, while Henry, who had not found means to eſcape, nor perhaps ſo much as thought of it, was again conducted to his confinement in the Tower, from whence he had been taken only ſeven months before, to remount the throne. Such are the ſtrange viciſſitudes of fortune!

Edward was now in a condition to oppoſe his enemies, and being informed that the earl of Warwick was marching to give him battle, he advanced to meet him, and the two armies came in ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of Barnet. Margaret was every day expected with a conſiderable reinforcement of foreign troops, and all her friends held themſelves in readineſs to join her ſtandard. But Warwick, who was determined either to gain the whole honour of the victory or periſh in the attempt, waited not for Margaret's arrival. The night before the engagement, the duke of Clarence, who had ſecretly entered into engagements with his brother, deſerted to him, and carried with him twelve thouſand men.

This defection of Clarence greatly affected the ſpirits of Warwick's ſoldiers; and had the earl not been ſo near the enemy he would, in all probability, have declined a battle, and waited the arrival of Margaret; but he was now ſeveral days march from a place of ſafety, and to have attempted a retreat in the face of an army ſuperior in numbers to his own, would have been certain ruin; nor would his intrepid ſoul, a ſtranger to fear, ſuffer him to turn his back upon the enemy. Edward and Clarence offered him terms of peace; but theſe he rejected with diſdain, and told them, "that he would rather be conſiſtent with himſelf than follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined either to gain the victory or loſe his life."

Early the next morning (which was Eaſter-day the 14th of April) both armies were drawn out in order of battle. Edward's van-guard was commanded by the duke of Glouceſter; the main body by himſelf; and the rear by lord Haſtings. The right wing of Warwick's army was commanded by the marquis of Montague and the earl of Oxford; the left by Warwick himſelf; and in the center was a large body of archers commanded by the duke of Somerſet.

The engagement began between four and five o'clock in the morning, when the troops of Warwick, though inferior in number to thoſe of Edward, charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity, that the earl of Oxford's diviſion broke the main body of Edward's army; but purſuing the fugitives with too ſanguine an eagerneſs, left the main body defenceleſs. Edward perceived the miſtake, and attacked the weakened part of Warwick's diviſion at the head of a body of reſerve. Oxford ſoon ſaw his error, and wheeled about to recover his former ſtation; but unfortunately his men, who wore ſtars for their badges, returning from the purſuit and paſſing near the duke of Exeter's diviſion, the latter miſtook their ſtars for ſuns, the badge which diſtinguiſhed Edward's ſoldiers, and charged them ſo furiouſly, that they drove them off the field before the miſtake was diſcovered. This gave the forces of Edward's routed wing an opportunity of rallying. The battle was now no longer equal; the late unfortunate accident had occaſioned a ſuſpicion of treachery. They, however, defended themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, and, in all probability, would have put a final period to Edward's reign, could the unfortunate accident have been retrieved. But that was impoſſible. Warwick in vain exerted all his efforts to ſupport his forces, now borne down by the weight of numbers. He perceived the battle was irretrievably loſt, and diſdaining life when victory was gone, he ruſhed into the middle of Edward's ranks, and fell covered with wounds. His brother, the marquis of Montague, followed his example, and periſhed by his ſide. Their deaths compleated the route of their army; and as Edward had iſſued orders to give no quarter, a dreadful carnage enſued. About two thouſand fell on the ſide of the conquerors, and three thouſand on that of the vanquiſhed. The earl of Oxford and the duke of Somerſet fled into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops there for Warwick. The duke of

Exeter was wounded, ſtripped, and left for dead on the field, where he lay till the evening, when, coming to himſelf, he made ſhift to crawl to the houſe of one Rutland, where he continued till his wounds were cured; but he was afterwards ſeized and committed to the Tower.

As ſoon as the battle was over, Edward poſted to London, and entering St. Paul's cathedral at evening ſervice, he there offered his own and his enemies ſtandards; and, to prevent any doubt of the death of the earl of Warwick and his brother, he cauſed their naked bodies to be expoſed to public view for three days together in the cathedral; after which they were carried to Biſham in Berkſhire, and interred in the priory founded by their anceſtors.

Edward imagined, that by the death of the earl of Warwick he had eſtabliſhed his throne on a ſolid foundation; but he ſoon received freſh proofs that the war was far from being ended. On the very day after the fatal battle of Barnet queen Margaret, with her ſon the prince of Wales, landed at Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, attended by the counteſs of Warwick, the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, the lord Wenlock, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, at the head of a conſiderable body of French troops. The queen had hardly time to repoſe herſelf after the fatigue of a very tempeſtuous paſſage, before ſhe received the fatal intelligence of the defeat and death of Warwick, and the captivity of her huſband. The ſoul of Margaret, hitherto a ſtranger to fear, could not ſupport the ſhock. Her courage and magnanimity gave way to grief and deſpair. She retired to the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampſhire, and regiſtered herſelf, her ſon, and her followers, as perſons claiming ſanctuary in that religious retirement. But her ſpirits were ſoon raiſed from the abyſs of terror into which the weight of her misfortunes had plunged them, by the appearance of the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, the viſcount Beaumont, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who, on the firſt news of her landing, immediately repaired to her with their vaſſals and dependents, who all offered to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes.

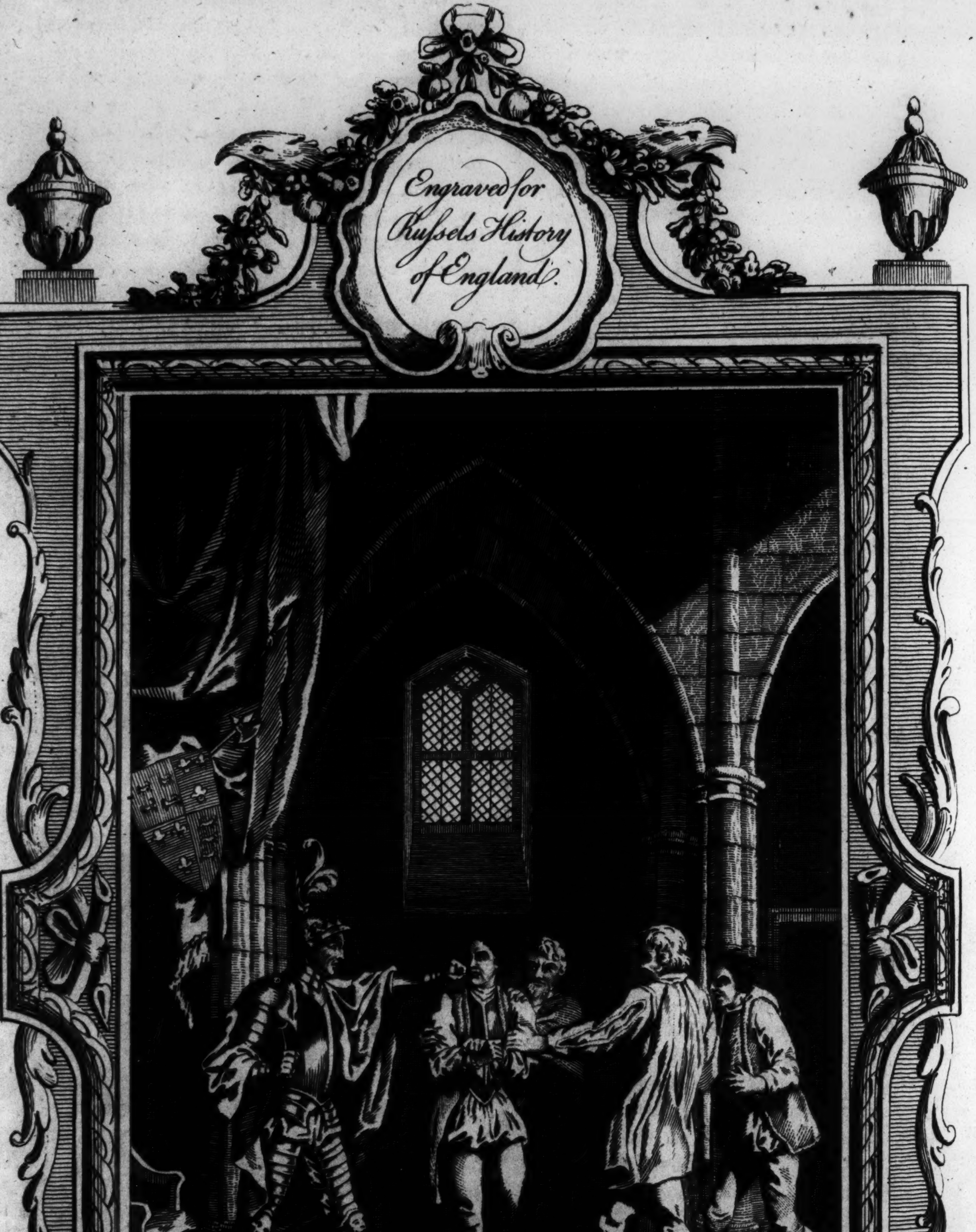
Encouraged by this ſhew of affection, Margaret determined to make one final attempt for the recovery of her throne. She left her ſanctuary, and putting herſelf at the head of her foreign forces, began her march through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, where her army was every day conſiderably increaſed by the continual acquiſition of new partiſans. On the twenty-ninth of April the queen reached Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, where ſhe propoſed to halt and refreſh her wearied troops after their long and fatiguing march; and then proceed to the borders of Wales in order to join the earl of Pembroke, who had raiſed a conſiderable body of archers. But the activity of Edward prevented this junction. He no ſooner received advice of the queen's landing, than he ſet out at the head of his army to give the Lancaſtrians battle, before their whole ſtrength was conſolidated: and after a very painful and fatiguing march, encamped, on the third of May, within three miles of the enemy.

Aſtoniſhed at the approach of Edward's army, a council was immediately held in the queen's camp, where it was reſolved to paſs the Severn, in order to join Pembroke's forces; but the city of Glouceſter refuſing to open her gates, it was conſidered as impracticable to croſs the river in their preſent ſituation without expoſing their rear to inevitable ruin. It was therefore determined, to intrench the army in a part adjacent to the town of Tewkeſbury, where the troops would be flanked on both ſides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and broken ground, and the rear defended by the town and abbey; while a ſtrong entrenchment was to be thrown up in the front of the army. Could this reſolution have been completely executed, the queen's camp would have been impregnable; but the activity of Edward prevented them from effecting their deſign; he determined to attack them the next day, before their fortifications could be completed.

The Lancaſtrians, however, were ſo expeditious, that Edward owed his ſucceſs to ſtratagem. Early in the morning he drew up his army in two lines, the firſt of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, while he himſelf, aſſiſted by the duke of Clarence and lord Haſtings, led the other. The Lancaſtrian army was formed into three lines; the firſt was commanded by the duke of Somerſet and his brother lord Beaufort; the ſecond by the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by lord Wenlock; and the third by the earl of Devonſhire. The duke of Glouceſter began the attack with the utmoſt fury; but Somerſet's diviſion, who guarded the front of the entrenchment, received them with ſuch intrepidity, that they were repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter; and had Somerſet been as remarkable for prudence as he was for valour, Edward, in all probability, would have been obliged to abandon the attempt. But Glouceſter, purſuant to the orders he had received from his brother, perceiving the intrenchments were not to be forced, pretended to retire in confuſion. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; Somerſet, whoſe diſpoſition was naturally impetuous, led his diviſion through the defiles of the intrenchment, leaving orders for the ſecond and third lines to ſupport him, and attacked the Yorkiſts in the open field with the utmoſt fury. A dreadful conteſt enſued, and continued without any perceptible advantage on either ſide, till a detachment of two hundred horſe from Edward's army attacked the Lancaſtrians in flank, and threw them into diſorder. Somerſet was now obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former ſtation, which he ſhould not have quitted; but was followed ſo cloſely by Glouceſter's diviſion, that the greater part of his troops were cut to pieces. Amazed at not being ſupported, he caſt his eyes around the camp, and perceived lord Wenlock ſtanding cooly at the head of his diviſion. Somerſet conſtrued this into an act of treachery, and riding up to him with the utmoſt fury, clove the head of that nobleman with his battle-axe.

By this time the duke of Glouceſter had followed the enemy ſo cloſe that his whole diviſion was actually within their entrenchments, and he was ſoon followed by Edward, at the head of the ſecond line. Confuſion now reigned in every part of the queen's camp. The whole army betook themſelves to a precipitate flight after a faint reſiſtance, and Edward gained one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory; ſcarce a perſon of any note in the queen's army eſcaping either death or captivity. Among the ſlain were the earl of Devonſhire, lord Beaufort, Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hambden, Sir Edward Whitingham, and Sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerſet, the grand prior of St. John, and about twenty gentlemen of rank and fortune, took ſanctuary in the abbey-church. But Edward paid no regard to eccleſiaſtical privileges: he ſent a detachment of his forces, who dragged them from their aſylum, and put them immediately to death, according to the barbarous policy of that relentleſs monarch. Margaret of Anjou and her ſon had alſo taken ſanctuary in another religious ſtructure, and were dragged from thence by Edward's ſoldiers. The queen was ſent to the Tower, where ſhe continued four years in cloſe confinement, when ſhe was releaſed by Lewis XI. who generouſly paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom. She retired to France, where ſhe paſſed the remainder of her days in

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsels History of England.

Wale delin. Delvroche sculp.

EDWARD PRINCE of WALES, seized by the Duke of Clarence and others on a Signal being given by EDWARD IV.

in privacy and retirement; after having aſtoniſhed the world by a courage and reſolution, which would have done more honour to her ſex, had ſhe alſo been endowed with its ſoftneſs and other amiable qualities.

But a more melancholy fate attended the young prince her ſon. He was brought into the preſence of Edward, who aſked him in an inſulting manner, "How he dared to invade his dominions?" The noble youth, forgetting his preſent ſituation, replied, with an unſeaſonable vivacity, "That he came to recover his father's crown, and to claim his juſt inheritance." Stung with this intrepid anſwer, the ungenerous Edward, inſenſible to pity, ſtruck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, lord Haſtings, and Sir Thomas Gray, conſidering the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and immediately put a period to his exiſtence by plunging their daggers into his breaſt.

The earl of Pembroke, convinced that the fatal battle of Tewkeſbury had put a final period to the hopes of the Lancaſtrian family, fled into Britany, carrying with him his nephew, the young earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. The only partiſan that now remained was the baſtard of Fauconbridge, who took the advantage of Edward's abſence to attempt the recovery of the capital. He had been honoured with a vice-admiral's commiſſion by the earl of Warwick, and appointed to guard the channel; but having been ſtripped of his employment on the death of that nobleman, he withdrew with the ſhips under his command, and for ſome time ſubſiſted by piracy. The landing of Margaret induced him to aſſiſt that princeſs in recovering the Engliſh ſceptre; and being joined by three hundred men from the garriſon of Calais, he landed with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by the magiſtrates. Great numbers flocked to his ſtandard; and he marched immediately for London, at the head of ſeventeen thouſand men. He entered Southwark without oppoſition; and had not the news of Edward's victory at Tewkeſbury arrived in the critical moment, he had been maſter of the capital. But the citizens, encouraged by the hopes of effectual aſſiſtance from their victorious monarch, ſhut their gates againſt the inſurgents. They made, however, a deſperate attempt to carry the bridge by ſtorm; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, they deſerted their leader, who was ſoon after taken priſoner, and immediately executed. And thus an end was put to the laſt enterprize of the Lancaſtrian party for recovering the crown of England.

All the legitimate male iſſue of that houſe now be-ame extinct in the perſon of the hapleſs Henry VI. ho, on the 20th of June, died ſuddenly in his priſon f the Tower. That unfortunate prince, whoſe in-ocence and melancholy imbecillity might have de-nded him from the attempts of violence, fell a victim the misfortune of being born to a crown. It is retended, and was generally believed, that the duke Glouceſter killed him with his own hand. But the niverſal odium under which that prince's memory de-rvedly labours, inclined perhaps the nation to ggravate his crimes without ſufficient authority. It however, certain, that Henry's death was very dden; and though he had long laboured under an ſtate of health, this circumſtance, joined to the ge-ral manners of the age, gave a very natural ground ſuſpicion; which was rather increaſed than dimi-hed by expoſing the body to public view. That ecaution ſerved only to recal many ſimilar circum-nces in the Engliſh hiſtory, and to furniſh compa-ons no ways favourable to Edward and his friends. s remains were depoſited in the abbey of Chertſey, m whence they were afterwards removed by Richard III. and interred in a more pompous manner at Windſor.

A. D. 1472. Edward had now no competitor for the throne, nor any enemy to fear. A parliament was ſummoned, which met in the beginning of the year, and this aſſembly, like others of the like kind during the civil wars, ratified all the acts of the victor, recognized his title, and again attainted the whole Lancaſtrian party. But proſperity was of more pernicious conſequence to Edward than adverſity. He had ſufficient firmneſs to ſupport all the evils of the latter, but he could not reſiſt the allurements of the former. He devoted himſelf to amuſements, and was far more attentive to fill his coffers than to remove the complaints and grievances of his ſubjects. His familiar manner, and pleaſing addreſs, rendered him, however, extremely popular, notwithſtanding the cruelties he had exerciſed on his enemies. The melancholy ideas of deſtruction were abſorbed in the gay ſcenes of pleaſure and diſſipation.

A. D. 1474. Edward, however, was at length rouſed from the couch of voluptuouſneſs; the deſire of foreign conqueſts now engaged his attention, and he ſeemed anxious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in obtaining the like honours which had ſo nobly emblazoned the reigns of his predeceſſors. A treaty of alliance was concluded with Charles duke of Burgundy; by which it was ſtipulated, that Edward ſhould croſs the ſeas with an army of 10,000 men; and that Charles ſhould join him with all his forces, in order to invade the territories of Lewis: that Edward ſhould challenge the crown of France; and that the ſword of war ſhould not be ſheathed till he had obtained the provinces of Guienne and Normandy: That Champaigne, and ſeveral other territories, ſhould be procured for the duke; and that all his dominions ſhould be freed from the burden of homage to the crown of France. It was added, that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other. The Engliſh parliament, always ready to aſſiſt their ſovereign in any attempt to humble France, granted him a large ſubſidy; and every precaution was taken to render the ſucceſs of this expedition as brilliant as thoſe that attended the attempts of his predeceſſors.

In the ſpring of the following year, 1475, Edward, attended by the principal nobility of England, landed at Calais, at the head of thirty thouſand archers, and prepared to carry his conqueſts into the very heart of France. But the ſanguine hopes of the Engliſh were greatly leſſened, when the duke of Burgundy joined them with only his common equipages. That prince, tranſported by the violence of his temper, had led his army to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed againſt the duke of Lorrain, and other princes of the empire.

Edward was greatly diſguſted at this breach of the treaty, and determined to take every advantage that offered for promoting his own intereſt. Lewis IX, was a prince who diſdained all military glory, and dreading the events of war, he made very advantageous offers to Edward; and a treaty was concluded at Pecquigni, near Amiens; by which it was ſtipulated, "That Lewis ſhould pay ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, to indemnify Edward for the expences of the expedition; that he ſhould alſo pay him annually the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns during their joint lives; that the dauphin of France ſhould marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, and ſettle on her ſixty thouſand livres a year as her jointure; and that neither party ſhould encourage civil wars in the other's dominions, but, on the contrary, aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections of their ſubjects." The two monarchs had afterwards an interview on the bridge of Pecquigni; where mutual profeſſions of friendſhip paſſed between them; and matters being thus peaceably adjuſted, Edward politely took his leave, and returned to England.

A. D. 1476. The diſbanding of Edward's army after his return from France had filled the whole kingdom with robbers; ſo that no perſon could travel without the utmoſt danger of loſing his life or effects. To remedy this grievance, the king, early in the ſpring of this year, made a circuit with his judges through the kingdom, and exerted himſelf with ſuch vigour and impartiality in the diſtribution of juſtice, that he reſtored the public peace, and freed the roads from thoſe gangs of banditti, by whom they were ſo lately infeſted.

But Edward knew that theſe proceedings, however popular and neceſſary, would not be ſufficient to procure him any ſubſidies from the parliament. The leading men of the nation were too highly offended by the miſcarriage of the late expedition, from which they had formed ſuch ſanguine expectations, to think of granting any farther ſupplies. Recourſe was therefore had by Edward to other methods for accumulating treaſure. He engaged in commerce, which he carried on with great advantage, as a private merchant. He ſold the profits of vacant biſhoprics. He demanded fines for the reſtitution of temporalities. He ranſacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large ſums for their confirmation; and he impoſed exorbitant taxes upon the clergy. By theſe methods he amaſſed large ſums, the vice of avarice growing ſtronger as his wealth increaſed and his age advanced. The time not employed in theſe matters he chiefly paſſed in female converſation and amuſements; and his court, from the example of its head, became a ſcene of lewdneſs and diſſipation.*

A. D. 1477. Though the duke of Clarence had ſo greatly contributed to the reſtoration of Edward, by his deſertion from Warwick, yet he could never regain the friendſhip of his brother; the levity and violence of his temper rendering him always ſuſpected. Richard, duke of Glouceſter, a cloſe, reſerved, and deliberate prince, was ſtill a greater enemy to Clarence than the king. Glouceſter had already formed the bloody deſign of ſeizing the crown on the death of Edward, whoſe health was daily declining by his exceſſive debauchery. He therefore became an enemy to Clarence from principle, becauſe he ſtood before him in the order of ſucceſſion. A combination between ſuch potent adverſaries could not fail of deſtroying Clarence; and it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, not doubting but his paſſion would betray him into meaſures which would give them a ſufficient advantage over him. The king hunting one day in the park of Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickſhire, killed a white buck, which was a great favourite of its owner; and Burdet, tranſported with rage, wiſhed the horns of the deer in the belly of the perſon who had adviſed Edward to commit that inſult upon him. This pardonable expreſſion of reſentment was conſidered as a capital crime in a friend to the duke of Clarence, and he was publickly beheaded at Tyburn for this pretended offence.

The next that fell a ſacrifice to their reſentment againſt Clarence, was John Stacy, an eccleſiaſtic; who being better acquainted with mathematics and aſtronomy than moſt men of that age, was conſidered by the vulgar as a magician, and his friendſhip with Clarence rendered him obnoxious to the court. He was tried for that imaginary crime, and being convicted, was cruelly put to death for his learning.

A. D. 1478. Theſe inſtances of cruelty and injuſtice, which Clarence could not help perceiving were pointed at him, excited in his breaſt a thorough deteſtation for the authors. But inſtead of endeavouring to render their malice abortive by ſilence and reſerve, he loudly remonſtrated againſt the iniquity of his perſecutors, and defended, with unſhaken firmneſs, the innocence of his friends. This anſwered the purpoſes of his enemies, who now thought they had a ſufficient opportunity of convicting him. Accordingly he was arreſted, and committed to the Tower; ſoon after which a parliament was ſummoned, when the king appeared perſonally as his brother's accuſer, and pleaded the cauſe againſt him. The liberty of judgment was taken from the court by this ſtrange method of proceeding; ſo that, though only ſome raſh expreſſions were alledged againſt him, he was condemned to ſuffer death.

The king, after the condemnation of his brother, could not be prevailed upon to grant him any other favour than the choice of his death, and he was privately ſuffocated in a butt of Malmſey in the Tower. This was certainly a very whimſical choice, but it evidently appears to have been ſuch as the unfortunate prince thought proper to make. He left two children by the eldeſt daughter of the earl of Warwick: a ſon created an earl by his grandfather's title, and a daughter, afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury.

The death of the duke of Clarence excited ſuch a clamour among the populace, that the miniſtry uſed all their endeavours to conceal the manner of his execution, and gave out that he died ſuddenly of grief and vexation; and as a proof that no violence had been offered to his perſon, his body was expoſed in the cathedral of St. Paul; but this trick was ſo ſtale, that it ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions of the people, who, without ſcruple, loudly exclaimed againſt the cruelty of the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1481. Edward now dedicated his thoughts wholly to ſenſual gratifications: he ſlumbered on the couch of indolence, and his mind was abſorbed in the whirlpool of diſſipation. The French monarch beheld his ſupine conduct with a ſecret pleaſure, and was determined to violate a contract he had made with Edward, relative to the marriage of his ſon. By the treaty of Pecquigni he had promiſed that the dauphin ſhould marry the princeſs Elizabeth, but he had for ſome time altered his mind, and now concluded a treaty of marriage between his ſon and the daughter of Maximilian of Auſtria, an infant only two years of age.

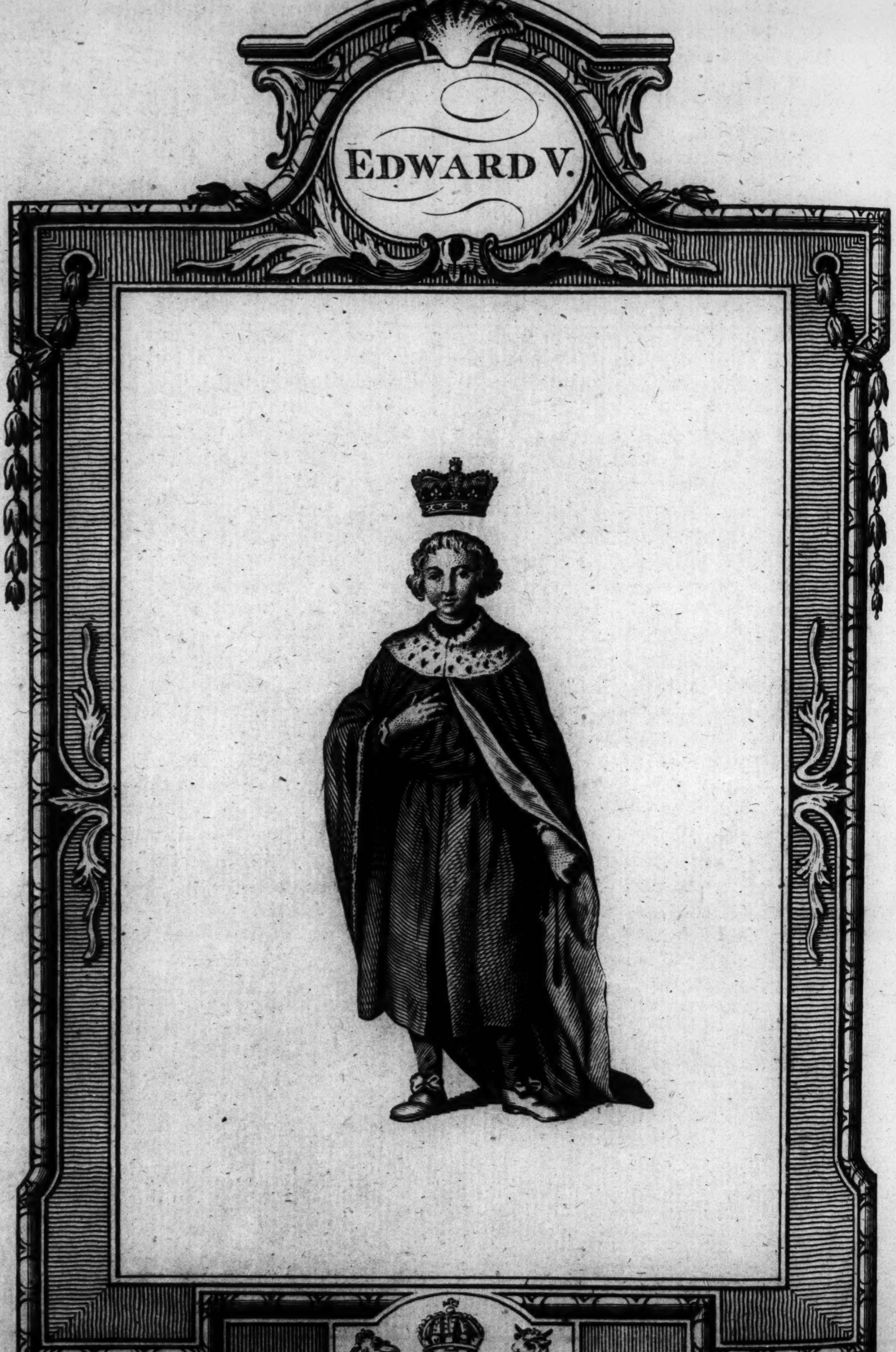
Edward, aſtoniſhed and incenſed at this unpardonable affront, awoke from his lethargy, and vowed to take ample vengeance on Lewis for his perfidy; but that politic monarch, whoſe prudence was equal to his falſhood, foreſaw the gathering ſtorm, and had taken meaſures to break its force. He ſent away ambaſſadors to James III. of Scotland, offering him great advanteges if he would break his truce with Edward, and carry his arms into the northern parts of England.

James,

---

* Edward dedicated the principal part of his leiſure hours to the company of his favourite miſtreſs Jane Shore, who was the wife of a London ſhopkeeper, and to whoſe charms he was now become a mere ſlave. By all the accounts we have of this lady, it appears that ſhe had as many excuſes for frailty as ever fell to any woman's ſhare. Her charms had captivated the moſt beautiful monarch in the world; her mind was formed for magnificence, as her heart was for virtue: both could not be gratified, and virtue ſunk in the unequal ſtruggle; yet with ſo much modeſty did ſhe employ the aſcendancy ſhe had got over Edward, that even the pride of his queen was not offended at their intimacy. She indulged Edward in pleaſure, and he, in return, indulged her power.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


EDWARD V.

James, who was a very weak prince, and lived on bad terms with his own nobility, imprudently liſtened to the artful ſuggeſtions of Lewis, and levied an army to execute a deſign to which he was far from being equal; but when his forces arrived on the borders of England, the barons conſpiring againſt his favourites, put them to death without the form of a trial; and his whole army immediately diſperſed. Soon after, the duke of Glouceſter entered Scotland at the head of the Engliſh forces, made himſelf maſter of Berwick, and forced James to accept of a peace, by which that important fortreſs was ceded to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1483. The war with Scotland being thus terminated, Edward determined to revenge himſelf of the inſults he had received from the French monarch; but while he was making preparations for this purpoſe, he was ſeized with a bodily complaint which put an end to his life on the 9th of April, in the forty-ſecond year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign. Some writers are of opinion that he was carried off by a ſevere fit of a quartan ague; but it is moſt probable that his intemperance and incontinency had broke his conſtitution, and that an ill habit of body, contracted by exceſſes, terminated his life without any particular viſible diſtemper.

Thus died died Edward IV. after a reign contaminated with as much guilt, from perjury and murder, as centered in that of any prince who ever ſwayed the ſcepter of England. Proſperity did not baniſh ſuſpicion in Edward, nor did adverſity cure preſumption: his ſuſpicion was always followed by ſtreams of the nobleſt blood in England, and his preſumption depopulated his country. Had the ſcenes of Edward's ſlaughter cloſed in thoſe of his victories, had he not in his cooler moments ſtained upon ſcaffolds the laurels he had gathered in the field, he might juſtly have claimed a place among the greateſt heroes of his country. We muſt not, however, impute to him the blood that was ſpilt in his battles: he had to deal with an enemy equally intrepid, haughty, vindictive, and bloody as himſelf. He had juſtice on his ſide while he had guilt upon his conſcience: he wore a ſmile upon his face, while he meditated perjury in his heart. He had vaſt courege, but no true greatneſs; he had many engaging qualities, but not one virtue. When ſurrounded with danger, he was ſunk in ſenſuality; and he purchaſed eaſe at the expence of glory. The ſucceſs of his arms was owing to his activity; the diſgrace of his reign, to his indolence. There are few inſtances in hiſtory of kings, who, like Edward, could fly from the brothel to the battle, and who could at once drop the terrors of an inhuman tyrant, to aſſume the graces of a tender lover, or ſlide from ſtate to familiarity. It was peculiar to Edward to throw the diadem gracefully from his brows; it was his alone to reſign the luſtre of majeſty, leſt it might dazzle the eyes of his people. It was owing to this pernicious appearance of humanity that Edward's crimes, inſtead of ſinking him into deteſtation, were overlooked with indifference.

Beſides five daughters, this monarch left two ſons, Edward prince of Wales, his ſucceſſor, then in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ſeventh.

The following are the moſt remarkable occurrences that happened during the reign of Edward IV.

In his ſeventh year, the people had an extravagant way of adorning their feet. They wore the peaks or pikes of their ſhoes ſo long, that they incumbered them in their walking, and were forced to tye them up to their knees; the fine gentlemen did it with chains of ſilver, or ſilver gilt, and others with ſilk laces. This ridiculous faſhion had been in vogue ever ſince the year 1382; but now it was prohibited, on the forfeiture of twenty ſhillings, and the pain of curſing by the clergy.

In the eleventh year of his reign, 1471, William Caxton, a mercer of London, and a lover of letters, and author of the chronicle called *Fractus temporum*, brought the art of printing into England, and practiſed it firſt in Weſtminſter-abbey.

In his ſeventeenth year, there was ſo dreadful a plague, that hiſtorians relate more people were deſtroyed by it, than by fifteen years war before.

In his nineteenth, Robert Byfield, one of the ſheriffs of London, was fined fifty pounds by the court of aldermen, for affronting the lord mayor; which, it ſeems, was only by kneeling too near him at prayers in St. Paul's church.

In the following year, two notorious thieves were preſſed to death for robbing St. Martin's-le-Grand church in London, and others of the gang were hanged and burnt.

SECTION II.

EDWARD V.

The ſecond King of England *of the Line of* York.

EDWARD IV. had no ſooner paid the debt of nature, than his ſon was proclaimed king of England, by the name of Edward V. though that young prince, juſt turned of twelve years of age, never obtained the crown, nor performed one act of ſovereignty: ſo that the interval between the death of his father and uſurpation of his uncle Richard, may properly be termed an inter-regnum, during which that ambitious tyrant concerted and executed the unjuſt and deteſtable means of wreſting the crown from his innocent and hapleſs nephew.

Edward V. at the time of his father's death, reſided at Ludlow-caſtle in Shropſhire, where he had been ſome time placed under the care of his uncle the earl of Rivers. Unhappily for the young prince, two irreconcileable parties now divided the court, namely, that of the queen and her relations, (particularly the earl Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorſet, her ſon by a former huſband) and that of the antient nobility, who envied the diſtinguiſhed exaltation and unlimited credit of the Woodville family. At the head of the latter party were the duke of Buckingham, lord Haſtings the chamberlain, and the lords Howard and Stanley.

The late king had ſeen with regret the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from theſe alarming diviſions during the minority of his ſon, and endeavoured to reconcile the contending parties. He ſent for them as he lay on his death-bed, conjured them to lay aſide their animoſities, and labour to promote peace and unanimity in the kingdom during the tender years of his ſon; and prevailed on them to embrace each other with all the marks of a cordial reconciliation.

But Edward's eyes were no ſooner cloſed by death, than all their former animoſities revived; they followed their ſeparate intereſts, and each endeavoured to gain the duke of Glouceſter, who had been appointed by his brother regent of the kingdom, over to their party. Glouceſter, who was at once both cruel and ambitious, and capable of the moſt inhuman crimes, concealed his dark purpoſes under the maſk of profound diſſimulation and policy; and he affected the greateſt zeal for the ſervice of the queen, that he might acquire a full influence over her conduct.

The earl Rivers had been entruſted by the deceaſed monarch with the care and education of his ſon; and the queen was now deſirous that he ſhould levy a body of troops to conduct his young ſovereign to London, in order to his being crowned with the uſual ſolemnities. Glouceſter perſuaded the queen that an armed force on this occaſion might be dangerous, and was not at all neceſſary. An order was therefore ſent to Rivers to bring the young king to London, with no greater retinue than was neceſſary to ſupport his ſtate and dignity.

In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter ſet out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. On his reaching Northampton he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was alſo attended with a ſplendid retinue; and hearing that the king was every hour expected on that road, he reſolved to wait his arrival, under pretence of attending on his perſon and conducting him to London.

The earl Rivers, apprehenſive that the town of Northampton could not poſſibly afford entertainment for ſo great a number of followers, ſent his pupil forward by another road, to Stoney-Stratford, and went himſelf to Northampton, in order to apologize for this meaſure, and pay his reſpects to the duke of Glouceſter. He was received with the greateſt appearance of ſincere friendſhip; he paſſed the evening in an amicable manner with Glouceſter and Buckingham, and proceeded with them the next day to join the king; but as he was entering Stoney-Stratford, he was arreſted by order of the duke of Glouceſter. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons, was, at the ſame time, put under a guard, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable poſt in the king's houſhold; and all the priſoners were immediately conducted to Pontefract-caſtle.

Glouceſter approached the prince with the greateſt demonſtration of reſpect, and endeavoured to ſatisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother: but Edward, cloſely attached to thoſe near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not ſufficiently ſkilled in the art of diſſimulation to conceal his diſpleaſure at ſo atrocious an act, directly repugnant to all the precepts of juſtice and humanity.

No ſooner did theſe tyrannical proceedings reach the ears of the queen, than ſhe foreſaw that Glouceſter's violence would not ſtop here, and that her own ruin at leaſt, if not that of her whole family, was finally determined. She therefore retired about midnight to the ſanctuary of Weſtminſter, with the duke of York, the marquis of Dorſet, and the reſt of her family, reſolving there to await the returns of better fortune.

Lord Haſtings was at this time in London; and though he hated the queen and her relations, he ſtill revered the memory of his late maſter, and was unalterably devoted to the king and his brother. He was well acquainted with the deſign of ſeizing Rivers, and pleaſed that the ſcheme had taken effect; but he was confident that nothing more was intended than to ſuppreſs the queen's party. He entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of Glouceſter's real deſign. He accordingly wrote to the archbiſhop of York, then lord chancellor of England, deſiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as every thing would tend to promote the peace and happineſs of the kingdom.

The archbiſhop, alarmed at this information, haſtened, before day-break, to the ſanctuary, where he found the queen and her children in all the bitterneſs of affliction, bewailing their miſery, and curſing the authors of their misfortunes. The prelate acquainted her with the confirmation he had received; and aſſured her, that if the lords ſhould ſo far deviate from the principles of humanity or juſtice as to put the king to death, he would immediately crown the duke of York, who was ſtill ſafe even beyond their power: and, as an earneſt of his affection for his deceaſed maſter's family, left in her cuſtody the great ſeal of England.

In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter arrived with the young monarch, who was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the lord-mayor, the magiſtracy, and a body of five hundred citizens, who conducted him to the capital amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. The expreſſions of the duke of Glouceſter's loyalty was ſo great, that they even became ridiculous; but they were excuſed as the overflowings of his zeal. He rode bareheaded before his nephew, bowing on each ſide to the people, and almoſt continually exclaiming, "Behold your king! Behold your ſovereign." Edward was conducted to the biſhop of London's palace, that being thought the moſt proper place of reſidence for him previous to his coronation. And on the ſame day a council was ſummoned to ſettle the adminiſtration, when Glouceſter was declared protector of the realm.

Though the young king was now in Glouceſter's power, yet the ends of his ambition could not poſſibly be anſwered while the duke of York was in a place of ſafety. He therefore propoſed to take him by force from the ſanctuary; and repreſented to the privy-council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehenſions, and the neceſſity of the young prince's appearing at the enſuing coronation of his brother. It was farther alledged, that eccleſiaſtical privileges were originally calculated to give protection to unhappy men, perſecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely uſeleſs to a perſon, who, by reaſon of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither, and who, for the ſame reaſon, was utterly incapable of claiming ſecurity from any ſanctuary. But the two archbiſhops, cardinal Bourchier the primate, and Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, proteſting againſt the ſacrilege of this meaſure, it was agreed, that they ſhould firſt endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by perſuaſion, before any violence ſhould be employed againſt her.

The two prelates were immediately deſired to undertake the negotiation with the queen, and being both of them perſons of integrity, and not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the duke's intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with zealous intreaties, exhortations and aſſurances, to bring her over to the ſame opinion. She continued long obſtinate, and inſiſted, that the duke of York, by living in the ſanctuary, was not only ſecure himſelf, but alſo gave ſecurity to the king, whoſe life no perſon would dare attempt, while his ſucceſſor and avenger remained in ſafety. But finding that no one ſupported her in her ſentiments, and that force, in caſe of refuſal, was threatened by the council, ſhe at laſt complied, and produced her ſon to the two prelates. She was here, on a ſudden, ſtruck with a kind of preſage of his future fate; ſhe tenderly embraced him; ſhe bedewed him with her tears; and, bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expreſſions of regret and reluctance, into their cuſtody.

The prelates inſtantly carried the royal youth to his uncle, then waiting for the event of the conference in the Star-chamber, who received him with diſſembled affection, ſaying, "Now welcome, my lord, even with all my heart." Then taking the child in his arms, he conducted him to the king his brother; and they were both of them, the next day, removed to the Tower. This ſtep did not occaſion the leaſt ſuſpicion in the people, as it was the conſtant practice for the kings of England to paſs ſome time there before their coronation, from whence they always went in cavalcade to Weſtminſter to go through that ceremony.

Though the treacherous and ambitious Glouceſter had thus far ſucceeded in his baſe deſigns, yet there were many other obſtacles ſtill in the way. The numerous iſſue of Edward, and the two children of Clarence, had preferable titles to him. But no reſtraints were ſufficient to interrupt his violence; his fierce and ſavage nature was not ſtartled at any crimes: every thing gave way to his unbounded ambition. The death of the earl of Rivers, and the other priſoners confined in Pontefract-caſtle, was firſt determined; and the Protector found no difficulty in obtaining the conſent of his party to that ſanguinary meaſure; but fearing that a trial might fill the people with apprehenſions, eſpecially as the crimes that could be alledged againſt them were far from being capital, it was reſolved to diſpatch them without any legal proceſs; and orders were accordingly ſent to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper inſtrument in the hands of ſo tyrannic a maſter, to take off the heads of theſe noble priſoners; which orders were punctually executed.

The Protector now thought it was high time to procure ſome of the nobility to embark in the baſe deſign he had formed of ſeizing the crown, as his intention could not long be concealed from the public. He firſt applied to the duke of Buckingham, by making him large offers of private advantages. Buckingham readily embraced the propoſals, and promiſed to ſupport him in all his enterprizes. Glouceſter was alſo deſirous of gaining over the lord Haſtings; but finding him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, he determined to ruin the man whom he deſpaired of engaging to concur in his uſurpations.

On the very day that Rivers and the other noblemen were executed at Pontefract-caſtle, Glouceſter ſummoned a council to meet in the Tower. The lord Haſtings, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting that any deſign was formed againſt his life, repaired to the council, where he met the Protector, whoſe behaviour was remarkably affable. After a ſhort ſtay Richard retired from the board, deſiring the lords to continue their deliberations during his abſence. He ſoon after returned with an angry and enflamed countenance, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the moſt violent indignation. As ſoon as he was ſeated, he addreſſed himſelf thus to the council: "My lords," ſaid he, "what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve who have plotted againſt my life?" Haſtings replied, that they deſerved the puniſhment of traitors. "Theſe traitors," replied the Protector, "are the ſorcerers my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his miſtreſs, with others their aſſociates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" On uttering theſe words, he uncovered his arm, which was ſhrivelled and decayed. The members of the council, who well knew that his arm had always been in that condition, were confounded, and looked upon each other with aſtoniſhment. After a conſiderable pauſe, Haſtings anſwered, "Certainly, my lord, *if* they are guilty of theſe crimes, they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment." "And do you reply to me," ſaid the Protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore, my brother's miſtreſs: you are yourſelf a traitor; and I ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" At this inſtant he ſtruck the table violently with his hand; when a number of armed men ruſhed into the council-chamber, and ſeized the members. Haſtings was led immediately to the green before the chapel of the Tower, where, after confeſſion to a prieſt, who happened accidentally to be on the ſpot, he was beheaded on a log of timber lying on the green. The archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and lord Stanley, who aſſiſted at the council, were ſent to different apartments in the Tower, nor was any perſon ſuffered to viſit them.

Glouceſter, fearful that theſe proceedings would excite a tumult in the city, (the inhabitants of which were ſtaunch friends to Haſtings) immediately cauſed a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, to be read to the populace, enumerating the crimes of Haſtings, and apologizing for the precipitate manner of the execution, from the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery. This proclamation was iſſued within two hours after the above tranſactions; from whence the people conceived the pretended plot to have no exiſtence, and that the ſcheme had been contrived, and the proclamation prepared and engroſſed, ſome time before they were put in practice.

Glouceſter, however, in order to ſmother the ſuſpicions of the people, determined to act with the greateſt conſiſtence in his proceedings. He therefore ordered Jane Shore to be apprehended, and tried before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft; but no proofs appearing againſt her, notwithſtanding the ignorance and abſurdity of the age, ſhe was acquitted of the charge. The Protector, however, was determined ſhe ſhould not eſcape his vengeance. He cauſed her to be indicted in the ſpiritual court for lewdneſs and adultery; and ſhe did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's before all the people. She, however, ſurvived her misfortunes, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas Moore knew her. But though ſhe had greatly recommended herſelf, during the late reign, by acts of beneficence and humanity; though ſhe had removed the ſtings of poverty from the breaſts of the indigent, and applied the balm of comfort to the wounds of affliction, ſhe found no friends in adverſity; and ſhe ſpent the evening of her life in miſery and want.*

No diſturbance having yet ariſen from the baſe proceedings of Glouceſter, he became more and more confident; and determined to perſevere in the effectual

---

* As a matter of great curioſity, it may not be improper to ay before our readers an original letter written by this lady to Edward IV. a ſhort time before his death; which letter not only ews the taſte of writing in thoſe times, but alſo evinces the uſpicions ſhe entertained of Glouceſter, and the conſequences that would ariſe after the death of her royal protector. It was as follow:

"May it pleaſe my king and maſter,

"Vouchſafe to ſtayne thy royal couch with the poor inklings of thy ſervant and hand-maide, whome, nathleſſe, thou haſt moſt tual accompliſhment of his deſigns. He now threw off the maſk of diſſimulation, openly aſpired to the crown, and perpetrated other acts of injuſtice and violence. He propagated doubts with regard to the validity of Edward's marriage with the lady Elizabeth Gray; pretending that he had, previous to that tranſaction, been privately married to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewſbury. But this not gaining belief, he had recourſe to a ſtill more deteſtable calumny. He gave out, that both Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, were illegitimate; that the ducheſs of York had received into her bed different lovers, who were the fathers of theſe children, and that Glouceſter alone was the lawful offspring of the duke of York.

Human nature muſt be ſunk to the loweſt degree of brutality, when it ſcruples not to throw ſuch horrid calumnies on perſons whom even inſtinct teaches to reverence. The ducheſs of York, his own mother, on whom ſo baſe an aſperſion was thrown, was ſtill alive, and a princeſs of irreproachable virtue. But no conſiderations could change the purpoſe of Glouceſter. He cauſed theſe impudent aſſertions to be promulgated from the pulpit. Dr. Shaw, an eminent orator of thoſe times, (and a creature of the duke) was appointed preacher at St. Paul's; and having choſen for his text the following paſſage from the Wiſdom of Solomon, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive," he enlarged upon all the arguments that had any tendency to throw an odium on the births of Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence. He afterwards extolled the virtues of the Protector to the ſkies, repreſenting him as legal heir of the crown, and the only hope of the nation; concluding his panegyric, by crying aloud, "God ſave king Richard." The audience kept a profound ſilence, which greatly diſconcerted both the Protector and the preacher. Shaw loſt all his popularity from this ſhameful proſtitution of his talent, and Richard himſelf was beheld with that contempt he richly deſerved.

Glouceſter, however, was not to be diverted from his purpoſe by one miſcarriage. He had, indeed, proceeded too far, to think of receding. It was neceſſary for him to perſevere: he muſt either gain the ſceptre or periſh. It was therefore agreed in the council, which now conſiſted wholly of Richard's creatures, that another attempt ſhould be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, were aſſembled at Guildhall; where the duke of Buckingham, in a ſtudied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Glouceſter; and concluded with aſking, Whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound ſilence reigned through the whole aſſembly. The duke repeated the ſubſtance of his harangue, and aſked the ſame queſtion; but the ſame ſilence was continued. The mayor deſired the recorder might addreſs the aſſembly, he being always conſidered as the mouth of the city. The experiment was accordingly tried, but with no better ſucceſs; not a word eſcaped from the lips of the audience. "This is aſtoniſhing obſtinacy," cried the duke; "declare your ſentiments one way or other. But you ought to remember, that your conſent is not conſidered as neceſſary. The lords and commons have ſufficient authority to place whom they pleaſe on the throne; and when we aſk your conſent, it ſhould be conſidered as a favour. However, I now demand, in plain terms, whether you will, or will not, have the protector for your ſovereign?" This ſpeech, which was conſidered rather as a menace than an appeal to their judgment, occaſioned a general murmur through the whole audience. At length ſome of the meaneſt apprentices, incited by bribes from the government, ſet up a feeble cry of "Long live king Richard." This was conſidered as a ſufficient declaration of the ſentiments of the nation; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham haſtened to acquaint the Protector, that he was called upon to aſſume the reins of government.

Richard pretended to be aſtoniſhed at the propoſal. He declared he would obſerve inviolably his loyalty to his preſent ſovereign, and exhorted them to imitate his example. He, however, ſuffered himſelf to accept the crown; and from that moment he acted as the legitimate and legal poſſeſſor of the Engliſh throne. All acts of royalty paſſed in his name, and the name of Edward was buried in oblivion.

But a truly tragical ſcene ſoon followed this ridiculous farce, namely, the murder of the two unhappy princes. Richard diſpatched orders to Sir Robert Brackenbury, conſtable of the Tower, to put his nephew to death. But this gentleman, who had a true ſenſe of honour, refuſed to have any ſhare in ſo infamous an office. Diſappointed in this attempt, Richard next applied to Sir James Tyrrel, a man practiſed in the ſcenes of blood, who readily accepted the inhuman commiſſion. Tyrrel choſe three aſſociates, namely Slater, Dighton and Foreſt; and having, by Richard's expreſs order, obtained the keys of the Tower, he led his companions in iniquity to the door of the chamber where the two princes lodged, bidding them execute their orders. They found the unſuſpecting innocents in a ſound ſleep, and after ſuffocating them with the bolſters and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtairs deep in the earth, and the ſpot to be covered with a heap of rubbiſh*.

Such

---

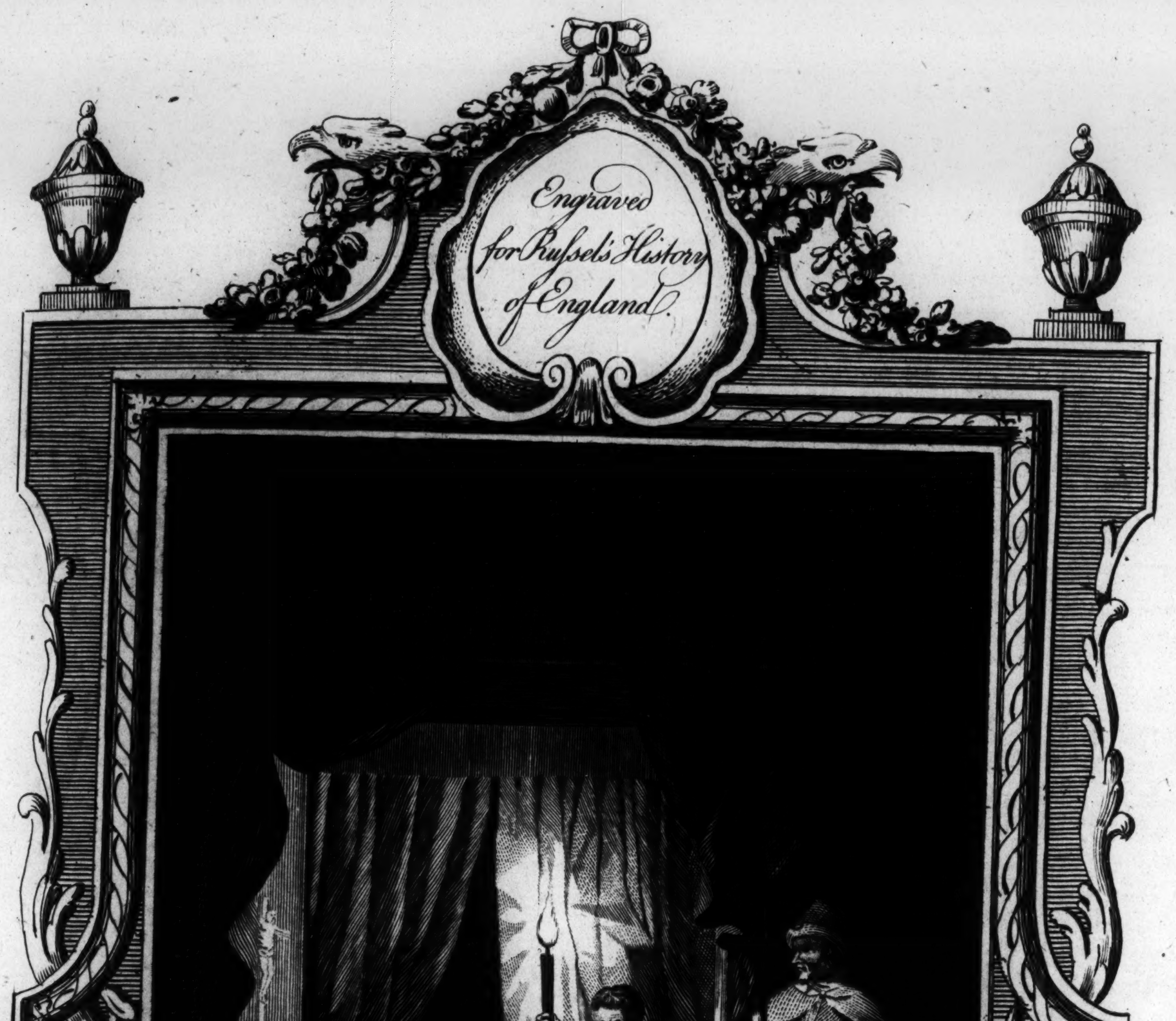
moſt graciouſly daygned to raiſe unto thy royal couche, as Abraham did his hand-maide Hagar; though I wiſh not to ſhare her misfortune, and to be driven from my maſter's preſence. Could my unworthy pen give a decent colouring to thy Jane's affection, then might words, whiche be the painting of thoughtes in the true hearte, do juſtice to the loyal love ſhe beareth unto thy worthy perſonne.

"But how can the black rivulet, which my pen is eager to drinke, be worthily enabled to expreſs, in becomynge termes, the ocean of love that aboundythe in my true hearte! Would to my Savioure, that this ocean of love were not troubled with winds, which blow therein, and rayſe the waves of affliction within my moody ſoul.—I am encompaſſed by three potent enemyes; albeit, not the fleſh, the worlde, or the devil, unleſs lord Haſtings be reſembled to the firſt, for he worketh to withdraw my love from thee, and in thy abſence to diſplace thee from the throne whereon the king is eſtabliſhed in my hearte.

"The royal partner of thy boſom, the queen, may indeed be likened unto the world, for ſhe encompaſſeth me round with ſpies, who watche out for my thoughts.—And though I will not be ſo harſhe in my thought or deed, to ſay thy noble Glouceſter be, in any ſhape, like unto the devil, yet I do verily believe he be more dangerous than the other twaine, though he beareth him towardly. There be ſome, and divers ſome, who ſay he wiſheth not well unto thy government, nay unto thy children.—Among the reſt, the noble lord Haſtings doubted very much, and wiſheth thee long to reign, in order that thou mayeſt the better ſurvive to eſtabliſh thy royal iſſue. Believe what I write cometh from my true heart's affection, and wiſh comfort to the wounded ſpirit of thy loyal ſervant,

JANE SHORE."

[*] The bones of theſe unhappy victims were not diſcovered till the reign of Charles II. the cauſe of which was as follows: The Six Clerks Office being too much crouded with records of bill and other matters neceſſary to be preſerved, orders were give remove them to the White Tower, and a new ſtair-caſe was mad into the chapel for the more eaſy conveyance of them. The bo



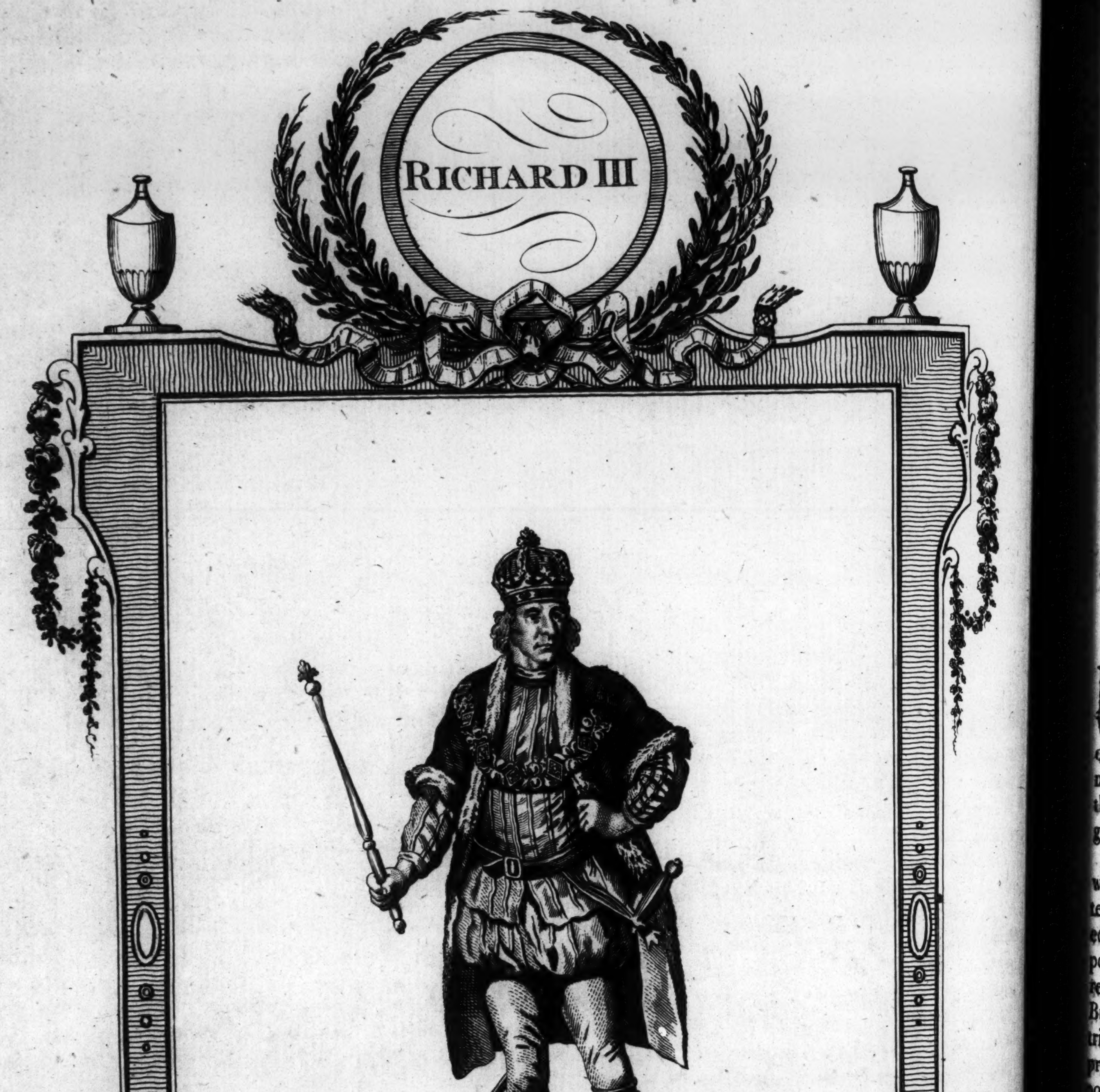
Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England

Wale delin. Dalroche sculp.

The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York Sons of Edward IV.th Murdered in the Tower.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


RICHARD III

Wale delin. *Roberts sculp.*

Such was the end of theſe unfortunate princes, who owed their deaths to the very perſon that ought to have protected them!

Richard, as guardian of his brother's race,
By blood and duty held a parent's place:
Hence, with his hands in royal blood embru'd,
He, in a three-fold light muſt be review'd;
Firſt, as a REGICIDE we brand his name,
Next as a PARRICIDE his crime proclaim;
Then ſink him to a MURD'RER's low degree,
For equal ſins bring equal infamy.

---

bourers, in digging at the foot of the old ſtairs, came to a wooden cheſt, containing human bones covered with ſtones and rubbiſh. Theſe were the bones of the royal infants ſo inhumanly murdered, which King Charles cauſed to be interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel near two other royal children, viz. Mary and Sophia, daughters of James I. and over the place was an ornament of white marble, with an inſcription on it in capital letters.

SECTION III.

RICHARD III.

(The third King of England *of the Line of* York, *and the laſt of the Race of* Plantagenet.*)*

RICHARD, having thus uſurped the throne of England, was crowned with great pomp at Weſtminſter on the 6th of July 1483. All the peers of the realm attended at this ceremony, that they might not, by their abſence, incur the ſuſpicion of the new king, who was now become the object of general terror.

The firſt ſtep Richard took after his coronation was, to endeavour to gain over the nobility to his intereſt; but his actions had been too notorious and execrable to prevail on the more virtuous part of that powerful order. Thoſe who adhered to him, however, received conſiderable emoluments; and the duke of Buckingham in particular, who had ſo greatly contributed to his obtaining the crown, was loaded with preferments. Richard alſo, in order to ſtrengthen his power with foreign alliances, ſent an ambaſſador to the court of Caſtile, with orders to renew the antient alliance between that crown and England. This buſineſs was accordingly effected; as was alſo a commiſſion which he ſent for prolonging the truce with the duke of Britany.

The public affairs being now ſettled, Richard reſolved on making a tour through ſome parts of England, and paſſing Windſor, Oxford, Glouceſter and Coventry, he at length ſtopped at York, where he appeared in all the pomp of royalty with his queen and his ſon prince Edward. Before he left York, he was crowned with great ceremony in the cathedral of that city, and his ſon (then only ten years of age) was created prince of Wales with the uſual formalities.*

When Richard had finiſhed his progreſs he returned to London; ſoon after which a circumſtance happened that evinced he was not ſo ſecurely placed on the throne as he had confidently imagined.

We have already obſerved with what a laviſh hand Richard beſtowed honors and riches on the duke of Buckingham, who had been his great friend and ſupport. It happened, however, that Buckingham, preſuming too far on his merit, had raiſed the jealouſy or indignation of Richard; and, while they were together at Glouceſter during the late excurſion, the duke having made ſome demands which the king thought unreaſonable, he gave him ſuch an anſwer as plainly ſhewed he was highly diſpleaſed. Buckingham, who was haughty, violent, and avaricious, was ſo offended at the king's refuſal that he deſired leave to quit the court to look after his private affairs. Richard, not imagining his denial had made ſo deep an impreſſion on the duke, or perhaps deſpiſing the effects of his reſentment, granted his requeſt, and Buckingham immediately retired to his caſtle of Brecknock, where Morton biſhop of Ely, who had been committed to his cuſtody by Richard, was confined.

The biſhop, who was an able politician, and a zealous friend to the houſe of Lancaſter, conſidered this diſguſt as a favourable incident to bring the duke over to his own party, eſpecially as the family of that nobleman had been zealous Lancaſtrians. The prelate was far from being diſappointed in his expectations: Buckingham liſtened with great attention to his arguments, and a ſcheme was formed for driving the tyrant from the ſeat of power, and placing on the throne the young earl of Richmond,† who was to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, now the lawful ſucceſſor of Edward IV. This alliance they thought could not fail of engaging the two families of York and Lancaſter in their intereſt; and conſequently extinguiſh the flames of civil diſcord which had ſo long ſpread deſolation over the kingdom.

Matters being thus far concerted, it was thought neceſſary to apply to the queen, who ſtill continued in the ſanctuary, in order to obtain her conſent and bring her over to their party. That princeſs readily accepted the propoſals, hoping ſoon to be in a capacity of retaliating on the head of the uſurper all the injuries he had inflicted on her family. The young earl of Richmond engaged to raiſe as many foreign forces

---

[*] It was during this progreſs that, according to all hiſtorians, Richard contrived the making away with the late king's two ſons, Edward prince of Wales and Richard duke of York, that their deaths happening in his abſence, he might be the leſs ſuſpected.

[†] It hath been already obſerved, that the earl of Pembroke, ſoon after the battle of Tewkſbury, had fled to the court of Britany, carrying with him his nephew, young Henry, earl of Richmond. That prince was now conſidered as the head of the Lancaſtrian party. He was heir, by the female line, to the houſe of Somerſet, and grandſon to Sir Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V.

forces as poſſible, and ſolemnly promiſed to celebrate his marriage with Elizabeth as ſoon as he arrived in England.

Though the utmoſt care had been taken to keep theſe deſigns an impenetrable ſecret, yet they eſcaped not the vigilance of Richard, who firſt iſſued a proclamation, offering large rewards for taking any of the conſpirators, and then haſtened with all expedition to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence. He collected his troops, and began his march towards the weſtern counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond propoſed to land, and where ſeveral of his friends were already in arms, expecting to be joined by the duke of Buckingham.

The duke had collected a powerful army, and was now advancing, by long and haſty marches, into the foreſt of Deane, in order to croſs the Severn, and join his weſtern friends at Saliſbury. But on approaching the borders of the river, he found the waters had overflowed their banks in a manner before unknown. The Welſh, alarmed with ſuperſtitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and at the ſame time diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, abandoned his camp, and Buckingham in a few days was left only with one ſervant who was faithful enough to attend his maſter in diſtreſs. He had now no other reſource than that of concealing himſelf till the arrival of the earl of Richmond, or ſome other accident occaſioned a revolution in the government. He accordingly diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, and took ſhelter in the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been a dependant on him, and whom he had by his liberality raiſed to a comfortable eſtate near Shrewſbury; but this wretch, dead to all the feelings of honour and gratitude, and allured by the promiſed reward in the king's proclamation, betrayed him to John Milton, the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who conducted him to Saliſbury, where Richard then kept his court. The unfortunate duke was immediately tried, condemned, and executed, according to the ſummary method practiſed in that age. Previous to his death he begged to be admitted to Richard's preſence, with a deſign, as was ſuppoſed, of ſtabbing him with a dagger, which, on his execution, was found concealed in his boſom.

The other conſpirators, who had taken up arms in different places, deſpairing of ſucceſs from the duke of Buckingham's fate, immediately diſperſed. The marquis of Dorſet and biſhop of Ely made their eſcape beyond the ſeas; and ſome others were equally fortunate; but ſeveral that fell into Richard's hands forfeited their lives.

The earl of Richmond had not been wanting on his part in endeavouring to join his friends on the day appointed. He embarked with 3000 men at St. Maloes on board forty veſſels, but being overtaken by a terrible ſtorm, his fleet was ſeparated, and he was obliged to return to the court of Britany, where he was informed of the unwelcome news of the duke of Buckingham, and the diſperſion of his friends.

A. D. 1484. Thus ended this threatning inſurrection againſt Richard, who now ventured to ſummon a parliament, which met on the 23d of January. In this aſſembly an act of attainder was paſſed againſt the biſhops of Ely, Saliſbury and Exeter, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and other ringleaders of the late inſurrection, who had fled the kingdom; and Richard was empowered by the two houſes to make grants of their forfeited eſtates. Among the perſons attainted, were the earl of Richmond and his brother: the eſtate of the latter, however, was given to her huſband the lord Stanley, whom the uſurper had lately created conſtable of England, and who became anſwerable to keep the counteſs from all illegal correſpondence for the future. Richard's title to the crown was confirmed; and his ſon Edward, being declared heir apparent, the lords ſpiritual and temporal unanimouſly ſwore to maintain his ſucceſſion.

Though Richard appeared now to be quietly ſeated on the throne, yet he ſtill laboured under diſagreeable apprehenſions from the intended marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elizabeth. He ſaw the danger of ſuch a connection, and determined, if poſſible, to prevent it. In order to this, he paid his court to the queen dowager with ſuch art and addreſs, made ſo many profeſſions of a ſincere and unalterable friendſhip, that Elizabeth, tired with confinement, and thinking her former projects totally deſtroyed, liſtened to propoſals of the murderer of her children, and even promiſed him her daughter in marriage; Richard having made way for this ſtrange connection by carrying off his former wife by poiſon.

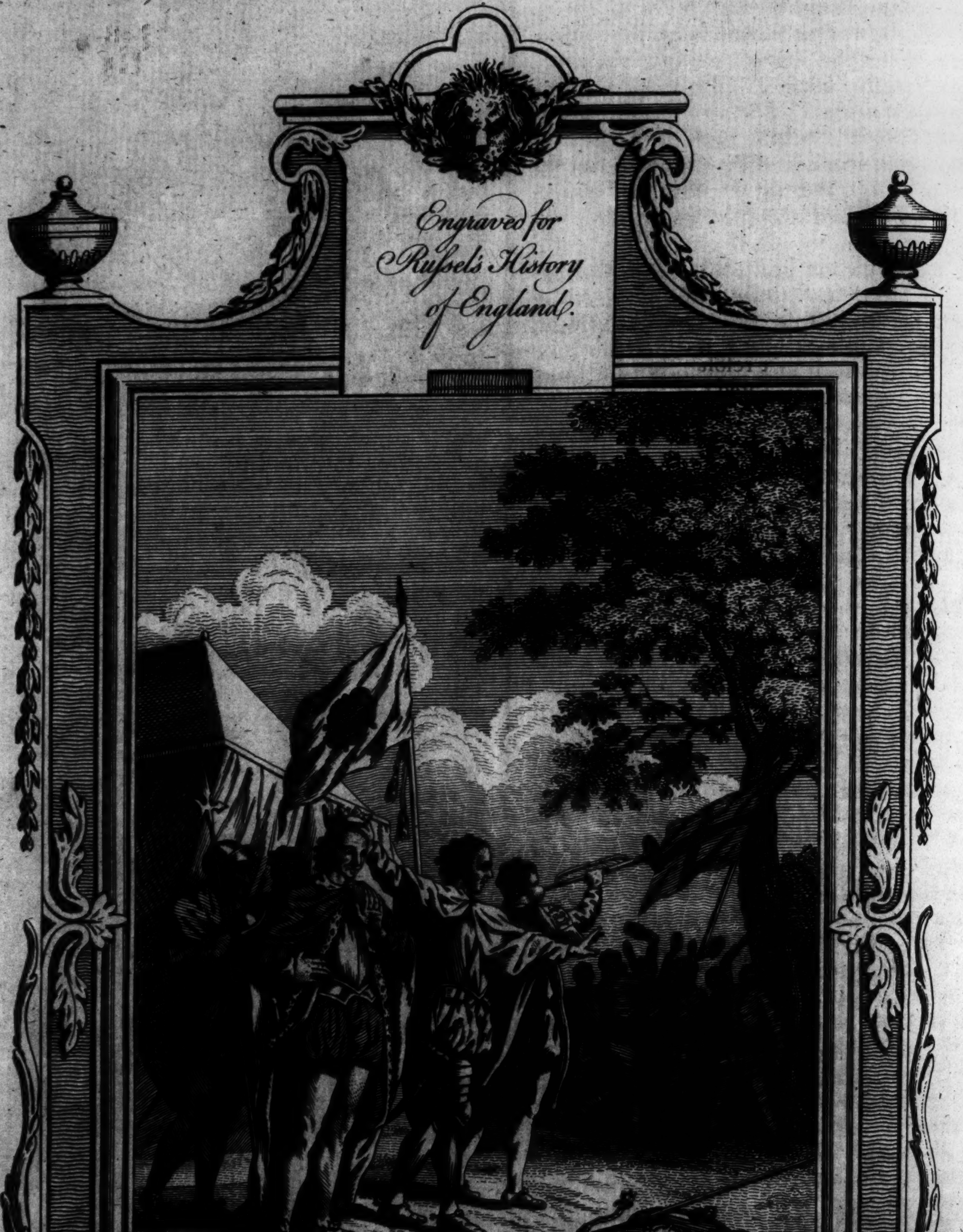
The queen's conſent being obtained, Richard applied to the court of Rome for a diſpenſation to conclude an alliance which was generally conſidered as inceſtuous. But before this papal inſtrument arrived, the face of affairs was ſuddenly changed, and Richard was hurled from that pinnacle of power he had ſo illegally aſcended.

A. D. 1485. The friends of the earl of Richmond, and in particular the noble exiles from England, had prevailed on him to make another attempt for obtaining the Engliſh diadem. Accordingly, the earl having received ſome troops from Charles VIII. who now filled the throne of France, he ſailed from Harfleur on the firſt of Auguſt, with a retinue of 2000 perſons; and, after a paſſage of ſix days, arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, where he landed without oppoſition. The next day he marched to Havrrfordweſt, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. As he advanced he was joined by the partiſans of both families, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army.

As ſoon as Richard was informed that the earl of Richmond was preparing for another invaſion, he took poſt at Nottingham, as one of the moſt centrical towns of his kingdom, and propoſed to march on the firſt alarm to the place which was moſt expoſed to danger. But he ſhould have remembered that he had much more to fear from his ſecret than from his open enemies. The duke of Norfolk was the only nobleman ſincerely attached to his intereſt; the reſt were friends to the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a favouable opportunity to deſert his ſtandard. But the perſons that gave Richard the greateſt uneaſineſs, were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, whoſe connections with the earl of Richmond were ſtrongly ſuſpected by the uſurper. He had, indeed, employed the former to levy a body of five thouſand men, but inſiſted that he ſhould leave his ſon, the lord Strange, as an hoſtage for his fidelity. This obliged lord Stanley to uſe the greateſt precaution in his proceedings. He found means indeed of informing Henry of his friendly intentions; but his equivocal behaviour rendered his deſigns ſuſpicious to both armies.

Richard was ſo alarmed at the continual increaſe of Henry's army, that he determined to give him battle as ſoon as poſſible, and decide, by a general action, their diſpute for the crown of England. Henry declined not the engagement, and the two armies came in ſight of each other at Boſworth, a place in Leiceſterſhire, rendered famous in hiſtory for the battle which terminated the quarrel between the houſes of York and Lancaſter. The royal army, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand men, all veterans and well armed, were formed into two lines. The firſt was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and the ſecond by Richard in perſon, who appeared that day with the

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for
Ruſsel's History
of England.

The Crown of RICHARD III placed on
the Head of the Earl of Richmond
by Lord Stanley after the Battle of
BOSWORTH.

the royal diadem on his head. The earl's army did not conſiſt of more than five thouſand men, which was alſo divided into two lines; the firſt commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the ſecond by himſelf in perſon; Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left. While the two armies were preparing for battle, lord Stanley poſted himſelf, at the head of four thouſand men, on a piece of ground fronting the intermediate ſpace between the two armies, while his brother Sir William Stanley, with three thouſand, ſtood facing him on the other ſide of that interval.

Richard, ſuſpecting Stanley's deſign, ſent him an order to join his army; but receiving an equivocal anſwer, he was ſo enraged at his treachery, that he would have ſtruck off the head of his ſon, had he not been diſſuaded from that reſolution by ſome of his chief officers, who repreſented to him, that ſuch an act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the enemy, though perhaps their intention at preſent might be to remain neuter, till near the concluſion of the battle, and then declare for the party that ſeemed to have gained the advantage. Richard ſubmitted to theſe reaſons, well knowing that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies.

All neceſſary preparations being made, both armies moved forward, and the battle was begun by a general diſcharge of arrows; after which the combat became cloſe and bloody. The duke of Norfolk made a motion to encloſe the left wing of Richmond's army, which being perceived by the earl of Oxford, he fell with the utmoſt fury upon Norfolk's diviſion, but was in the greateſt danger of being ſurrounded. Lord Stanley ſaw that it would be impoſſible for him to extricate himſelf from his preſent ſituation without aſſiſtance, and therefore advanced at the head of his forces, and joining Oxford's line ſecured his flank, and ſtood ready to receive the front of the line commanded by the king in perſon. At the ſame time Sir William Stanley flanked the right of the king's firſt line ſo critically that they were driven back upon the main body. In the mean time the duke of Norfolk having ſtrengthened the ſecond line, and the king's preſence animating his men, a dreadful diſpute enſued. Richard, finding himſelf deceived by the two Stanley's, collected all his force, and made a moſt furious charge upon the center of the enemy's army, where he underſtood the earl of Richmond commanded in perſon. His ſpirits, activity and addreſs, ſupplied all the defects in his ſtrength and perſon; hoping to decide, with one ſtroke, the fate of glory and empire between them, he laid Sir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard-bearer, dead at his feet; he diſmounted Sir John Cheney, who ſupplied Brandon's place; he covered the ſpot where he fought with ſlaughter, and Richmond himſelf, who did not decline the combat, muſt have periſhed in the unequal conteſt, had he not been reſcued by Sir William Stanley's diviſion.

During this terrible diſpute between the centers of both armies, there was almoſt a total inactivity in the other parts, as if the guilt of Richard had enervated the hands of his ſoldiers, and ſunk their ſpirits. They were blind to his example, they were unanimated by his actions, and ſeemed willing to expiate, by their deaths, the crime of fighting under the banners of a tyrant. The earl of Northumberland's men threw down their arms, and opened a paſſage for Richmond's ſoldiers to penetrate to the very center of Richards army. Senſible of his deſperate ſituation, Richard plunged into the thickeſt of the battle, determining to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. The luſtre of a diadem, which he that day wore upon his head, diſtinguiſhing his perſon, occaſioned him to be in more danger than he otherwiſe would have been. But notwithſtanding he was in the midſt of his enemies, he ſtill ſupported the battle, and advanced againſt Henry with all the fury of deſpair. He called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treaſon and rebellious invaſion of his kingdom. Henry declined not the combat; but the two leaders were hardly engaged when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who, after performing the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour, fell covered with wounds. The loſs of the king put an end to the conteſt; the royaliſts, deprived of their leader, ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight.

Richard's crown being found in the field was brought to lord Stanley, who placing it upon Richmond's brows, hailed him king; the whole army repeatedly ſhouting, "Long live Henry VII. king of England!"

In this battle there fell about 4000 men on the ſide of the vanquiſhed; but the loſs on the other ſide was very inconſiderable. Among the former were the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, Sir Robert Brackenbury, Sir William Conyers, and Sir Richard Clendon. The body of Richard was found among the ſlain; but not the leaſt care was taken to preſerve it from indignity. It was thrown careleſsly acroſs a horſe, and in that ignominious manner conveyed to Leiceſter amidſt the ſhouts of the inſulting populace, where it was buried without any ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars.

The victorious Henry, with a policy that does honour to his prudence, pardoned all that ſubmitted to him. Sir William Cateſby, the tool of Richard's crimes, was the only perſon that ſuffered. He was diſcovered after the battle, and conveyed to Leiceſter, where he was beheaded. Lord Lovel, and the two Staffords, would, in all probability, have ſuffered the ſame fate, had they not fortunately made their eſcape. The young earl of Warwick, ſon to the deceaſed duke of Clarence, was the next day, by order of Henry, committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

Thus was England delivered of an ambitious, cruel, and unrelenting tyrant, who was deſtitute of every ſocial quality, and every ſentiment of humanity. No law of nature, no tie of conſanguinity could reſtrain the deſtructive prevalence of his boundleſs ambition, which ſeemed to engroſs his whole ſoul and ſtifle every emotion of conſcience.

It has been obſerved by ſome hiſtorians, that in all caſes, irreſpective of his ambition, he cultivated juſtice, piety and moderation; but ſurely ſuch an inſinuation, whatever candour it may evince, indicates a flagrant perverſion of characteriſtical diſplay: and we leave the impartial reader to judge, on a review of the more than ſavage tranſactions of his reign, whether all or any one of thoſe principles really influenced a ſingle action of his life; or, in other words, whether he ever practiſed a good deed, from the only motive intrinſically meritorious, the love of doing good.

He poſſeſſed great ſolidity of judgment, a vaſt fund of eloquence, an acute penetration, and undaunted courage. His ſtature was low, and his aſpect lowering and moroſe: one of his arms was withered, and one ſhoulder higher than the other, from whence he acquired the appellation of Crookback. He was the laſt of the Anjouvin race ſurnamed Plantagenet, who had ſat on the Engliſh throne for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years; and with his death cloſed the civil wars between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter.

Richard left two natural ſons, namely, John, ſurnamed of Glouceſter, a minor, whom he had appointed governor of Calais, and all the territories in Picardy belonging to England, and Richard Plantaganet[*]; alſo a daughter, named Catharine, who was contracted in marriage to William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, but died before ſhe was of age for conſummation.

The only remarkable circumſtances that occured in this reign are the following:

In his firſt year there happened ſuch a flood in Glouceſterſhire, that all the country was overflowed by the Severn: ſeveral perſons were drowned in their beds, cradles with children in them floated about the fields, and beaſts were drowned even on the hills. It was this flood that interrupted the duke of Buckingham in his progreſs againſt Richard, and was the cauſe of bringing him to the block.

Baniſter, who betrayed the duke, was afterwards puniſhed in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner for his perfidy. His eldeſt ſon went mad, and died raving in a hog-ſty; his eldeſt daughter, who was very beautiful, was ſuddenly ſtricken with a foul leproſy: his ſecond ſon was deprived of the uſe of his limbs: his youngeſt ſon was ſuffocated in a puddle of filthy water; and himſelf, in an extreme old age, found guilty of murder; but ſaved by his clergy.

---

[*] Of this Richard (the ſecond natural ſon of king Richard III) we have diſcovered the following curious particulars, which we ſhall preſent the reader, as mentioned in a letter from Dr. Thomas Brett to Dr. William Warren, preſident of Trinity-hall, Cambridge:

"Dear Will, *Sept.* 1, 1733.

"In the year 1720 (I have forgot the particular day, only remember it was about Michaelmas) I waited on the late lord Heneage, earl of Winchelſea, at Eaſtwell houſe in Kent, and found him ſitting with the regiſter of the pariſh of Eaſtwell lying open before him. He told me that he had been looking there to ſee who of his own family was mentioned in it. But, ſays he, I have a curioſity here to ſhew you. He then ſhewed it me, and I immediately tranſcribed it into my almanack, "Richard Plantagenet was buryed the 22d daye of December, *anno et ſupra. Ex Regiſtro de Eaſt-well, ſub anno* 1550." This is all the regiſter mentions of him; ſo that we cannot ſay, whether he was buried in the church or church-yard; nor is there now any other memorial of him, except the tradition in the family, and ſome little marks where his houſe ſtood. The ſtory my lord told me was this:

When Sir Thomas Moyle built that houſe (Eaſtwell place) he obſerved his chief bricklayer, whenever he left off work, retired with a book. Sir Thomas had curioſity to know what book the man read, but was ſome time before he could diſcover it; he ſtill putting the book up if any one came towards him. However, at laſt Sir Thomas ſurpriſed him, and ſnatched the book from him, and looking into it, found it to be Latin. Hereupon he examined him, and finding he pretty well underſtood that language, he enquired how he came by his learning? The man replied, as he had been a good maſter to him, he would venture to truſt him with a ſecret he had never before revealed to any one. He then informed him, That he was boarded with a Latin ſchoolmaſter, without knowing who his parents were, till he was fifteen or ſixteen years old; only a gentleman came once a quarter and paid for his board, and took care to ſee that he wanted nothing. One day this gentleman carried him to a large houſe, where he paſſed through ſeveral ſtately rooms, in one of which he left him, bidding him ſtay there. Soon after, a man, ſuperbly dreſſed, came to him, aſked him ſome queſtions, talked kindly to him, and gave him ſome money. Then the firſt-mentioned gentleman returned, and conducted him back to his ſchool.

"Some time after the ſame gentleman came to him again, with a horſe and proper accoutrements, and told him, he muſt take a journey with him into the country. They went into Leiceſterſhire, and came to Boſworth Field; and he was carried to king Richard the Third's tent. The king embraced him, and told him he was his ſon. "But, child, ſays he, to-morrow I muſt fight for my crown; and, aſſure yourſelf, if I loſe that I will loſe my life too: but I hope to preſerve both. Do you ſtand in ſuch a place, (directing him to a particular ſpot) where you may ſee the battle out of danger; and when I have gained the victory come to me; I will then own you to be mine, and take care of you. But, if I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to loſe the battle, then ſhift as well as you can, and take care to let nobody know that I am your father; for no mercy will be ſhewed to any one ſo nearly related to me." Then the king gave him a purſe of gold, and diſmiſſed him.

"He followed the king's directions: and, when he ſaw the battle was loſt, and the king killed, he haſtened to London, ſold his horſe and fine cloaths; and the better to conceal himſelf from all ſuſpicion of being ſon to a king, and that he might have means to live by his honeſt labour, he put himſelf apprentice to a bricklayer. But, having a competent ſkill in the Latin tongue, he was unwilling to loſe it; and having an inclination alſo to reading, and no delight in the converſation of thoſe he was obliged to work with, he generally ſpent all the time he had to ſpare in reading by himſelf.

"Sir Thomas ſaid, "You are now old, and almoſt paſt your labour; I will give you the running of my kitchen as long as you live." He anſwered, "Sir, you have a numerous family; I have been uſed to live retired; give me leave to build a houſe of one room for myſelf, in ſuch a field, and there, with your good leave, I will live and die." Sir Thomas granted his requeſt: he built his houſe, and there continued the remainder of his life."

He died in the year 1550; at which time he was in the 82d year of his age.

BOOK X.

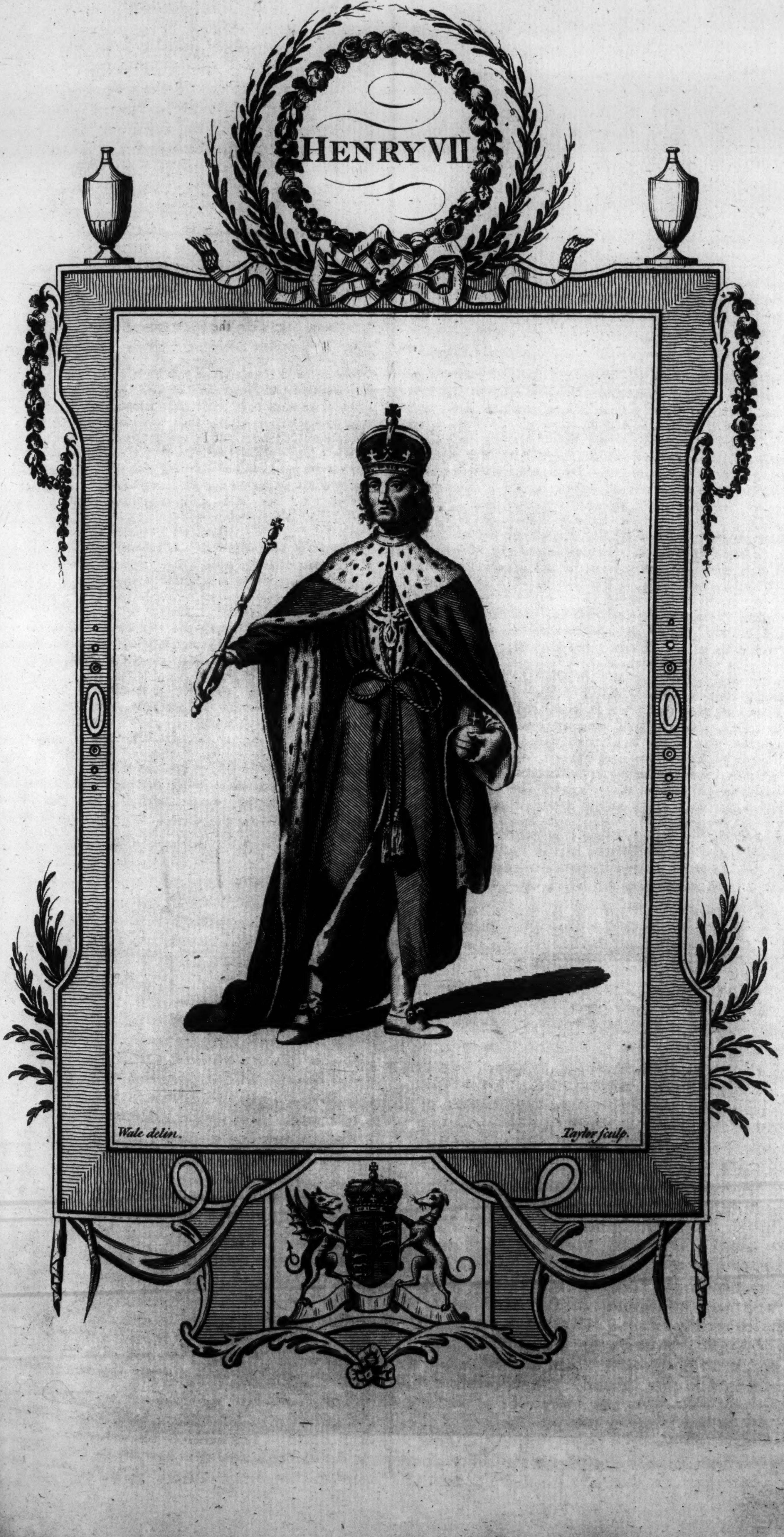
From the Acceſſion of Henry VII. *(the firſt* English *Monarch of the Name of* Tudor), *to the Death of Queen* Elizabeth.

SECTION I.

HENRY VII.

THE victorious Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, having given orders concerning the diſpoſal and march of his army after the battle of Boſworth, ſet out for London, which he entered on the 27th of Auguſt, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, who conſidered him as their deliverer from the moſt cruel of tyrants. He immediately repaired to St. Paul's cathedral, where he offered the ſtandards he had taken in the late battle, and Te Deum was ſung for his victory. After the ſervice was over, he went to his lodgings at the biſhop's palace, where, the next day, he aſſembled a council of all the nobility, and ſolemnly renewed the oath he had formerly taken to marry the princeſs Elizabeth.

The ceremony of the coronation was fixed for the 30th of October, and the intermediate time was employed by Henry in rewarding the zealous ſervices of his friends and adherents. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made conſtable of the Tower, Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the king, and the tutor and guardian of his tender years, was created duke of Bedford. The earldom of Derby was conferred on his father-in-law Thomas Stanley, to whom he owed the important victory of Boſworth; and Edward



Wale delin.

Taylor sculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

ward lord Courtney was created earl of Devonſhire.

The day being arrived, and all neceſſary preparations made, Henry was crowned with great pomp and ſolemnity by cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury. To augment the ſplendor of this ceremony Henry inſtituted a body guard, conſiſting of fifty archers called yeomen, under the command of a captain, who were to be always in attendance on his perſon: a project which, in all probability, Henry conſidered as indiſpenſably neceſſary to his own ſafety, though he prudently concealed his real ſentiments under the pretence of augmenting the grandeur of his court.*

As ſoon as the coronation was over, Henry ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the 7th of November. In this aſſembly the crown was entailed upon Henry, not by recognition or ordinance, but by ſettlement. It was enacted, "That the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide in him and the heirs of his body;" and as he was under a ſentence of attainder that had been denounced againſt him in the late reign, they extricated themſelves from that difficulty by eſtabliſhing it as a maxim, "That the crown takes away all attainders and corruptions of blood." They paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king and his adherents, among whom were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surry, the viſcount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrers, Sir Walter and Sir James Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir Humphry Stafford.

Though Henry did not requeſt any ſupplies from the parliament, yet that aſſembly thought proper to ſettle on him for life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the ſame manner by ſome of his predeceſſors. But when they preſented the bill for the royal aſſent, they petitioned his majeſty to marry the princeſs Elizabeth. The king promiſed to comply with their deſires; and after having reſtored Edward Stafford, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Buckingham, to the honours and eſtates of his family, which had been forfeited in the late reign, he diſſolved the parliament.

Notwithſtanding many of the partiſans of the houſe of York had been attainted by the late ſtatute, Henry thought proper to publiſh a proclamation, offering a general pardon to all that had carried arms againſt him, provided they ſubmitted within a limited time. The offer was gladly embraced by many of that party, who immediately left their ſanctuaries, and ſubmitted to Henry's government.

A. D. 1486. Henry, in order to increaſe his popularity, now determined to fulfil the promiſe he had made of marrying the princeſs Elizabeth; and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated on the 18th of January, to the inexpreſſible joy of the nation.

As moſt of the northern counties were warmly attached to the houſe of York, Henry determined to make a progreſs into thoſe parts, in order to remove the prejudices of the people and conciliate their affections to his government. He accordingly ſet out about Eaſter; but before he reached Lincoln he was informed that lord Lovel, and his two brothers the Staffords, had left their ſanctuary at Colcheſter-abbey, and were once more in arms againſt the government; that the latter were marching to beſiege the city of Worceſter; and the former, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was advancing to attack him in York. This intelligence did not intimidate Henry: aſſembled a ſmall body of troops, in whom he could confide, and ſent them againſt the inſurgents, under the command of the duke of Bedford. But that able general well knew that his little army were formidable only for their zealous attachment to their maſter, and therefore publiſhed a general pardon to all who ſhould lay down their arms. This prudent meaſure produced the deſired effect. Lovel, who was never celebrated for his courage and intrepidity, was ſo terrified with the fears of deſertion among his troops, that he abandoned his army, and made his eſcape into Flanders, where he was protected by the ducheſs of Burgundy. His forces immediately ſubmitted; and the other body of inſurgents, informed of this miſcarriage, raiſed the ſiege of Worceſter, and diſperſed. The two Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but the privilege of that aſylum not extending to rebels, they were taken from the altar and brought to London, when Humphrey the elder was executed at Tyburn. The younger was pardoned, on pleading that he acted ſolely under the influence of his brother.

This was not the only inſtance Henry had of the great attachment of the people to the family of Edward IV. He had no ſooner returned to his capital than he received information of another ſcheme of a ſtill more dangerous nature, though, at the ſame time, of a very extraordinary and romantic kind. A report had, for ſome time, prevailed among the people, that Edward duke of York, youngeſt ſon to Edward IV. had eluded his uncle's cruelty, by making his eſcape from the Tower. The pleaſure with which this intelligence was received by the people, encouraged one Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, who wanted neither ſubtilty nor courage, to raiſe a fictitious prince to diſpute with Henry the poſſeſſion of the throne. The inſtrument of this impoſture was Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age. He was the ſon of a baker, but endowed with underſtanding and addreſs far ſuperior to his years and condition. The ſeditious prieſt had firſt inſtructed his pupil to perſonate the duke of York; but another report prevailing about that time, that the earl of Warwick had found means to leave the place of his confinement; and obſerving that this intelligence was ſtill more acceptable to the people, Simnel, by the dexterity of Simon, was immediately converted into Warwick. However qualified the young impoſtor might be to ſuſtain the character he was to perſonate, and however capable the prieſt might be of giving him the neceſſary inſtructions, there is great reaſon to think, that perſons of a much higher rank had joined in this conſpiracy; becauſe it appears that Simnel had better information in matters relating to the royal family than he could have derived from a perſon in Simon's ſituation. It has ever been ſuſpected, that the queen dowager, diſcontented with the king, and offended at the ſtate of abſolute inſignificance to which ſhe was reduced, favoured this ridiculous enterprize. Henry himſelf ſeems to have been of this opinion; for he ſoon after cauſed the queen dowager to be cloſely confined in the monaſtery of Bermondſey, and ſeized all her lands and revenues: nor did ſhe ever regain her liberty, but ended her life in poverty, ſolitude and confinement.

Simnel having received ſufficient inſtructions for ſupporting the character he was to perſonate, was ſent to Ireland, where the deception was not ſo likely to be diſcovered, and where the houſe of York had a great number of partiſans. The attempt ſucceeded. The impoſtor no ſooner claimed the protection of the earl of Kildare, as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman received him as a true Plantagenet.

---

* Theſe attendants have been ever ſince preſerved by the Engliſh monarchs; but their number has been increaſed to one hundred, are in daily waiting, beſides ſeventy ſupernumeraries; and when any one of the hundred dies, his place is ſupplied from among the ſeventy.

tagenet. The populace followed his example. Simnel was received with acclamations of joy, and crowned in Dublin, with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the Virgin, under the title of Edward VI.

A. D. 1487. This revolt in Ireland greatly alarmed Henry, who immediately purſued ſuch meaſures as he thought were moſt likely to ſuppreſs it. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, and led in poſſeſſion through the principal ſtreets of London, that the people might be convinced of the abſurdity of Simnel's pretenſions. This expedient had its proper effect in England; but in Ireland it was thought that the king had produced a counterfeit Warwick; and Henry found it would be abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to arms, in order to ſuppreſs the rebellion. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, on being informed that John, earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV. had engaged in this conſpiracy. Lincoln was a nobleman of courage and capacity, and had formed very aſpiring views. The rigour of Henry towards the earl of Warwick, and his jealouſy of all the eminent perſons among the friends of the houſe of York, had filled him with apprehenſions, and he had retired to the court of the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy for ſafety.

That princeſs was deſcended from the houſe of York, and ſympathiſed in all the misfortunes which had attended her family. She reſolved to take advantage of the preſent revolt in favour of Simnel, and, if poſſible, to make Henry feel the weight of her reſentment. She accordingly ſent over to Ireland a body of two thouſand veteran forces, under the command of Swart, a brave and experienced officer. The earl of Lincoln and lord Lovel embarked with theſe forces, and joined Simnel. Elated with this unexpected reinforcement, and encouraged by the countenance of perſons of ſuch high condition, the Iriſh determined to invade England, where they flattered themſelves with being joined by all the partiſans of the houſe of York.

A. D. 1488. Henry was no ſooner appriſed of the intentions of the rebels, than he raiſed a conſiderable army to oppoſe them. The inſurgents landed near Foudrey, in Lancaſhire, and directed their march towards York; but finding themſelves diſappointed in the hopes they had formed of being joined by multitudes of the Engliſh, it was determined to give Henry battle the firſt opportunity. They were encamped on a riſing ground, at Stoke, a village near Newark, when Henry's army appeared. The inſurgents, marching down the hill, began the engagement with great fury; and the battle was maintained for three hours, with equal valour on both ſides; though the Iriſh were dreadfully galled by the arrows of the Engliſh, being wholly deſtitute of defenſive armour. The Engliſh, under the earl of Lincoln, and the Germans under Swart, made ſo noble a reſiſtance, that the greater part of Henry's vanguard was cut in pieces; but at length the valour of the royal army bore down all reſiſtance; and, after a bloody conflict, they obtained a complete victory. The earl of Lincoln, Lovel, and Swart, fell in the action, with four thouſand of their troops; but Simnel, and his tutor Simon, were taken priſoners. The latter being a prieſt, was condemned to cloſe impriſonment; but the former, as too contemptible to excite any apprehenſion in Henry, received a pardon, was made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, and afterwards raiſed to the poſt of a falconer. Such was the iſſue of Simnel's attempt to perſonate the earl of Warwick; which, however ridiculous in itſelf, threw the whole nation into the greateſt confuſion.

After the battle was over the king proceeded to York, and in his progreſs diſcovered that the principal cauſe of this general diſcontent aroſe from the long delay of the queen's coronation. To obviate, therefore, this complaint, he returned to London in the beginning of November, and on the 25th of the ſame month the ceremony was performed with the uſual formalities, the duke of Bedford aſſiſting as high-ſteward on the occaſion.

A. D. 1489. In the beginning of this year a ſubſidy was granted by the parliament for aſſiſting the duke of Bretagne in a war lately commenced with France: all the counties paid it without murmuring, except the inhabitants of Yorkſhire, and the biſhopric of Durham, who, as old adherents to the intereſt of the houſe of York, were averſe to the preſent government, and not only refuſed compliance with the conditions of the tax, but engaged themſelves in open rebellion againſt the king. They were abetted by a popular incendiary called John Chamber, and chooſing for their leader Sir John Egremont, a zealous partiſan of the houſe of York, they avowed their rebellion, declaring that they would march to London, and give battle to the royaliſts.

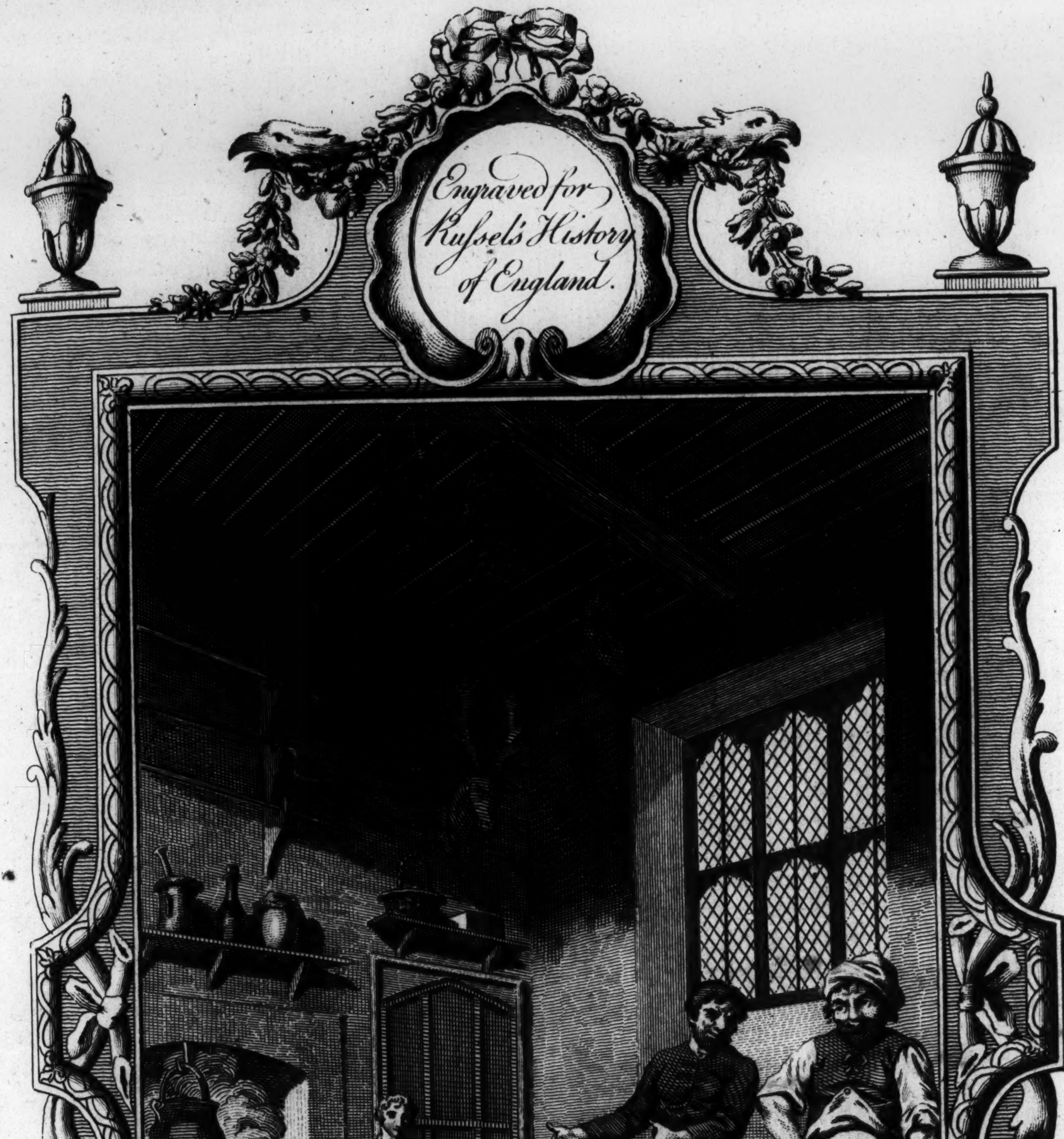
Henry, on receiving intelligence of this inſurrection, diſpatched a body of troops againſt them under command of the earl of Surry, whom he had lately releaſed from the Tower*. That nobleman routed the inſurgents at the firſt onſet, and made John Chamber priſoner; but Sir John Egremont eſcaped, and croſſing the ſeas took refuge with the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy. The king, who followed the earl of Surry with another body of troops, proceeded to York, where he ordered John Chamber, with the principal accomplices, to be hanged, and granted a free pardon to the reſt of the inſurgents.

A. D. 1490. This year a rebellion broke out in Scotland againſt James III. at the inſtigation of his own ſon. The king had retired to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Henry, who promiſed to ſupport him with a body of forces, notwithſtanding which the rebels prevailed, and his ſon James, at that time but fifteen years of age, was proclaimed king of Scotland; and in the month of July ambaſſadors were ſent to the Engliſh monarch to notify his acceſſion to the throne of that kingdom.

A. D. 1492. The war between France and Britany was this year terminated by a marriage between Charles and the ducheſs, than which nothing could be more unacceptable to Henry. He had long dreaded and foreſeen it; but, actuated by his prevailing paſſion avarice, he neglected to ſupport the Britons with a force that might have prevented a union ſo prejudicial to England. His chagrin ſtimulated him the more to revenge, as he piqued himſelf on the depth of his policy. A war with France was always flattering and agreeable to the Engliſh; and Henry immediately ſummoned a parliament to obtain ſupplies. He opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them that the king of France, grown inſolent with power, had treated the Engliſh with contempt, and refuſed to pay the tribute which Lewis XI. had ſtipulated with Edward IV. He mentioned the

---

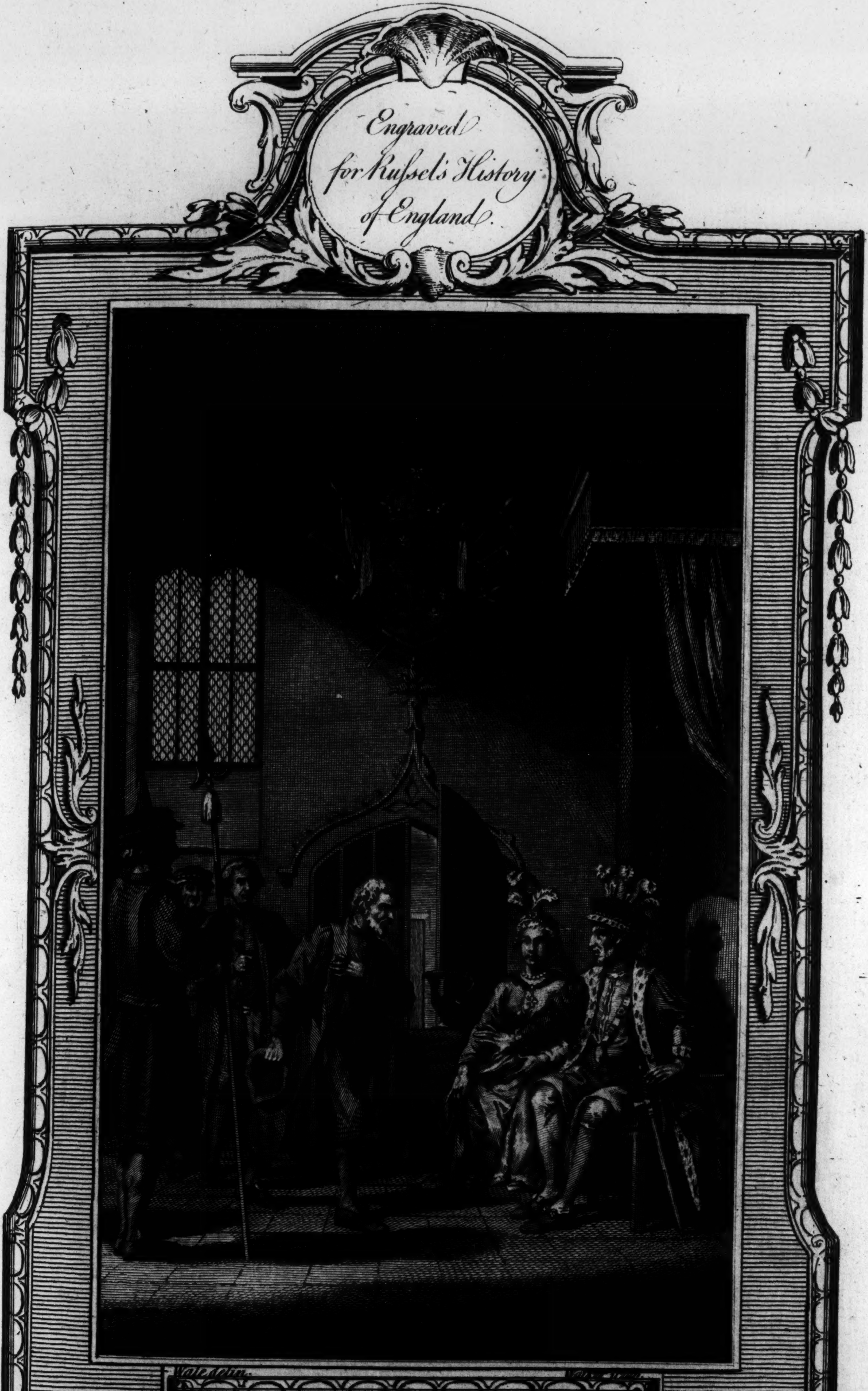
* Previous to the releaſement of the earl, Henry went with his queen to the Tower, and ordering that nobleman to be brought before him, he ſternly demanded how he could take the part of ſo great a Tyrant as the late Richard; when the earl calmly replied, "that if the crown had been placed upon the head of a poſt, he would have preſerved his allegiance to it." This fra answer ſo greatly pleaſed the king that he forgave him, ordere him to be immediately releaſed, and received him into hi favour.


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

LAMBERT SIMNEL *who aspired to the English Throne reduced to the Character of a* TURNSPIT *in the Kitchen of* HENRY VII.

Wale delin. *Grignon sculp.*

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Wale delin.

HENRY VII and his QUEEN visiting the Earl of Surry in the Tower of London.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

the victories of Creſſy, Agincourt and Poictiers, and ſaid he did not doubt of being equally ſucceſsful.

The parliament, allured by the temptation of effecting the conqueſt of France, not only adviſed him to engage in the enterprize, but alſo granted him the neceſſary ſubſidies with the greateſt alacrity. In conſequence of this Henry levied a conſiderable army, with which he embarked for France, and landed at Calais on the 6th of October. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon being conſidered as an indication that the war would ſoon be terminated, Henry replied, “ It is of little conſequence at what ſeaſon the invaſion is begun, as one ſummer will not be ſufficient for the reduction of France.” But notwithſtanding all his boaſts of conqueſt, he had, at that very time, (perhaps before he landed at Calais) begun a negotiation for a peace. In order, however, to ſave appearances, he laid ſiege to Boulogne; and then artfully engaged ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in his army to preſent a petition, requeſting him to accommodate his differences with France, on pretence that his allies were not in a condition to give him much aſſiſtance, and that it would be difficult to find ſubſiſtence for his troops during the winter. The French well knew that Henry wanted nothing but money; and Charles, who was very impatient of undertaking the conqueſt of Naples, was eaſily diſpoſed to liſten to terms of accommodation. Accordingly a peace was concluded and ſigned on the 3d of November; by the articles of which it was agreed, that Charles ſhould give Henry 745,000 crowns, beſides an annual penſion of 25,000 to himſelf and his heirs. This treaty excited much clamour among Henry’s ſubjects, who loudly exclaimed that he had fleeced his people for the maintenance of a war, which he had undertaken merely for the emolument of himſelf.

During the tranſactions of this year, Henry’s private enemies had been indefatigable in concerting meaſures for interrupting his tranquillity; and the ducheſs of Burgundy in particular meditated vengeance againſt him. Careleſs of the means employed to ſatisfy her reſentment, ſhe determined to raiſe up another impoſtor, in order to ſhake the throne of Henry. By means of her emiſſaries, ſhe propagated, or rather revived a report, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his eſcape from the Tower, when his elder brother was murdered by the cruelty of his uncle, and ſtill lay concealed in ſome ſecret retreat. She found that the report was received with pleaſure; and that the people entertained the greateſt expectations that he would ſoon make his appearance, and attempt to recover the throne of his anceſtors. It was now neceſſary to procure a youth proper for perſonating Edward, and a young Jew ſeemed to anſwer her moſt ſanguine wiſhes. He was the ſon of one Warbec, a Jew, who had been converted to chriſtianity, and whoſe buſineſs having called him to London in the reign of Edward IV. his wife was there delivered of a ſon. He was called Perkin, or Peter; and Edward, who was ſuſpected of carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with Warbec’s wife, was his godfather. The comelineſs of his perſon, his inſinuating manners, and the verſability of his genius, rendered him extremely well adapted to the part he was to act. He ſoon learned the leſſons neceſſary for perſonating the duke of York; but as the ſeaſon ſeemed not then favourable for appearing in the world, ſhe ſent him to Portugal, under the care of lady Brumpton, where he continued for ſome time.

As ſoon as the ducheſs found that a war between England and France was inevitable, ſhe determined to produce the impoſtor; and he was accordingly ſent over to Ireland, where he aſſumed the name of Richard Plantagenet. He wrote letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, inviting them to join his party. The vulgar received him with open arms; and the ſtory of his eſcape from the cruelty of his uncle was ſoon ſpread over the whole kingdom, and procured him a prodigious number of adherents.

The French monarch, Charles VIII. imagined that this pretended prince might be of advantage to him during his war with Henry, and Perkin was accordingly invited to the court of France. He was there received with all the honours due to the heir of the Engliſh crown. A magnificent palace was aſſigned him, with a handſome penſion, and a guard for his perſon. Numbers of Engliſh gentlemen came to Paris, in order to offer their ſervice to Perkin, who now began to appear dangerous to the government. The countenance of the king of France gave great credit to a fiction extremely well calculated to pleaſe the people. But, on the concluſion of the peace with England, Charles found it neceſſary to forbid Perkin his court.

Perkin left France in the beginning of the year 1493, and retired to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy, under pretence of craving her protection. That princeſs affected a total ignorance of his pretenſions, and ſeemed to examine every circumſtance with the moſt ſcrupulous anxiety. After many affected doubts, and the ſevereſt ſcrutiny, ſhe burſt into a tranſport of tenderneſs, embraced him as her nephew, the ſole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate ſucceſſor of Edward IV. She even aſſigned him guards, and a magnificent equipage, and honoured him with the title of the “ White Roſe of England.” Many perſons of rank and condition came to her court from England, to aſſiſt him in his enterprize, and ſhare his fortune; and even Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who had been ſo inſtrumental in putting the crown upon the head of Henry, entertained the project of a revolt in his favour.

Theſe myſterious tranſactions threw the whole nation into a ſtate of uncertainty. The murder of the two princes had been always doubted, the infernal deed having been committed under the impenetrable veil of night and ſecrecy; and the protection given to Perkin by Charles of France and the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, gave countenance to the impoſtor.

Henry now found that the utmoſt prudence and precaution were neceſſary to divert the force of the impending ſtorm. Could he have aſcertained the death of the real duke of York, the conſpiracy muſt have fallen to the ground; but that could not be effected, only two of the conſpirators being alive; and tho’ they agreed in the ſame ſtory, yet their teſtimony was not thought ſufficient to clear up the fact. Henry, however, found a clue, by means of his ſpies, which guided him through the labyrinth of this myſtery. He diſcovered the pedigree and adventures of Perkin, and traced the whole conſpiracy from its firſt formation. The ſtory was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation; and he bribed Sir Robert Clifford himſelf, one of the chief perſons in the court of the pretended prince, to diſcover the ſecrets of his party.

Henry had no ſooner procured the neceſſary intelligence, together with the names of the principal conſpirators then in England, than they were arreſted, and being tried and convicted, were, as an example to others, immediately executed. But the trial of Stanley required more ſolemn preparations. His rank and former ſervices ſeemed to ſecure him againſt any accuſation and puniſhment. It was feared that the death of ſo illuſtrious a perſon would be attended with many inconveniences, unleſs his crime was apparent to the whole nation. The king was, however, determined that he ſhould not eſcape his vengeance. Clifford was directed to come over privately to

England, and to accuſe Stanley before the council. The treacherous inſurgent obeyed. He threw himſelf at the king's feet while ſeated at the council-table, aſked pardon for his paſt offences, and offered to atone for them by any ſervices in his power. Henry told him that the beſt proof he could give of his penitence, and the only ſervice he could now render him, was to make a full confeſſion of his guilt, and to name his accomplices. Clifford immediately accuſed Stanley, who was preſent, as the chief abettor of the conſpiracy. Stanley himſelf could not diſcover more ſurpriſe than was affected by Henry on this occaſion. Clifford inſiſted upon his charge, and offered to lay before the council the whole proof of his guilt. Henry ſeemed to heſitate, but at laſt ordered Stanley to be ſent to priſon, and he was ſoon after tried and beheaded.

A. D. 1494. Theſe executions, and eſpecially that of Stanley, ſtruck the conſpirators with terror. They found that all their ſecrets were diſcovered, and abandoned the idol they had worſhipped to his fate. Perkin had no other reſource than his deſpair. He embarked from Ireland with his few followers, amounting to about 600, and appeared on the coaſt of Kent. But the people were not now diſpoſed to favour him: the whole account of his impoſture was known, and the late executions had taught the people caution. Perkin miſtruſting ſomething of this kind, landed a ſmall party only, in order to diſcover the true diſpoſition of the Kentiſhmen, who were drawn up with great regularity to receive him. His retainers met with a very friendly reception, and Perkin himſelf was invited to land; but the wary youth ſuſpecting the whole to be a deception, and that a deſign was formed to take him priſoner, refuſed to commit himſelf into their hands. Deſpairing of being able to make themſelves maſters of the impoſtor's perſon, the Kentiſh men took the whole party, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty perſons, priſoners. Theſe were all tried, condemned and executed; and their bodies hung upon gibbets along the coaſts, as a terror to others. Diſappointed in the reception he hoped to meet with, Perkin ſailed to Corke, but finding no countenance there, except among the very loweſt of the people, he was obliged to conceal himſelf in the bogs and foreſts of that country.

A. D. 1495. Henry now convoked a parliament, where the eſtates of all perſons convicted of having engaged in the ſupport of Perkin, were confiſcated; and the famous ſtatute was enacted, wherein it was declared, "that no perſon who ſhould by arms, or otherwiſe, aſſiſt the king for the time being, ſhould ever afterwards, either by courſe of law, or act of parliament, be attainted for ſuch an inſtance of obedience."

A. D. 1496. Perkin, being now weary of his confinement, and having no hopes of obtaining ſuccour in Ireland, determined to make application to the king of Scotland, who was a weak prince, and entertained no favourable diſpoſition towards England. He accordingly abandoned his retreat, and repaired to the Scottiſh court, where he was received with the utmoſt kindneſs and hoſpitality. James acknowledged him as the ſon of Edward IV. and appeared ſo thoroughly convinced of his being the real duke of York, that he rejected an alliance which was now offered him by Henry. He even married the young adventurer to his niece, the lady Catherine Gordon, one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed ladies of the age. At the ſame time he publickly declared that he would aſſiſt him with all his forces, in recovering the inheritance of his anceſtors; and it was agreed in the Scottiſh council to carry this deſign into immediate execution. A numerous army was accordingly aſſembled, under the command of the king in perſon, attended by the young adventurer. On their entering Northumberland, Perkin publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he inveighed bitterly againſt Henry, as an uſurper, a tyrant, and a murderer; and invited all his ſubjects to aſſiſt him in recovering the throne of his anceſtors.

Though this manifeſto was drawn up with great ſpirit and preciſion, yet it produced very little effect; the claim of Perkin was grown obſolete, and his being aſſiſted by the Scots rendered him an unwelcome viſitor to the Engliſh. James ſoon perceived that he had undertaken a taſk he was unable to perform; and, deſirous of repaying himſelf the expences of the expedition, ravaged Northumberland in the moſt cruel manner. Perkin pretended to be greatly affected with the miſeries of his plundered ſubjects, and remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the proceedings of the army. But all his repreſentations were in vain. James told him, "That he was perſuaded his concern was only employed in behalf of his enemy, and that he was anxious to preſerve what would never belong to him." The depredations were accordingly continued without the leaſt intermiſſion, till advice arrived that a numerous army was advancing againſt them, when the Scots, fearful of the conſequence, retired with precipitation.

The Scottiſh invaſion furniſhed Henry with an opportunity which he was very fond of embracing, namely, that of extorting money from his ſubjects. Under pretence of carrying on the war with that kingdom, he ſummoned a parliament to meet on the 16th of January 1497, when he requeſted a ſubſidy, which they readily granted, amounting to 120,000l. with two fifteenths. His avarice, which was his ruling paſſion, rather than his neceſſity, induced him to ſolicit this exaction; and the people, often diſguſted with neceſſary taxes, were far from being diſpoſed to ſubmit to thoſe which were uſeleſs to the ſtate. The Corniſhmen, who ſtill preſerved ſome remains of the antient ferocity of their anceſtors, were highly exaſperated at being obliged to ſupport ſo unneceſſary a burden. They complained loudly againſt this impoſition, from which they conſidered themſelves exempted; as the northern counties had uſually repelled the incurſions of the Scots, without burdening the other parts of the kingdom. Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, who was conſidered as the leader of the multitude, greatly increaſed the ill-humour of the people by the moſt inflammatory reflections on the proceedings of the government. He was joined by Thomas Flammoc, a lawyer, who had long been conſidered as the oracle of the neighbourhood. He perſuaded them, that they had no right to pay the tax, as the northern nobility were obliged, by the tenures of their eſtates, to defend the borders againſt the Scots; adding, that the only way to obtain redreſs was to deliver a petition to the king, and to ſecond it with ſuch force as would give it authority; avoiding, at the ſame time, every ſpecies of oppreſſion, in order to convince their fellow-ſubjects, that the good of the people had induced them to have recourſe to this method for procuring a redreſs of their grievances.

The populace, inflamed by theſe ſpeeches, flocked together from all parts of the country, armed with ſuch weapons as they could procure. Flammoc and Joſeph were choſen their leaders, and the rabble marched directly towards the capital. At Wells they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman deſcended from an ancient family, but of a very reſtleſs and ambitious temper. Audley, by his authority, kept the inſurgents from committing the leaſt violence or diſorder during their march. When they reached Wincheſter, inſtead of continuing their route directly to London, as they at firſt intended, they marched into Kent, from a ridiculous notion, that the inhabitants of that country would join them in great numbers; but they ſoon found that their expectations were built on a chimerical foundation: not one of the Kentiſhmen would join their ſtandard. They were not, however, intimidated by this diſappointment; they continued their march to Blackheath, and encamped between Eltham and Greenwich.

The army intended to chaſtiſe the Scots being fortunately ready for action, was immediately ſent to ſuppreſs the inſurgents. The troops were divided into three bodies; the firſt commanded by the earl of Oxford, the ſecond by the king in perſon, and the third by lord d'Aubeney, a general in whoſe abilities and courage the ſoldiers placed the higheſt confidence. Lord Oxford was directed to poſt the left wing of his diviſion near Lewiſham, and to extend his right towards Foot's-Cray, in order to ſecure all the roads and defiles by which it was poſſible to eſcape in that direction. Lord d'Aubeney was ordered to march directly againſt the front of the rebels, extending his right wing towards the left of the earl of Oxford's diviſion. The king himſelf encamped in St. George's Fields, his troops forming a kind of body of reſerve. This excellent diſpoſition rendered it almoſt impoſſible for any of the rebels to eſcape, as they had no ſhipping to croſs the Thames, the only paſſage that was left open.

D'Aubeney advanced againſt the rebels about four in the afternoon, and attacked their advanced guard with the utmoſt fury: after a very ſmart conflict, he drove them from their poſt, and followed them ſo cloſe up the hill, that he gained the ſummit before any aſſiſtance could be ſent from the main body to oppoſe him. This advantage inſpired d'Aubeney with a kind of contempt for the enemy, tho' they were formidable for their numbers, and far from being deficient in valour. He charged them at the head of his men with great impetuoſity; but met with a reſiſtance he did not expect: his valour carried him too far, and he was taken priſoner.

Victory ſeemed now inclined to declare for the inſurgents; but lord Oxford falling in the critical moment on their rear, changed the fortune of the day; they could not ſtand the ſhock of theſe veteran forces, being wholly deſtitute both of horſe and artillery. Fifteen hundred of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt taken priſoners, with their leaders. Lord Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill;* but Flammoc and Joſeph were executed at Tyburn.† The reſt of the priſoners were diſmiſſed without any puniſhment, a favour which Henry's character gave them no reaſon to expect. Perhaps their inoffenſive behaviour pleaded ſufficiently in their favour; or perhaps he hoped to obliterate the remembrance of his former ſeverities by this inſtance of unuſual lenity.

The king of Scotland took advantage of this commotion in England. He made a ſecond invaſion in the northern counties, and meeting with no oppoſition, he ſat down before Norham caſtle. The earl of Surry commanded the few forces in thoſe counties; and as ſoon as the Corniſh rebellion was ſuppreſſed, Henry ſent the beſt of his troops to join that nobleman in Yorkſhire. With this reinforcement he advanced againſt the Scots, who immediately raiſed the ſiege, and retired with ſuch precipitation that the earl could not overtake them. He, however continued the purſuit; and made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong caſtle of Ayton, ſituated between Berwick and Edinburgh.

A negotiation was now entered into for a peace, but the conferences being rendered abortive, only a truce for a few months was concluded. The principal reaſon that prevented the peace from taking place between the two kingdoms, was James's refuſal to give up Perkin Warbec. But though he would not conſent to ſacrifice the perſon he had engaged to protect, he deſired him to quit his dominions. The unhappy fugitive was now reduced to a melancholy ſituation; and he had no other reſource than to return to Ireland, where he again reſided in a mere ſtate of obſcurity.

A. D. 1498. Notwithſtanding the great lenity Henry had ſhewn to the Corniſh rebels, yet they were far from being ſatisfied. They boaſted, that they owed not their pardon to Henry's clemency, but to his fear that their puniſhment would have rouzed the whole nation; the people being ready to take up arms againſt the government. Animated by theſe repreſentations, the people again aſſembled; and hearing that Perkin was in Ireland, it was agreed to invite him over, and place him at their head. The young adventurer liſtened to their propoſals, and having prevailed upon a few perſons to follow his fortune, he landed in Whitſand-bay on the coaſt of Cornwall. He repaired immediately to Bodmin, where, being joined by three or four thouſand men, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he aſſumed the title of king of England, by the name of Richard IV.

Unacquainted with diſcipline, and ſtrangers to the danger of ſupporting themſelves againſt the attacks of a regular army, they were perſuaded that their force was invincible, and reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Exeter, which they promiſed themſelves would fall an eaſy conqueſt to their arms. They carried this wild project into execution; but being deſtitute of artillery, and almoſt every other requiſite neceſſary for forming a regular ſiege, the aſſailants, who attempted to ſcale the walls, were repulſed in every attack.

While the rebels were thus employed in an attempt that exceeded their power, ſeveral of the nobility and gentry of Devonſhire, formed an aſſociation in defence of Henry's government, and raiſed forces in order to drive the inſurgents from the walls of Exeter. Henry alſo diſpatched the lord d'Aubeney at the head of four thouſand men, to the relief of that city; and followed himſelf with a more numerous army.

When Perkin underſtood that the king was marching againſt him with a conſiderable army, he was greatly intimidated; and raiſing the ſiege of Exeter, he retired to Taunton in Somerſetſhire. His army, when he lay before Exeter, conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand men, but many of theſe having joined him from the hopes of plunder, left him when he raiſed the ſiege.

The young adventurer perceiving that the number of his followers daily decreaſed, and that lord d'Aubeney was in full march to attack him, did not think proper to venture a battle. He fled with threeſcore horſe to the monaſtry of Beaulieu, in the New-Foreſt, where he and his retinue regiſtered themſelves, as perſons entitled to the benefit of the ſanctuary. Lord d'Aubeney was no ſooner informed of their flight, than he detached a party of three hundred horſe in purſuit of the fugitives; but finding they were already within the walls, he ſurrounded the aſylum, till he received further inſtructions from Henry. In the mean time the rebels, finding themſelves

---

* He was led from Newgate to Tower-hill dreſſed in a paper, painted with his own arms reverſed, where he was beheaded on the 28th of June.

† Joſeph is ſaid to have reconciled himſelf with great compoſure to his puniſhment; and to have pleaſed himſelf with the notion that "He ſhould be famous in after ages."

ſelves deſerted by their leader, ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, and received a pardon. The lady Catherine Gordon, wife of Perkin, fell into the hands of Henry, who treated her with a kindneſs that does him honor. He ſoothed her mind with many tokens of regard, placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen, and aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed till her death.

The fate of Perkin, however, was not ſo eaſily determined; he had taken ſhelter in a ſanctuary which had never been violated. Some of the council adviſed the king to drag him from the altar by force, and inflict upon him the puniſhment he ſo juſtly deſerved for his temerity. But Henry thought the remedy too violent: he was unwilling to offend the whole body of the clergy, who conſidered theſe religious retreats as ſacred and inviolable. At the ſame time he was deſirous of convincing, even the moſt bigotted part of his people, that Perkin was an impoſtor, which would effectually put an end to his pretenſions, without depriving him of his life. He therefore cauſed ſecret applications to be made to the young adventurer, offering him his pardon, if he would quit his ſanctuary, and deliver himſelf into the king's hands. Perkin, deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, liſtened to the propoſals; and after being conducted in a kind of mock triumph to London, was committed to the Tower.

This year 1498 concluded with a circumſtance which gave Henry no ſmall concern. On the 29th of December, a fire broke out in the king's palace at Shene, which burnt with ſuch violence, that in a few hours the building was entirely conſumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he cauſed it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner, and gave it the name of Richmond from his title while earl, which name it has ever ſince retained.

A. D. 1499. While Perkin continued a cloſe priſoner in the tower, he inſinuated himſelf into the intimacy of four ſervants belonging to Sir John Digby, lieutenant of that fortreſs, and by their aſſiſtance opened a correſpondence with the unfortunate earl of Warwick, who had been confined in the ſame priſon. This correſpondence ſoon introduced confidence, and it was agreed to take the firſt opportunity of making their eſcape, though they perceived this could not be done without killing Sir John Digby. Had this deſign been effected, had Perkin, acknowledged by many to be the real ſon of Edward the fourth, been joined by an earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, and both eſcaped from the tower, it is probable they would yet have ſhaken the foundations of Henry's throne; but the invariable fortune of that monarch protected him; the deſign was diſcovered only a few hours before it was intended to have been executed.

Perkin was ſoon after brought to Weſtminſter-hall, where he was arraigned, condemned, and ſentenced to be hanged at Tyburn. Previous to the time fixed for his execution great intereſt was made to ſave him. His wife (niece to the king of Scotland) obtained audience of Henry, and, falling at his feet, in the moſt feeling terms, ſued for his pardon; but the king was inflexible, and Perkin ſuffered according to his ſentence. The mayor of Corke, who had been the conſtant companion of his fortunes, ſuffered with him.

Two only of Digby's ſervants, who were concerned in the above attempt, were executed; the other two were preſerved as witneſſes againſt the earl of Warwick, who a few days after was brought from the tower to take his trial before the earl of Oxford, created lord high ſteward of England for that purpoſe. There was perhaps never a greater ſtretch of law, than was made uſe of on this occaſion. As the earl had not been committed for treaſon, his attempt to eſcape could not be conſidered in that light. He therefore loſt his life by the artful inſtigations of Henry's creatures, who perſuaded him to confeſs the truth of his indictment, which was, his conſpiring with Perkin to raiſe a ſedition, and deſtroy the king. The poor earl, a ſtranger to the deceit of mankind, received ſentence of death, which the unrelenting monarch ſuffered to be executed upon him on Tower-hill, on the twenty-eighth of November; and with him periſhed the laſt male heir of the houſe of York.

This act of tyranny was thought, even by Henry himſelf, to ſtand in need of ſome apology; and it was accordingly pretended, that Ferdinand, king of Arragon, would not conſent to the marriage of his daughter with the prince of Wales, while any prince of the houſe of York remained alive. But this apology was far from ſatisfying the people: they exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of this cruel proceeding: they beheld with deteſtation a prince, who ſcrupled not to ſacrifice every principle of humanity to the dictates of an avaricious temper.

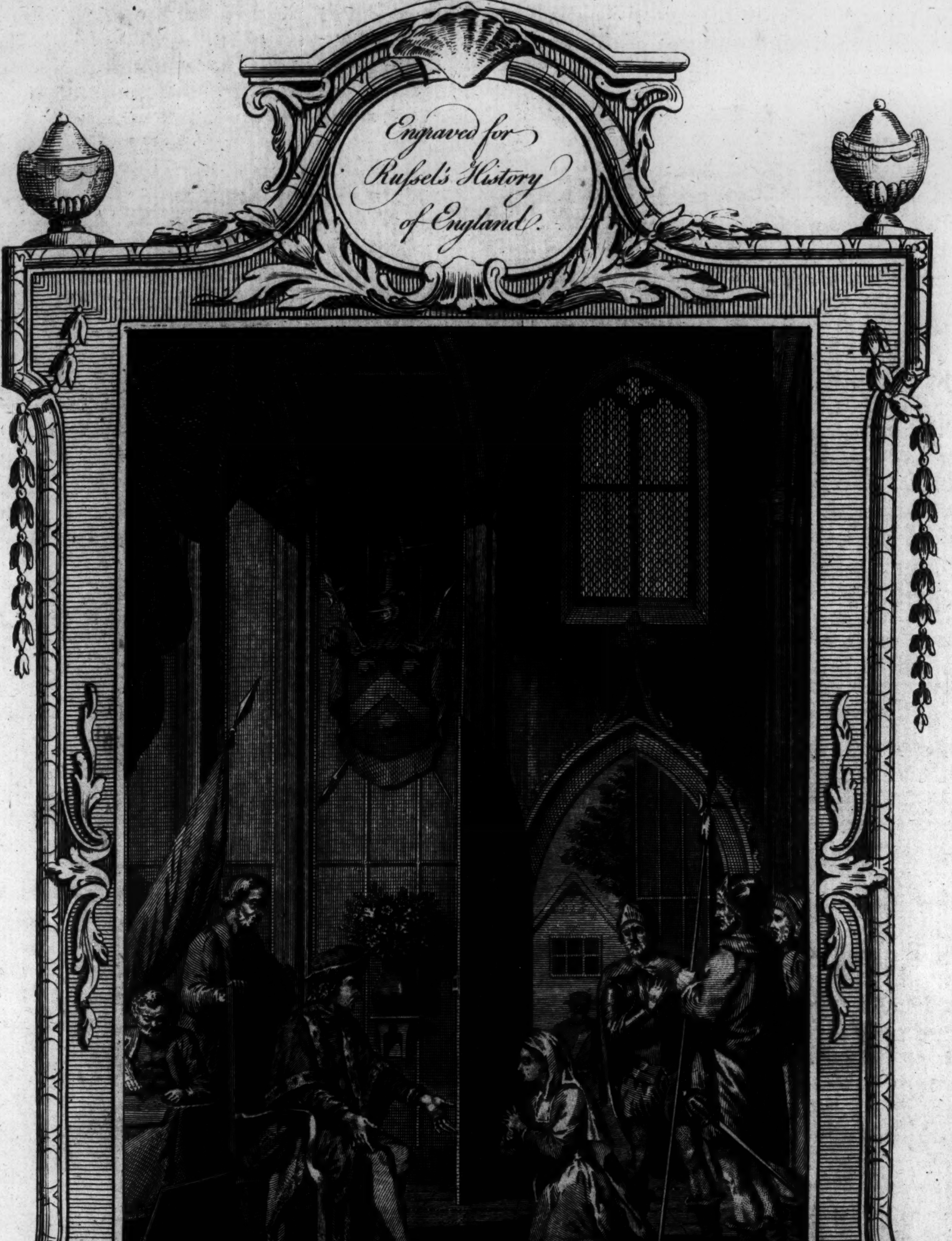
A. D. 1500. This year was uſhered in by a dreadful plague, which raged for ſome time with the moſt uncommon violence, upwards of 30,000 perſons being ſwept away by it in the city of London. Among thoſe who fell victims to its fury was cardinal Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of great parts and experience in buſineſs; but ſo entirely devoted to the avaricious will of his maſter, and at the ſame time ſo fertile in deviſing oppreſſive methods to fleece the people, that he was beheld with deteſtation, and died without receiving the tribute of a tear.

A. D. 1501. This year was remarkable for the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, to the princeſs Catherine of Arragon; but the prince, who was then about ſixteen years of age, did not long ſurvive his nuptials; he died of a conſumption, and, it was ſaid, without conſummating his marriage. The king, unwilling to reſtore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thouſand ducats, obliged Henry, his ſecond ſon, whom he now created prince of Wales, to marry the princeſs, a diſpenſation from the pope being obtained for that purpoſe. A ſhort time after Henry married his eldeſt daughter Margaret, to James IV. king of Scotland; by which he formed a ſtrong alliance with that monarch.

A. D. 1502. Tho' Henry met with a very diſtinguiſhed loſs in the death of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, yet that did not divert him from his darling purſuit of heaping up riches. Avarice was always the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, and was now increaſed by age to an immoderate degree. He was already poſſeſſed of more perſonal riches than any other ſovereign in Europe; but his deſire of acquiſition ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as it was gratified. He now iſſued out commiſſions for impoſing fines and redemptions upon all perſons in the counties of Wilts, Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devon, that ſhould be found to have favoured the Corniſh rebels under lord Audley and Perkin Warbec. At the ſame time he iſſued orders to all the ſheriffs, to ſummon every gentleman poſſeſſed of forty pounds a year in land to repair to court, within a limited time, and receive the order of knighthood. Theſe oppreſſive methods procured him the hatred of his ſubjects, though this hatred was, by his great abilities, tinctured deeply with fear. All the powers on the continent courted his alliance; and all the malcontents of England were over-awed into a peaceful acquieſcence.

But the natural jealouſy of Henry ſtill encroached upon his repoſe. He was of a diſpoſition never to be eaſy under the ſmalleſt ground of apprehenſion, and an accident happened which greatly diſturbed his peace. Edmund de la Pole, ſecond ſon of Jo

de



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin.

Walker ſculp.

The Wife of Perkin Warbeck at the feet of **HENRY VII** ſoliciting him to Pardon her Husband.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, ſiſter of Edward IV. was, on the death of his elder brother, conſidered as the next lineal heir to the crown, whenever the lines of Edward and of George duke of Clarence, ſhould become extinct. Edmund had claimed the inheritance of his title and eſtates on the death of his brother; but his extravagance having rendered him unable to ſupport the title of duke, he was obliged to reſign that dignity, and Henry, in conſequence of that ceſſion, allowed him to retain the lands of the earldom, with the dignity of earl of Suffolk. Edmund was of a very paſſionate diſpoſition, and happened, in one of his furious ſallies, to kill a man. He applied to the king for a pardon, which was not refuſed; but being little indulgent to perſons connected with the houſe of York, he obliged him to appear perſonally before the court of King's-bench, and plead his pardon like a common felon. Suffolk ſo highly reſented this affront, that he fled over to Flanders, and was protected by the ducheſs of Burgundy. Henry was alarmed at his retreat; he thought he ſaw a new pretender ready to diſpute his throne; and in order to prevent any deſign from being formed againſt him, he diſpatched ſome of his emiſſaries to Flanders, promiſing him every advantage he could deſire, if he would return. The offer was accepted: the earl came over to England, where he plunged into all his former exceſſes, to the ruin of his credit and fortune; and was at length obliged to return into Flanders.

A. D. 1503. Henry, ſtill jealous of Suffolk, endeavoured to prevail on him to return to England, but all his ſolicitations on that head proved ineffectual; and perſuaded that he was forming deſigns againſt the government, he had recourſe to the ſame artifice he had ſo ſucceſsfully uſed in the caſe of Perkin Warbec. He applied to Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, near Calais, to attempt the diſcovery of Suffolk's ſecret intentions. He accordingly abandoned his poſt, under pretence of diſaffection to the government, retired into Flanders, and offered his ſervice to the earl of Suffolk. That nobleman received him with particular marks of eſteem, formed a very intimate connection with him, and ſhewed him, in confidence, ſeveral letters he had received from his correſpondents, in which the meaſures of Henry were treated with great freedom. Curſon immediately informed Henry of the diſcoveries he had made, in conſequence of which the earl of Devonſhire, William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir James Winham, were taken into cuſtody, and the two latter were afterwards condemned and executed. The death of Tyrrel gave univerſal ſatisfaction, on account of his participation n the murder of the two young princes, ſons to Edward IV. Suffolk was, however, beyond the reach f Henry; but that nobleman, finding the ducheſs f Burgundy was now become indifferent with regard o the partiſans of the houſe of York, retired to the ourt of Philip, archduke of Auſtria, where he was eceived with the greateſt marks of reſpect.

A. D. 1504. The avaritious Henry dedicated his hole thoughts to the accumulating of riches, and pared no methods of acquiring them, however preudicial to his people. His principal agents in the excution of this buſineſs were, Sir Richard Empſon, nd Edward Dudley. The former was the ſon of a eve-maker, and by the boldneſs of his meaſures eneavoured to conceal the meanneſs of his birth; the tter was a perſon of fortune and family, as well as great abilities; circumſtances which render his emory ſtill more execrable, if poſſible, than that his partner in iniquity. The inſolences of theſe o miniſters were carried to that height, that they d not even obſerve the common forms of juſtice; they fleeced the ſubject with the moſt arbitrary licentiouſneſs. Such as refuſed tamely to yield up their property, were impriſoned, fined, and ſome of them executed, in conſequence of private trials, without any fair examination, or the verdict of a jury. Henry, who ſhared the fruits of this oppreſſion, covered the authors with the ſhield of his authority. Informers, ſpies, and other vermin of a ſimilar kind, filled every part of the kingdom; while Henry was deaf to the groans of the oppreſſed, and inſenſible to the reproaches of his people.

A. D. 1506. Henry's thoughts were diverted for ſome time from the oppreſſion of his people by an event which happened in Spain. Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, paid the debt of nature, and it was foreſeen that this incident would greatly affect the fortunes of her huſband Ferdinand king of Arragon. Henry's ſituation was, in ſome particulars, ſimilar to that of Ferdinand, and therefore he regarded the iſſue of theſe tranſactions as a precedent for himſelf. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Iſabella, was married to the archduke Philip, and being, in right of her mother, heireſs of Caſtile, ſeemed entitled to diſpute with Ferdinand the preſent adminiſtration of that kingdom. It was of the utmoſt importance for Henry to ſupport the pretenſions of Ferdinand. He was very ſenſible that the greater part of his ſubjects were convinced of the ſuperiority of his wife's title to the crown; and he dreaded leſt the prince of Wales, who was every day advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by his own ambition, and the example of the archduke, to lay immediate claim to the crown.

Ferdinand, though ſo cloſely connected with Henry, ſoon found that it would be impoſſible for him to continue in the adminiſtration. His former exactions and impoſitions had rendered him very unpopular, and a reſolution was taken to declare Philip and Joan, king and queen of Caſtile. Philip therefore embarked with his conſort for Spain, on the ſixth of January; but being overtaken by a dreadful ſtorm, he was obliged to put into the harbour of Weymouth for ſafety. Spent with the fatigues of a turbulent voyage, the duke and his conſort went on ſhore to procure ſome refreſhment, contrary to the advice of his council, who ſtrongly oppoſed the reſolution.

Henry, being informed of this circumſtance, ſent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to aſſure them that he hoped ſoon to have the pleaſure of embracing them, and that, in the mean time, they might command in his dominions. Philip would willingly have declined the honour of an interview; but he well knew that he muſt not now depart without the king's conſent, and therefore ſet out immediately for the court, which was then at Windſor, where he and his conſort were received by Henry with all the marks of the moſt cordial friendſhip. But the Engliſh monarch was determined to draw ſome advantages from this fortunate event; and accordingly hinted to Philip, that as he had changed his condition, by accepting the crown of Caſtile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ought to be renewed. No objections were made to this propoſal, and a new treaty was drawn up and ſigned by both princes.

Notwithſtanding this treaty was very advantageous to England, yet Henry was far more deſirous of ſucceeding in another attempt which regarded himſelf only. He had been very uneaſy at the reception the earl of Suffolk had met with at Philip's court, and was determined to employ the preſent opportunity of procuring that fugitive to be ſent back to his own country. Accordingly he complained to Philip, that his ſubjects found an aſylum in his dominions, particularly the earl of Suffolk. "I really thought," replied the king of Caſtiſe, "that a perſon of ſo little conſequence was incapable of giving you the leaſt uneaſineſs. But to convince you, that I am deſirous of giving you all the ſatisfaction in my power, I will baniſh him from my territories." "You will greatly increaſe the obligation," ſaid the king, "by carrying your complaiſance a little farther, and deliver Suffolk into my hands: I can then depend upon his ſubmiſſion and obedience." "If I grant your requeſt," ſaid Philip, I ſhall bring a ſtain of diſhonour upon us both. It will be ſaid that I was treated as a priſoner in your dominions." "Then there is no farther diſpute," replied Henry, "I will take all the diſhonour upon myſelf." Philip perceived that Henry was determined to carry his point, and therefore gave his conſent, on condition that no attempt ſhould be made againſt his life. Henry very readily agreed to this reſtriction, and even condeſcended to write a letter to the earl with his own hand; aſſuring the unfortunate exile, that he ſhould meet with the kindeſt reception in England. This invitation, added to that of Philip, who was perſuaded that Henry would make no difficulty of granting his pardon, produced the deſired effect. Suffolk returned to England; but on his appearance, was immediately committed to the Tower.

The king of Caſtile was now ſuffered to purſue his voyage to Spain, where he was joyfully received by the Caſtilians, and put in poſſeſſion of the throne. Soon after the arrival of this prince, Ferdinand ſaw his court a deſart; grandees, clergy, and people flocked to their young king and queen, and Ferdinand was obliged to put on an air of affection and complaiſance for his daughter and her huſband. An interview was held between them, when it was agreed that Ferdinand ſhould retire to Arragon, and reſign the government of Caſtile entirely into the hands of Philip and his conſort. But Philip died ſoon after, and Joan, his widow, falling into a deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again reinſtated in his authority, and governed till the day of his death, the whole kingdom of Spain.

A. D. 1507. Henry's attention was ſtill engroſſed in the accumulating of riches; and the oppreſſions of Empſon and Dudley became more flagitious than ever. Sir William Capel, who had been lord-mayor of London, was now proſecuted upon a frivolous charge of not having puniſhed a perſon who had paid him falſe money during the time of his mayoralty, and fined two thouſand pounds. He refuſed to pay ſo exorbitant a ſum, and was immediately ſent to the Tower, where he continued till the death of Henry. Laurence Aylmer, lord mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were alſo proſecuted upon charges equally frivolous, and each fined a thouſand pounds. But they imitating the example of Capel, were committed to the King's-bench priſon. Several other gentlemen were proſecuted in the ſame manner; ſo that it is no wonder the names of Empſon and Dudley became obnoxious to the people. By theſe iniquitous practices, Henry amaſſed the enormous ſum of two millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, an amazing quantity in thoſe times. His rigid œconomy daily augmented this heap of wealth; and the more he advanced in years, the more deteſtable he became in the eyes of his ſubjects.

A. D. 1508. The avaritious Henry began now to perceive, that neither riches, power, nor ſucceſs, could ſecure him from the misfortunes incident to human nature. He had for ſome time laboured under a conſumptive diſorder, too inveterate to be conquered by the preſcriptions of the healing art, which had exerted all its powers in preſerving a life Henry was ſo unwilling to reſign. At length his diſorder became deſperate: he found his end was approaching. The thoughts of death effected what reaſon had attempted in vain. Henry entered deep into himſelf, and trembled at the gloomy proſpect that now opened before him. He now ſaw the wickedneſs and folly of accumulating riches by violence and extortion, and was deſirous of performing ſome actions that might recommend him to the mercy of heaven, and the forgiveneſs of men. He diſtributed large ſums in charity, and releaſed, at his own expence, all priſoners that were confined for debt under forty ſhillings. He then made his will, in which he ſtrictly enjoined his heir and ſucceſſor to make reſtitution of all that thoſe infamous agents of his oppreſſive avarice had unjuſtly taken from the people; and on the 22d of April, 1509, he expired at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the 53d year of his age and the 24th of his reign. He left his ſon Henry the crown of England, together with one million eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in ready money, beſides jewels and plate, all of which were depoſited in the vaults of his palace.

If we conſider this monarch either as a man or a king, we ſhall find him in ſome reſpects inferior to his predeceſſors; but at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged that few of them poſſeſſed ſo many excellencies as hedid upon the whole. His reign was more advantageous to the nation than honourable to himſelf. He put a final period to the civil wars which had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom. He maintained order and regularity in the ſtate: he depreſſed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and by his firmneſs and intrepidity, together with the friendſhip and alliances he contracted with foreign princes, he became one of the greateſt monarchs in Europe. His reign, in ſome meaſure, humanized the ferocious manners of the Engliſh. He inherited a fund of good ſenſe, which was greatly improved by ſtudy and experience. His judgment was ſound, and his ſagacity remarkable. His prudence and valour ſurmounted every difficulty. Theſe ſhining qualities acquired him the eſteem of all the princes of Europe, and he was generally known by the appellation of the Engliſh Solomon. But his activity and firmneſs, his wiſdom, his love of peace, and his courage in war, cannot wipe away the ſtains which the odious vice of avarice left upon his memory.

Henry was in ſtature ſomewhat above the middle ſize: his perſon was ſtrait and handſome, and his limbs elegant and well proportioned, though extremely delicate and tender; his countenance was grave and melancholy; and his temper ſour and ſaturnine. He was very difficult of acceſs, but affable when once engaged in converſation, and irreſiſtibly eloquent and perſuaſive when he had any favourite point to gain.—He was buried with great pomp in the chapel built by himſelf in Weſtminſter-abbey, which has ever ſince retained his name, and has been the place of interment for all the ſucceeding ſovereigns of England.

This monarch had ſix children by his queen; but only three ſurvived him; one ſon, and two daughters.

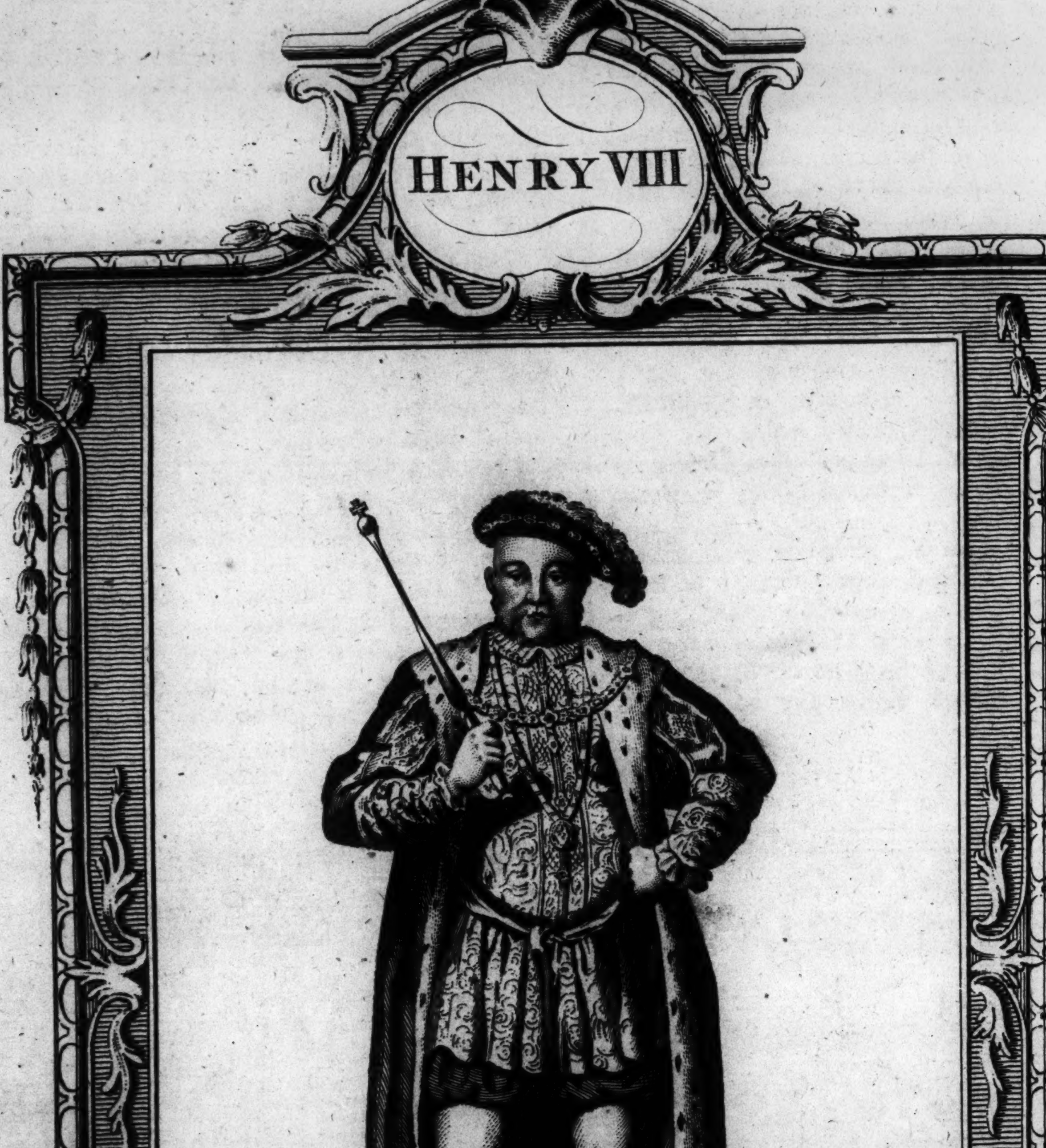
1. Henry Tudor, born at Greenwich on the twenty-fourth of February, 1491, and ſucceeded his father by the name of Henry VIII.

2. Margaret Tudor, born on the twenty-ninth of November, 1489; firſt married to James IV. king of Scotland; and afterwards to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. She left children by both.

3. Mary Tudor, born in the year 1468; married firſt to Lewis XII. king of France, and after his deceaſe to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

The remarkable occurrences that happened in the reign of Henry VII. were as follow;

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Wale delin. *Taylor sculp.*

In his firſt year an epidemical diſtemper broke out in London, which ſwept away many thouſands of the inhabitants. This dreadful diſeaſe was, from the ſymptoms attending it, termed the Sweating Sickneſs, and is thought to have been the firſt time it appeared in the world.

In his ſecond year the cuſtom of the lord-mayor of London drinking to the Sheriffs was inſtituted by Sir Henry Collet, the then mayor, the manner of which was thus: Sir Henry took a cup of wine, and drank to John Percival his carver, who then waited at table, ſtanding bareheaded; the lord-mayor drinking to him and ſtiling him ſheriff of London for the enſuing year, ſo far made uſe of his privilege of election that way, as to deſire of Percival to put on his hat and ſit down at table: accordingly he ſat down, took on him the office of ſheriff, and was afterwards lord-mayor himſelf.

In his ninth year, on the twenty-eighth of April, Joan Boughton, a widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for hereſy and profeſſing Wickliff's opinions. This year wheat was ſold in London for four ſhillings a quarter; and Bourdeaux wine, or claret, for thirty ſhillings a hogſhead.

In the tenth year of his reign the body of one Alice Hackney, which had been buried one hundred and ſeventy-five years, ever ſince the beginning of the reign of Edward II. was accidentally dug up in the church of St. Mary Hill, London; the ſkin of the corpſe was whole, and the joints of the arms pliable.

In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, Sir John Shaw, then lord-mayor, firſt cauſed his brethren the aldermen to ride to the water-ſide, when he went to the Exchequer-bar to be ſworn: he was alſo the firſt that held the mayor's feaſt in Guildhall, which was before done at Mercers-hall, or Merchant-taylors-hall.

In the following year, on the eighteenth of January, the firſt ſtone of the chapel known by the name of Henry VII's chapel, was laid, within the monaſtery of Weſtminſter, by John Iſlip, the abbot; Sir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter; Dr. Barnes, maſter of the Rolls; Sir Edward Stanhope and others aſſiſting at the ceremony. The charge of this building amounted to no more than fourteen thouſand pounds, if we may believe the lord Bacon.

In the ſame year the king gave the title of Merchant Taylors to the company of Taylors, of which he himſelf was a member, as ſeveral of his predeceſſors had been before him.

The colleges founded in this reign were, Chriſt's college and St. John's, in Cambridge, by Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, the king's mother; Jeſus college, in the ſame univerſity, by John Allcock, biſhop of Ely: Corpus Chriſti in Oxford, by Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Brazen Noſe college, by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln.

It was likewiſe in the courſe of this reign that St. Paul's ſchool was founded by John Collet, dean of that cathedral.

SECTION II.

HENRY VIII.

FEW princes, perhaps, ever aſcended the throne of their anceſtors with greater eclat, or more diſtinguiſhed advantages, than did Henry VIII. f England, who, at the time of his acceſſion, was nly eighteen years of age. Amiable in his perſon nd addreſs, in the bloom of youth, bleſſed with uncommon talents, and poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures, e ſaw himſelf at the head of a flouriſhing kingdom, here the arts and ſciences wanted only a liberal enefactor to promote their progreſs; and as the pubc tranquillity was ſecured by a long peace and powrful alliances, his people had already formed the oſt pleaſing expectations from his government. Nor this were they diſappointed; for no ſooner was he ated on the throne, than he ſhewed himſelf the reerſe of his father, by a liberality of temper that even ordered on profuſion, but at the ſame time, though ſome inſtances miſapplied, was fundamentally beficial to his ſubjects.

Young Henry, notwithſtanding his diſpoſition was oppoſite to that of his father, did not, however, ink proper to diſplace thoſe miniſters, who had rved with fidelity in the late reign. The members o formed his council were Warham, archbiſhop of nterbury, and chancellor; the earl of Shrewſbury, ward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; Sir Thomas ovel, maſter of the wards and conſtable of the ower; Sir Edward Poynings, comptroller; Sir enry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; Sir Thos Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy, Thomas Ruſſel ctor of laws, and Sir Henry Wyat.

The firſt important act of Henry's government was ually juſt and prudent, and tended to eſtabliſh his popularity in the hearts of his ſubjects. He iſſued a proclamation to encourage complaints againſt all who had made uſe of the royal authority to the prejudice of his ſubjects. The opportunity was embraced with avidity; the ſpies and informers, who had ſo long exerciſed an unbounded tyranny over the kingdom, now felt the weight of juſtice, and fell victims to the reſentment of the public. Empſon and Dudley, who had been ſo often loaded with execrations, were cited before the council, to anſwer for their conduct. But it was ſoon found, that however obnoxious they were rendered by their late conduct, they could not be condemned by the laws of their country. Empſon artfully obſerved, that the only crime of which both himſelf and Dudley were accuſed, conſiſted in their having enforced a ſtrict execution of the laws; that they had acted intirely in obedience to the king, to whom the execution of the laws was intruſted by the conſtitution; that it belonged not to them, who were merely inſtruments in the hands of the ſupreme power, what laws were recent or obſolete, expedient or hurtful, ſince they were all equally valid while they remained unrepealed by the legiſlature. The council perceived Empſon's arguments were unanſwerable, and therefore thought proper to commit thoſe obnoxious miniſters to the Tower, till a new accuſation could be formed againſt them. After ſome deliberation, it was determined to accuſe them of high-treaſon. It was ſaid, "That, conſcious of the popular odium incurred by their unjuſt proceedings, they had ſummoned their friends, while the late king lay on his death-bead, to conſult them on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken to ſecure them from the reſentment of the public." Theſe meaſures were conſtrued into a conſpiracy to ſeize the perſon of the new king, and to take up arms in defence of themſelves and their party. This ſtrange accuſation, however abſurd and improbable, was ſufficient to convict them of the crime laid to their charge, and they fell victims to the juſt reſentment of an injured people. They were kept in the Tower till the following year, when they were both beheaded on Tower-hill.

While the attention of the public was engaged in the perſecution of theſe wicked miniſters, the council were deliberating on a matter of much greater importance, namely, the king s conſummtaing his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to whom he had been affianced during the life of his father. The biſhop of Wincheſter, a zealous prelate, and violently attached to the papal authority, ſtrongly ſupported the intereſt of the princeſs. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, urged, that it was contrary to a poſitive command of the Deity himſelf, for a man to marry his brother's widow, and conſequently, that the pope's diſpenſation was invalid. Wincheſter, in oppoſition to this argument, urged the unlimited authority of Chriſt's vicar, and that the pope's diſpenſation was abundantly ſufficient. To this weak argument he added others of a much ſtronger tendency, founded on political motives. He repreſented the danger of forcing Ferdinand into an alliance with France, and of the two monarchs joining to reſent the affront offered to the king of Arragon in the perſon of his daughter, after ſhe had been ſo long affianced to Henry. He expatiated on the known virtue, modeſty, and noble diſpoſitions of the princeſs; her affection for the king, the large dowry ſhe brought, and the neceſſity of forming a cloſe alliance with Spain, in order to counterbalance the great power of France. Theſe conſiderations being weighed in the ſcale of political juſtice, determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to adviſe Henry to complete the marriage. Accordingly, the nuptials were celebrated on the 7th day of June 1509; and they were crowned at Weſtminſter on the 24th of the ſame month.

Henry had hitherto proceeded with a ſtrict attention to the laws of juſtice and diſcretion, without diſcovering any of thoſe youthful extravagancies ſo dangerous in well regulated governments. He found himſelf maſter of more ready money, than perhaps all the reſt of the princes of Europe poſſeſſed, and his ſubjects ready to adore him; at the ſame time his mind was active, his paſſions were ſtrong, and his power almoſt unbounded. Theſe were circumſtances which gave the moſt terrible alarms to a council, compoſed of men, trained up under the late Henry, to auſterity, to gravity, to œconomy, and to a ſtrict conformity with the ſevereſt maxims of ſtate. It was in vain for them to attempt the taſk of diſguiſing Henry's ſituation from himſelf, by changing the nature of his ſtudies from books and diſputations, to men and politics. Henry refuſed all ſubmiſſion to their power. The more ſtrictly he had been confined under his late jealous father, the more he taſted the pleaſures of a court, and the ſweets of freedom. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by his piety, his wiſdom, his moderation, and candor, maintained the greateſt authority at the council; but he was a man of too much integrity to have any ſhare in the low intrigues practiſed by courtiers. The two perſons who moſtly contended for the king's favour, were Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary of ſtate, and lord privy ſeal, and Thomas earl of Surrey, treaſurer. The prelate, who had enjoyed great credit during the former reign, had acquired ſuch habits of caution and frugality as he could not eaſily lay aſide, and ſtill oppoſed by his remonſtrances, thoſe ſchemes of diſſipation and expence, which the youth and paſſions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surry was a more artful courtier; and though few had borne a greater ſhare in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himſelf to the humours of his maſter. None were ſo forward to promote that liberality, pleaſure and magnificence which now began to prevail in the court of the young monarch. He ingratiated himſelf by this dextrous conduct into the favour of Henry, he profited, as well as the other courtiers, by the laviſh diſpoſition of his maſter; and engaged him in ſuch a courſe of diſſipation and idleneſs, as ſoon rendered him entirely heedleſs of his own concerns, and willing to intruſt the adminiſtration of affairs entirely to the care of his miniſters. The immenſe treaſures amaſſed by the late king, were gradually diſſipated in the giddy expences of a thoughtleſs monarch. One party of pleaſure ſucceeded another: tilts, tournaments, and carouſals, were exhibited with all the magnificence of that age; and as the preſent tranquillity of the nation permitted the indulgence of every amuſement, buſineſs of a ſerious nature was very little attended to.

The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſo highly exaſperated at the conduct of the earl of Surry, that he determined to introduce ſome perſon to the king who might be a ſpy upon his actions. He pitched upon Dr. Thomas Wolſey, as a perſon well qualified to anſwer his purpoſe. Though this gentleman was of mean deſcent, yet he had been particularly diſtinguiſhed for his prudence, his talents and his learning. He had recommended himſelf by his addreſs to the late king, who had employed him with advantage in ſome difficult commiſſions. Wincheſter introduced him to Henry, and he was appointed almoner to his majeſty's houſhold. His inſinuating addreſs, his taſte for pleaſure, and his love of letters, ſo wrought on his royal maſter, that he ſoon obtained the moſt diſtinguiſhed favours, and at length became (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) little inferior in popularity to the king himſelf.

A. D. 1510. While the face of affairs in England wore the ſmiles of peace and feſtivity, that of the continent was deformed with alarms reſulting from the confederacy of different powers. A league had been formed at Cambray, between the pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of France and Spain, for ſtripping the republic of Venice of all her territories on the continent. This confederacy was planned by that warlike and impious pontiff Julius II. Forgetting the cares of religion, in order to encreaſe the power of the holy ſee, he ſcrupled not to involve Italy in all the horrors of war, and deluge, with chriſtan blood, the countries over which he preſided as vicar of the prince of peace.

The French ſoon reduced the Venetians to extremities, and recovered the territories claimed by the contracting princes. But the pope had no ſooner obtained poſſeſſion of the dominions he pretended to belong to the church, than he determined to break the league of Cambray, and reduce the power of Lewis, which he now conſidered as too formidable. In order to this, he endeavoured to excite the ſtates of Europe againſt the French monarch, and was particularly deſirous of engaging young Henry in his favour. He ſent that monarch a conſecrated golden roſe, a favour never beſtowed by the popes but on their moſt favourite princes. He entered into a treaty with the Swiſs cantons; and having thus formed ſo powerful a confederacy, he attacked the duke of Ferrari, an ally of France.

Lewis, who never imagined a deſign was formed for attacking his territories, made no preparations for repelling the attempts of the enemy; but determining not to abandon his ally, he ſent orders to Chamont his general, and governor of Milan, to ſupport the duke with all his forces. Chamont prepared immediately to obey the commands of his ſovereign, and hearing the pontiff was arrived at Boulogne, he reſolved to ſurprize him. He accordingly led his army towards the city, and had he not been amuſed with ſome of the pope's envoys, he would, in all probability, have put an end to all the projects of this enterpriſing pontiff; but inſtead of puſhing the ſiege with vigour, he liſtened to propoſals offered by Julius, which that artful churchman never intended to perform. This ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities furniſhed an opportunity for a body of Venetians to throw themſelves into the caſtle; and Chamont, being deſtitute of artillery ſufficient for taking the fortreſs, was obliged to abandon the enterpriſe.

A. D. 1511. Lewis, after trying every method he could project to bring about a treaty of peace with the imperious pontiff, at length determined to ſubdue him by force of arms, and to depoſe him in a council ſummoned to meet at Piſa. But no danger could intimidate the old pontiff: he laid ſiege to Mirandola in perſon; and though he was then ſeventy years of age, he mounted the trenches, viſited the works, encouraged the engineers, and entered the breach at the head of his forces. After a faint reſiſtance the enemy ſubmitted, and the pope made himſelf maſter of the place.

During theſe tranſactions Lewis was debating with his council, which met at Piſa, where a few cardinals, who were enemies to the pontiff, made their appearance. But this council proved an idle undertaking, while the papal war was carried on with great ſucceſs. Julius, without ſuſpending for a moment his military operations, fulminated anathemas againſt the biſhops and all the members that formed the council at Piſa.

A. D. 1512. The aſſiſtance of Henry was now ſtrongly ſolicited by both parties; but at length, by the inſtigation of Ferdinand king of Spain, uncle to Henry, he was induced to declare againſt France. The glory of ſerving the pope, and of conquering provinces, excited the ambition of the young monarch; and the parliament readily granted ſupplies for an enterprize that was agreeable to the people. Ferdinand, always attentive to his own intereſt, while he ſeemed to be acting for that of others, perſuaded Henry that it would be more for his advantage not to land his troops at Calais, but at Fonterabia, where he might eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, and where he promiſed to aſſiſt him with a Spaniſh army. But the real intention of Ferdinand was to turn this force to the acquiſition of the kingdom of Navarre. Julius had excommunicated John d'Albert, its preſent king, as an adherent to the council of Piſa; and the dominions of an excommunicated prince were an object worthy to excite the violence and rapacity of Ferdinand.

Henry, who ſuſpected not the deſigns of his uncle, agreed to the propoſal. The marquis of Dorſet was appointed general of the land forces, which were landed in the province of Guipuſcoa, about the middle of June. The Engliſh admiral, in his return, made ſeveral ſucceſsful deſcents on the coaſt of Britany, and being joined by a ſquadron of ſhips commanded by Sir Thomas Knivet, the depredations were continued with conſiderable advantages.

Alarmed at the attempts of the Engliſh, the French fleet of thirty-nine ſhips, was ordered to ſail from Breſt under the command of Primauget, an admiral of great courage and conduct. The two fleets ſoon after met, and a furious engagement enſued. At length Primauget's ſhip was ſet on fire, and determining not to periſh alone, he bore down upon the Engliſh admiral, and grappling with her, both ſhips ſoon became involved in the ſame inevitable deſtruction. This dreadful ſcene ſuſpended the action between the other ſhips; they were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at ſo frightful a ſcene of horror and confuſion. After ſome time the French ſhip blew up, and the dreadful exploſion deſtroyed the Engliſh. This alarming cataſtrophe, in which above ſixteen hundred men periſhed, ſo affected both parties, that the engagement was not renewed; the French retired to Breſt, and the remaining part of the Engliſh continued cruizing in the Channel.

The Spaniſh forces, commanded by the duke of Alva, having joined the Engliſh, preparations were made for opening the campaign. But Dorſet, who little ſuſpected Ferdinand's intentions, was ſurprized to find, that inſtead of purſuing the conqueſt of Guienne, his army moved towards the frontiers of Navarre. The Engliſh general complained to Ferdinand, that inſtead of undertaking the ſiege of Bayonne, which would open a paſſage into Guienne, the forces had taken a different rout. Ferdinand replied, that as the king of Navarre was connected with France, he thought it would not be adviſeable to form the ſiege of Bayonne, till meaſures were taken for preventing that prince from cutting off their proviſions, by forming a camp between the ſea and the mountains of Navarre. Dorſet agreed to theſe propoſals, and an Engliſh officer was ſent to that prince to know his intentions. D'Albert declared that he would obſerve an exact neutrality, and give no obſtruction to the attempts of the Engliſh. Ferdinand pretended not to be ſatisfied with this anſwer, he inſiſted that the king of Navarre ſhould join the combined army, or deliver into his hands ſix of the moſt conſiderable places in his dominions, together with his eldeſt ſon as an hoſtage. The artful Spaniard well knew that theſe terms could not be complied with, and on the return of the meſſenger with intelligence that the propoſal was rejected, orders were ſent to the duke of Alva to invade Navarre, and reduce the whole kingdom to ſubjection. The Engliſh general now perceived the intereſts of his maſter were to be ſacrificed to the ambitious views of the Spaniard, and refuſed to aſſiſt in the reduction of Navarre. He retired to his camp at Fontarabia, reſolving there to wait for freſh orders from England. But even his inaction anſwered the views of Ferdinand. It kept the French army in awe; and by preventing Lewis from aſſiſting d'Albert, the kingdom of Navarre fell into the hands of Ferdinand. The ſeaſon was too far advanced, and the French had taken too many precautions in putting Bayonne in a proper poſture of defence, for Dorſet to think of making any progreſs in the reduction of Guienne: he returned to England without having had an opportunity of leading his forces againſt the enemy. Henry was highly diſpleaſed at the ill ſucceſs of the enterprize; and Dorſet found the utmoſt difficulty to convince him that the miſcarriage was entirely owing to the fraudulent deſigns of Ferdinand, who was now ſtiled in Spain, "the wiſe, the prudent;" in Italy, "the pious;" and in France and England, "the perfidious."

Though this war was attended only with diſgrace to the Engliſh arms, yet it ſerved greatly to weaken the ſtrength of France. Lewis was obliged to recall his troops for the defence of his own dominions, and by that means loſt all the conqueſts he might have otherwiſe obtained in Italy. The ambitious pontiff triumphed in the diſgrace of the French monarch; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune. He paid the debt of nature on the 21ſt of February, 1513, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair by John de Medici, under the appellation of Leo X. one of the greateſt princes that ever filled the pontifical ſeat. He was the patron of arts, and the friend of learning. Deſirous of attaching Henry firmly to his intereſt, he ſent him a veſſel loaded with hams and wine, the arrival of which filled the Engliſh with exultation, and excited their natural antipathy againſt France.

A. D. 1513. The Engliſh miniſtry now reſolved to raiſe a conſiderable army, in order to retrieve the martial glory of their country which had been ſo greatly injured in the late expedition in France. Hoſtilities were firſt commenced at ſea, but without any advantage to either of the contending princes. It was on the continent that the deciſive blows were intended to be ſtruck. The van of the army, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, was led by the earl of Shrewſbury, aſſiſted by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwalter, Haſtings, and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horſe. This diviſion being landed at Calais, was ſoon followed by another body of ſix thouſand men, under the command of lord Herbert, chamberlain, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew, Curſon, and other gentlemen.

Henry now prepared to follow his forces; but before his departure, he cauſed the unfortunate earl of Suffolk, who was ſtill a priſoner in the Tower, to be beheaded. What reaſons induced him to commit this cruel action, is not abſolutely known. Some hiſtorians tell us, that it was in obedience to the dying commands of his father; while others think, that Henry, exaſperated at the conduct of his brother Edward de la Pole, who had accepted a command in the French ſervice, ſatiated his vengeance on the unhappy Suffolk.

About the middle of June Henry landed at Calais with the third diviſion of his army conſiſting of 12000 men. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the principal nobility. But he ſoon perceived the little reliance he ought to place on the promiſes of princes; for among all his allies, the Swiſs only performed the conditions of their engagements. The emperor Maximilian had promiſed to join them with a body of 8000 men; but though he had received from Henry 120,000 crowns for that purpoſe, he failed in his engagements. He made ſome atonement, however, to the Engliſh monarch, by joining him, in the Low Countries, with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were of great ſervice in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new-raiſed forces.

Before Henry landed at Calais, the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert had formed the ſiege of Terrouenne, a town ſituated on the borders of Picardy. The garriſon, which conſiſted of not more than a thouſand men, commanded by Teligini and Crequi, made a noble defence. The town was, however, at laſt reduced to extremities, for want of ammunition and proviſions; and Lewis determined, if poſſible, to ſend a ſupply. Eight hundred cavalry were choſen for making this dangerous attempt, each of whom carried behind him a ſack of gun-powder and two quarters of bacon. Thus equipped, and headed by Fontrailles, they made a ſudden irruption into the Engliſh camp, ſurmounted all reſiſtance, and advanced to the foſſe of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. Then returning on a gallop, they again forced themſelves a paſſage with very little loſs.

Henry was determined to ſeek revenge for this inſult; and being informed that a large body of French horſe was approaching, he ordered ſome troops to paſs the Lis, and give them battle. The conteſt was ſoon decided. The French cavalry, though conſiſting chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with the greateſt intrepidity in many deſperate encounters, were ſeized with ſuch an unaccountable panic, that they immediately betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued by the Engliſh. The duke of Longueville, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners in endeavouring to rally their forces. This action is ſometimes called the battle of Guienegaſte, but more frequently the "Battle of the Spurs;" becauſe the French that day made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords.

Elated at this ſucceſs, Henry determined to inveſt Tournay, a place always incorporated with France, and the cradle of the French monarchy. The city was incapable of making any long defence, the garriſon being almoſt deſtitute of military ſtores and proviſions. Accordingly the place was hardly inveſted before the garriſon offered to capitulate. The terms were accepted, and Henry entered the city in triumph: Sir Edward Poynings was appointed governor, and the biſhop's ſee being then vacant, Henry conferred it on his favourite Wolſey, who immediately took poſſeſſion of the revenues, which were very conſiderable.

The ſeaſon not permitting of any further expedition, Henry embarked for England, whither he arrived about the middle of October, and was received in London amidſt the univerſal acclamations of his ſubjects.

While Henry was employed in reducing the towns of France, James IV. of Scotland, who had declared for Lewis, was ravaging the northern parts of Northumberland, at the head of 50,000 men; and made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Norham, Etal, Werk, Ford, and other fortreſſes of leſs importance.

The earl of Surry, who commanded the Engliſh forces, marched into the northern counties to ſtop the ravages of the invaders. His army conſiſted of about 26,000 men, 5000 of which had been ſent over from the army in France. The Scots were encamped on the high grounds near Chiviot hills, in a very advantageous ſituation. The river Till ran in their front; nor could their camp be approached but by one narrow paſs, which was ſo ſtrongly defended as to render the attempt totally impracticable.

The earl of Surry, perceiving that it would be madneſs to attack the enemy in their preſent ſituation, diſpatched an herald to the Scottiſh monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, appointing a day for the combat, and inviting him to try the valour of his forces on equal ground. But the anſwer he received was far from being ſatisfactory, and he determined to have recourſe to a ſtratagem, in order, if poſſible, to draw the Scots from their advantageous ſituation.

Accordingly, the next day, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick, in order to retaliate the ravages of the enemy, and cut off their proviſions. This motion occaſioned a council of war to be ſummoned in the Scottiſh camp, where an old nobleman, who had learned prudence from experience, adviſed James to return immediately to Scotland with his booty. The Scotch monarch, however, paid no attention to this prudent advice; but, on the contrary, determined to give battle to the Engliſh the firſt favourable opportunity. The army was accordingly put in motion, the huts in which the ſoldiers had been quartered were ſet on fire, and the Scots deſcended in diſorder from the hills. Surry obſerved the precipitate decampment of the Scottiſh army, and the ſmoke of the huts concealing his motions from the enemy, he paſſed the Till with his van-guard and train of artillery at the bridge of Twiſel, while the reſt of his army croſſed the ſtream at a ford in another part of the river.

James finding, by the motions of Surry, that a battle was inevitable, immediately drew up his army in three diviſions. The right was commanded by the earl of Huntley, aſſiſted by lord Hume; the left by the earl of Lenox and Argyle; and the center by the king in perſon: a fourth body under the earl of Bothwell, formed a corps de reſerve. The Engliſh army was divided into two lines: the main body of the firſt was led by lord Howard; the right wing by Sir Edmund Howard; and the left by Sir Marmaduke Conſtable. The main body of the ſecond line was commanded by the earl of Surry himſelf; the right wing by lord Dacres, and the left by Sir Edward Stanley.

In this poſition the armies approached each other, and met in Floudon field. The battle was begun by the earl of Huntley, who charged with ſuch fury, that he broke the left wing of the Engliſh, and drove them off the field. But the ſame ſucceſs did not attend the other commanders: they could not ſupport the ſhock of the Engliſh; and Huntley at his return found the Scottiſh army in great diſorder. Elated with the ſucceſs of the wing commanded by Huntley, the diviſion under Lenox and Argyle, had broke their ranks, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of La Motte, the French ambaſſador, had ruſhed headlong on the enemy, imagining themſelves ſure of victory. But they ſoon found their miſtake. Sir Edward Stanley's diviſion ſtood firm; while Dacres, who commanded in the ſecond line, wheeling about during the action, attacked them ſo furiouſly in he rear, that they could not ſuſtain the ſhock; the geater part of them were cut to peices, and the reſt eſcaped by a diſorderly flight. This misfortune did not, however, intimidate the diviſions under the king nd Bothwell. Animated by the valour of their eaders, they ſtill made head againſt the Engliſh; nd forming themſelves into a circie continued the ngagement till night put an end to the ſlaughter. The ſlain on both ſides appeared nearly equal, being bout five thouſand men: but the morning ſoon diſovered that there was a material diſparity. The Engliſh had loſt very few officers, while the whole ower of the Scottiſh nobility were ſlain. The king imſelf was miſſing; but whether he fell by the ſword f the Engliſh, or by the poniard of an aſſaſſin, is not nown. A body ſuppoſed to be that of the Scottiſh onarch, was found among the dead, and conveyed o London in a leaden coffin, where it remained ome time unburied, as James lay under the ſentence f excommunication, on account of his confederacy ith France, and oppoſition to the Holy See. Henry owever, obtained his abſolution from the pontiff, nd the body was accordingly interred.

James had made a will before he took the field, by hich, on his demiſe, his queen, Margaret was ade regent during the minority of his eldeſt ſon, ho was but two years old at the time of his father's eath. He was immediately acknowledged king, by e name of James V. and the queen-mother, who as ſiſter to Henry, intreating that monarch not to urſue the war during her regency, he readily comied with her requeſt, ordered the earl of Surry to ithdraw his forces, and concluded a peace with cotland.

A. D. 1514. A parliament being called in Januy, the king made ſeveral conſiderable promotions nong his nobility. He created the earl of Surry uke of Norfolk; Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk; harles Somerſet, lord Monteagle. Margaret of ork, daughter to the duke of Clarence, obtained e title of counteſs of Saliſbury, as heireſs to her other the earl of Warwick, who was beheaded by nry VII. and Wolſey, who was both the favourite and miniſter of Henry, was promoted to the biſhoprick of Lincoln.

The great ſucceſs Henry had obtained over his enemies made Lewis deſirous of ſheathing the ſword of deſtruction by an honourable peace, and thereby reſtore peace and tranquillity to his kingdom. In order to effect this he appeaſed pope Leo X. by renouncing the council of Piſa, which had been tranſferred to Lyons; and the pontiff, in return, took off the excommunication that had been denounced againſt him and his kingdom.

Henry was far from being averſe to a peace; the perfidious conduct of his allies had convinced him that they were more intent on promoting their own intereſts, than in fulfilling their promiſes. A negotiation was therefore opened between the two princes, and a peace ſoon after concluded on the following conditions: That Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Henry ſhould receive a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that Lewis ſhould marry the princeſs Mary, Henry's ſiſter, who ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns, as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as even the former queen of France, who was heireſs of Britany. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the two princes ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other with troops in caſe either of them ſhould be attacked by an enemy. The princeſs Mary, one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed woman of the age, was then in her twentieth year and Lewis in his fifty-ſixth. He met her at Abbeville, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence: but his paſſion for this amiable princeſs coſt him his life. His conſtitution was too much impaired to withſtand the exceſſes of pleaſure into which he plunged. He died in leſs than three months after his marriage, and left his people to bewail his loſs with the tears of affection. He was ſincerely beloved by his ſubjects, and deſervedly acquired the honourable appellation of "Father of his country."

Lewis was ſucceeded by Francis I. a young prince of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents, who immediately renewed the treaty with Henry. The young dowager Mary, three months after the death of her huſband, was married to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. This ſhe did without the conſent of her brother, who, when he heard of it, for ſome time expreſſed great diſapprobation, but was at length reconciled, and re-admitted them into his favour.

A. D. 1515. In the beginning of this year the ſee of York becoming vacant by the death of its late poſſeſſor, Henry beſtowed it on his favourite Wolſey, who now in fact governed the kingdom, though he affected only to follow the inclinations of Henry. He ſeemed to be only the companion of his maſter's pleaſures, but held in reality the reins of government. Preferments were heaped upon him with unbounded profuſion. He was not only archbiſhop of York, but alſo biſhop of Durham and Lincoln, and farmed, on very eaſy terms, the biſhoprics of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, which were enjoyed by Italians who reſided abroad. He ſoon after obtained a cardinal's hat, which augmented at once his pride and oſtentation. His houſhould was compoſed of eight hundred perſons, among whom were ſeveral of the nobility. He was the firſt clergyman who wore ſilk and gold. But ſtill his ambition was not ſatisfied; he wanted the great ſeal of England, then in the hands of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury. The primate was a perſon of great prudence and conduct; he had never engaged in any court intrigues; nor even gave offence to any party. Wolſey therefore did not attempt to deprive him of his poſt of chancellor, which perhaps he could not have effected, but took every opportunity of mortiſying him, in order to provoke him to reſign.

Warham remonſtrated with Wolſey on his conduct, but without effect; and being of a peaceable diſpoſition, he choſe rather to retire to his ſee, and employ himſelf wholly to the duties of his office, than remain at court, where he was every day affronted. Accordingly he reſigned the great ſeal into the hands of Henry, who, two days after, committed it to the cuſtody of Wolſey. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had ſo long directed the affairs of government, and even introduced Wolſey to the king's favour, could not bear to find himſelf neglected. He accordingly obtained leave to retire to his biſhopric, and at leaving the council-board he told the king, that "he hoped he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than the maſter." "Fear not, my good lord biſhop," replied Henry, "it ſhall be my care that ſubjects ſhall obey, and not command."

A. D. 1516. During this year ſeveral commotions happened among the princes on the continent; but they were not productive of any thing remarkable, except a compleat victory obtained by the French monarch over the Milaneſe, which put an end to the diſpute, and a treaty of peace was concluded between the contending parties.

A. D. 1518. This year is remarkable for giving riſe to thoſe religious diſputes which afterwards produced the reformation. Martin Luther, an Auguſtin friar, and profeſſor of divinity at Wirtemberg in Germany, ſtimulated to revenge by the conduct of the pope, exclaimed loudly againſt the church of Rome. He was a perſon of great learning, genius and ſpirit, inflexible and opiniative; and there was no want of abuſes whereon to found his invectives. A prodigious number of vain and ſuperſtitious ceremonies had been introduced into the exerciſe of religion: divinity was corrupted with ſubtilties: the clergy were given up to indolence and pleaſure; and the court of Rome had been guilty of numberleſs frauds and uſurpations. Religion, often proſtituted, had become a cloak for the moſt ſordid rapacity, and the moſt unpardonable ambition. An inceſſant cry of reformation reſounded from all quarters, and Luther knew how to take advantage of it. He, however, confined himſelf, in his firſt writings, to expoſe the doctrine of indulgences, and, perhaps, had then no other deſign. But he went farther than he at firſt intended, as is the caſe in diſputes, and in almoſt all tranſactions. He exhorted all princes to throw off the papal yoke, and railed bitterly againſt private maſſes. His writings, full of zeal and fury, ſpread over Europe; and were the more attended to, as he ſupported his opinions from ſcripture and other antient writings of the chriſtian church. The doctrines he inculcated were flattering to the princes of Europe, becauſe they furniſhed them with a pretence for throwing off the pope's authority, and for enriching themſelves with the wealth of eccleſiaſtics.

The dominions in Germany, ſupported by the pope's nuncios, cauſed Luther's books to be publickly burnt. The pontiff thundered out a new bull againſt him; but Luther, now protected by the princes of Germany, was not to be intimidated; and he ordered the pope's bull and the decretals to be burnt in the public market-place of Wirtemberg.

While theſe religious diſputes prevailed with great violence in Germany, the Engliſh were cultivating with avidity the bleſſings of peace. The arts found encouragement; trade was improved; manufactures were carried on with ſucceſs. Cardinal Wolſey made the nobleſt uſe of his power; he exerted it for the good of his country. His poſt of chancellor placed him at the fountain of juſtice, and never was it better adminiſtered. He was particularly careful to puniſh perjury, the worſt of crimes: he was a firm ſupporter of the poor, and enforced ſeveral excellent laws for the protection of the mercantile and induſtrious part of the people. We have already obſerved, that he was a great friend to literature. At this time the Engliſh had very little learning, and were wholly deſtitute of taſte. Wolſey ſaw this, and laboured aſſiduouſly to improve the one, and introduce the other. He ſpared no pains to diſcover perſons of literary accompliſhments, nor thought any reward too great to beſtow upon them. He employed no miniſters but ſuch as were ſcholars; and under his adminiſtration the dignified offices of the law, the church, and the ſtate, were filled with men whoſe literary merit was their only recommendation. He alſo founded lectures at Oxford for the improvement of learning; and Henry very readily gave his countenance to the noble and patriotic views of his favourite.

A. D. 1519. Wolſey's attention to the purſuit of literature was greatly interrupted in the beginning of this year by the death of the emperor Maximilian. Francis I. of France, and Charles V. of Spain, declared themſelves candidates for the imperial throne. Theſe competitors were worthy of each other: the former was diſtinguiſhed by his candour, his generoſity and his valour; the latter by his prudence, his diſcretion and his policy. Henry, by the advice of Wolſey, uſed all his intereſt to ſupport the election of Charles, who was grandſon to the deceaſed emperor; and by his aſſiſtance he was choſen by a majority of only one voice.

A. D. 1520. Though the French monarch could not but be diſpleaſed at the interpoſition of Henry in favour of Charles, yet he was deſirous of gaining his friendſhip and confidence; and in order to effect this he ſolicited an interview with him near Calais. Wolſey, fond of diſplaying his riches, magnificence and power, ſeconded the requeſt of the monarch; and Henry, who was equally fond of pomp and honour, conſented to the propoſal. Charles was alarmed at this intended interview, and determined, if poſſible, to prevent its conſequences: but he well knew, that unleſs he could gain Wolſey over to his intereſt, all his attempts to procure the favour of Henry would be in vain. The cardinal now directed all the affairs of government; he had no competitor in the cabinet. Nor was his pomp leſs remarkable than his power: he celebrated maſs with all the ſtate and magnificence of the Roman pontiff: he was ſerved by biſhops; and even earls and dukes preſented him with the water and the towel. His dreſs was ſuperbly magnificent: he wore regal veſtments; his ſhoes were of ſilver gilt, ſet with pearls and precious ſtones. When he went abroad, two large croſſes of maſſy ſilver, the legatine and that of York, were carried before him by two tall prieſts; together with two pole-axes, two pillars of maſſy ſilver, golden cuſhions, and a train of ſtately horſes. Nor was he content with the great power, wealth, and authority he enjoyed in England, while there was one degree of eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he had not attained. He already began to concert meaſures for obtaining the papal throne. He eſtabliſhed a legatine court, whoſe arbitrary authority reſembled that of the inquiſition. Though remarkable himſelf for the licentiouſneſs of his manners, he became a rigid reformer of the actions of the laity; and what is, perhaps, ſtill more ſingular, he joined with him, as a judge in that court, a man whom he himſelf, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury. The whole kingdom dreaded his power; and his vanity roſe to ſuch a height, that he conſidered even the archbiſhop of Canterbury as far beneath him. That prela having wrote a letter to him, in which he ſubſcribed himſelf, "Your loving brother," Wolſey complained of his preſumption. The primate, when informed of the offence he had given, ſaid coolly, "Know ye not that this man is intoxicated with proſperity?" But deſpotic exertions, when applied againſt the liberty of men's lives and manners, are particularly offenſive. The complaints of the people at laſt reached the ears of the ſovereign: he diſcovered his diſſatisfaction, and Wolſey ſet bounds to his authority: the deciſions of his court were made with more care and leſs oppreſſion to the parties.

While Henry was at Canterbury, in his way to France, Charles landed at Dover; intimation of which being given to the king, he immediately diſpatched Wolſey to compliment him on his arrival. The next day Henry met Charles in perſon, and conducted him to Canterbury, where he was entertained with the utmoſt pomp and ſplendor.

Charles paid his court to Wolſey in the moſt artful manner; and promiſed him his aſſiſtance in procuring the papacy whenever there ſhould happen a vacancy in the pontifical throne. There was, however, little appearance of this promiſe being claimed. Leo X. was a young man, and likely to fill the chair of St. Peter, when Wolſey was no more. It ſoothed, however, the ambition of that powerful prelate, who, in conſequence, devoted himſelf to Charles's intereſt.

As ſoon as Charles took leave of Henry, the latter immediately went over to Calais, with his queen and the whole court. Francis, attended in the ſame manner, came to Ardres, a ſmall town a few miles diſtant from Calais. The interviews were at firſt carried on with remarkable precaution; the number of guards on each ſide were carefully counted, and every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured and adjuſted. Francis, whoſe ſoul was above diſtruſt, determined to break through ſuch idle ceremonies: he viſited the Engliſh monarch without guards or attendants; and Henry, diſdaining to be excelled in ſo noble an inſtance of confidence, followed the example. From that moment they viſited each other without the leaſt ceremony; a generous diſdain of ſuſpicion ſupplied the uſe of precaution. They paſſed their time in feaſts and tournaments, where they reſpectively diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their dexterity and addreſs in thoſe martial diverſions.

Notwithſtanding Charles received daily information from the cardinal of what paſſed at this interview, yet he was very uneaſy with reſpect to the event. He therefore came to Gravelines, which Henry was no ſooner informed of than he immediately took his leave of Francis, and went to pay him a viſit, when the moſt cordial aſſurances of friendſhip and eſteem paſſed between the two monarchs. After ſtaying three days at Gravelines, Henry embarked for England, and Charles proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned emperor with great ſolemnity on the 23d of October.

A. D. 1521. The face of affairs in the beginning of this year ſeemed to threaten all Europe with a atal war. The violent perſonal emulation and poliical jealouſy which ſubſiſted between the new emperor nd the French king ſoon broke forth into action. heſe two princes invaded the dominions of each other ith numerous armies; and, after having gratified eir ambition by ſome petty conqueſts, and glutted eir revenge by committing the moſt dreadful ra-ges and devaſtations, they preferred their comaints to the king of England, as the moſt proper erſon to decide the difference between them.

In conſequence of this, conferences were opened Calais, and Wolſey was appointed to officiate as ediator between the contending monarchs. Charles, o depended on the favour of Wolſey, demanded poſſeſſion of Burgundy, and required to be free from the homage which his anceſtors had paid for Flanders and Artois. The emperor well knew that theſe propoſals would be rejected; he made them with that intention, and, it is ſaid, with the approbation of Wolſey. But however that may be, the conferences were broke off, and the cardinal himſelf ſoon after made a journey to Bruges, where he was received by the emperor with the ſame ſtate, magnificence and reſpect, as if he had been the king of England himſelf. And he concluded, in the name of his maſter, an offenſive alliance with the pope and the emperor againſt France.

Thus ended this ſecret negotiation (for it can be called no other) between Wolſey and Charles; and thus was Henry wrought upon to declare himſelf the enemy of Francis without the leaſt provocation, and contrary to all the rules of ſound policy, conſidering the increaſing power of the emperor, which it was his intereſt to balance.

Wolſey, having ſettled matters on ſuch a footing as he thought moſt for his own intereſt, returned to England about the latter end of the year; ſoon after which he meditated the deſtruction of the duke of Buckingham. He had long borne that nobleman a grudge, on account of his having not only made free with his character in public converſation, but having offered him ſome perſonal affronts: in particular, it is ſaid, that the duke one day holding the baſon to the king, ſoon after his return from France, the cardinal, when the king had waſhed, dipped his hands in the ſame water, upon which the duke, enraged at his inſolence, threw the water into his ſhoes: the cardinal, fired with indignation, told him, in a threatening tone, that he would ſit upon his ſkirts: the duke, in order to expoſe the cardinal's malice to the king, came the next day to court richly dreſſed, but without any ſkirts to his coat: the king aſking him what he meant by appearing in that faſhion? he repeated the cardinal's threats, with the occaſion of them, adding, that he thus equipped himſelf to baulk the cardinal of his intention, for that now he could not ſit upon his ſkirts.

This jeſt, however, proved fatal to the duke, for from that inſtant Wolſey vowed his deſtruction. He began to effect his intended purpoſe by depriving the duke of his two beſt friends, namely, the earl of Northumberland his father-in-law, and the earl of Surry his ſon-in-law; the former of whom he cauſed to be put under arreſt on account of ſome matter in law concerning a wardſhip; and the latter he ſent into an honourable baniſhment by making him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke being thus alone, the cardinal gained over one Knevet, a retainer of the duke's, but who, upon being diſcharged his ſervice for ſome miſdemeanor, was now his mortal enemy. This fellow accuſed his maſter of ſaying in private company, that, ſhould the king die without iſſue, he would lay claim to the crown, as the deſcendant of Anne of Glouceſter, grand-daughter of Edward III. and that, ſhould he ever aſcend the throne, he would puniſh Wolſey in the moſt exemplary manner. He alſo ſaid, that the duke correſponded with one Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Hinton, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, and flattered the duke with aſſurances of his ſucceeding to the crown of England.

Wolſey now thought he had got ſufficient matter for an accuſation, which he ſo aggravated to the king, that orders were inſtantly iſſued for apprehending the duke, who, on the 15th of April, was committed to the Tower. A ſhort time after he was tried by his peers in Weſtminſter-hall, and found guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. He made a long and vigorous defence; but his fate was determined, and he was condemned to death. Great intereſt was made to ſave him, but without effect; for, on Friday the 17th of May, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. His death was greatly lamented by the people, who imputed it wholly to the implacable reſentment of the cardinal.

The religious diſputes in Germany ſtill continued, and ſeveral of the princes had already declared in favour of Luther's reformation. England alſo, where there were ſtill a great many Lollards, who inculcated nearly the ſame tenets, would have followed the German princes, had not the government firmly oppoſed the doctrines of the Wirtemberg profeſſor. Capricious fate, which ſports with the affairs of the world, ſo ordered it, that Henry himſelf ſhould be engaged in this diſpute. He had been ſtrictly educated in an attachment to the court of Rome, and had contracted an averſion to Luther, becauſe he had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author. Vanity and reſentment, more than zeal for religion, induced Henry to become an author, and to combat the doctrines of the German monk. The book was ſoon finiſhed and ſent to Rome, where it was received with rapture by the pope, who beſtowed the title of "Defender of the Faith" upon Henry and his ſucceſſors.

Luther, who made no difference between noble and ignoble writers, ſoon wrote an anſwer to Henry, and treated him with all the acrimony of ſtile, to which, in the courſe of his diſpute, he had been ſo long accuſtomed. The controverſy now became more illuſtrious by Henry's entering the liſts; it engaged ſtill more the attention of mankind; and the Lutheran party acquired daily new converts in every part of Europe. It became a matter of competition to inſult, with moſt indecency, the pope and the church. They called the pontiff antichriſt, denominated his communion the ſcarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expreſſions, which, however applied, were to be found in the ſcriptures, and therefore better calculated to act on the ignorant multitude than the moſt ſolid arguments.

On the firſt of December this year died pope Leo X. in the 46th year of his age, and the ninth of his pontificate. He was a prince well qualified by his ſound judgment, moderation and temper, to have retarded the progreſs of the reformation, which now made its way with haſty ſtrides. He was ſucceeded in the papal throne by Adrian VI. who had been tutor to Charles, the preſent emperor. This pontiff was a perſon of great integrity, candour, and ſimplicity of manners; but the prejudices of the reformers were ſo violent againſt the church, that he rather hurt the cauſe by his imprudent exerciſe of thoſe virtues.

A. D. 1522. Wolſey had entertained great hopes of being at this time choſen pontiff; and had actually, at different ſcrutinies, nine, twelve, and nineteen voices. However, though he loſt his election, yet the advanced age, and numerous infirmities of Adrian, ſtill gave him hopes that he ſhould ſoon be able to ſatisfy his ambition. The emperor never intended to place Wolſey in St. Peter's chair. He was deſirous of having a pope who would be wholly at his devotion; and he was too well acquainted with the imperious temper of the cardinal to think he would ever be ſubmiſſive to the will of any perſon whatever. But in order to diſſipate the chagrin of that haughty miniſter, he paid a new viſit to the court of England; where, beſides flattering the vanity of the king and cardinal, he repeated to Wolſey all the promiſes he had formerly made him of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. The inſinuating addreſs of Charles produced the deſired effect: Wolſey concealed his reſentment, the late treaty was renewed, and it was determined in the Engliſh council to declare war againſt France.

Accordingly, Clarencieux, king at arms, was ſent to the French court, with a declaration, that his maſter looked upon Francis as the firſt aggreſſor, and therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking part with the emperor. The bloody ſtandard of war was now diſplayed; the ambaſſadors on both ſides were recalled; the effects of the merchants were ſeized in both countries; and Henry fitted out a ſtrong fleet for making prizes of the enemy's ſhips, and protecting the Engliſh commerce. The command of this fleet was given to the earl of Surry, who was now made lord high admiral of England; and the emperor alſo created him high admiral of his dominions.

A. D. 1523. About the middle of June Henry ſent over a conſiderable army to Calais, under the command of the duke of Suffolk, who, on his arrival at St. Omer's, was joined by 3000 foot and 500 horſe in the imperial ſervice. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme, and, if poſſible, to provoke the enemy to a deciſive engagement: but the French had learned prudence from paſt misfortunes; they contented themſelves with haraſſing the van of the Engliſh army with flying parties; and depended on the ſtrength of their frontier garriſons, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, to prevent the Engliſh from taking up their winter quarters in their country.

In this they were not deceived: for though the duke of Suffolk made himſelf maſter of Bray, Montdidier, Roye, and ſeveral other conſiderable places, and even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, yet he found it would be impoſſible for him to canton his troops in the places he had conquered, as the duke of Vendome lay in Paris with a large body of troops, and the marſhal Tremouille was forming another army by draughts from the garriſons of Picardy. He was therefore obliged to return to Calais, in order to put his army into winter quarters; but before he reached that fortreſs, many of his ſoldiers periſhed by the inclemency of the weather. In conſequence of this retreat, moſt of the places he had taken during the campaign fell again into the hands of the French. Nor had Charles any better ſucceſs in the attempt he made, at the ſame time, upon Gaſcony. His forces inveſted Bayonne; but the French general, Leutrec, made ſuch a noble defence, that Charle's troops, after ravaging the adjacent country, were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

The French were ſo animated at theſe miſcarriages, that they exerted themſelves with all their might againſt the powerful alliance that was formed againſt their country; and, in all probability, Francis would have been able to have ſupported himſelf againſt all the efforts of his enemies, had not the conſtable of Bourbon, the moſt able of all his generals, perſecuted by the hatred of the ducheſs of Angouleme, the king's mother, ſacrificed to his reſentment his duty and the love of his country, and entered into the ſervice of Charles V. He was immediately created generaliſſimo of the emperor's armies, and marched into the duchy of Milan, which the French had again invaded under admiral Bonnivet, his greateſt enemy. A general thoroughly acquainted with the French troops, their ſtrength and weakneſs, muſt have been of conſiderable advantage to Charles: but there were other circumſtances ſtill more in his favour. Moſt of the princes of Italy were in his intereſt. The people hated the French government; and he was aſſiſted by ſome of the moſt able and diſtinguiſhed generals in Europe.

Bonnivet croſſed the Alps at the head of thirty-three thouſand men, and made himſelf maſter of Novaro, and ſome other places of leſs importance in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might, perhaps, have recovered that city for his maſter; but he loſt ſo much time in treating with the inhabitants, that the conſtable of Bourbon had an opportunity of putting the place into a poſture of defence. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts upon Cremona, and other places, none of which he was able to reduce. The Italian generals ſaw his inabilities, and took care to cut off his proviſions; ſo that Bonnivet was obliged to retire into Piedmont, where he put his army into winter quarters.

While theſe things were tranſacting, pope Adrian VI. paid the debt of nature; and Clement VII. of the Medicean family, was elected in his place, by the intereſt of the imperial party. Wolſey was now convinced of the inſincerity of the emperor; and juſtly concluded, that he muſt never hope to mount the papal throne by his intereſt. He, however, diſſembled his reſentment, congratulated the new pope on his election, and applied for a continuation of the legatine powers he had enjoyed under the two laſt pontiffs. Clement well knew the neceſſity of maintaining the friendſhip of this imperious miniſter, and not only granted his requeſt, but ſent him a commiſſion for life; a very unuſual conceſſion, and by which Wolſey obtained the whole papal authority in England. He, however, made a noble uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, and another at Ipſwich. He invited learned men from every part of Europe, to fill the chairs of theſe colleges: and, in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome of the leſſer monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. Theſe proceedings were countenanced at Rome, there being now an immediate neceſſity for learned men to defend the church againſt the forcible attacks of the reformers.

A. D. 1524. Francis, who had been hitherto ſucceſsful in Italy, imprudently ſent off a large detachment from his army, under the command of the duke of Albany, towards Naples; while Pavia, which he had ſome time inveſted, being well provided for defence, the imperial generals flattered themſelves with having, from this circumſtance, an opportunity of attacking the French at a very conſiderable advantage. The arrival of the duke of Bourbon, with a numerous army, determined them to raiſe the ſiege; and they attacked the French with ſuch courage, reſolution and conduct, that the troops of Francis were entirely routed, and himſelf taken priſoner, after having eminently diſtinguiſhed his perſonal valour. He was immediately carried to the ſtrong caſtle of izzighitone, where he remained for ſome time under the care of Alvazon, the Spaniſh governor, who treated him with the greateſt reſpect.

A. D. 1525. The captivity of the French monarch produced a ſudden change in the politics of England. As he was reduced to the very brink of ruin, and the emperor become ſo formidable as to threaten the general liberties of Europe, Henry determined to abandon the cauſe of the latter, and eſpouſe the intereſt of the former.

Thus prompted by his own inclination, and the advice of the cardinal, who was deſirous of revenging on Charles the ill offices he had done him in the affair of the papacy, he imparted his ſentiments to the ducheſs-regent of France, (mother to the captive monarch) who ſending her ambaſſadors to the court of London, a treaty of peace and alliance was mutually ſigned by the two parties on the 30th of Auguſt.

The natural conſequence of this alliance was, a war with the emperor; but as the treaſury was almoſt exhauſted, Henry committed the care of recruiting to Wolſey, who, inſtead of calling a parliament, where he expected a repulſe, iſſued a decree in the king's name, for levying through the whole kingdom, one ſixth of all the lay revenues, and one fourth of thoſe belonging to the clergy. This tax was conſidered as ſuch a violent encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, and ſuch a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, that it produced a dreadful clamour in every part of the nation, and it was feared a rebellion would be the conſequence. Henry, when informed of this alarming ferment, diſowned the meaſure, declaring, "That no neceſſities of the crown ſhould make him attempt the raiſing of money any other way than by the people's conſent in parliament."

The cardinal, diſappointed in this attempt, had recourſe to the old method of benevolences, which he imagined would appear leſs odious to the people. But he was deceived; it occaſioned very lound complaints and remonſtrances. The more illegal the impoſts he levied, the more the ſufferers were enraged. They regarded them not as neceſſary ſupplies for the ſtate, but as violent and tyrannical exactions. A lawyer having obſerved, that all benevolences had been aboliſhed by act of parliament in the reign of Richard III. it was anſwered, that Richard was an uſurper, that his parliaments were factious aſſemblies; and that his ſtatutes were of no force againſt a legal king. The judges who were conſulted on this occaſion, went ſo far as to affirm, that the king could by commiſſion, exact whatever ſums he pleaſed. This deſpotic maxim was not, however, admitted by the people; they had recourſe to arms; and Henry had no better method of ſuppreſſing the inſurgents, than by granting them a general pardon.

Henry ſeems to have been hitherto unacquainted with the meaſures of the cardinal, and to have imagined that the people were happy and contented under his adminiſtration; but the clamours and frequent inſurrections which had happened in conſequence of the late attempts to oppreſs the ſubject having convinced him to the contrary, he was highly incenſed againſt his favourite, who was obliged to have recourſe to the moſt humble and abject ſubmiſſion to appeaſe the wrath of his maſter. He produced his will, in which he had left all his riches to the king, and laboured to convince him that what he did was to promote his honour, and would prove in the end highly advantageous. At the ſame time he made him a preſent of his ſtately palace at Hampton-court, in return for which the king granted him his letters patent for the founding his college at Oxford.

A. D. 1526. Notwithſtanding the interpoſition of almoſt all the powers in Europe, in behalf of the captive Francis, yet he did not obtain his liberty till the middle of March, after ſigning a treaty very advantageous to the emperor. But he no ſooner reached his own dominions than he diſclaimed the whole agreement as compulſive. He determined, if poſſible, to be revenged on Charles; to effect which he concluded an alliance with Clement VII. the Venetians, and the principalities of Italy; a confederacy of which the king of England was declared the protector.

Charles, irritated at this league, determined to take ample vengeance on thoſe allies that had deſerted him in the time of danger; particularly the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had ſo ungratefully abandoned the intereſt of his benefactor. He accordingly ordered the duke of Bourbon to advance towards Rome, and attack the pope in his capital. Bourbon executed the emperor's commands with the greateſt bravery and conduct, but was killed as he was mounting a ladder to ſcale the walls. His death inſpired his followers with fury and revenge. Rome taken by aſſault, was pillaged, and became a ſcene of the moſt ſhocking barbarities. That renowned city never ſuffered more, even from barbarians, than now from the hands of Chriſtians. Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty, whatever was ſacred in religion, ſeemed only to increaſe the brutality of the ſoldiers. The pope himſelf was taken priſoner, and treated with every indignity. When intelligence was brought the emperor of the ſucceſs of his arms againſt the Roman capital, he affected the utmoſt ſorrow, put himſelf and his whole court into mourning, and ordered prayers to be offered up for the deliverance of the pope. But the artifice was too groſs to impoſe even upon the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude.

The caſe was very different with Francis and Henry: they were extremely concerned for the misfortunes of the pontiff, and determined to carry their arms into Italy. Wolſey himſelf, by order of Henry, croſſed the ſeas to have an interview with Francis; who met him at Amiens; where it was ſtipulated, that the duke of Orleans ſhould marry the princeſs Mary: and as it was apprehended that Charles would immediately ſummon a general council, they both agreed not to acknowledge it, but to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions by their own authority, during the pope's impriſonment. Soon after, a new treaty was negotiated between the two monarchs; by which Henry renounced his antient pretenſions to the crown of France; and Francis, in return, bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay annually the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent Henry's attention was engaged in an affair of the moſt important nature. His conſort Catherine of Arragon, who was ſix years older than himſelf, had loſt his affection, and he now formed the reſolution of obtaining a divorce. She was the daughter of Ferdinand and Iſſabella, (king and queen of Spain) and aunt to Charles V. She had been married to Henry eighteen years, and brought him three children; one of whom, the princeſs Mary, afterwards queen of England, was ſtill living. The queen could neither be reproached with bad conduct, nor even with that peeviſh temper which ſo frequently accompanies female virtue. But all her gentle and amiable accompliſhments could not fire a heart devoted to pleaſure. She had been firſt married to prince Arthur, elder brother to Henry; and upon his death, ſhe was betrothed to him. This marriage had always been conſidered as illegal by moſt of the foreign ſtates; had been ſtrongly oppoſed as ſuch by Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury; and his opinion had been confirmed by the two houſes of Convocation. Theſe authorities ſtrengthened Henry's ſcruples; and it was thought that the pope had no power to diſpenſe with a poſitive law of the Deity.

Henry now became anxiouſly ſolicitous to convince himſelf of the illegitimacy of his marriage. The great progreſs he had made in caſuiſtical divinity enabled him to examine the queſtion thoroughly. The celebrated Thomas Aquinas, whoſe authority was great in the church, and abſolute with Henry, had treated of that very caſe, and expreſly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages. "The prohibitions (ſays that famous caſuiſt) contained in Leviticus, and among the reſt, that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them."

From theſe arguments Henry was convinced that his marriage was unlawful; and an incident now happened which prompted him to perſevere in procuring a divorce from Catherine. Anne Boleyn, a young lady celebrated for her beauty and mental accompliſhments, had been lately created maid of honor to the queen, and ſoon acquired an entire aſcendency over the affections of Henry. He endeavoured, by every means he could project, to ſeduce her, but the virtue or ambition of Anne reſiſted all his arts; and the king perceiving that there was no other method of gratifying his paſſion, determined to make her his partner in the throne.

A. D. 1528. Henry was little aware of the many obſtacles that would oppoſe his intended purpoſes. Before any advances could be made it was neceſſary that the bull of pope Julius ſhould be annulled at Rome; a proceeding which no pontiff would readily be willing to adopt. Clement, though ſtill a priſoner to Charles, was deſirous of procuring the favour of Henry, who was alone able to aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs: he therefore liſtened to the propoſals of that monarch, and ſeemed willing to annul the bull of his predeceſſor. He granted a commiſſion to Wolſey to examine, as legate, the validity of the marriage, and promiſed to expedite a bull of divorce. But Clement, with all his dexterity and addreſs, wanted intrepidity, firmneſs, and integrity. Charles V. diſcovered his intention; and threatened, if he favoured the Engliſh monarch, to ſummon a general council, and cauſe him to be depoſed. At the ſame time, he flattered him with the hopes of re-eſtabliſhing his family in the dutchy of Florence, if he complied with his deſires. The offers and threatenings of Charles were two powerful for Clement to withſtand: he granted a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined with Wolſey, for trying the validity of the kings marriage. But he could not be induced to promiſe, that he would not recall this commiſſion. Campeggio artfully protracted his departure for England; and when he arrived there with a bull in the ſtyle requeſted by Henry, he refuſed to communicate it to any perſon except the king and Wolſey.

A. D. 1529 As this bull could not be executed till the marriage was pronounced illegal, a court was appointed to be held in Blackfriars for the trial of the cauſe, and the king and queen were cited to appear on the 18th of June. Wolſey, as a proof of his impartiality, allowed Campeggio to preſide, though he himſelf was a ſenior cardinal.

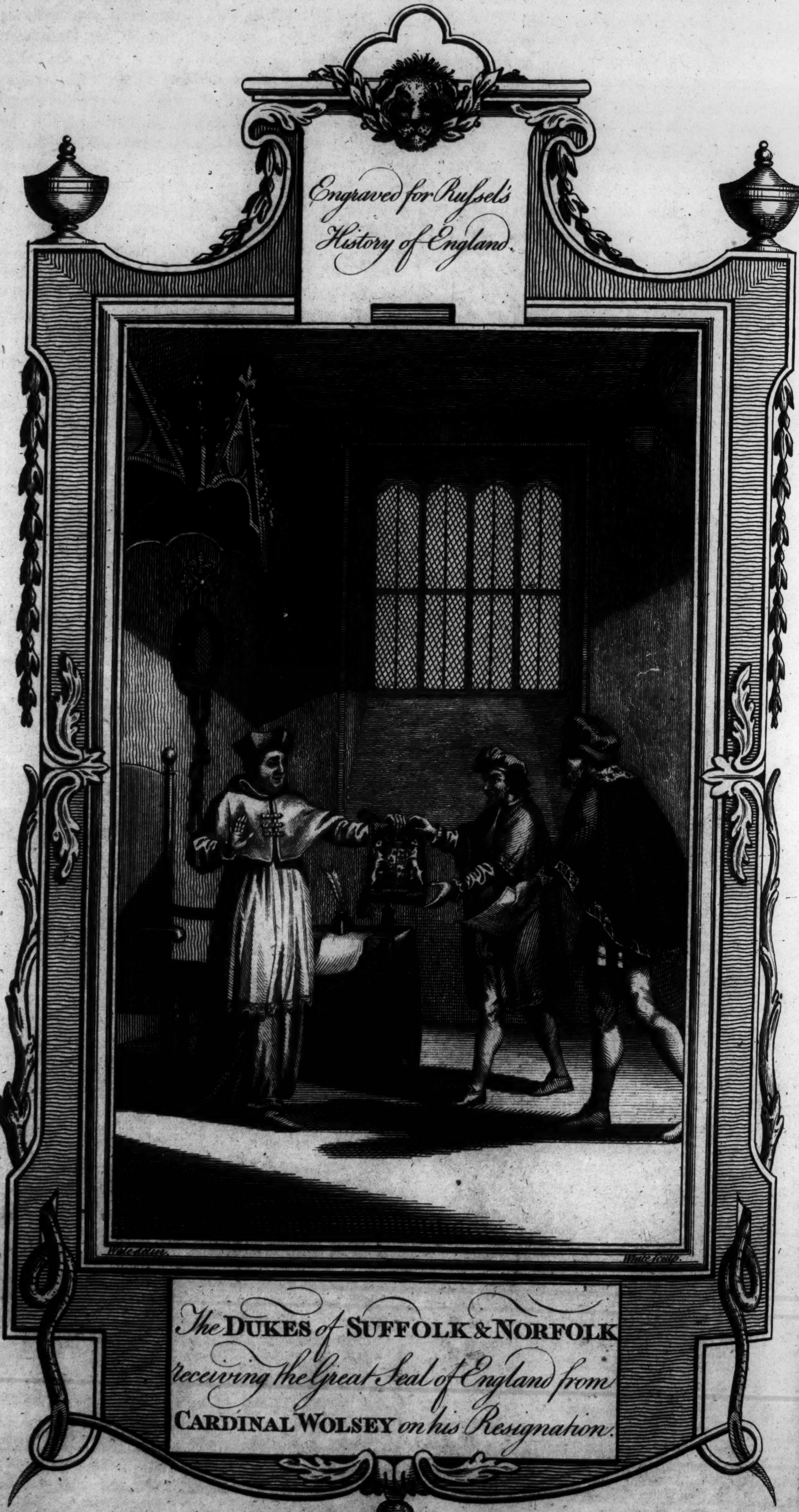
On the day appointed the king and queen attended, when Henry being called, readily anſwered to his name; but the queen, inſtead of anſwering to her's, roſe from her ſeat, threw herſelf at the feet of her huſband, and addreſſed him in the moſt pathetic terms. She began with obſerving, that ſhe was a ſtranger in his dominions, deſtitute of friends, of counſel, of aſſiſtance; expoſed to all the injuſtice which her enemies were pleaſed to heap upon her. She told him, that her conduct, ever ſince their marriage, had been irreproachable; and proteſted, that he had received her a virgin to his bed. She added, that in eſpouſing him, ſhe had followed the advice of thoſe able princes, Henry VII. and Ferdinand the Catholic. She expreſſed her ſuſpicion of the legates, appealed from them to the pope; and after making the king a low reverence, ſhe left the court, nor would ſhe ever after appear before the legates.

Henry did not attempt to reproach her with any crime: on the contrary, he declared that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenor of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honor. But he ſtill inſiſted on the ſcruples with which he had been agitated. He mentioned the confirmation of her marriage with his brother Arthur; declared his doubts of the validity of pope Julius's diſpenſation;

and

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

Engraved for Ruſsel's
History of England.


Wale delin.
White sculp.

The DUKES of SUFFOLK & NORFOLK
receiving the Great Seal of England from
CARDINAL WOLSEY on his Resignation.

and expreſſed his deſire that the court might give judgment according to the rules of equity and religion.

As ſoon as the king had finiſhed his ſpeech, the legates proceeded in their commiſſion, and firſt examined into the proofs of the conſummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine. And it muſt be owned by every impartial enquirer, that the fact was eſtabliſhed as far as the nature of the tranſaction would admit of proof. Every perſon now expected that the ſentence of divorce would be ſoon pronounced, but that moment was ſtill at a great diſtance. Campeggio ſpun out the trial, till he received his final inſtructions from Rome; when he burnt the decretal bull, and declared that the cauſe was removed to Rome.

This event induced Henry to ſuſpect Wolſey of treachery, and from that moment we may juſtly date the fall of that powerful miniſter. Both the emperor and Catherine made the utmoſt efforts to ruin him in the king's opinion: they were at great pains to propagate reports, by means of their agents, wholly calculated to accompliſh his deſtruction. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, at the head of a powerful party, exerted all their influence to ſupplant him in the royal favour, and embraced every opportunity of miſrepreſenting his actions. But, perhaps, all their endeavours, added to the envy and malignancy of the world, would not have been ſufficient to have effected his diſgrace, without the powerful aſſiſtance of Anne Boleyn, who had now gained an entire aſcendency over the mind of her royal lover.

It was generally expected that the diſgrace of the cardinal would have immediately followed the removal of the cauſe to Rome; but in this the people were deceived. Henry had ſo much command over his paſſion, as not to intimate any diſlike to the proceedings of his miniſter; but Campeggio had no ſooner received his audience of leave, than Henry, in order to divert the chagrin reſulting from his diſappointment, made a progreſs through ſeveral of the counties adjacent to his capital, without taking the cardinal with him. From this neglect Wolſey prognoſticated that his fall was at no great diſtance. He, however, ſtill continued to diſcharge the duties of his office; and obſerving no alteration in the behaviour of the courtiers towards him, he began to flatter himſelf that his diſgrace was not abſolutely determined. But his enemies, with Anne Boleyn at their head, had ſo prepoſſeſſed the king, during his abſence, againſt the miniſter, that on his return to London, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both ſworn enemies to Wolſey, were ſent to demand the great ſeal, which Wolſey thought proper to refuſe, aſſerting, that he held it by patent during his life. The next day they returned with orders under the king's ſignet, and Wolſey immediately delivered the ſeal into their hands. The king immediately gave it to Sir Thomas More, a man of letters, virtue, and integrity. Wolſey was ordered to retire from York palace, which, though it belonged to the archiepiſcopal ſee, was ſeized by Henry, and became afterwards the reſidence of the kings of England, under the title of Whitehall. A cupboard of maſſy gold, a thouſand pieces of holland, which had belonged to him, with all his rich furniture, were converted to the king's uſe. Wolſey immediately diſmiſſed his numerous retinue, and retired to Eſher, a country ſeat he poſſeſſed on the banks of the Thames.

Though Henry was deſirous of ſuſpending the blow which overwhelmed his favourite, yet the enemies of that miniſter, particularly Anne Boleyn, ſo exaſperated the king againſt him by falſe accuſations, that he gave him up to the proſecution of the parliament. The houſe of lords preſented an accuſation againſt him conſiſting of forty-four articles; but they were all ſo vague and indeterminate, that the Commons rejected the bill. Thomas Cromwell, formerly one of his domeſtics, defended him in that aſſembly with a force and courage which, inſtead of hurting his fortune, as might have been expected, laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king. True merit ſometimes acquires an aſcendancy over vicious minds. But the oppoſition of the Commons was not ſufficient to divert the dreadful ſtorm that threatened to overwhelm this once powerful miniſter. He was condemned, on pretence of his having ſolicited bulls from Rome, though the king had given his conſent to that meaſure; and the cardinal was never able to recover from this diſgrace: he fell a ſacrifice to the envy and malevolence of his enemies. The king, however, would not ſuffer this proſecution to be carried to extremities: he even granted him a pardon for all offences; reſtored him part of his plate and furniture; and continued, from time to time, to intimate, that he ſtill entertained for him his former affections.

Henry had now but little hopes of ſucceeding in his ſolicitations for a divorce from Rome. The policy of Clement VII. and the intrigues and power of Charles V. had abundantly convinced him that every attempt of that kind would prove abortive. A treaty had been lately concluded between the emperor and the pope, and another between the former and the French monarch. Theſe treaties reſtored peace to Italy, and Clement no longer depended on Henry's aſſiſtance. It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome other expedient, or drop all thoughts of obtaining a divorce from Catherine. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, a fellow of Jeſus College, Cambridge, diſcovered a method which ſeemed to promiſe the removal of every difficulty. He propoſed to conſult all the univerſities of Europe with regard to this controverted point; alledging, that if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his Majeſty's ſcruples muſt ceaſe of courſe: if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to reſiſt the opinion of all the learned, when joined with the ſolicitations of ſo great a monarch. Henry was highly delighted with this propoſal, and determined to carry it immediately into execution. He alſo found, upon inquiry, that Cranmer was a perſon of acknowledged piety, learning, and moderation, and therefore determined to have him near his perſon. Accordingly he ſent for him to court, entered into converſation with him, and conceived ſo high an opinion of him, that he ever after conſulted him in all caſes of importance.

A. D. 1530. The advice of Cranmer had the deſired effect. The univerſities were conſulted, and thoſe of Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouſe, Angiers, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, Bologne, Oxford and Cambridge pronounced a deciſion agreeable to his wiſhes. They maintained, "That the marriage of a perſon with his brother's widow was contrary to the divine law; and, conſequently, could not be authoriſed by any diſpenſation."

This deciſion, however, had not any effect on the court of Rome: they ſtill refuſed to liſten to Henry's remonſtrances. A ſpirited letter was therefore written to the pope, ſigned by the principal prelates and nobility of England; in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done for his Holineſs, the judgment of ſo many learned univerſities, and the little regard he had paid to all theſe weighty conſiderations; they plainly told him, "that if he continued to amuſe and deceive the Engliſh monarch in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connections with the ſee of Rome, and do themſelves that juſtice which they had ſo long demanded in vain from his Holineſs."

While theſe things were tranſacting, Wolſey ſtill continued in privacy at his country-ſeat at Eſher, which he had received from Henry in return for Hampton-court. He had been reinſtated in the revenues of his archbiſhopric, and thoſe of the ſee of Wincheſter; and even entertained hopes of again recovering the king's favour. The courtiers were alarmed, and procured an order for him to remove to his archiepiſcopal ſee. He immediately obeyed, and retired to Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he applied himſelf ſtrictly to execute the duties of his eccleſiaſtical charge. Nor did he labour in vain. The aſſiduity with which he diſcharged his paſtoral duties, his charity to the poor, his hoſpitality, and the obliging reception he gave to all who viſited him in his retreat, ſoon gained him the love and eſteem of all orders of men in the neighbourhood of his reſidence.

Wolſey was not, however, long ſuffered to enjoy this happineſs unmoleſted. The earl of Northumberland and Sir Peter Walſh were ſent down to arreſt him for high-treaſon, and to conduct him to London. No reſpect was paid to his eccleſiaſtical character; the privileges of the church were no longer regarded. He made no oppoſition to the royal orders; but immediately ſet out for London with ſome degree of chearfulneſs. They were met upon the road by Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, at the head of a party of the guards. But the cardinal, partly by the fatigues of his journey, and partly by the great anxiety of his mind, was ſeized with a diſorder which ſoon turned to a dyſentery; ſo that he reached Leiceſter-abbey with the utmoſt difficulty. He perceived his diſſolution was approaching; and told the abbots and monks, who advanced to receive him with great reſpect, that he was come to lay his bones among them. He was immediately carried to his bed, from which he never more aroſe. The folly of ambitious purſuits, and the vanity of human grandeur, now appeared in their genuine colours; and he ſincerely regretted the time he had ſpent in aſſiduouſly ſtudying the headſtrong paſſions of an ungrateful prince. "Had I," ſaid he, "ſerved my God as diligently as I ſerved my king, he would not have forſaken me in my grey hairs." With theſe reflections Wolſey paid the debt of nature on the twenty-third of November, in the ſixtieth year of his age; and was interred, at his own requeſt, in the chapel of Leiceſter-abbey.

This great miniſter exhibits a ſtriking example of the folly and weakneſs of thoſe who miſtake the paths of ambition for the paths of happineſs. His character has been loaded, perhaps unjuſtly, with the moſt violent reproaches. Great allowances ſhould certainly be made for the obſtinacy and violence of Henry's temper: Wolſey was often obliged to purſue meaſures his better judgement condemned. His ſucceſſors could not hold the helm of government with ſo ſteady a hand: they were far more criminal than the cardinal. The ambition he entertained of filling St. Peter's chair proceeded, perhaps, in part at leaſt, from a deſire he entertained of being ſerviceable to his country in that important ſtation. Henry himſelf, when informed of the death of the cardinal, regretted his loſs, and ſpoke of him in the moſt favourable terms: and it ſhould be remembered, that a miniſter who is odious to the nation he governs, cannot be tranſmitted in very favourable colours to poſterity.*

A. D. 1532. The meaſures Henry had for ſome time purſued clearly evinced his intentions of eclipſing the power of the Roman pontiff in England. At his inſtigation the parliament, which met in the beginning of this year, paſſed an act againſt levying the annates, or firſt fruits, a tax hitherto paid to the pope for granting bulls to the new prelates. This ſtatute declared, "That the kingdom was impoveriſhed by the great ſums paid to the Roman pontiff; that, ſince the ſecond year of the late reign, above one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been ſent to Rome on account of annates or firſt-fruits, palls and bulls for biſhoprics: that the annates had been originally deſigned as a contribution for ſupporting a war againſt the infidels; but as they were not applied to that purpoſe, it was decreed, that they ſhould not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the annual revenue ſhould be given for the bulls of the biſhoprics: that if the pope ſhould refuſe to grant them upon theſe terms, the biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, in order to be conſecrated; but ſhould the metropolitan refuſe conſecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king ſhould perform the ceremony, and the elect ſhould then be conſidered as lawfully conſecrated. The parliament, however, at the ſame time, declared, that the king ſhould be at liberty to annul or confirm this act, within a limited time; and if, in that interval, he ſhould compromiſe his difference with the court of Rome, it ſhould obtain the force of a law; but ſhould the pope, on account of this act, endeavour to diſturb the peace of the kingdom with the ſentences of excommunication and interdict, theſe cenſures ſhould be utterly diſregarded. All eccleſiaſtics were forbid to receive or publiſh ſuch cenſures, and enjoined to celebrate divine ſervice in the ſame manner as if they had never been iſſued."

---

* The character of this celebrated perſonage is thus drawn by a maſterly pen: "His manner had a ſtriking reſemblance of merit, while it breathed the very ſoul of impurity. He could, at once, prompt to virtue and to vice; and he opened his houſe as a mart of luſt and exceſs for gratifying the paſſions of his young prodigal maſter. His learning was rather elegant than deep; and his ſtate was more arrogant than graceful. With the grave he was ſevere; with the lewd he was laſcivious. His rivals, like under-wood beneath a baleful ſhade, ſhrunk and ſhrivelled up as his credit grew, and his deſigns proſpered. He was equally rapacious as profuſe. In proſperity elate, in adverſity dejected; under equal circumſtances, impatient; in doubtful ones intrepid. Of his ſuperiors, envious; towards his competitors, ſevere; but eaſy to his inferiors, from a principle, not of humility, but of pride, being deſirous of ſeeing his own ſlaves the maſters of others. It coſt him more to preſerve the appearances, than it would have done to have practiſed the duties of religion. Though crafty, he choſe to over-bear; and though venal, he was generous. He was guarded on all ſides but on that of vanity, which was the gap through which thoſe calamities poured, that afterwards deluged his fortunes. He knew how to entice by friendſhip, and to retain by politeneſs; his purſe was open, his intereſt was ready, to all who were willing or able to ſerve his purpoſes. He could accommodate himſelf to every diſpoſition, and, thereby, (maſter of thoſe with whom he dealt) he deceived the worthy, he attracted the abandoned. With him vanity produced more noble effects than virtue did in others. From his firſt introduction to court, his great principle was to reign in the cabinet; but he drove the chariot of government over precipices which, at laſt, diſmounted his ambition. For his abilities raiſing him from the ſhambles to the church, (he having been originally only the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich in Suffolk) from the church to the cabinet, he ſought to riſe from the cabinet to the popedom, a ſtate then more revered than was the ſovereignty itſelf."

The dark and light ſhades of this great man's portraiture are finely delineated by our immortal poet Shakeſpear, in the ſpeeches which he reſpectively puts in the mouths of queen Catherine and Griffith her gentleman uſher. His blemiſhes are thus depicted by the queen:

——————he was a man
Of an unbounded ſtomach, ever ranking
Himſelf with princes. One that by ſuggeſtion
Ty'd all the kingdom; Simony was fair play,
His own opinion was his law. I'th' preſence
He would ſay untruths, and be ever double
Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
His promiſes were, as he then was, mighty;
But his performance, as he now is, nothing;
Of his own body he was ill, and gave
The clergy ill example.

In anſwer to this Griffith thus deſcribes his merits:

———————This Cardinal,
Though from an humble ſtock, undoubtedly
Was faſhioned to much honour. From his cradle
He was a ſcholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wiſe, fair ſpoken, and perſuading;
Lofty and ſour to them that lov'd him not;
But to thoſe men that ſought him, ſweet as ſummer.
And though he were unſatisfied in getting,
Which was a ſin, yet in beſtowing,
He was moſt princely; ever witneſs for him
Thoſe twins of learning, that he raiſed,
Ipſwich and Oxford; one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it.
The other, though unfiniſhed, yet ſo famous,
So excellent in art, and ſtill ſo riſing,
That Chriſtendom ſhall ever ſpeak his virtue.
His overthrow heap'd up happineſs upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himſelf,
And found the bleſſedneſs of being little.
And to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him; he dy'd fearing God.

The whole nation were now convinced that Henry's intention was to marry Anne Boleyn; and either force the pope to agree to his meaſures, or withdraw his obedience from the holy ſee. The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a man of ſtrict virtue, incapable of making his religion ſubmiſſive to his intereſt, and, at the ſame time, too much a philoſopher to be over ſolicitous to advance his fortune, begged leave to reſign the ſeals, and retired from that elevated ſtation with more joy than an ambitious perſon would have felt in being placed in that exalted ſeat of power. Soon after Sir Thomas More's reſignation, Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature; an event which gave Henry no ſmall ſatisfaction, as he flattered himſelf he ſhould now eaſily procure the affair of his divorce to be determined in his own dominions. For though the deceaſed prelate was convinced that Henry's marriage with Catherine was unlawful, yet he was too much devoted to the ſee of Rome to do any act, or exert his own authority in oppoſition to the papal power. The king named for his ſucceſſor Dr. Thomas Cranmer, and he was ſoon after placed in the archiepiſcopal chair.

A. D. 1533. Henry had exerted his utmoſt influence to prevail upon Catherine to withdraw her appeal from Rome; but all his attempts proving abortive, and a treaty of offenſive alliance being concluded with Francis I. he privately married Anne Boleyn about the middle of January. Her father, mother, and brother, together with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and archbiſhop Cranmer, were preſent at the ceremony.

The new queen ſoon becoming pregnant, Henry, to preſerve her reputation, publickly owned his marriage. This circumſtance rendered it neceſſary that Catherine's divorce ſhould now be finiſhed; and it was determined in the council, that the archbiſhop ſhould pronounce the ſentence. Accordingly Cranmer repaired to Dunſtable, in the neighbourhood of which the queen reſided, and cited Catherine to appear. As ſhe took not the leaſt notice of the citation, ſhe was declared contumacious, and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The evidences of Arthur's conſummation of his marriage were produced; the opinions of the univerſities were read; together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations of Canterbury and York: and after theſe preparatory ſteps, Cranmer annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as unlawful. He alſo, by a ſubſequent ſentence, ratified the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was ſoon after publicly crowned with the greateſt pomp and ceremony. On the ſeventh of September, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and afterwards ſwayed the ſceptre of England.

No ſooner did the intelligence of theſe tranſactions reach the court of Rome, than the whole conſiſtory was in the moſt violent ferment. The cardinals of the imperial faction urged the pope to launch the dreadful bolt of excommunication againſt the Engliſh monarch; but the pontiff could not be prevailed upon to proceed any farther than to threaten Henry with that ſentence, if he annulled not the criminal acts he had committed within a limited time. The mediation of Francis I. who had entered into a negotiation with Clement for the marriage of his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, with Catherine of Medicis, the pope's niece, ſeemed, however, likely to produce an accommodation. Henry was prevailed upon to ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee, provided the cardinals of the imperial party were excluded from the Roman conſiſtory during his trial; and the pope was diſpoſed to gratify his deſire. A day was even appointed for the return of the meſſenger with Henry's definitive anſwer; but the courier who carried the king's acquieſcence in writing, was detained by accident beyond the limited time. In vain did the biſhop of Paris requeſt the pope to wait a few days for the meſſenger: Clement was ſo highly exaſperated, that he would liſten to no remonſtrances. He entered the conſiſtory enflamed with anger; and, with a precipitation fatal to the power of the Roman ſee, pronounced the legitimacy of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and declared him excommunicated if he refuſed to obey the ſentence. Two days after, the meſſenger arrived; but the evil was not to be redreſſed. The obedience of England, one of the richeſt jewels in the papal crown, was loſt by this haſty deciſion. A kingdom the moſt devoted of any in Europe to the apoſtolical ſee, was become its irreconcileable enemy.

A. D. 1534. The parliament met on the 15th of January, when the principal buſineſs done was, to enact laws wholly ſubverſive of the papal authority. They had already proſcribed all appeals to Rome, and all the rights and regulations of the apoſtolic chamber. The people had for ſome years been perſuaded, that a general council was far ſuperior to the Roman pontiff; it was now publicly maintained, that the pope was only a biſhop, and that his power extended no farther than the limits of his own dioceſe. The people, the parliament, and even the clergy, adopted this opinion. The ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt heretics was moderated. By another ſtatute it was declared, that no ſynod or convocation of the clergy ſhould be aſſembled without the king's permiſſion; that his majeſty ſhould nominate ſixteen perſons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with a power to aboliſh ſuch as were uſeleſs, and confirm thoſe that were neceſſary. The parliament next confirmed the ſtatute againſt annates: it was enacted, "That for the future the pope ſhould have no ſhare in the election or confirmation of biſhops; but that, when a ſee became vacant, the king ſhould ſend to the chapter a congé d'elire, or licence, to elect a new biſhop; and if the election ſhould not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of chuſing ſhould fall to the king: that the biſhop elect ſhould ſwear fealty to his majeſty: that no perſon ſhould preſume to apply to the biſhop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpoſe: that Peter's-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and diſpenſations, iſſued by the court of Rome, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed; that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be empowered to grant ſuch diſpenſations as were conſiſtent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence ariſing ſhould be paid unto the king's exchequer: that all religious houſes, whether exempted or non-exempted, ſhould be ſubject to the viſitation of the archbiſhop: that the king's marriage with Catherine ſhould be deemed null and void; and that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled upon the iſſue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female."

The ſame parliament alſo paſſed an act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called "The Holy Maid of Kent," a native of the pariſh of Aldington, who had been employed by certain eccleſiaſtics to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom. This woman had been long ſubject to hyſteric fits, during which her body was thrown into unuſual convulſions, and ſhe frequently uttered many ſtrange and incoherent expreſſions; whence the ignorant and credulous multitude were induced to believe that ſhe ſpoke by the inſpiration of heaven. The party who ſtill ſupported the pope's authority, conſidered this perſon as a proper inſtrument to gain proſelytes to their party, and condemn the methods that had been taken to procure the divorce. They, however, waited till the belief of her having an immediate intercourſe with heaven was eſtabliſhed with the people. This being effected, they taught her to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe called hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government, and againſt the king's divorce from Catherine. She even at laſt had the boldneſs to aſſert, "that if the king proſecuted his divorce, and married another woman, he ſhould not wear the crown a month longer, but ſhould die the death of a villain." Henry, for ſome time, neglected to take any notice of this woman; he conſidered her pretended prophecies as the effects of a diſtempered brain, and which would be diſregarded as ſoon as they ceaſed to be a novelty. But finding that ſhe was ſupported, not only by the monks, but alſo by the pope's agents in England, he reſolved to proceed againſt her with the utmoſt ſeverity. Both the maid herſelf, and her accomplices, were accordingly examined in the Star-chamber, where they readily confeſſed all the particulars of their guilt; in conſequence of which they were committed to the Tower, and ſoon after hanged at Tyburn. The detection of this impoſture tended greatly to injure the credit of the eccleſiaſtics, eſpecially the monks, who now became the objects of Henry's reſentment.

While theſe things were tranſacting, intelligence of the excommunication fulminated by Clement reached England, and added greatly to the general ferment. The appeal of the king to the general council of the clergy was affixed to all the gates of the churches. The convocation declared, that the biſhop of Rome had no authority in England; and that the power which he and his predeceſſors had hitherto exerciſed there, was nothing more than an uſurpation tolerated by its kings. Thus was the church of England ſeparated from the authority of the Roman ſee; and all ſubjection to the pope totally annihilated!

As ſoon as the parliament roſe, Henry ſent commiſſioners through the whole kingdom, to adminiſter the oath of allegiance and ſucceſſion to all his ſubjects; and Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, refuſing to take it, were committed to the Tower.

But though Henry had renounced the pope's authority, he was far from being a friend to the reformers. Their tenets were, however, embraced by great numbers of the Engliſh, and all ranks of men were diſpoſed to favour their attempts to remove many of the ſuperſtitious practices from the public worſhip. The king's book againſt Luther had done him honour with the Catholics; and the anſwer of that reformer, who treated him with a ſovereign contempt, failed not to wound his vanity. He did not, therefore, abandon the tenets of the Roman church, though he denied the authority of the pontiff. His miniſters and courtiers knew not which religion to adopt; they wavered between both, and ſeemed extremely cautious of declaring their real opinions. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who were firmly attached to the antient religion, though they pretended to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, uſed every method in their power to exaſperate Henry againſt the reformers. On the other hand, the new queen, with archbiſhop Cranmer, and ſecretary Cromwell, who were friends to the proteſtants, artfully excited his reſentment againſt the Holy See, while they themſelves profeſſed the eſtabliſhed faith. Thus the profeſſors of both religions were equally ſubject to perſecution. It was as criminal to acknowledge the pope's ſupremacy as to embrace the tenets of Luther; and Henry alike condemned to the flames thoſe who ſpoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and thoſe who declared for the reformed religion. In particular, he now ordered the prior of the Carthuſian monks, the prior of Hexham, Benaſe, a monk of Sion College, and John Haile, vicar of Iſleworth, together with three monks of the Charter-houſe, to be hanged and quartered for denying his ſupremacy, which ſentence was executed with full rigour at Tyburn on the 18th of July.

The reformers alſo, at the ſame time, felt the weight of Henry's violent hand. The ſpirit of liberty cheriſhed by that whole ſect alarmed the rapacious monarch, and he was determined to employ perſecution and violence againſt them; but he ſhould have remembered, that the zeal of ſectaries is always increaſed by oppoſition. A gentleman of the Temple, and a clergyman, having embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, were ſeized by the government, and put to the torture. Their ſufferings proved too ſtrong for their zeal; they abjured the tenets of Luther, and were ſet at liberty. But feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunctions for their timidity, they boldly preached againſt the ſuperſtitions of the eſtabliſhed religion, and were condemned to the flames. It was expected by their enemies, that they would again recant when brought to the ſtake; but they were miſtaken: they ſuffered with the moſt unſhaken intrepidity; and even in the midſt of their torments, gloried in the tenets they had before inculcated. Another diſciple of the reformers, when ſurrounded with the flames, embraced, with a tranſport of joy, the faggots which were to put a period to his life. It was not, indeed, eaſy to avoid the danger of incurring the king's diſpleaſure; his miſplaced zeal conſidered the moſt innocent actions as heretical. To teach children the Lord's prayer in the vulgar tongue, to read the tranſlation of the New Teſtament, to ſpeak againſt pilgrimages, and to neglect the faſts of the church, were conſidered as highly criminal, and puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity.

A. D. 1535. Theſe perſecutions at length reached Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, who ſtill continued priſoners in the Tower, and were now ſingled out for a terror to the boldeſt oppoſers of the king's meaſures. Henry was determined they ſhould renounce the pope, and acknowledge his marriage act and ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by parliament. The pope thought to ſave Fiſher's life by ſending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the ſatisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block; for Fiſher refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy, a commiſſion was made out for trying him by his peers, for miſpriſion of treaſon in the caſe of the Maid of

Kent, and alſo for denying the king's ſupremacy; and on the 17th of May he was tried before the lord-chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, with ſome other lords and all the judges, who found him guilty, and he was ſentenced to be beheaded on Tower-hill. He received the notice of his execution with great compoſure of mind in the morning before he was beheaded; and when he came to the block, after a ſhort prayer in favour of popery, and praying for the king, and that God would bleſs him with good counſel, he calmly reſigned his neck to the executioner on the 22d of June. He had the character of a learned and devout man, but was naturally very obſtinate, and much addicted to the ſuperſtition of his education.

The ſame oath of ſupremacy, for the rejecting of which Fiſher loſt his head, being alſo tendered to Sir Thomas More, he refuſed to take it likewiſe, for which he was tried by the ſame court, and loſt his head on Tower-hill the firſt day of July following. Henry was greatly reproached on account of the death of this man, who was univerſally eſteemed for his virtue, and admired for his wit and pleaſantry,[*] which did not forſake him even in his laſt moments; and he died with an unconcern that in others would have appeared to be levity, but in him was nature.

Theſe executions were followed by freſh injunctions iſſued by the king to all archbiſhops and biſhops, for enforcing the doctrine of the king's ſupremacy: a declaration was alſo ſent them by ſecretary Cromwell to the ſame effect, which they were ordered to read from the pulpit; nor does it appear that one prelate refuſed to comply with theſe orders, ſo much did they ſtand in awe of Henry's fiery and vindictive temper: and this ſeems to be the period from whence may be dated the king's reſolution to govern by force and abſolute power.

Paul III. who had lately ſucceeded Clement VII. in the papal chair, had flattered himſelf with being able to reconcile Henry to the Roman ſee. He had always favoured Henry's cauſe before his advancement to the papacy, and even gained the friendſhip of that capricious monarch. Senſible of the loſs the apoſtolic ſee muſt ſuſtain by a breach with England, he was very deſirous of putting a friendly period to this alarming diſpute. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue, when the news of Fiſher's execution re-kindled the rage of the ſacred college. A cardinal put to death in defence of the rights of the holy ſee merited the ſevereſt vengeance, and the pontiff haſtened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican. Henry was cited to appear at the pope's tribunal, with all his adherents, within ninety days; and in caſe of diſobedience, the king was declared to be excommunicated, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn illegitimate; his ſubjects were freed from all oaths of allegiance; his kingdom was given up to the ambition of the firſt invader; and his leagues with all Catholic princes were diſſolved. Paul, however, thought proper to delay the publication of theſe cenſures till it ſhould appear that an accommodation with England was abſolutely deſperate; and till Charles V. at this time greatly preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes of Germany, ſhould be in a condition to execute the violent meaſures of the conſiſtory.

Henry was not in the leaſt intimidated by the threatnings of the pope: the thunder of the Vatican was no longer terrible to the Engliſh. He feared not the attempts of Charles, who had a formidable barrier againſt him in the German princes. To theſe Henry ſent ambaſſadors, propoſing an union of intereſt; but as they ſuſpected his ſincerity, no alliance was concluded between them.

A. D. 1536. In the beginning of this year the unhappy queen Catherine was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper at Kimbolton in Huntingdonſhire, which put a period to her life and misfortunes on the 29th of January, in the 50th year of her age. A ſhort time before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote a very affecting letter to the king, to whom ſhe gave the appellation of "her moſt dear lord, king and huſband." Henry appeared greatly touched at reading this letter, and even dropped ſome tears at the remembrance of a woman whoſe virtues deſerved a better fate. Queen Anne, however, did not behave with even due decorum on this occaſion: ſhe rejoiced openly at the death of Catherine, and ſeemed to take pleaſure in communicating her ſatisfaction to the public, little ſuſpecting that her own fate was ſo near at hand. The remains of the unfortunate Catherine were depoſited in the abbey church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an epiſcopal cathedral.

Henry now determined to take a ſevere revenge for all the affronts he had received from the monkiſh clergy. That numerous body of men, knowing their power was ſo cloſely connected with the Roman ſee, that they muſt ſtand or fall together, exerted all their influence to depreciate the Reformation, and loaded Henry with the moſt attrocious crimes. They declaimed, with the utmoſt violence, againſt the followers of Luther; while the religioniſts, in their turn, imputed to the monks thoſe frequent faſts which oppreſſed the induſtrious to inrich the idle; thoſe ſuperſtitious rites of devotion which were often conſidered as more meritorious than a diſcharge of the moral duties; thoſe vain ſubtilties which adulterated theology; and that captious caſuiſtry which tyrannized over the reaſons and conſciences of men. But, perhaps, the revenues of the convents had inſpired him with a deſire of being maſter of their riches. He was, however, fearful of the conſequences that might reſult from this attempt, as religious retreats had ſo long been been conſidered as ſacred and inviolable. A council was therefore ſummoned, where the affair was reſolved, that a general viſitation ſhould be made of all the monaſteries; that a ſtrict inqueſt ſhould be taken of all their titles and revenues; and that the morals of the religious, and the regulations obſerved in each order, ſhould be cloſely inſpected. Cromwell was created vicar-general, and inquiſitor-general of all the monaſteries, and other privileged places. The viſitation was accordingly performed, and the report of the viſitors was publiſhed for the ſatiſfaction of the people.

---

[*] The following circumſtances will evince the ready turn of wit, as well as fondneſs for humour, with which this gentleman was poſſeſſed. When he was firſt committed to the Tower, on his entrance, the gentleman porter aſking for his fee, which is the upper garment, Sir Thomas took off his cap to give him, aying, "This is the uppermoſt garment I have." But that ot ſufficing, he pulled out a handful of angels, which he gave o the officer. A knight who was in his company, ſaid, "He as glad to find he was ſo full of angels." "Yes, replied Sir Thomas, I always love to have my beſt friends about me." Af-er he had been cloſe priſoner for ſome time, his books were all aken from him, on which he ſhut up all the windows of his oom; and being aſked why he did ſo? "It is time, ſaid he, to ut up ſhop, when the ware is all gone." On the day of his xecution, as he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one of e officers, "Friend, help me up, and when I come down, let e ſhift for myſelf." When the executioner aſked him forgiveſs, he readily anſwered, "Why man, thou haſt never offend-d me, but my neck is ſo ſhort that you will have no credit in tting it off." When he laid his head down upon the block, ving a long grey beard he ſtroked it, and ſaid to the execu-ner, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, leſt you uld cut it; for, though you have a warrant to cut off my ad, you have none to cut off my beard."

To the above particulars relative to this gentleman, it may t be improper to add the following:

On his examination in the Tower, it being demanded if he approved of the act of Supremacy, his anſwer was, "This queſtion is like a two-edged ſword; if I anſwer one way it will deſtroy my body; and if the other way, my ſoul." But what particularly deſerves to be remembered of him is, that while he executed the high office of lord chancellor, his expedition in determining cauſes was ſuch, that one day when he called for the next cauſe, it was anſwered, "There are no more to be heard." This circumſtance, together with his accuſtomed attention to the expeditious diſcharge of all cauſes belonging to his court, gave riſe to the following lines, which, after his death, appeared in moſt of the public prints:

When *More* ſome years had chancellor been
　　No *more* ſuits did remain,
The ſame ſhall never *more* be ſeen
　　Till *More* be there again.

He was born in Milk-ſtreet, in the city of London, in the year 1480. When he had paſſed through the Grammar ſchools, he was ſent to Oxford, and afterwards entered at Lincoln's-inn to ſtudy the municipal laws of the nation. He was called up to the bar, but although he made a very conſiderable figure as a lawyer, yet the claſſic authors were his greateſt favourites. He was the author of ſeveral works, but his moſt celebrated peice is that called Utopia, which has been tranſlated into Engliſh by Biſhop Burnet.

As ſoon as the parliament met, an act was paſſed for the diſſolution of the leſſer monaſteries, the preamble to which ran thus: "That ſmall religious houſes, under the number of twelve perſons, had been long and notoriouſly guilty of the moſt abominable vices, and conſumed and waſted the church lands belonging to them: that for above two hundred years, many viſitations for reforming theſe abuſes had been made without ſucceſs, their vicious methods of life daily increaſing; ſo that unleſs the ſmall houſes were diſſolved, and the religious diſtributed into the greateſt monaſteries, no reformation could be expected." It was therefore declared, that all houſes, whoſe revenues did not exceed two hundred pounds a year, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, their revenues converted to better uſes, and the religious compelled to reform themſelves.

No ſooner was this act paſſed, than orders were iſſued, that all nuns and friars under twenty-four years of age ſhould be immediately diſmiſſed and abſolved from their vows; and that all others above that age ſhould have free liberty to leave their houſes and retire wherever they pleaſed. No leſs than three hundred and ſeventy-ſix of theſe leſſer monaſteries were thus diſſolved; and their revenues, which amounted to thirty-two thouſand pounds a year, were given to the king, together with their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at one hundred thouſand pounds.

While the parliament was engaged in paſſing an act for ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries, the convocation deliberated upon a propoſition of the utmoſt importance to the reformers. This was a new tranſlation of the Bible. Tindal, ſome years before, had publiſhed a verſion of the ſcriptures; but it being found, upon examination, to be inaccurate and unfaithful, it had been committed publicly to the flames by order of the government. It was therefore now propoſed to publiſh a new tranſlation, which ſhould be free from thoſe objections. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the popiſh party, and as warmly ſupported by the friends of the Reformation, who conſidered it as the only means of diſcovering to the people the many errors and ſuperſtitious abſurdities of the church of Rome. After a long conteſt, the motion was carried, and a new tranſlation of the Scriptures was ordered to be made by perſons eſteemed capable of executing ſo arduous a taſk.

The reforming party, however, now received a conderable injury from the loſs of one of their greateſt advocates. Anne Boleyn, who had ſo long continued her aſcendancy over the heart of Henry, had now loſt the power of pleaſing. Jane Seymour, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and a lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had inſpired him with a new paſſion, and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of his appetite. Anne was of a lively and gay diſpoſition; and, though ſtrictly virtuous, ſhe was not ſufficiently careful in her behaviour. She had been bred at the court of France, and contracted the eaſy carriage ſo familiar to that ſprightly people. Calumny converted her imprudence into vice; and the Auſtrian party, who had been exaſperated at the divorce of Catherine, improved the report, to render the king ſuſpicious of her virtue. The viſcounteſs Rochford in particular, (who was wife to the queen's brother, and a woman of the moſt abandoned character) pretended that her own huſband carried on a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; beſides which ſhe aſſerted, that Anne had likewiſe granted favours to Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with one Mark Smeton, a muſician. This information fired Henry's breaſt, who was alſo not a little chagrined at an accident which befel the queen ſome time before, of her being delivered of a dead child.

Nothing, however, material tranſpired till the firſt of May, when a tilting match was held at Greenwich, in which the lord Rochford was chief challenger, and Henry Norris the principal antagoniſt. During the diverſions the king obſerved her majeſty drop her handkerchief, which one of the ſuſpected perſons took up, and uſed to wipe his face. To a mind prepared like Henry's, this accident, which though, in all probability, entirely caſual, was a demonſtration of his wife's infidelity. Accordingly, all on a ſudden the diverſions were broke up, and Henry, without taking notice of the queen or her court, with no more than ſix perſons in his retinue, abruptly quitted the place, and retired to his palace at Weſtminſter.

The queen immediately followed, and on her arrival at the palace was met by the duke of Norfolk, and ſome other lords of the council, who ſignified to her, that it was his majeſty's pleaſure ſhe ſhould be confined to her chamber. At the ſame time the lords Rochford and Norris were committed to the Tower, as were Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton. The next day the queen was conducted to the ſame priſon by the duke of Norfolk and other lords, who reſigned her into the cuſtody of Sir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower; and a commiſſion was made out for trying her on the twelfth of May in that place, the duke of Norfolk being appointed lord high-ſteward on that occaſion, with twenty-ſix other peers. The charges brought againſt her were of the moſt deteſtable nature, viz. "That ſhe had procured her brother, and the four other perſons in cuſtody, to lie with her; and that ſhe had made each of them believe that he had the preference above all mankind in her heart; and that ſhe had ſaid to each of them, that the king never had her heart." Smeton had, by fair promiſes, been brought to confeſs, that he had thrice carnal knowledge of her; but it was not thought proper to confront him with her; nor, indeed, could he be an evidence, as he had been condemned three days before to ſuffer, notwithſtanding his aſſurances of pardon upon confeſſion. The only thing that appeared in relation to her brother the lord Rochford was, his laying his hand on the queen's bed while he whiſpered to her; an action done before company, and warranted from the near relationſhip between them. In ſhort, to the eternal infamy of her judges, ſhe was condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence her ſentence was grounded; and the nineteenth of May was the day appointed for her execution, which was that of being burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleaſure.

Henry, not ſatisfied with this act of ſeverity, inſiſted on being divorced from her before her death, and archbiſhop Cranmer was ſent to the Tower, and received her confeſſion of pre-contract, or promiſe of marriage, between the lord Henry Piercy (then earl of Northumberland) and herſelf, before that ſhe had made with the king; upon which the archbiſhop pronounced, according to the rules of canon law, the ſentence of divorce. It was probably a tenderneſs for her daughter, (afterwards the famous queen Elizabeth) that induced her to make this confeſſion, for the earl of Northumberland proteſted, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that no ſuch contract had ever paſſed between them. It was, however, expected that ſhe would have defended her innocence when about to die, but the ſame motives ſeem to have operated even then, as ſhe feared every thing for her daughter from the ſavage temper of the king, ſhould ſhe expoſe him too much. Accordingly, on the day of her execution, when ſhe came on the ſcaffold, ſhe made no reflections on the hardſhips ſhe had ſuſtained, nor ſaid any thing touching the grounds on which ſentence had been paſſed upon her; ſhe only deſired "that every body would judge the beſt," acknowledged her obligations to the king, prayed for him, and entreated the ſpectators to do the ſame for her; and then ſubmitting her neck to the fatal ſtroke, her head was ſevered from her body at one blow, by an executioner who had been ſent for from Calais on account of his remarkable dexterity in the bloody profeſſion.—Her body was privately interred in the Tower.

The lord Rochford was tried and condemned at the ſame time with the queen his ſiſter, and, together with the other four gentlemen, ſuffered death three days before her; all of them, Smeton excepted, declaring, at the place of execution, the queen's and their own innocence of the facts for which they ſuffered.

Thus fell the celebrated Anne Boleyn, who had ſo long reigned ſovereign of Henry's affections. Her unhappy fate was deplored by the people, who conſidered her as the innocent victim of her huſband's inordinate paſſion. If this opinion needed any confirmation, the behaviour of Henry himſelf was ſufficient for that purpoſe. He married the lady Jane Seymour the very next day after her execution, ſo eager was he to ſatisfy his brutal appetite. His obdurate heart was not the leaſt affected by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon who had for ſeveral years been the object of his moſt tender affections. Nor was he ſatisfied with his ſanguinary action: he cauſed his marriage with Anne to be declared illegal, under pretence of a precontract of marriage with the earl of Northumberland; by which cruel proceſs, Elizabeth, her daughter, as well as Mary, the daughter of Catherine, became illegitimate.

The princeſs Elizabeth was about three years of age when her mother fell a ſacrifice to Henry's jealouſy. She had been hitherto ſtiled princeſs of Wales, but was now diveſted of that title. The princeſs Mary, whom he had treated with great ſeverity on account of her tender attachment to her mother, and her refuſing to renounce the pope's ſupremacy, was now perſuaded by the Romiſh party to attempt a reconciliation with her father. Accordingly ſhe ſubſcribed to the king's ſupremacy, renounced the authority of the biſhop of Rome, and acknowledged the illegality of her mother's marriage, in order the more effectually to remove the princeſs Elizabeth from the king's preſence and affections. But Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, continued his affection to Elizabeth; and cauſed her to be educated at court with all the care and tenderneſs of a father.

On the 8th of June a new parliament met at Weſtminſter, when a ſtatute was paſſed, which confirmed the late queen's divorce, declared the children by the king's two firſt marriages illegitimate; and adjudged the crown, after his deceaſe, to the iſſue of his preſent queen, or any other perſon he might marry after her death. At the ſame time, they gave Henry full power to ſettle the mode of ſuch ſucceſſion, either by will, or letters patent under the great ſeal; and pronounced all thoſe who maintained the validity of his two former marriages guilty of high-treaſon.

An univerſal commotion now prevailed throughout the kingdom on account of the ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries; and the pope having repeated the ſentence of excommunication againſt Henry, laid the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid his ſubjects to pay him any obedience. The monks exerted all their influence to perſuade the people that they were under an indiſpenſable duty of taking up arms againſt a prince who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. The ignorant multitude eagerly liſtened to theſe inſinuations; they had been always taught to conſider as ſacred what was now devoted to deſtruction. Upwards of twenty thouſand men aſſembled in Lincolnſhire, under the command of Thomas Mackerel, prior of Barlings. This undiſciplined multitude publiſhed their grievances in a petition to the king; complaining of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the ſubverſion of the antient religion, the eſtabliſhing new tenets, &c. Henry ſent an anſwer to this petition; and diſpatched the duke of Suffolk, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, to reduce the inſurgents to obedience. But they were in no condition to contend with regular forces; and on being promiſed a pardon, readily diſperſed.

This peace, however, was but of ſhort continuance. The prieſts renewed their practices for animating the people to a revolt; and ſoon collected a numerous body of men, who were perſuaded that religion itſelf depended upon their defending the antient ſuperſtitions of the church. The duke of Norfolk was ſent at the head of 5000 troops to quell the inſurgents; but by putting the martial law into ſtrict execution againſt every one who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, he, inſtead of leſſening, increaſed the diſorders. Two gentlemen, Muſgrave and Treby, putting themſelves at the head of eight thouſand peaſants, made an unſucceſsful attempt on Carliſle, and were afterwards entirely routed by the duke of Norfolk. Muſgrave made his eſcape; but Treby, with about ſeventy of his followers, being taken priſoners, were all hanged on the walls of Carliſle.

A. D. 1537. Henry had been now ſo accuſtomed to ſlaughter, by frequent executions, that he ſeemed to delight in blood. He ordered Thomas Fitzgerald, ſon to the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, who had ſuffered a long confinement in the Tower for an inſurrection in Ireland, to be executed, in order to intimidate the people, who ſeemed ripe for a revolt. But Stephen Fitzgerald, the earl's youngeſt ſon, eſcaped to the continent, and retired to cardinal Pole, who made uſe of him in the deſigns he had formed of recovering England to the obedience of the Holy See.

On the 12th of October the queen was delivered of a prince at Hampton Court, to the inexpreſſible joy of Henry in particular, and the nation in general. He had now obtained the object of his moſt ardent wiſhes: he was bleſſed with a ſon, the undoubted heir of all his dominions: but his ſatisfaction was greatly leſſened by the death of the queen, which happened ſoon after her delivery. She was the moſt beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humble deportment, her goodneſs and her affability. The young prince was baptized by the name of Edward, and three days after declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time the queen's brother, Sir Edward Seymour, was created earl of Hertford; Sir William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton; and Sir William Paulet, lord St. John.

A. D. 1538. Henry's power and authority were greatly ſtrengthened by the birth of a prince: his ſubjects paid him reſpect through fear, and the greateſt princes of Europe courted his friendſhip. The monks were the only people of whom he had the leaſt diſagreeable apprehenſion; and he was determined to eclipſe the probability of their being ever able to give him any future diſturbance, by a total abolition of all the monaſteries throughout the kingdom.

To effect this he procured addreſſes from the two univerſities; wherein the pernicious nature of religious houſes, which harboured only a multitude of lazy drones and ſwarms of impoſtors, were fully diſplayed, and the king requeſted to remove ſo great an evil. A viſitation was accordingly appointed, and the viſitors were particularly enjoined to enquire into the impoſtures that had been practiſed to draw the people into ſuch exceſſive adoration as had been paid to their images, relics and other miraculous productions. Nor was the enquiry deſtitute of ſucceſs; ſeveral aſtoniſhing diſcoveries were made, which tended greatly to leſſen the authority of the Romiſh prieſts in the eyes of the people.

One of the moſt ſingular inſtruments of deception was found at Boxley in Kent. It was a remarkable crucifix, held in the higheſt veneration, and diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Rood of Grace. It had been often ſeen to move, to bend and raiſe itſelf, ſhake its head, hands and feet, roll its eyes, and move its lips. On removing the image it was diſcovered that the whole was effected by certain ſprings concealed in the body, which was hollow from the wall againſt which it was placed. This inſtrument of religious deception was brought to London, and the whole contrivance exhibited to the people at St. Paul's Croſs by Hilſey biſhop of Rocheſter, who, after preaching a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion, committed the idol to the flames.

It is little to be wondered at that diſcoveries like theſe ſhould raiſe a general indignation among the people. The authors of ſuch ſcandalous abuſes were deteſted; the monaſteries were conſidered as infamous; and the crimes of a few were extended to the whole body of the religious.[*] This gave Henry the advantage he deſired; and the monks, convinced that it would be madneſs to make any oppoſition, ſurrendered their monaſteries, and many of them received penſions for their ſubſiſtence. No leſs than five hundred and forty-five monaſteries were diſſolved, twenty-eight of which had abbots, who enjoyed ſeats in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in the ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chauntries and free chapels; and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole annual revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand one hundred pounds.

Whilſt Henry was thus employed in demoliſhing the baſis of ſuperſtition, it could not be ſuppoſed he would overlook the moſt famous and reſpected of all inſtruments of popiſh idolatry, the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted, for the honour of being ranked among the ſaints, to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the Holy-See; and a ſaint of that character muſt be highly obnoxious to Henry, who was determined to aboliſh the power of the Roman pontiff in England. He could not bear the thought, that ſuch a furious and obſtinate rebel to his prince ſhould be held in the higheſt veneration by the people, his tomb frequented by pilgrims, and enriched with ſuperb preſents. It was not uncommon, in theſe times, to carry on proceſſes againſt the dead, and Henry availed himſelf of the practice. The life of Becket underwent a ſtrict examination; his actions were condemned by the generality of the people; and the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries. His name was therefore ordered to be eraſed out of the Calendar, the office compoſed for his feſtival expunged from the Breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his aſhes diſperſed by the winds. The rich ſhrine of the ſaint had alſo attracted the rapacity of Henry, who converted the whole to his own uſe. Among the ſpoils was a diamond eſteemed the moſt valuable in Europe. It was a preſent from Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. Thomas. This jewel was, by Henry's orders, ſet in a ring, and worn afterwards by that monarch. At the ſame time, Henry, in order to reconcile the people to theſe innovations, eſtabliſhed ſix new biſhoprics, gave large donations to his courtiers, and ſettled ſalaries on the abbots and monks.

As ſoon as the court of Rome received intelligence of theſe proceedings in England, that city was filled with ſatires and libels againſt the perſon of Henry. Cardinal Pole's ſtyle was eaſily diſtinguiſhed in theſe invectives, which were ſoon diſperſed over all Europe. Henry, whoſe vanity and ſanguinary diſpoſition daily increaſed, determined to revenge the inſult. The cardinal himſelf was beyond his power; but ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom were his two brothers, were arreſted, as his accomplices in a conſpiracy againſt the king's life; and all of them were executed, except Sir Geoffrey Pole, who was pardoned on account of his having diſcovered all he knew of the cardinal's intentions.

The pope had hitherto ſuſpended the bull of excommunication formerly paſſed againſt Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch: but finding that the late proceedings in England had rendered a reconciliation impoſſible, he publiſhed the bull with great ſolemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring powers againſt a prince whom he conſigned to deſtruction.

Henry, however, was not to be intimidated. He knew that the thunder of the Vatican had loſt its force; and that the cultivation of reaſon had removed a corner of the veil which ignorance and ſuperſtition had formed to conceal the rays of truth from the eyes of mankind. He therefore ſet the pope's power at defiance; and enacted a new oath from the clergy, by which they renounced the authority of the Roman pontiff. The new tranſlation of the Bible was alſo now finiſhed, and preſented to the king by Cromwell, who was perſuaded that nothing could ſo effectually eradicate the popiſh ſuperſtition as a free toleration of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue. But Henry, who halted half way between the Catholics and the Proteſtants, would not permit an indiſcriminate uſe of the ſcriptures; he would only allow a copy of the tranſlation to be depoſited in each pariſh church, where it was ordered to be fixed by a chain; and took care to inform the public by proclamation, "That this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodneſs and liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the increaſe of virtue not of ſtrife: and ordered, that no man ſhoul read the bible aloud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt while he ſang maſs, nor preſume to expound doubtful paſſages without the advice of the learned." This indulgence was, however, conſidered as a great acquiſition by the friends to the Reformation; eſpecially as they obtained a royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh. At the ſame time they were ordered to recommend good works; and to teach the people, that relics, roſaries, and other ſuperſtitious trifles were unneceſſary to ſalvation.

---

[*] A late celebrated hiſtorical writer, in ſpeaking of the general ſuppreſſion of religious houſes by Henry VIII. obſerves, "that he might with equal propriety have ſuppreſſed all the inns in the kingdom, becauſe ſome few were receptacles for the vicious and abandoned."

Although Henry had proceeded with ſuch animoſity againſt the Roman pontiff, yet he prided himſelf on his zeal for the catholic faith: he was even ambitious of defending it by diſputation, as well as by perſecution; and the doctrine of the real preſence, or that of Tranſubſtantiation, (the moſt incomprehenſible of all the dogmas in the Romiſh religion) was the point he maintained with the greateſt obſtinacy. One Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter of London, had ventured to doubt of the real preſence; and being cited to appear before the biſhops, he appealed to the king. Henry was charmed with having ſo fine an opportunity of diſplaying his theological talents. He thought it no derogation from his dignity to hold a public diſputation with that reformer. Notice was accordingly given that the king intended to enter the liſts againſt Lambert, and ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience. The king himſelf appeared in the enſigns of majeſty ſeated upon his throne, having the prelates on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left.

The biſhop of Chicheſter, who opened the conference, informed the ſchoolmaſter, that the king had taken the preſent opportunity of convincing him of his errors; adding, that if he ſtill continued to perſevere in his heretical opinions, he muſt expect the ſevereſt puniſhment. Lambert defended his opinion with great intrepidity; but the king, aſſiſted by ten biſhops, who all engaged in the diſpute, (if indeed ſo partial a conteſt deſerves the name) effectually confounded the diſputant, after the conference had laſted five hours. But though confounded and reduced to ſilence, he was not convinced: and when the king aſked him whether he would live or die? Lambert replied, that he threw himſelf entirely on his majeſty's clemency. The king replied, that he protected not heretics, and he muſt either abjure his opinions or periſh. Lambert choſe the latter, and died with the utmoſt intrepidity amidſt the moſt dreadful torture.

A. D. 1539. Henry was ſo intoxicated with the praiſes that had been laviſhed on him on account of his diſpute with Lambert, that he exacted, with more violence than ever, a ſubmiſſion to his religious ſentiments. To think different from him on theological ſubjects was equal to committing a capital crime; and he took the advantage of the ſervility of his parliament, to make his own opinion the ſtandard of orthodoxy in England. The chancellor informed the two houſes, that it was his majeſty's deſire to extirpate from his kingdom all diverſity of opinion with regard to religion; and a committee was immediately appointed to draw up a bill for effecting that purpoſe. But it was ſoon found that ſuch a diverſity of ſentiments prevailed among the members of the committee that there were no hopes of their ever making a report. A bill was, therefore, drawn up, either by Henry himſelf, or ſome member of the privy council, and preſented to the houſe, where it was paſſed into a law. It was called "The bill of the Six Articles," or, as the proteſtants juſtly termed it, "The Bloody bill." By this law the preſence in the euchariſt; communion in one kind; the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity; the celibacy of eccleſiaſtics; the utility of private maſſes; and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, were eſtabliſhed. Whoever denied the real preſence was ſubjected to death by fire; nor was he even admitted to abjure his error. The puniſhment of the other articles was alſo remarkably ſevere; for though abjuration was admitted, the offender was puniſhed by the confiſcation of goods and chattles, and impriſonment. Thoſe who continued obſtinate, or who relapſed, were capitally puniſhed. The clergy, who ventured to marry were alſo ſubject to death; and fines and impriſonment were inflicted on all thoſe who refuſed to confeſs themſelves, or to receive the euchariſt at appointed ſeaſons. It is difficult to conceive the idea of regulations more unjuſt and ſevere. Cranmer alone had the courage to oppoſe this bill; but when it was paſſed into a law, he immediately ſeparated himſelf from his wife, and Henry was ſatiſfied with this proof of his ſubmiſſion. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their biſhoprics on account of this act, and being accuſed of having ſpoken againſt it, were committed priſoners to the Tower.

The parliament alſo paſſed an act, whereby the king was empowered to nominate any number of biſhops, ſees for biſhops, and cathedral churches, as he thought proper, and to endow them with ſuch poſſeſſions as he might judge convenient. an act was likewiſe paſſed, by which the parliament inveſted in in the crown all the abbey-lands, upon the falſe pretence, that the ſurrenders made by the abbots, priors, and ſuperiors, had been "without conſtraint, of their own accord, and according to the due courſe of common law." Nor did any of the mitred abbots, who ſtill kept their ſeats in the Houſe of Peers, enter any proteſt againſt this ſtatute; though it was ſufficiently known that arts of all kinds had been employed; that every motive, calculated to work upon the frailty of human nature, had been ſet before them; and that it was at laſt with the utmoſt difficulty thoſe dignified eccleſiaſtics agreed to a conceſſion, which moſt of them regarded as deſtructive of their intereſts, as well as ſacrilegious and criminal in itſelf.

By the ſlaviſh conceſſion of the parliament Henry's will was now become the law of the land; and both the Proteſtant and Popiſh parties cultivated his favour with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion. Bonner, lately made biſhop of London, though in ſecret a zealous partizan of the pope's authority, found means, by the moſt profound diſſimulation, to obtain letters patent for enjoying both the ſpiritual and temporal revenues of his ſee during the king's pleaſure: and Gardiner, a biggotted ſon of the Romiſh church, maintained his influence by the moſt extravagant ſubmiſſion.

Theſe prelates encouraged the Catholics to be extremely vigilant in informing againſt all who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the ſix articles; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were ſoon thrown into priſon. But though Cromwell and Cranmer had not intereſt enough to prevent the act from paſſing, they were able, for ſome time, to elude its execution: they even remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents, and obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. Thus the uncertainty of Henry's temper gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in their turn. The law of the ſix articles, which ſeemed intended to extirpate the reformed religion, was ſoon followed by a general permiſſion for every one to have the new tranſlation of the Bible in his family; a conceſſion regarded by the Proteſtants as a deciſive victory over the Catholics.

Henry had for ſome time intimated his intentions of entering into a new marriage. Cromwell now thought it a convenient opportunity of ſtrengthening his party by recommending to the king a proteſtant princeſs. He accordingly propoſed Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves, and the younger ſiſter to the ducheſs of Saxony. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the propoſal, that he immediately ſent over Cromwell to negotiate the treaty of marriage. The famous Hans Holbein was ordered to draw the lady's picture, which he did in ſo flattering a manner, that when Cromwell preſented it to Henry, he became enraptured with her perſon, and pleaſed himſelf with expectations of the moſt diſtinguiſhed enjoyments. In ſhort, the negotiation went on ſo briſkly, that the match was concluded in a few weeks, and the earl of Southampton was ordered to go with a fleet of fifty ſhips to bring over the new queen, who landed in England about the middle of December.

The union of this princeſs with Henry would, in all probability, have totally fruſtrated the attempts of the popiſh party for the future, had ſhe anſwered the beauty and great character given of her by her friends; but when the king, all impatience to ſee his conſort, of whom he had entertained ſo high an idea, beheld her on her arrival at Rocheſter, whither he went for that purpoſe, he was ſo diſappointed, that he is ſaid to have ſwore in a rage, "that they had brought over a Flanders mare to him." But however groſs and indelicate his expreſſions might be, his behaviour was more decent, for the next day he made her a private viſit. This lady is generally allowed to have poſſeſſed a great ſweetneſs of temper; but as her perſon was far from being delicate, as ſhe had a maſculine turn and floridneſs of features, could ſpeak nothing but German, which Henry did not underſtand, and was extremely defective in all the winning graces of behaviour and converſation, he conceived an utter averſion to her, and even then would abruptly have broken off the match, had not his affairs at home required the friendſhip and alliance of the German princes her relations. Theſe conſiderations, which were ſtrongly urged by Cranmer and Cromwell, made the king at length conſent to proceed in the marriage, but with ſo viſible a reluctance, that Cromwell and his party dreaded the conſequences.

A. D. 1540. The marriage was accordingly celebrated on the 6th of January; but it ſerved only to encreaſe Henry's diſlike into downright loathing. He told Cromwell the next morning, that he ſuſpected the queen was no maid, and that he could never conquer his averſion to ſo diſagreeable a partner.

The parliament meeting on the 12th of April, Cromwell opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech, in which he informed the two houſes, that the king, in order to terminate all diſputes about religion, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the ſix articles, that a ſtandard of faith might be eſtabliſhed upon the word of God alone; and that after the truth ſhould be thus made known to his people, he was reſolved to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all thoſe who ſhould preſume to prefer their own opinions to the eſtabiſhed articles of belief. Theſe commiſſioners, being approved by the parliament, received orders to begin their enquiry without delay; and in the mean time the king created Cromwell earl of Eſſex.*

The time, however, was now come when this faithful miniſter was to taſte the bitter cup of adverſity. The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves had been principally effected by him; and though the king had ſo lately conferred favours on him, yet he was ſecretly diſguſted on that account, and now treated him with a viſible indifference. The duke of Norfolk and Gardiner (who were inveterate foes to Cromwell) obſerved this prognoſtic of the miniſter's fall, and determined to improve it. They well knew, that he was hated by the nobility, becauſe they ſaw themſelves eclipſed at court by a perſon of mean extraction; that he was odious to the catholics, becauſe they regarded him as a ſworn enemy to the church of Rome; and that he was ſuſpected by the proteſtants of having betrayed their intereſt through timidity. They did not, however, think it prudent to attack him abruptly, but to have recourſe to ſtratagem. They introduced Catherine Howard, a beautiful young lady, and neice to the duke of Norfolk, at court. The king was highly pleaſed with Catherine; and Gardiner, at once the pander and the prieſt, made frequent entertainments at his own houſe for the royal lover and his miſtreſs. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; and Henry was ſo pleaſed with his miſtreſs, that he offered to make her his partner in the throne.

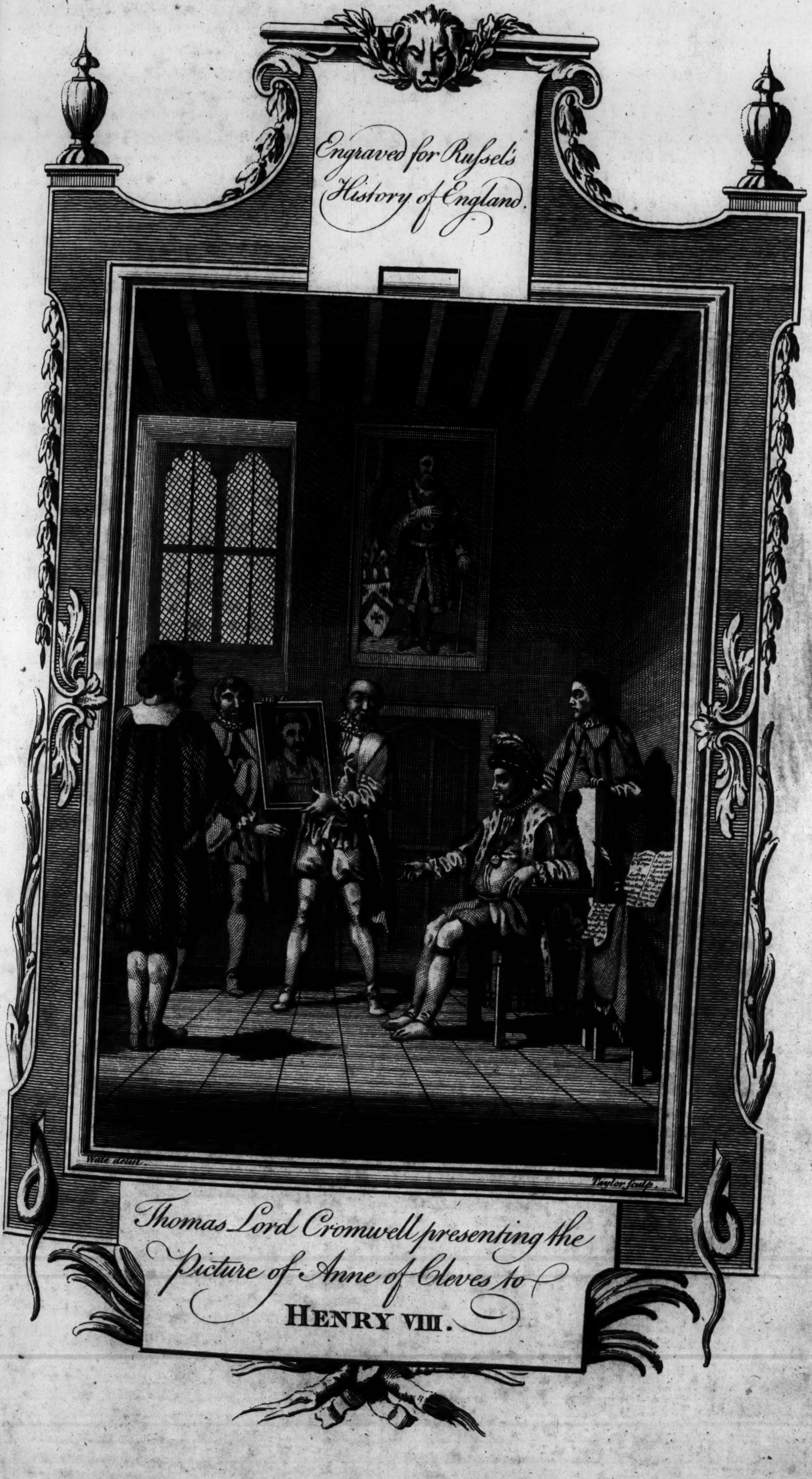
Norfolk and Gardiner now acquired the higheſt credit in the cabinet, and made uſe of the vileſt inſinuations to ruin the miniſter. They repreſented to Henry, that the nation in general was diſſatisfied with his adminiſtration, and perſuaded that Cromwell had abuſed his majeſty's confidence. They added that as theſe complaints and murmurings chiefly regarded religion, it would be prudent to ſatisfy the people by examining his conduct ſtrictly, and even, if neceſſary, to ſacrifice him in order to procure the tranquillity of the kingdom. Henry, who was exaſperated againſt Cromwell, readily liſtened to theſe inſinuations, and it was determined that the miniſter ſhould fall a victim to the reſentment of the public.

This reſolution, however, was kept ſo ſecret, that, not ſuſpecting any danger, the deſtined victim came to the council-board on the 13th of June, where the duke of Norfolk, by Henry's order, arreſted him for high treaſon; in conſequence of which he was committed priſoner to the Tower, where he experienced the common fate of all degraded miniſters. He was no ſooner ſeized than forſaken by all his friends except Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpoſe; for the unfortunate Cromwell, without being heard in his own defence, was, by a bill of attainder, found guilty of divers hereſies and treaſons, and condemned to ſuffer death as the king ſhould think proper to direct.

While Cromwell was under this woeful ſentence Henry determined to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves. He found no difficulty in obtaining a deciſion from the convocation in his favour. It was ſaid that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the marquis of Lorrain; that the king had not "inwardly" given his conſent, and that he had never conſummated his marriage. Theſe objections were certainly very frivolous, but as the queen made no oppoſition, they were thought ſufficient, ſentence was pronounced for a diſſolution of the marriage, and the deciſion of the clergy was ratified by the parliament. The queen expreſſed no diſſatisfaction. She was ſatisfied on being informed, that the king, would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted ſiſter, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughters; that an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year ſhould be allotted for her maintenance; and ſhe might either live in England, or return to her own country. She choſe the former, and was even prevailed upon to

---

* During this ſeſſion the order of Kights of St. John of Jeruſalem was ſuppreſſed, on account of their dependence on the pope and the emperor, and all their effects in England and Ireland confiſcated for the uſe of the king, who allotted 3000l. yearly for their maintenance. About this time alſo Henry put three hoſpitals, namely, thoſe of Bridewell, St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, into the hands of the city of London.



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin.

Taylor sculp.

Thomas Lord Cromwell presenting the Picture of Anne of Cleves to HENRY VIII.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, informing him, that ſhe had been treated in the moſt tender and generous manner by the king, though ſhe could not have him for her huſband; and conjuring him not to break the harmony that ſubſiſted between the two courts, on account of any thing that had happened to her in England. Thus was the marriage with Anne of Cleves diſſolved on the moſt frivolous pretences that ever were urged before any court of juſtice.

As Cromwell's execution had been poſtponed on account of the king's divorce, he was in ſome hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having written the king a very ſubmiſſive letter, with which his majeſty was ſo moved, that he cauſed it to be thrice read over to him; but the ſolicitations of Norfolk and Gardiner rendered the endeavours of the priſoner or his friends fruitleſs. On this occaſion Cranmer was the only perſon who diſcharged the part of a true friend: he wrote a very pathetic letter to Henry, interceding for the unhappy Cromwell, declaring his firm belief of his innocence from any diſloyal meaning, and even went ſo far as to wiſh that Henry might find another counſellor equal to him in capacity, diligence and fidelity; but the fallen favourite's ruin being reſolved on, the king ſigned a warrant for beheading him on the twenty-eighth of July.

When he was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, his regard for his ſon hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence: he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his tranſactions; he acknowledged his offences againſt God and his prince, who had raiſed him from a low degree; confeſſed that he had been ſeduced, but that now he died in the catholic faith. He then deſired the ſpectators to pray for the king, the prince, and for himſelf; and having ſpent a little time at his own private devotion, ſubmitted his neck to the executior, who mangled him in a moſt ſhocking manner. The care he had taken in his laſt moments to ſay nothing that might offend the king, turned to the advantage of his ſon Gregory, who was, a few months afterwards, created a peer, by the title of Lord Cromwell*.

A few days after the death of Cromwell, Henry gave a terrible inſtance of that cruelty which ſeemed now to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul. Papiſts and Proteſtants were equally the objects of his infernal paſſion: they both ſuffered for the tenets of their religion. The former denied the king's ſupremacy, and the latter the real preſence in the ſacrament; both were contrary to the religious eſtabliſhment of Henry, and therefore both equally ſubject to puniſhment. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming miniſter, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were condemned to the ſtake for hereſy; but they did not ſuffer alone, three bigotted catholics ſhared the ſame fate, and periſhed in the ſame flames, for denying the king's ſupremacy; and to increaſe the abſurdity of this indiſcriminate cruelty, they were drawn to the place of execution on three hurdles, a papiſt and a proteſtant on each. Barnes diſcuſſed theological queſtions even at the ſtake; and as the debate between him and the ſheriff turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid, that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but if they could he hoped, in half an hour, to be praying for the ſheriff and all the ſpectators. This promiſcuous puniſhment of proteſtants and catholics gave occaſion to a foreigner, then in England, to ſay, That it was of no conſequence whether they were for or againſt the pope, ſince both loſt their lives for their opinions.

On the 8th of Auguſt Catherine Howard (to whom the king had been ſome time privately married) was publickly declared queen of England. By this marriage the popiſh intereſt was ſtrengthened, and that party made a ſtrong puſh at Cranmer; but the king's affection for him was ſo riveted, that their endeavours proved abortive.

A. D. 1541. It is little to be wondered at that Henry's deſpotic cruelty ſhould have excited the general hatred of the people; they conceived an abhorrence for the author of ſuch deteſtable proceedings, and ſome alarming ſymptoms of an inſurrection appeared in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. The king's ſuſpicion fell upon cardinal Pole; and this was to him a ſufficient reaſon for putting the counteſs of Saliſbury, the mother of that prelate, to death. She was the laſt of the Plantagenet race, and venerable both for her age and her virtues. She was led to the place of execution; but even in thoſe diſtreſsful circumſtances ſhe did not loſe her courage. She refuſed to ſubmit to a ſentence pronounced without a trial; and, running about the ſcaffold, ſhe told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he muſt win it in the beſt manner he could. Nor was it till after he had aimed many blows at her neck, that he at laſt gave her the finiſhing ſtroke. The fate of this unhappy princeſs drew tears from all the beholders; nor was there ſcarce a ſingle perſon who did not lament her cruel and untimely diſſolution.

---

* Thomas Cromwell was born at Putney, in Surry; his father was only a country blackſmith, but he being bleſſed with a ſprightly genius and a ready capacity to learn languages, acquired ſo great reputation in the art of war under the duke of Bourbon, whom he accompanied at the ſacking of Rome in 1527, and ſkill in the modern tongues, and intereſts of the ſtates through which he travelled, as, upon his return, recommended him to the favour of the king. Mr. Cromwell ſoon improved the royal patronage to his own advantage, for the king, who took pleaſure in raiſing men of low birth to great honours, being highly ſatisfied with the management of the affairs committed to him, declared him a privy-counſellor and maſter of the jewel-houſe, in 1531; and next year raiſed him to be clerk of the hanaper, and chancellor of the exchequer. In 1534, he was appointed principal ſecretary of ſtate and maſter of the Rolls; and in 1535, he was created vicar-general over all the ſpiritualities under his majeſty as ſupreme head of the church. On the ſecond of July 1536, he was ſworn in lord-keeper of the privy-ſeal; and on the ninth of the ſame month was advanced to the dignity of a baron of England, with the ſtyle and title of lord Cromwell, baron of Oakham, in the county of Rutland. In 1540, on the 17th of April, he was created earl of Eſſex, and ſoon after made lord high-chamberlain of England.——His chief fault was obſequiouſneſs to the king's pleaſure, the effect of an inordinate zeal for his maſter's ſervice: in other reſpects he is ſcarce ſufficiently to be admired for his prodigious parts, excellent judgment, infinite application to buſineſs, wonderful dexterity in managing affairs, great moderation in the exerciſe of his authority, calmneſs of temper in his dealings with all perſons, and, (under provocations ſufficient to ruffle the ſedateſt,) an uncommon generoſity and nobleneſs of mind, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his extraction; and for an unexampled condeſcenſion in the height of his pomp, vouchſafing to take notice of his old acquaintance, and ſhew his gratitude for favours received.——As a proof of the juſtneſs of this laſt part of his character, it may not be improper to recite the following circumſtance:

While he was abroad in a military character, in a very low ſtation, he fell ſick, and was unable to follow the army. He was obſerved one day by an Italian merchant to walk very penſive, and had all the appearance of penury and wretchedneſs. The merchant enquired of him the place of his birth, and fortune; and upon converſing with him was ſo well pleaſed with the account he gave of himſelf, that he ſupplied him with money and credit to carry him to England. It happened ſome years after (when Cromwell had attained the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours from his ſovereign) that this Italian merchant's circumſtances decayed, and he came to England to ſolicit the payment of ſome debts due to him by his correſpondents; who finding him neceſſitous, were diſpoſed to put him off, and to take the advantage of his want, to avoid payment. This not a little embarraſſed the foreigner, who was now in a ſituation forlorn enough. As chance would have it, lord Cromwell, then earl of Eſſex, riding to court, ſaw this merchant walking with a dejected countenance, which put him in mind of his former ſituation. He immediately ordered one of his attendants to deſire the merchant to come to his houſe. His lordſhip aſked the merchant whether he knew him? He anſwered, No. Cromwell then related the circumſtance of the merchant's relieving a certain Engliſhman; and aſked if he remembered it? The merchant anſwered, that he had always made it his buſineſs to do good, but did not remember that circumſtance. His lordſhip then enquired the reaſon of his coming to England; and upon the merchant's telling him the ſtory, he ſo intereſted himſelf, as ſoon to procure the payment of all his debts. Cromwell then informed the merchant, that he was himſelf the perſon he had thus relieved; and for every ducat which the merchant had given him, he returned to the value of an hundred, telling him that this was the payment of his debt. He then made him a munificent preſent, and aſked him whether he choſe to ſettle in England or return to his own country? The foreigner choſe the latter, and returned to ſpend the remainder of his days in competence and quiet, after having experienced in lord Eſſex, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed inſtances of generoſity and gratitude.

Henry had been ſo often alarmed at the frequent inſurrections of the popiſh faction in the northern counties, that he now determined to viſit thoſe parts in perſon, in order, if poſſible, to terminate theſe diſorders, by puniſhing, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all who had preſumed to diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The inhabitants were no ſtrangers to his cruel diſpoſition, and therefore wiſely determined to avoid his vengeance, by offering him a conſiderable ſum of money. Henry accepted of the commutation, and deſiſted from carrying his deſigns into execution.

Before Henry left London, he had diſpatched Sir Ralph Sadler into Scotland, to propoſe an interview with James V. who agreed to meet Henry at York, in order to concert meaſures for the peace of both kingdoms, But at the inſtigation of his queen, and the principal part of the Scotch nobility, he was prevailed on to alter his reſolution. He therefore, after delaying his journey for ſome days, ſent excuſes to Henry, who waited for him at York. The Engliſh monarch was irritated at this diſappointment, and vowed the moſt ſevere revenge; but an event, which happened ſoon after his departure, obliged him to poſtpone the execution of his intentions.

During Henry's ſtay at York, a perſon named Laſcelles informed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that the queen, in the former part of her life, had been little better than a common ſtrumpet. He offered to confirm his information by the evidence of his ſiſter, who had lived as a ſervant in the old ducheſs of Norfolk's houſe, where the queen had been educated, and where ſhe had carried on a criminal intrigue with Derham and Mannock, two menial ſervants. Struck with this intelligence, which it was dangerous either to conceal or diſcover, Cranmer communicated it to the chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and requeſted their advice with regard to the moſt prudent method of proceeding in ſo delicate an affair. They knew that Henry, though extremely ſcrupulous in every particular that regarded his honour, was captivated by the youth, beauty, and agreeable diſpoſition of Catherine. He had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to heaven for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal ſtate; and had deſired the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of thankſgiving for that purpoſe. But notwithſtanding theſe demonſtrations of the king's eſteem for Catherine, it was reſolved that the matter ſhould not be buried in ſilence, and that the primate himſelf was the moſt proper perſon to diſcloſe it to his majeſty. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak upon ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote a narrative of the whole proceeding, and ſent it by a ſpecial meſſenger to the king. It is impoſſible to expreſs the ſurprize and confuſion of Henry when he received the archbiſhop's relation of the queen's infamous conduct; but, at the ſame time, he thought himſelf ſo fully convinced of his conſort's fidelity, that he at firſt gave no credit to the information, and declared that he looked upon the whole as a malicious forgery; but as he could not reſt till he knew the certainty of the matter, he ordered it to be enquired into with ſuch precautions as might preſerve the queen from any ſcandal, ſhould ſhe be found innocent. It was therefore reſolved, that the lord privy-ſeal ſhould examine Laſcelles. This he accordingly did, and found him ſteady in his information. The ſiſter of Laſcelles was next examined, and ſhe confirmed the teſtimony of her brother by undeniable evidence. It was now thought neceſſary to arreſt Derham and Mannock, which was eaſily done, as they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of their danger. They both confeſſed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage; and it was proved, that ſhe had ſince entertained one Culpepper a whole night in her bed-chamber, and had at different times made him very conſiderable preſents.

When Henry received the report of theſe examinations, his grief and diſtraction deprived him of ſpeech; and he could only vent his diſtreſs by a torrent of tears. He appointed the primate, the chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffolk, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, to interrogate the queen on this ſubject. She at firſt denied the charge; but finding her illicit amours were fully diſcovered, ſhe confeſſed the whole to the archbiſhop, who wrote the narrative from her mouth, and ſhe ſigned it with her own hand.

A. D. 1542. Henry was now convinced of the infidelity of his queen, and determined to take a ſevere revenge on her and her accomplices. A parliament, (the uſual inſtrument of Henry's tyranny) was immediately ſummoned; and the queen's confeſſion being laid before them, they preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which, after entreating him not to be concerned at this untoward misfortune, to which all men are ſubject, they deſired leave to frame a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices. They received a gracious anſwer; and proceeded immediately to attaint of high-treaſon the queen, and the counteſs of Rochford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this act both Derham and Culpepper were included. They alſo paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old ducheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother, lord William Howard and his lady, the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine other perſons; becauſe they were acquainted with the queen's illicit amours, and did not make the neceſſary diſcovery before her marriage.

Under this tyrannical government the ties of natural affection became crimes; and it was expected that relations ſhould expoſe the ſecret failings of each other. Nor were the parliament aſhamed to aſſiſt the fury and madneſs of the king. They paſſed an act, whereby it was declared, that any perſon who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected any guilt in the queen, and did not, within twenty days, reveal it to the king or council, ſhould be guilty of treaſon; and that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, unleſs ſhe revealed her guilt previous to her marriage.

In conſequence of this act, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded the twelfth of February upon Tower hill. The queen confeſſed her miſconduct in the former part of her life; but endeavoured to perſuade the world, that ſhe had never tranſgreſſed the rules of virtue ſince her marriage with the king. Lady Rochford found very little pity from the ſpectators: her execution was conſidered as a judgment from heaven for her having been the principal cauſe of the death of Anne Boleyn, and that of her own huſband; and this notorious inſtance of her profligate life tended greatly to clear their characters in the opinion of the world. The dutcheſs dowager of Norfolk, and the other perſons attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon, were pardoned. Derham was hanged, and Mannock was got off by forfeiting his eſtate, which was very conſiderable.

This diſagreeable affair being ended, Henry now determined to revenge the affront he had received from the Scottiſh monarch. He publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he reproached James with the breach of his promiſe, with having afforded an aſylum to ſeveral Engliſh rebels, and with retaining ſome territories which belonged to England. He alſo revived the old claim of the dependence of the crown of Scotland, and ſummoned James to do homage for his kingdom.

The Scottiſh monarch made no anſwer to this declaration; but employed his whole attention to raiſe an army, in order to diſappoint the ambitious deſigns of Henry. His reſentment was greatly increaſed by the French ambaſſador, who had brought with him conſiderable ſupplies of men and money, and was extremely laviſh of the promiſes he made in the name of his maſter, of effectual aſſiſtance and ſupport.

Henry, having raiſed an army of 30,000 men, gave the command of them to the duke of Norfolk, who rendezvouſed his forces at Newcaſtle. The earl of Southampton was appointed to command the van; but he died at Newcaſtle, univerſally regretted for his bilities as a ſtateſman, and his approved courage and prudence as a general.

On the 20th of October, the Engliſh army entered Scotland, and were met by a herald from James, ho expoſtulated with the duke of Norfolk on the in-uſtice of invading the kingdom before any declara-ion of war had been publiſhed. But his remon-trances were in vain: the Engliſh general ravaged all he country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to erwick on account of the ſeverity of the weather. he earl of Huntley had indeed been ſent by James, t the head of ten thouſand men; but his forces were far inferior to the Engliſh, that he was obliged to ct wholly on the defenſive.

The Scottiſh monarch, however, was far from eing terrified. He levied an army of fifteen thou-nd men; and being joined by the earl of Huntley ith a train of artillery, he determined to invade ngland on the weſtern ſide of the Solway Frith. mes repaired thither in perſon; but as ſoon as every ing was ready for croſſing into England, he left the my under the command of his favourite, Oliver nclair, who was hated by the Scottiſh nobility. e conſequences of ſo imprudent an action were on apparent. The officers choſe to ſacrifice their g, their country, and their own honour, rather n ſerve under a perſon they deteſted. Accord-ly, when Sinclair read his commiſſion at the head the army, the nobility retired from their poſts; the ſoldiers following their example, threw down ir arms, ſo that the uproar and confuſion became eral through the whole army. A body of five dred Engliſh forces, under the command of Sir omas Wharton, who hovered round the Scottiſh p to obſerve the motions of the enemy, perceiving diſorder that prevailed among their ranks, attacked n with ſo much fury, that they ſought their ſafety precipitate flight. The earls of Caſſils and ncairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville Gray, the general Sinclair, with about two hun-gentlemen, and eight hundred common ſoldiers, taken priſoners, and all their artillery and age fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

his action, or rather rout, happened at Solway , in the neighbourhood of Carliſle. James was at Caerlaveroc, where he received the alarming ligence of the defeat and diſſipation of his army handful of Engliſh forces. He could not ſup-the diſgrace: his rage and regret ſo affected his , that he repaired immediately to his bed, and ſoon after expired, in the flower of his age. Before his death, news arrived that his queen was ſafely delivered; on which he aſked, with ſome emotion, whether ſhe had brought him a ſon or a daughter? Being told the latter, he turned about in his bed, and exclaimed, "How many miſeries await this poor kingdom! Henry will be maſter of it, either by arms or by marriage."

The death of James, and the birth of a daughter, heireſs of a kingdom whoſe friendſhip was of ſo much importance to England, gave a new turn to the deliberations in the Engliſh council. It was now determined not to drive the Scots to deſpair, by taking the utmoſt advantage of the late victory: on the contrary, a ſcheme was formed for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward prince of Wales and the young queen of Scotland. The Scottiſh priſoners were accordingly interrogated on this ſubject; and as they were well diſpoſed to encourage the contrivance, they were all ſet at liberty, on condition of their promiſing to return to London, if the project ſhould become abortive.

A. D. 1543. The great ſucceſs of Henry's arms againſt the Scotch ſo pleaſed the parliament, (which met on the 22d of January) that they granted him a conſiderable ſubſidy. They afterwards paſſed an act for permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to have Engliſh bibles, and other religious books mentioned in the ſtatute, in their houſes, for the inſtruction of their families. This act, which was procured by the influence of Cranmer, contained a clauſe, which mitigated the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of hereſy; but the king was empowered either to repeal or ſuſpend the force of the act whenever he found it expedient.

When the Scottiſh priſoners returned to their own country they found it involved in the greateſt confuſion. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, was, after the infant princeſs, the next heir to the crown. He was a nobleman of a weak capacity, of a peaceable diſpoſition, and a friend to the Reformation; but not at all adapted to hold the helm of government in theſe tempeſtuous times. The friends of the reformed religion, who were now pretty numerous in Scotland, exhorted him, however, to claim the regency, by virtue of his proximity of blood. Arran liſtened to their importunities, and reſolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament. He was powerfully oppoſed by the popiſh faction, at the head of whom was Cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland; a prieſt of unpopular manners, a zealous Roman Catholic, and of a perſecuting ſpirit. He publiſhed the will of the late monarch ſoon after his death, by which that prince had left the government to him, in conjunction with the earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Murray. By virtue of this inſtrument, which is ſaid to have been forged by that ambitious churchman, he took poſſeſſion of the government; and having joined his intereſt with that of the queen-dowager, ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, he obtained the conſent of the convention of the ſtates, and excluded the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

The Cardinal, however, did not long enjoy the power he had thus uſurped. The return of the Scottiſh priſoners enabled Arran to make the moſt powerful oppoſition to the Cardinal's adminiſtration; and the nation being exaſperated at his forgery, the majority of the parliament declared in favor of Arran, and the cardinal was committed to priſon. A negotiation was immediately opened with Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh anbaſſador, and a treaty of marriage was concluded; by which it was ſtipulated, that the queen ſhould remain in Scotland till ſhe was ten years of age; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent to England, in order to be educated; that ſix Scotch noblemen ſhould be ſent as hoſtages to Henry; and that Scotland, notwithſtanding its union with England, ſhould ſtill preſerve its laws and privileges. But Beaton, having found means to eſcape from priſon, excited the eccleſiaſtics againſt this treaty, and awakened the natural antipathy of the Scots againſt the Engliſh. The popiſh party were indefatigable in perſuading the people that an union with England muſt be productive of their own ſlavery. Their endeavours had the deſired effect; the Engliſh ambaſſador was inſulted by the populace, and the regent had no longer any power to protect him.

Perſuaded that theſe violent proceedings muſt occaſion a rupture between the two kingdoms, Sadler ſummoned the priſoners to return to England, purſuant to their engagements; but all of them refuſed to obey, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils, who preferred his honour to his liberty. Henry was ſo pleaſed with this noble behaviour, that he received him with great marks of eſteem, loaded him with preſents, and gave him his liberty without ranſom. Beaton was not at all diſpleaſed at this refuſal of the priſoners, though it reflected diſgrace upon their country. He well knew that they muſt now depend wholly on the government for ſupport, and oppoſe the Engliſh with all their power. A war was now expected between the two kingdoms, and Francis engaged to ſupport the intereſt of Scotland.

Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, had been for ſome time, and was ſtill at the French court; and Francis being informed that he was engaged in an antient and hereditary enmity with the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, propoſed that he ſhould viſit his native country, and join in ſupporting the cardinal and the queen-mother; promiſing, that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould be ſent after him. He was alſo flattered with the hopes of eſpouſing the queen-dowager; and in caſe of the death of Mary, the infant princeſs, of aſcending the Scottiſh throne in preference to the earl of Arran, whoſe legitimacy was liable to ſome objections.

Tempted by theſe alluring proſpects, Lenox returned to Scotland, and, on his arrival, exerted all his intereſt for breaking off the marriage treaty. He aſſembled a conſiderable number of forces, in order to wreſt the young queen from the hands of the regent; who being unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. This important point being gained, the queen and the cardinal, who had now no farther occaſion for the aſſiſtance of Lenox, deſired Francis to recall him; but the earl, informed of their deſign, withdrew to his caſtle at Dumbarton, and the following year threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh.

Exaſperated at the conduct of Francis relative to Scotland, Henry determined to break off his alliance with that monarch, and to conclude with the emperor an offenſive and defenſive league againſt France. He therefore ſent a meſſage to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with the Turks, and to make reparation for the damage the infidels had done in Chriſtendom. Francis refuſed to comply with this haughty demand, in conſequence of which Henry immediately declared war againſt that monarch.

During theſe tranſactions a circumſtance happened that ſeemed to promiſe the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantages to the cauſe of the Reformation. The king, on the 12th of July, married Catherine Parr, widow to Neville, lord Latimer; a woman of great virtue and prudence, and well affected to the reformed religion. The new queen, however, had the mortification to find that the perſecutions againſt the reformers were not yet at an end; for, a few days after her marriage, Anthony Perſonne, a prieſt; Robert Teſtwood, a ſinging-man, and Henry Fulmer, a taylor, were, at the inſtigation of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, burnt at Windſor, for reading the writings of the reformed. At the ſame time the biſhop's own ſecretary was executed for denying the king's ſupremacy.

A. D. 1544. In the month of January Henry convoked a parliament, who paſſed an act for regulating the pre-eminence of thoſe who might lay claim to the throne. Prince Edward and his poſterity held the firſt rank; the next was placed in the preſent queen, or any future wife; the third was aſſigned to the princeſs Mary and her iſſue; and the fourth to Elizabeth and her children. But to convince theſe princeſſes, that this diſtinction was the abſolute effect of their father's indulgence, the act ſubjected them to any conditions he might think proper to impoſe. By a clauſe in this ſtatute all ſubjects were obliged to take a new oath, renouncing the papal authority, on pain of incurring heavy penalties, which were alſo decreed againſt all thoſe who ſhould violate any article contained in this act of parliament.

During this ſeſſion, the title of king of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Anglican and Iriſh Churches was for ever united to the crown of England.

In the ſpring of this year, Henry ſent a fleet and army to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near 200 ſail, and had on board a body of ten thouſand men. Dudley, lord Liſle, commanded the navy, and the earl of Hertford the land forces. The troops were landed in the neighbourhood of Leith; and, after defeating a ſmall body that oppoſed their landing, they took that town, and thence advanced to Edinburgh, the gates of which were ſoon forced; and the city, after being pillaged by the ſoldiers, was ſet on fire. The regent and the cardinal being in no condition to oppoſe ſo great a force, retired to Stirling. No oppoſition being made to the Engliſh, they continued their ravages, burnt Haddington and Dunbar, and retired into England, having loſt only forty men in the whole expedition. This incurſion has been cenſured as ill-concerted: for it is ſaid, if Henry intended to ſolicit an alliance, he behaved with too much violence; and if he meant to make a conqueſt, he neglected to improve his ſucceſs. It may, however, be obſerved, that having, in conjunction with the emperor, formed the project of an invaſion of France, he was ſolicitous of employing hi whole force on the continent.

The plan formed by theſe two powerful princes was to invade France at the head of an army of abo one hundred thouſand men; and it was agreed t march directly to Paris, without entering upon an ſiege, and thence proceed to the entire conqueſt o the kingdom. Had this plan been executed, Franc would, in all probability, have been ruined; b forunately for the French monarch, the emperor, the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men, h taken the field before Henry landed at Calais; a not to loſe time while he was waiting for his con derate, Charles inveſted Luxembourg, and ſoon ma himſelf maſter of the place. He thence proceed to Commercy on the Meuſe, which ſoon ſurrend ed. Ligny met with the ſame fate; but St. De on the Marne, which he next beſieged, made brave reſiſtance, under the command of Sancer the governor.

During theſe tranſactions Henry landed at Ca at the head of thirty thouſand men, accompanied the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the earls of A rundel, Oxford and Surrey; the lords St. J Ferrers, Montjoy, and Grey of Wilton; Sir A thony Brown, Sir Francis Bryan, and a great n ber of the moſt opulent perſons in the kingdom. Soon after his arrival he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand infantry and four thouſand horſe.

Henry finding the emperor employed in taking places, imitated his example, and inveſted Montreuil and Boulogne, the latter of which ſurrendered on the 26th of July. Theſe ſieges neceſſarily produced delays; and Charles finding the ſeaſon conſiderably advanced; and that the ſcheme for ſubduing France was likely to prove abortive, concluded a ſeparate peace with Francis. In conſequence of this treaty, the count de Buren withdrew his forces from the Engliſh army, and Henry was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, and return to his own kingdom, after having levied a great expence on the nation for acquiſitions neither honorable to himſelf or advantageous to his kingdom.

A. D. 1545. Francis was determined to make one grand effort againſt England. He had employed all the laſt winter, and great part of this ſpring, in making preparations for the recovery of Boulogne, and a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt. He had fitted out one hundred and fifty large ſhips of war, with ſixty of a ſmaller ſize, and brought twenty-five gallies from Marſeilles to Havre de Grace. They ſailed early in the month of July; and on the 18th of the ſame month advanced towards the Engliſh fleet, then riding at St. Helens. Here a cannonade began which laſted ſeveral hours, but with very little effect, the art of gunnery being then in its infantcy, and the guns and tackle very ill adapted for the intended purpoſes. Finding their attempt to deſtroy the Engliſh fleet abortive, they made a deſcent on the Iſle of Wight, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages, but being repulſed by the militia of the country, they fled to their ſhips, which ſoon after ſailed for France.

In the mean time Francis was exerting all his efforts to take Boulogne; and though he had an army of 200,000 men, yet his endeavours proved abortive. All he could do was, to ravage the little territory of Oye, from whence the garriſon of Calais uſed to have heir forage and proviſions; after which he retired to Amiens, and their took up his winter quarters.

A. D. 1546. Henry having obtained the neceſſary ubſidies from his parliament, made freſh preparations or carrying on the war with France; but an accident appened at the opening of the campaign, which ave very little hopes of ſucceſs to the Engliſh. The arl of Surry, who commanded the Engliſh forces in Boulogne, attempted to intercept a convoy of provi- ons going to the fort of Outre Eau, which the rench had built at the mouth of the port; but was bliged to return with ſome loſs, without effecting his urpoſe. This was followed by a more conſiderable efeat. The earl, not the leaſt intimidated by his te unſucceſsful attempt, attacked the Marſhal de iez, who was conducting a much larger convoy. ut fortune again declared for the French: the ngliſh general was routed, with the loſs of about eight ndred men on the ſpot, (among whom was Sir Ed- ard Poynings) and one hundred and twenty taken iſoners.

Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was neither olent nor perſonal, began now to think of liſtening terms of accommodation with the French monarch. e had ſufficiently gratified his capricious humour by e ſhort war he had carried on againſt Francis; and ving reaſon to apprehend, from his great increaſe corpulency, and viſible decay of ſtrength, that his d was approaching, he was deſirous of finiſhing a arrel, which might prove dangerous to the king- m during the minority of his ſon. Francis, like- ſe,on his part, was not averſe to an accommodation h England, becauſe, having lately loſt his ſon the duke of Orleans, he was afraid that Charles ſhould again attack him at a time when he might be unprovided both with men and money to make a ſuitable defence.

Each being thus deſirous of terminating the quarrel, commiſſioners were appointed, who met at Campe (a place between Ardres and Guiſnes) on the 7th of July, where a peace was concluded on the following conditions: That the king of France ſhould pay regularly the penſion ſettled by former treaties. That Francis ſhould pay in eight years the ſum of two millions of golden crowns, in conſideration of the penſion, as alſo the expence Henry had been at in reducing Boulogne. That Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Boulogne, together with its territories, till the whole debt was diſcharged; when that place ſhould revert to its former poſſeſſor. And laſtly, that the Scots, as well as the emperor, ſhould be included in this treaty.

Thus Henry terminated a war which had coſt him above one million three hundred and forty-three thouſand pounds ſterling; and all he acquired in return was, only a bad ſecurity for a debt which did not amount to one third of the value.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace died Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to the king. This nobleman was always a ſincere and powerful friend to Cranmer, was well affected to the reformation, and took every opportunity of ſupporting its profeſſors. He enjoyed the favours of Henry from his earlieſt youth, which affords one inſtance that the king was not wholly incapable of a cordial and ſteady friendſhip. Henry was ſitting in council when he was informed of Suffolk's death, and dropped a tear to his memory. At the ſame time he declared, that during the whole time of his correſpondence with that nobleman, he had never made any attempt to injure an adverſary, nor even ever whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any perſon whatever. He added, "Is there any of you, my lords, who can ſay as much?" This queſtion was only anſwered by that confuſion of countenance which is naturally excited from conſcientious guilt.

The death of Suffolk inſpired the popiſh party with the hopes of being able to ruin Cranmer. They well knew the king's paſſion for orthodoxy, and repreſented the primate as the principal cauſe of its making no greater progreſs. Henry, in order to ſee how far they would carry their malice, pretended to liſten to the accuſation, and deſired the council to enquire into Cranmer's conduct; promiſing, that if he was really the ſecret ſupport of hereſy, he would ſend him to the Tower, and bring him to condign puniſhment.

When Cranmer's enemies received this promiſe, they conſidered the primate's ruin as inevitable; and his old friends from mercenary motives, as well as the oppoſite party who were actuated by animoſity, began to treat him with diſreſpect. Among other mortifying inſtances of neglect, he was obliged to wait ſeveral hours with the ſervants at the door of the council-chamber before he could gain admittance; and on his being at laſt called in, they told him they had agreed to ſend him to the Tower. Unmoved by this threat, Cranmer told them that he was not obliged to ſubmit to their ſentence, and that he appealed to the king himſelf. This appeal had, however, no effect upon the council, who were determined on his deſtruction. The primate therefore produced a ring which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. Terror and confuſion now ſeized the whole party; and when they came before the king he reproved them in the harſheſt terms, and told them, that he was thoroughly acquainted with Cramer's merit, as well as with their envious and malicious ſpirit; adding, that he was determined to cruſh all their cabals,

bals, and, ſince gentle methods were in vain, to teach them, by the ſevereſt diſcipline, a more dutifull concurrence in promoting his ſervice.

But though the king would not ſuffer any impeachment to be brought againſt his favourite Cranmer, he was not diſpoſed to ſhew the ſame lenity to others, who preſumed to entertain a different opinion from himſelf in matters of religion. The ſpirit of perſecution was far from being ſubſided: the good and the virtuous ſtill ſelt the fiery hand of a bigotted zeal. Among thoſe who ſuffered for their religious opinions was Mrs. Anne Aſkew, a gentlewoman of good birth and excellent parts, who was well known to many perſons at court, and had entered into a ſtrict connection with the queen. This lady, being convicted of denying the real preſence in the euchariſt, was condemned to the flames, and choſe to ſuffer death rather than purchaſe pardon at the expence of abjuring her faith. Chancellor Wriotheſley, who was a zealous papiſt, was ſent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies with whom ſhe had been intimate. But this ſcheme proved abortive; ſhe refuſed to diſcover any of her friends: and though ſhe was put to the torture in the moſt cruel manner, ſhe ſtill continued reſolute in preſerving an inviolable ſecrecy. She was at length carried to the place of execution, and burnt alive, without having ſhewn the leaſt inclination to retract. Three other perſons ſuffered with her, and imitated her courage and conſtancy. All the arguments uſed by the biſhop of Saliſbury to prevail upon them to recant their errors were urged in vain. They maintained their tenets in the midſt of the flames, and ſeemed to glory in their ſufferings.

The queen, who had been the principal confidant of Anne Aſkew, happily eſcaped by the fidelity and reſolution of that lady; but ſhe ſoon after found herſelf in the utmoſt danger of falling a victim to the dogmatical zeal of her huſband.

Henry, who was now very corpulent, and of a bad habit of body, was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, which threatened his life, and at the ſame time greatly increaſed the peeviſh and paſſionate temper to which he was always ſubject. The tenderneſs of Catherine was remarkable on this occaſion; ſhe attended him with the utmoſt aſſiduity, and uſed every method in her power to ſoothe his pains, and prevent thoſe dreadful guſts of humour ſo frequent and fatal in their conſequences. The king's favourite topic was theology, and Catharine was frequently obliged to diſcuſs the more abſtruſe tenets of religion with him. Whether her arguments were too ſtrong for the king to anſwer, or whether ſhe inadvertently dropt ſome expreſſions that ſhewed ſhe was attached to the Lutheran principles, is not abſolutely known; but the king was highly provoked at her preſuming to differ from him in any theological ſpeculation. He even complained to Gardiner of the queen's obſtinacy; and that furious prelate, pleaſed at having an opportunity of cruſhing the very head of the proteſtant party, perſuaded the king to order articles of impeachment to be drawn up, againſt his conſort. The chancellor ſeconded the arguments of Gardiner, and ſoon after brought the articles to be ſigned. Fortunately for Catherine, the chancellor dropped the fatal paper, which was found by one of the queen's party, and immediately put into her hands. Senſible of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed, ſhe determined, if poſſible, to avert the ſtorm by prudence and diſcretion. She accordingly went into the king's chamber, when his majeſty, as uſual, began with her on the topic of religion. He found ſhe affected to decline the ſubject, and expreſſed uncommon deference to his opinion, telling him that to his learning and judgment ſhe perfectly reſigned herſelf. "Not ſo, by St. Mary, replied Henry; you are become a doctor, Kate, to inſtruct us as we take it, and not to be inſtructed, or directed by us." The queen's anſwer was mild and prudent: ſhe ſaid, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were above her comprehenſion, and, in her opinion, very ill ſuited to the natural imbecillity of her ſex. She added, that though ſhe had often engaged in theſe ſpeculations, it was only to divert his pains, and profit by his inſtructions; that his elucidations had withdrawn the veil of obſcurity which ſhe had ſo long wiſhed to be removed, and to effect which ſhe had made uſe of arguments, though ſhe knew when ſhe urged them they were not concluſive. "And is it even ſo, ſweetheart, (replied Henry with great marks of tenderneſs) then we are friends again."

At the time this reconciliation happened, no perſon of condition was preſent, but lady Herbert, the queen's ſiſter; and it was ſo profound a ſecret, that the next day, while Henry and Catherine were walking in the palace garden, Gardiner appeared, with a party of guards, to arreſt the queen and convey her to the Tower. The king no ſooner ſaw the prelate approach, than he took him aſide, and was obſerved to ſpeak to him in a very angry tone of voice. The queen was greatly alarmed, eſpecially on overhearing the terms knave, fool, and beaſt frequently repeated. The prelate retired in confuſion, and the queen generouſly interpoſed to mitigate the paſſion of the king, who replied, "Poor ſoul! you know not how little that man is intitled to your favour."

The baſe part Gardiner acted on this occaſion ſtruck ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of the king, that he could never after bear the ſight of him; and though the biſhop ſought, by the vileſt adulation, to reinſtate himſelf in the king's fauour, yet all his endeavours proved abortive.

A. D. 1547. The diſgrace of Gardiner was followed by the perſecution of the duke of Norfolk and his ſon the earl of Surry; both of whom were ſtrong advocates for the catholic party, and the former was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been principally concerned with Gardiner in the late attempt againſt the queen.

The duke of Norfolk was, by his birth, allied to the throne; and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a long ſeries of ſervices to the ſtate. He was uncle to two of Henry's queens, and always conſidered as the greateſt ſubject in the kingdom. He was an implacable enemy to the reformation, and had taken every opportunity to enforce the laws againſt it. The earl of Surry, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was a young nobleman of great merit, but of very little diſcretion. Hurried away by his ambition, and exaſperated by ſome affronts he had lately received, he very imprudently irritated the peeviſh humour of Henry by ſome menacing expreſſions; and the king, perſuaded that he entertained views of marrying the princeſs Mary, determined to prevent the great power of his family from becoming formidable to the government during his ſon's minority. Both Norfolk and Surry were accordingly arreſted, and ſent to the Tower. Surry was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians, who were ſuſpected to be ſpies ſent by his holineſs; and of carrying on a correſpondence with cardinal Pole, becauſe one of his domeſtics had paid a viſit to that prelate in Italy: he was alſo ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown, becauſe he quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor upon his eſcutcheon, though it was well known that both himſelf and his anceſtors had openly, during many years, and even by the approbation of the heralds, maintained that practice. But however frivolous the accuſations may now appear, they were then thought ſufficient to find him guilty. He was condemned by the lord-chancellor, who preſided at his trial, and was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 19th of January.

But it was not ſo eaſy to convict the duke of Norfolk: no ſuſpicion of a crime could be found to alledge againſt him, except his having once ſaid that the king was ſickly and could not hold out long, and that the kingdom was likely to fall into diſorders, thro' the diverſities of religious opinions. But Henry had recourſe to the ſureſt and moſt expeditious inſtrument of his tyranny. He aſſembled a parliament, and the houſe of Peers, without examining the priſoner, without evidence, or even the form of a trial, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him, and ſent it down to the commons. It deſerves, however, to be remembered, that Cranmer, though the duke had been always his moſt inveterate enemy, refuſed to have any ſhare in ſo unjuſt a proſecution, and accordingly retired to his palace at Croydon in Surry. The Commons not being ſo expeditious in paſſing the bill as Henry expected, he ſent a meſſage to the houſe, requeſting that as Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marſhal, the bill might be haſtened, that another might be appointed to officiate at the enſuing ceremony of inſtalling his ſon prince of Wales. This frivolous excuſe was, however, ſufficient for the obſequious commons. They paſſed the bill immediately, and the ſame day it received the royal aſſent, by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And Henry was ſo intent upon the death of this innocent nobleman, that he ſigned the warrant for his execution almoſt in the ſame hour, when heaven was pleaſed to put a period to his own exiſtence; and thereby ſpared his ſoul from any further load of actual, though not of intentional guilt.*

Though the hour of Henry's diſſolution appeared evidently at hand, yet none of his attendants had the courage to inform him of his dangerous ſituation, (an act having been paſſed in his reign, which rendered it capital for any perſon to foretel the king's death) leſt, in the violence of his paſſion, he ſhould cauſe the law, in all its rigour, to be executed on the author of ſuch friendly intelligence; eſpecially as his late treatment of the Howard family had demonſtrated his cruelty did not ſubſide as the ſprings of life decayed. At length Sir Anthony Denny ventured to diſcloſe the fatal ſecret, and exhorted the king to prepare for that awful change which was ſo near at hand, as his legs were already mortified. Henry, contrary to all expectation, thanked him for the information, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for; but before the archbiſhop arrived, the king was ſpeechleſs. The prelate beſeeching the king to give him ſome ſign of his truſting in God, through the merits of our Redeemer, he ſqueezed his hand with great fervency, and immediately after expired, on the twenty-eighth of January, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Henry, a ſhort time before his death, had made his will, in which, purſuant to the power given by the parliament, he had ſettled the ſucceſſion to the crown of England in the following manner: Firſt, upon the prince of Wales and his poſterity. Secondly, upon the children of his preſent queen, or thoſe of any future marriage he might contract. Thirdly, upon the princeſs Mary and her iſſue, but with this expreſs condition, that ſhe ſhould marry with the conſent of the executors of his will. Fourthly, on the princeſs Elizabeth, with the ſame proviſo. Fifthly, upon the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his ſiſter, the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk. Sixthly, on the lady Eleanor Brandon, youngeſt ſiſter to Frances. Laſtly, in failure of all theſe, upon the next lawful heir. By another clauſe in his will he named the following ſixteen executors: The archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord Chancellor; the earl of Hertford, uncle to young Edward; the lord St. John; the lord Ruſſel; the lord viſcount Liſle; Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown; Sir Edward Montague; the chief juſtice Bromley; Sir William Paget; Sir Anthony Denny; Sir William Herbert; Sir Edward Watton; and his brother Dr. Watton. To the lords who were his executors he left five hundred marks, and to the commoners three hundred; and ordered his executors to pay all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables, but ſtrictly charged him to be ſubject to the advice of his council till he was eighteen years of age. He left three thouſand pounds a year to each of his daughters, with ten thouſand pounds addition, as their whole fortune, if his executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thouſand pounds in plate and jewels, and a thouſand pounds in money. Another clauſe in his will ſufficiently ſuggeſted, that he was far from being ſettled with regard to his notions of religion: he left money for maſſes to be ſaid for delivering his ſoul from purgatory; and though he had deſtroyed all thoſe inſtitutions, eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors and others, for the benefit of their ſouls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith he publiſhed during the latter years of his reign, yet he was determined to take care of the future repoſe of his own ſoul, by adhering to the ſafer ſide of the queſtion.

A reviſal of the reign and actions of Henry VIII. will afford the reader a more ſtriking diſplay of his character, than any ſummary we can poſſibly give at the cloſe of them. There we may obſerve the frailty of human foreſight, which is ſo prone to repreſent men and things to us, through a deluſive glaſs. Henry aſcended the throne, eſteemed for his affability, extraordinary ſtudy and generoſity; but theſe qualities gradually degenerated into moroſeneſs, pedantry, and profuſion. He ſoon evinced a moſt inſatiable avarice; to the gratification of which, he ſacrificed every laudible principle. He arrogated to himſelf a lawleſs dominion over the reaſon of others, and ſet himſelf up as chief arbiter in all religious diſputes.

He wreſted the ſupremacy from the ſee of Rome, rather from reaſons of ſtate and convenience, than motives of juſtice and conſcience. Affecting a ſuperiority to human nature, he became a ſtranger to its tendereſt emotions, and a ſlave to its impetuous paſſions. He never contributed to happineſs, of which he was not to partake; if, therefore, there are any traces of beneficence in his life, they aroſe, not from a view of alleviating the anxieties of others, but procuring repoſe for himſelf. His conduct, with reſpect to religion, ſtirred up many noiſy diſputants, while his bigotry and cruelty blaſted the fruits of free enquiry.

As he perverted law to the deſtruction of humanity, ſo he eſtabliſhed religion on the ruins of reaſon. He miſtook the impulſe of paſſion for the dictates of reaſon, and the dread commanded by power, for the reverence due to ſuperior judgment. But of all his foibles, his capricious amours are the moſt glaring; nor can we think it poſſible for any human being to read, without ſhuddering at the thought, of a man, in the character of a monarch, who having obtained poſſeſſion of the moſt deſirable object of his paſſion, could ſend her to the block, in order to pave the way for the gratification of a new, and unwarrantable deſire.

---

* The king happening to die the morning before that appointed for the execution of the duke, he therefore eſcaped the intended puniſhment; it being thought improper to ſtain with blood the commencement of a new reign, eſpecially as the ſentence was conſidered as unjuſt and tyrannical.

Nevertheleſs, Henry, though thus encircled with vices, may be deemed the ſtock on which were engrafted thoſe tender ſprigs that afterwards ſpread a grateful ſhade, and now afford an impenetrable ſhelter to the civil and religious liberties of mankind: but with reſpect to himſelf, as before hinted, he ſeems in this caſe to have been actuated by the impulſe of paſſion rather than the dictates of religion and conſcience; which affords us this important leſſon: That the great diſpoſer of all events frequently purſues means, to us the moſt apparently improbable, to execute his wiſe and benevolent deſigns.

Henry VIII. had iſſue as follows:

By his firſt wife, Catharine of Spain, he had two ſons, both of whom died infants. And a daughter named Mary, who ſucceeded her brother Edward to the throne of England.

By his ſecond wife, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth; and a male child, ſtill born.

By his third wife, Jane Seymour, he had a ſon named Edward, who immediately ſucceeded him on the throne.

By his three laſt wives, Anne of Cleves, Catharine Howard, and Catharine Parr, he had no iſſue.[*]

He had one natural ſon by Elizabeth, daughter of John Blount, widow of Sir Gilbert Taillebois. This youth, when ſeven years of age, was created knight of the garter, earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and made lieutenant of all the king's forces north of the Trent. He was afterwards conſtituted admiral of England, and at laſt made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He died on the 24th of July, 1536, in the 17th year of his age; and was buried at Thetford in Norfolk.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign are as follow:

In his ſecond year hats were firſt manufactured in London; before which both men and women wore cloſe knit woollen caps.

The date of the commencement of the royal or Engliſh navy, may be fixed from the 4th year of this king's reign, when the firſt navy-office was appointed, with commiſſioners to manage naval affairs; and a number of ſtout ſhips of war began to be permanently and regularly kept on foot by the crown.

In his ninth year the ſweating ſickneſs raged with the utmoſt violence throughout the kingdom, particularly in London. The effects were very ſudden, for it proved fatal in three hours after the patient was affected. It was computed that in ſome towns half, and in others one third, of the inhabitants, died of this dreadful diſtemper. It is remarkable, that this diſorder was peculiar only to Engliſhmen, many of whom being abroad at the time it raged in England, received the infection and died, though not a ſingle native was known to be the leaſt affected by it; from whence the foreigners called it *Sudor Anglicus*, or the *Engliſh Sweat*.

In the 12th year of this king's reign, muſkets were firſt generally introduced into the Engliſh army, and bows and arrows totally laid aſide.

In his 15th year there was ſo ſevere a froſt, that great numbers of people periſhed. Some loſt their fingers, others their toes, and many their nails.

The following year the plague raged ſo violently in London, that his majeſty removed to Eltham; the Michaelmas term was adjourned, and the city ſo much deſerted by its inhabitants, that the enſuing Chriſtmas was called the Still Chriſtmas. This year is alſo remarkable for the firſt voyage being made round the world, which was performed in a ſingle ſhip, part of a Spaniſh ſquadron, under the command of an officer named Picaro.

In his 18th year corn was ſo ſcarce all over the kingdom, that it produced a general famine, and many of the poorer ſort of the inhabitants of London periſhed through mere want. This dreadful calamity, however, was ſtopped by the interpoſition of his majeſty and the company of Hanſeatic merchants; the former ſupplying the city with 1000 quarters, and the latter importing large quantities from Dantzick.

In his 20th year one Richard Roſe, cook to the biſhop of Rocheſter, was boiled to death, in a cauldron of oil, in Smithfield, agreeable to his ſentence, for putting poiſon into ſome ſoup, by which ſixteen people, who had eat of it, died. It was intended for his maſter, who luckily eſcaped, owing to his being greatly indiſpoſed on that day.

In his 30th year the manner of caſting pipes of lead for conveying water under-ground, without uſing of ſolder, was firſt invented by Robert Brocke, clerk, one of the king's chaplains. Robert Cooper, goldſmith, was the firſt that made the inſtruments, and put the invention into practice.

The ſummer of the following year was ſo exceeding hot, that it produced a general drought throughout the kingdom: ſmall rivers were entirely dried up, and many cattle periſhed for want of water. The river Thames was ſo empty, that the ſalt water flowed above London-bridge, and continued ſo till the freſh water was increaſed by rain.

In his 34th year pins were firſt made in England before which the ladies uſed ſmall wooden ſkewers.

The following year an act of parliament was paſſed whereby preſſing for the ſea ſervice was made a criminal puniſhment. In conſequence of which one o the aldermen of London was preſſed, and ſent t ſerve on board the fleet in foreign parts, for refuſin to pay a tax levied on him by the king.

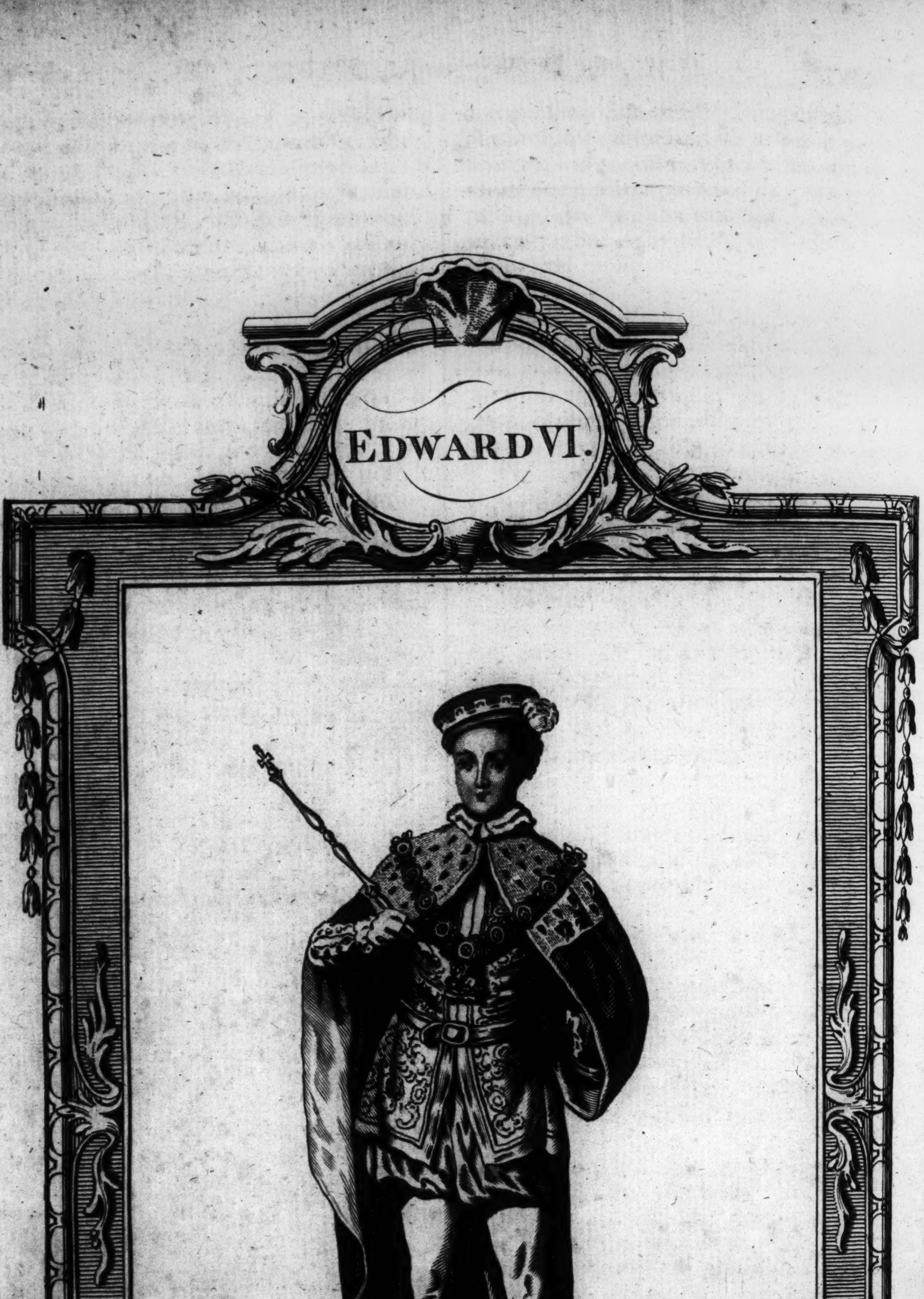
In his 37th year, on Tueſday in Eaſter-week William Foxley, pot-maker to the Mint of th Towe

---

[*] As the following poetical lines may be eaſily retained in the memory, they will ſerve as a memorial, by which the names, order of ſucceſſion, and fate of all Henry's wives will be readily recollected:

This king, who ne'er ſpar'd man in anger's guſt,
Or ſuffer'd woman to eſcape his luſt;
As paſſion fir'd him, or as caprice led,
Six ſeveral conſorts took from church to bed.
CATHARINE of ARRAGON, in youthful pride,
Became his firſt, and long remain'd his bride;
But other fancies captivating him,
Henry divorc'd her in a ſerious whim.
Short was his ſecond wife, ANNE BOLEYN's reign,
Who loſt her head to ſet him free again:
JANE SEYMOUR then ſucceeded as his bride,
And proving pregnant ſoon in child-bed dy'd.
To ANNE of CLEVES the fourth time he is wed,
Till a divorce expell'd her from his bed;
Then CATHARINE HOWARD his fifth wife became,
Who loſt her head for a licentious flame.
His ſixth wife, CATHARINE PARR, a widow brave,
Outliv'd the king, and ſaw him to his grave.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM



EDWARD VI.

Wale delin.

Roberts sculp.

Tower of London, fell aſleep, and could not be waked till the firſt day of next term, which was full fourteen days: and when he awoke, was found in all reſpects the ſame as if he had ſlept but one night; and lived in perfect health forty years after.

By a law paſſed during this reign, thoſe convicted of ſwearing falſely were puniſhed by having the letter F ſtamped on their faces with a red hot iron.

Henry VIII. was the firſt king of England who took the title of Majeſty, the ſovereigns before being addreſſed by the ſtile of, My Liege, Your Highneſs, or Your Grace.

SECTION III.

EDWARD VI.

THIS monarch was little more than nine years of age when he acceded to the throne of England. At the time of his father's death he was with his ſiſter Elizabeth at Hertford; from whence he was conducted by his uncle the earl of Hertford, and Sir Thomas Brown, to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king by the name of Edward VI.

Henry VIII. by his will, had fixed the majority of the prince at the 18th year of his age, and appointed fixteen executors, to whom, during the minority, he committed the adminiſtration of public affairs, and the care of the king's perſon. And to theſe fixteen executors, in whom the whole regal authority was inveſted, were joined twelve counſellors, to aſſiſt with their advice as occaſion might require.

No ſooner, however, had theſe agents ſettled the form of government agreeable to Henry's will, than a change was propoſed. Some of them obſerved, that it would be very troubleſome for the people, and particularly for foreign miniſters, to be obliged to apply to ſixteen perſons of equal authority; and moved, that one ſhould be choſen amongſt them to be head and preſident, with the title of protector of the king's realm, and governor of his perſon.

Though this propoſal appeared not only reaſonable, but alſo neceſſary, to the majority of the regents, yet it was ſtrongly oppoſed by Wriotheſley the chancellor, a perſon of a very ambitious and active diſpoſition. He aſſerted that they had no power to depart from the tenor of the late king's will, authoriſed by an act of parliament. His remonſtrances, however, had no effect on the council; they determined to chooſe a protector, in order the more effectually to provide for the public tranquillity. No difficulty occurred with regard to the perſon proper for this exalted ſtation. Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, maternal uncle to the king, and more intereſted in his preſervation as he had himſelf no pretenſions to the crown, was choſen to the office; but with this reſtriction: that though he ſhould enjoy all the exterior ſymbols of the royal dignity, he ſhould yet be bound, in the exerciſe of power, to follow the opinion of the majority of the regents, On his being appointed to this elevated ſtation, he was immediately created duke of Somerſet; and at the ſame time the chancellor was created earl of Southampton.

It had at firſt been reſolved that the coronation of he young king ſhould be performed on the 19th of February; but it was thought more proper to defer it ill the 20th, which was Shrove-ſunday, and the lord Ruſſel was appointed to act as lord-high-ſteward on e occaſion. Accordingly, the king, being conducted great ſtate from the Tower through the city, took p his lodgings in his palace of Weſtminſter on the 9th, and the next day was crowned with the uſual pomp and ſolemnity. The ceremony was performed by Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by other biſhops, and the principal nobility of the realm.

A ſhort time after the king's coronation, the lord-chancellor (notwithſtanding the mark of favour he had ſo lately received) diſplayed that natural enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted in his heart againſt the protector; and he determined to make his ſtation as uneaſy as poſſible, by oppoſing every meaſure he ſhould think proper to adopt. To effect this he devoted his whole time to the affairs of the cabinet; and as his office of chancellor neceſſarily engroſſed a conſiderable part of his attention, he ventured, without any warrant from the king, protector, or regency, or any other authority than his own, to put the great ſeal in commiſſion; and appointed four lawyers to execute, in his abſence, the office of lord high chancellor of England. A meaſure ſo replete with arrogance and preſumption could not fail of giving umbrage to the government; and it was determined to ſuppreſs the haughty ſpirit of the ambitious chancellor. The judges being conſulted on this occaſion, declared, that the commiſſion he had granted was contrary to the laws of England; and that the earl of Southampton, for taking ſuch an unconſtitutional ſtep, had not only forfeited his high office, but alſo rendered himſelf ſubject to the ſevereſt puniſhment. A council was now ſummoned, and the chancellor ordered to attend. But he was ſo far from making any ſubmiſſion, that he defended his own power in the moſt haughty manner, and with very indecent language. He called the authority of the council and protector in queſtion, and told them he would not ſubmit to any ſentence they might pronounce againſt him. He was therefore deprived of the ſeals, and committed a priſoner to his own houſe, where he continued till the 29th of June, when he entered into a recognizance of 4000l. to pay whatever fine they ſhould think proper to impoſe on him.

The ambition of the protector was greatly increaſed by the fall of Southampton; and he now thought himſelf at full liberty to engroſs the ſole management of affairs into his own hands. With this view he obtained from the young king a patent, which inveſted him, under the title of protector, with the whole regal authority. He appointed a council, conſiſting of all the former members, except Southampton; and enjoyed the power of chuſing other counſellors, and to conſult with ſuch only as he thought proper.

During theſe tranſactions in England, Francis I. king of France, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by his ſon the dauphin, who aſſumed the ſceptre by the name of Henry II. This prince was, in a great meaſure, governed by the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, brothers to the queen dowager of Scotland; and being zealous champions for the papal authority, and the Roman Catholic religion, they determined to prevent the intended marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland. Accordingly they perſuaded Henry to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and to reject the late treaties which had been concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I.

This perfidious behaviour, however, did not intimidate the Protector: he determined, if poſſible, to execute the dying injunction of his late maſter, who had left poſitive directions that a marriage ſhould take place between the young queen of Scots and his ſon Edward, by which means the two kingdoms might be happily united. But before he proceeded to carry this deſign into execution, he thought it neceſſary to provide for the tranquillity of the public, and to place the reformation (for which he was a ſtrong advocate) on ſuch a baſis, that it might be able to baffle all the attempts of its open and concealed enemies.

The Protector was very materially aſſiſted in this buſineſs by the affection young Edward himſelf had to the reformed principles, and by the cool and politic councils of Cranmer. This prelate had, without being ſeen to ſtir in the matter, procured ſeveral of the beſt works written abroad againſt popery, to be tranſlated and publiſhed in England. He alſo publiſhed a catechiſm, which he tranſlated and improved from the Latin; and compoſed ſeveral homilies to be delivered by prieſts in the nature of ſermons.

It was now ordered that a general viſitation ſhould be made of all the churches in England. Accordingly the whole kingdom was divided into ſix circuits, each of which was aſſigned to a certain number of viſitors, who were partly lay men and partly eccleſiaſtics. The chief purport of their inſtructions was, to aboliſh certain abuſes that had been introduced into divine ſervice, and particularly with regard to images; but at the ſame time they were directed to proceed with delicacy and reſerve. The viſitors diſcharged their buſineſs, and preſerved the injunctions laid on them, in the moſt punctual manner: and with this viſitation commenced the execution of the deſign formed in the late reign for perfecting the reformation.

The affairs at home being thus adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of the Protector, his whole attention was now turned towards proſecuting the war with Scotland. He aſſembled an army of 18000 men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, and the other loaded with ammunition and proviſions. The command of the fleet was given to lord Clinton; while he himſelf, aſſiſted by the earl of Warwick, led the land forces.

Alarmed at this powerful armament, the French ambaſſador applied, by orders from his court, to the regency, deſiring that a negotiation might be opened, in order, if poſſible, to reſtore peace between the two kingdoms, without the effuſion of human blood. The requeſt was complied with, and Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and Sir Thomas Rowe, were appointed to meet the Scottiſh commiſſaries at Newcaſtle, where the conferences were opened on the fourth of Auguſt. But the Engliſh plenipotentiaries refuſing to proceed in the negotiation, unleſs the marriage between the two ſovereigns was previouſly ſettled, and the Scottiſh commiſſioners declaring they had no power to conſent to the marriage, the negotiations became abortive.

In conſequence of this the protector entered Scotland on the ſecond of September. But before he commenced hoſtilities he publiſhed a maniſeſto, in which he recapitulated the reaſons that induced the Engliſh to have recourſe to arms, and urged, by a variety of arguments, the expediency and even neceſſity of the marriage of the young queen of Scots and Edward being immediately concluded. Theſe arguments were drawn from the ſituation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by ſurrounding them with the ocean, ſeemed to have deſigned for one empire; from the ſimiliarity of the inhabitants in their laws, language, cuſtoms, and manners, whereby they were naturally adapted to be united, and to become one people; from the equality of the young king and queen, with regard to age and fortune; from the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually expoſed from the hoſtile attempts of a richer and moſt powerful neighbour; and from the many advantages that muſt reſult to the inhabitants of both kingdoms from living in a ſtate of peace and ſecurity. The protector added, that excluſive of theſe conſiderations, poſitive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform, what their intereſt and ſafety ſo ſtrongly demanded.

Theſe remonſtrances, however, were rendered totally abortive by the arts and intrigues of the queen dowager of Scotland, who was warmly attached to the intereſt of France and the Roman catholic religion. The Protector, therefore, found himſelf obliged to have recourſe to arms, in order to compel the Scots to adopt a meaſure which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace. He accordingly continued his march towards Edinburgh without meeting with any oppoſition, except from a few ſmall caſtles, which were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, had collected the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, which was double to that of the Engliſh in numbers, had taken poſt at Muſſelburgh, on a very advantageous ſpot of ground, ſecured by the banks of the river Eſke, about ſix miles from Edinburgh; while the Engliſh lay encamped at Preſton-Pans. In this ſituation ſeveral ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the light troops of each army, but without any thing deciſive; and Somerſet, finding it impoſſible to draw the Scots to an engagement, and fearing he ſhould ſoon be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, ſent an herald to Arran, offering to abandon his enterprize, and to pay all the damages the Scots had ſuffered from his troops, provided he would give his promiſe, that the young queen ſhould not be given in marriage to any foreign prince, till ſhe reached the age of chuſing a huſband for herſelf.

Theſe moderate terms induced the Scots to imagine that the Engliſh were intimidated, and that, if the enemy was attacked, the victory would be certain. The prieſts and monks, who had come to the camp in great numbers, laboured aſſiduouſly to propagate this opinion; adding, that they had now an opportunity of inflicting vengeance on their heretical enemy. A movement made by the Engliſh towards their ſhips, confirmed them in this opinion; and that the protector was going to embark his forces. Elated with this idea, and determined to cut off his retreat, they quitted their camp, croſſed the river Eſke, and advanced, with great precipitation, into the plain, where the Scottiſh regent drew up his army in three diviſions: the firſt, which conſiſted of the beſt troops, was commanded by the earl of Angus; the ſecond by the regent himſelf; and the third by the earl of Huntley. The earl of Argyle headed a body of Highland archers, who formed a guard to the artillery.

When Somerſet ſaw the Scots leave their advantageous camp, he was highly pleaſed, thinking he ſhould now have an opportunity of bringing on a deciſive action. He drew up his troops in two lines, the firſt of which was commanded by the earl of Warwick, and the ſecond by the Protector himſelf. The lord

Grey of Wilton led a reſerved body of cavalry, and had orders to fall upon the flank of the van of the Scottiſh army, as ſoon as they ſhould be engaged in cloſe fight with the firſt line of the Engliſh.

The Scottiſh army at length advanced to the charge; when a dreadful fire from the cannon of the Engliſh ſhips threw the Highland archers into the greateſt confuſion. Lord Grey perceived the ſituation of the enemy, and could not reſiſt the opportunity of attacking them before they recovered from their ſurprize. But he ſoon perceived he had acted with too much precipitation. The ſpot occupied by the enemy was fallow land, broken ridges, and ſeparated from him by a ſlough and a ditch. Theſe impediments rendered the ſhock of his body of horſe feeble and irregular; and the Scottiſh infantry ſtanding firm, he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs: he himſelf was dangerouſly wounded; lord Edward Seymour, ſon to the Protector, was unhorſed; and the Engliſh ſtandard in danger of being taken. But the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerſet advanced with ſo much celerity to ſupport the Engliſh horſe, that they ſoon formed behind the infantry, and the battle now became general. The Engliſh artillery, planted on a neighbouring eminence, played full on one of their flanks, while the cannon of the ſhips galled them on the other; and the lord Grey, eager to repair his error, charged them in front with ſo much fury, that their firſt line gave way, and an orderly retreat was begun: but the Highland archers betaking themſelves to flight, ſpread a panic through the whole army; the retreat was changed into a precipitate flight, and the whole became one general ſcene of confuſion, terror, and conſternation. The braveſt of Scots were put to the ſword, and the route and ſlaughter became ſo general, that from the field of battle to Edinburgh, the whole ground was covered with the dying and the dead. The prieſts and monks received no quarter, for having engaged in an enterprize ſo foreign to their profeſſion. Few victories have been more deciſive or more complete. Above ten thouſand periſhed in the engagement and purſuit, and about fifteen hundred ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The Engliſh loſt not more than two hundred men. This action is known in hiſtory by the name of the battle of Pinkey, from a nobleman's ſeat of that name in the neighbourhood where it was fought.

The earl of Arran fled with the queen dowager to Stirling-caſtle, and the Scottiſh army was ſo entirely diſperſed, that Arran found the utmoſt difficulty of checking the incurſions of ſmall parties of the Engliſh. The Protector marched directly to Leith, which made no oppoſition; but he failed in his attempt againſt Edinburgh caſtle. He, however, plundered the town, while the fleet under lord Clinton, burnt all the places on the ſea coaſts, and took all the ſhipping in the frith of Forth. Had the duke purſued all the advantages of his late victory, he might have given law to the conquered. But a cabal having been raiſed againſt him at London, he haſtened his return, leaving Warwick with full powers to negotiate a treaty with Arran, who had deſired leave to ſend commiſſioners for that purpoſe. The latter, however, meant only to gain time till the ſuccours could arrive from France; and accordingly no Scottiſh commiſſioners appeared at the place appointed for the conferences to be held.

No ſooner did the Protector arrive in London, than he found that his brother Thomas, who had married Catharine Parr, the queen dowager, and had lately been created lord high-admiral of England, was become his greateſt oppoſer. He had not only joined in the cabals of his enemies, but alſo made ſeveral vigorous efforts to ſupplant him in the high poſt he enjoyed. He had already gained ſuch an aſcendancy over Edward, that he had perſuaded the king to write a letter with his own hand to the houſe of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's perſon. Though this attempt ſtruck at the foundation of the Protector's greatneſs, he ſtill endeavoured to reclaim his brother by gentle and munificent methods; but finding he was ſtill determined to purſue his ſcheme, Somerſet found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament, as the only authority that could ſupport him againſt the machinations of his brother.

Previous, however, to the opening of the ſeſſion, he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and which he propoſed to lay before the houſe at the meeting of the parliament. The council were alarmed at this circumſtance, and ſeveral lords were deputed to diſſuade the admiral from purſuing a ſcheme which might involve the government in diſtreſs, and ultimately terminate in his own deſtruction. But he continued firm to his purpoſe, till the council threatened to deprive him of all his poſts, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the ſtatute which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the eſtabliſhed government. Theſe menaces awakened his attention: he ſaw the conſequences that might reſult from his diſobeying the council, and therefore thought proper to abandon his enterprize.

The reputation of the Protector was ſo greatly enhanced by the late victory over the Scots, that he now obtained a patent, appointing him to ſit on the throne, upon a ſtool or bench, on the right hand of the king, and to enjoy the ſame honours and privileges which had uſually been poſſeſſed by any princes of the blood, or uncles of the kings of England. Theſe honours were invidious to the old nobility, and created the duke many powerful enemies. But if the protector diſcovered his vanity and weakneſs in aſſuming ſo much ſtate and grandeur, he merited the higheſt applauſe on account of the laws, enacted thro' his influence in this ſeſſion of parliament; for by theſe the rigour of former ſtatutes was greatly mitigated, and ſome ſteps taken for ſecuring the liberties of the people. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the limits aſſigned it by the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third; together with all laws enacted during the late reign, for extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt the Lollards or heretics; and the bloody ſtatute of the Six Articles. Thus were ſome of the moſt ſevere laws ever enacted in England totally abrogated, and the people began to flatter themſelves with the hopes of enjoying ſome ſhare of religious and civil liberty.

Several laws were enacted, which greatly contributed to promote the Reformation. But the moſt remarkable bill paſſed by parliament was, that which gave the revenues of chauntries and colleges to the crown. The preamble to this ſtatute premiſes, that theſe funds ſhould be employed to good and godly uſes, in erecting grammar ſchools, in farther augmenting the revenus of the univerſities, and in making better proviſion for the poor and needy. But the rapacious courtiers had already, in their imaginations, devoured the prey; and it was not long before it was ſhared out among them. Cranmer, and ſeveral other prelates, were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the impropriation of tythes, and other methods of alienation, were already too much reduced. The primate, therefore, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, and was joined by the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter: but notwithſtanding this oppoſition, it was paſſed into a law. By this act no fewer than two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chauntries, colleges, and other religious foundations, fell to the crown.

A. D. 1548. In the beginning of this year the council made ſeveral alterations in the ceremonies of the church. Orders were iſſued that candles ſhould not be carried about on Candlemas-day, nor aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, nor palms on Palm-Sunday: that no images ſhould be ſuffered to remain in the churches, and that the people ſhould be at liberty to practiſe or lay aſide auricular confeſſion.

Theſe alterations were ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral of the catholic party. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was at the head of this oppoſition, and defended his opinions with great boldneſs before the council. He laid down his reaſons on which his oppoſition was founded with all the force of eloquence, and concluded his ſpeech in the following manner: "For my part, my ſole concern is to manage the third and laſt act of my life with decency, and to make a handſome exit off the ſtage. Provided this point is ſecured, I am not ſolicitous about the reſt. I am already, by nature, condemned to death: no man can give me a pardon from this ſentence, nor ſo much as procure me a reprieve. To ſpeak my mind freely, and to act as my conſcience directs me, are two branches of liberty I can never part with. Sincerity in ſpeech and integrity in action are entertaining qualities; they will ſtick by a man when every thing elſe takes its leave, and I muſt not reſign them upon any conſiderhtion. The beſt of it is, I do not throw them away myſelf, no man can force them from me; but if I give them up, then am I ruined by myſelf, and deſerve to loſe all my preferments." This oppoſition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was committed to the Tower; an act of ſeverity which intimidated the Popiſh party; and no farther oppoſition was made to the ordinances.

The Scots not having ſent commiſſioners to the conference appointed to be held at Berwick for a peace, the war was now renewed with that kingdom. Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury was ſent into Scotland to command the Engliſh forces, in the character of lieutenant-general. In the mean time the lord Grey of Wilton took and fortified Haddington, which made him maſter of the moſt fruitful part of Scotland, and from whence he made excurſions to the very gates of Edinburgh.

The Scots were in no condition to oppoſe the Engliſh till the month of June when they received ſuccours from France. The troops ſent by that monarch landed at Leith, and conſiſted of 6000 men, under the command of Deſſe. This revived the courage of the Scots, and they immediately reſolved on undertaking the ſiege of Haddington. But they were very unfit for this undertaking: even with the aſſiſtance of the French, they deſpaired of taking the place by aſſault, and depended entirely for ſucceſs on the hopes of ſtarving the garriſon. They, however, repulſed ſeveral ſallies made by the beſieged, and obliged them to keep cloſe within their fortifications.

During the ſiege of Haddington, the Scotch parliament were deliberating on the moſt proper method of preventing their young queen from falling into the hands of the Engliſh, as her marriage with Edward muſt be productive of an union between the two kingdoms. The earl of Huntley, who at firſt was diſpoſed to favour the propoſal of Somerſet, but had changed his opinion by the late violent meaſures purſued by the Engliſh, ſaid pleaſantly, "That he was not averſe to the match, but that he diſliked the manner in which the princeſs was courted." Several weighty reaſons were, however, urged, both for and againſt the marriage; but at laſt it was determined to ſend their young queen to France; and, what was underſtood to be the neceſſary conſequence, to marry her to the dauphin. She was accordingly embarked on board the French gallies, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage, arrived ſafely at Breſt; from whence ſhe was conducted to Paris, and ſoon after betrothed to the dauphin.

The Scots, who were ſtill continuing the ſiege of Haddington, had the good fortune to ſurpriſe and cut off a party ſent to its relief, under the command of Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Thomas Palmer. But on the approach of the earl of Shrewſbury, at the head of 20,000 men, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired with great precipitation. Shrewſbury, however, made no attempt to diſtreſs the enemy; he contented himſelf with reinforcing the garriſon, and leaving a large ſupply of proviſions and ammunition in the place; ſoon after which he returned to England.

While the war was thus carrying on in Scotland, the Protector was indefatigable in completing the Reformation. The public offices of the church were reviewed, a new catechiſm was publiſhed by Cranmer, and a new liturgy received by the convocation, tho' not without a long and ſtrenuous debate. The parliament met on the twenty-fourth of November, and confirmed all the orders of council iſſued for the reformation of religion. Prieſts were permitted to marry, though the preamble to the act paſſed for that purpoſe expreſsly declared, that it were better for the prieſts and miniſters of the church to live chaſte, and without marriage; and it were much to be wiſhed they would of themſelves abſtain. The new liturgy, drawn up by a ſelect committee of biſhops and divines, was confirmed, and ordered to be uſed in all churches in the kingdom. This liturgy was nearly the ſame with that at preſent uſed in the Church of England.

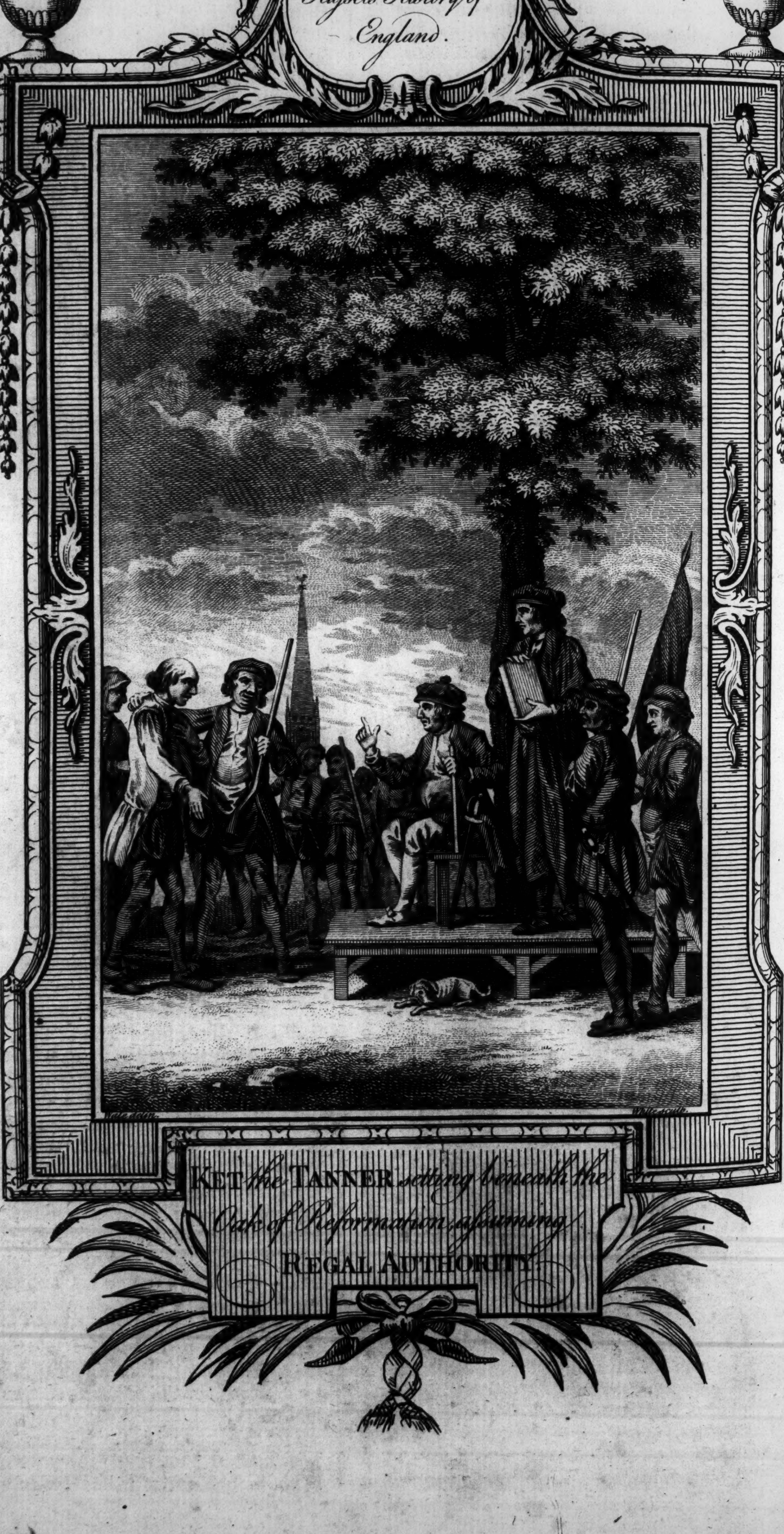
The attention of the Protector, however, was now diverted from promoting the progreſs of the Reformation. His brother had renewed his former practices, and carried them to a much greater length. The queen-dowager, his wife, had ſome time ſince died in child-bed; and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth, who was then in her ſixteenth year, and ſeems to have liſtened to the inſinuations of a man poſſeſſed of every talent proper to captivate the affections of the fair. But as Henry VIII. had excluded his daughters from the ſucceſſion, if they married without the conſent of his executors, which Seymour could never hope to obtain, it was concluded, that he propoſed to effect his purpoſe by expedients ſtill more raſh and more criminal. He endeavoured to ſeduce the young king and the courtiers into his intereſt; he inveighed openly againſt his brother's adminiſtration; and he drew to him a great number of partizans from all the claſſes of the people.

A. D. 1549. When the Protector firſt received intimation of his brother's proceedings, he attempted to bring him back to his duty and allegiance by gentle methods; but his attempts were in vain; he rejected every offer, and ſet his brother at defiance. Somerſet therefore laid the whole affair before the council; in conſequence of which a charge, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, was drawn up againſt him, and he was committed priſoner to the Tower.

A few days after his commitment commiſſioners were ſent to interrogate him, but he refuſed anſwering to a ſingle queſtion: he deſired that his trial might proceed in the legal method; that the witneſſes might be confronted with him, and that the heads of his accuſation ſhould be laid before him. Theſe demands however reaſonable in themſelves, were denied; the laws had long ſince yielded to force, and it was in vain to expect that the method of proceeding would now be altered. A bill of attainder was preferred againſt him, and paſſed without any material oppoſition

in

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Wale delin.

KET the TANNER setting beneath the Oak of Reformation aſsuming REGAL AUTHORITY.

in the Houſe of Lords. The Commons were more ſcrupulous: ſome of the members were averſe to the whole method of proceeding by bills of attainder paſſed in the abſence of the accuſed; and required that a formal trial ſhould be given to every man before his condemnation. This oppoſition alarmed the miniſtry. A meſſage was ſent from the king, requiring them to proceed; and offering, that the ſame narratives which had ſatisfied the lords ſhould be laid before them. This conceſſion produced the deſired effect; the bill paſſed in a very full houſe: near four hundred voted for it, and not above nine or ten againſt it. The royal aſſent was ſoon after given to the bill, and the admiral was beheaded on Tower-hill on the 20th of March. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was very undaunted; and he perſiſted, with his laſt breath, in declaring, that he had never committed, or intended to commit, any act of treaſon againſt the government.

The death of the admiral was followed by an almoſt univerſal commotion throughout the kingdom. During the laſt ſeſſion of parliament an act had paſſed the Houſe of Lords, for giving licence to every perſon to incloſe his own grounds, but had been thrown out by the Commons. Irritated at this oppoſition, the nobility determined to carry the project into execution, notwithſtanding their bill had proved abortive in parliament. This occaſioned an univerſal diſcontent among the lower claſs of people, who were perſuaded that a ſcheme was now formed for reducing them to an abſolute ſtate of ſlavery. Extreme indigence, to which they had been reduced by various cauſes, contributed to ſpread the flame of civil commotion into divers parts of the kingdom. The ſuppreſſion of the abbies and monaſteries, tho' doubtleſs of the utmoſt advantage to the nation in general, tended greatly to promote the oppreſſion of the poor and indigent. It not only deprived the idle of a reſource, but the peaſant and the farmer loſt a ſure market for the fruits of their labour. Beſides, the nobility, who were now become the owners of the church-lands, not only raiſed the rents of the farms, but alſo diſtreſſed the tenants by every method that avarice could invent. The woollen manufacture was carried to a great height in the Netherlands; and the large quantity of bullion imported from America, enabled the grandees of Spain to purchaſe the fineſt pieces of their cloth at very high prices. Hence the Engliſh wool found a ſure and advantageous market among the Flemings. The natural conſequence of this was, that the nobility turned their farms into paſture lands, and agriculture, which required the labours, and therefore afforded ſubſiſtence, to the huſbandmen, was neglected. Hence the tenants and labourers were conſidered as a burden; and a multitude of people were reduced to beggary. The poorer claſſes of men could neither maintain their cattle nor themſelves. What contributed ſtill farther to oppreſs them, was the adulteration of the coin, begun in the reign of Henry VIII. and continued by Somerſet to anſwer the neceſſities of the ſtate. In conſequence of this impolitic meaſure, the good coin was either hoarded up or exported; baſe metal only circulated, and the poor became unable to provide bread for their families. An alarming ſtagnation of commerce took place, and the loudeſt complaints reſounded from every part of England.

The Protector, dreading the conſequences of this univerſal diſcontent, exerted himſelf to quiet the minds of the people. He publiſhed a pardon, even after the inſurgents had committed overt-acts of rebellion, and appointed commiſſioners to enquire into and redreſs their grievances. In conſequence of this, many of the incloſures were thrown down, and the nobility were exaſperated againſt the Protector, while the people received very little mitigation of their ſufferings. The evil was of too complicated a nature to be eaſily redreſſed. The inhabitants of almoſt every county of England gave indications of their being ready to take up arms, and procure by open violence the neceſſaries of life, which they could not obtain by their labour.

Inſurrections were now raiſed in almoſt every county in the kingdom; but thoſe which threatened the moſt fatal conſequences were in the counties of Devon and Norfolk. In the former the diſturbances were raiſed by a prieſt of Stamford-Courtney, who had the addreſs to give them a religious turn, which fed the flame of diſcontent. The artful change of the ſubject, from temporal to religious objects, increaſed the number of the inſurgents, and many of the gentry, particularly Humphry Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount, joined the populace. They were ſoon formed into a kind of regular army, amounting to near 10,000 men. Lord Ruſſel, who commanded a ſmall body of forces in Devonſhire, being unable to meet the rebels in the field, had recourſe to negotiation. But they inſiſted on the moſt extravagant articles, declaring that they would never lay down their arms till they were granted. They demanded, that all the general councils and antient canons of the church ſhould be obſerved: that the law of the ſix articles ſhould be executed: that the maſs ſhould be ſaid in Latin, and the prieſt alone receive the euchariſt: that the hoſt ſhould be elevated and worſhipped, and that thoſe who refuſed to perform that adoration ſhould ſuffer as heretics: that the ſacrament ſhould be only adminiſtered to the people at Eaſter, in one kind: that baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered at all times, and at any ſeaſons: that holy bread, holy water, and palms, ſhould again be uſed, and all the images reſtored, together with all the antient ceremonies: that the new liturgy ſhould be laid aſide, and both the old offices and the proceſſions, be reſtored: that all preachers before their ſermons, and prieſts in their celebrating maſs, ſhould pray for the ſouls in purgatory: and that the people ſhould be forbid to read the bible.

When lord Ruſſel informed the regency of theſe demands, they received them with that contempt they deſerved; and as ſoon as the rebels found they were rejected, they determined to have recourſe to arms, in order to force a compliance from the government. Accordingly, they marched directly to Exeter, carrying before them croſſes, banners, holy water, candleſticks, and other implements of the antient ſuperſtition; together with the hoſt, placed on a canopy. The ſiege of the city was formed on the ſecond of July; but as the rebels were wholly deſtitute of cannon, they were repulſed in every attempt to take the place by ſtorm. The citizens were, however, ſoon reduced to extremity; but they held out till they were relieved. The lord Grey having joined the lord Ruſſel with a conſiderable body of forces, they advanced againſt the rebels, who were totally routed. Many of the inſurgents were executed by martial law. Arundel, and the other leaders were ſent to London, where they ſuffered for their crimes. The prieſt of Stamford-Courtney was hanged on the top of a tower, adjoining to his own houſe, dreſſed in the popiſh robes of his order, and a chaplet of beads ſuſpended at his girdle.

The inſurrection in Norfolk, (inſtead of decreaſing, as might have been ſuppoſed from the defeat of the weſtern inſurgents) became ſtill more violent. The rebels were headed by one Ket, a Tanner, who exerciſed his authority with the utmoſt inſolence and outrage. They were exceeding numerous, and increaſed ſo faſt daily, that their number amounted to at leaſt 20,000. Intoxicated with power, Ket made the moſt exorbitant pretenſions. He demanded that the gentry ſhould be ſuppreſſed; that new counſellors ſhould be placed about the king; and that the antient rights of religion ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed. Theſe demands being rejected, the inſurgents marched to Norwich, and took poſt at Mouſhold-hill, which commands the city, where they erected a caſtle, and fortifications, ſome remains of which are ſtill extant. Their leader, Ket, affecting great auſterity and regularity of conduct, held a court of judicature under a great oak (called, on this occaſion, the Tree of Reformation) on the top of the hill, forcing the neighbouring gentry to obey his lawleſs ordinances, and committing a thouſand enormities under pretence of redreſſing the grievances of the people.

The protector firſt endeavoured to heal theſe diſorders by lenient methods; but the rebels having refuſed, with the moſt provoking inſolence, a pardon which was offered them, it was determined to reduce them by force. The marquis of Northampton was accordingly ſent againſt them, with about a thouſand Engliſh infantry, and a body of Italian horſe. But that nobleman advancing to Norwich, contrary to his orders, his forces were routed with the loſs of about an hundred men killed and forty taken priſoners, among the former of whom was John lord Sheffield. This defeat alarmed the government, and the king propoſed to ſend Somerſet at the head of a powerful army, in order to cruſh the rebels before they increaſed to a more formidable number. The protector, however, who affected popularity, choſe not to appear in perſon againſt the rebels; but diſpatched the earl of Warwick, at the head of ſix thouſand men levied for carrying on the war againſt Scotland. Warwick marched with the utmoſt expedition, and came up with the inſurgents at Duſſingale. A bloody engagement enſued, in which the rebels were totally defeated, and above two thouſand of them ſlain on the ſpot. Ket was hanged on the walls of Norwich-caſtle, his brother on the top of Wymondham ſteeple, and nine of his principal followers on the boughs of the oak of reformation.

The defeat of the Norfolk rebels intimidated thoſe of Yorkſhire, where a conſiderable party were already in arms. The ſucceſs of Ket had animated them to purſue the ſame meaſures for obtaining redreſs of their grievances. They aſſembled at Semor in the North Riding, and committed ſeveral outrages; but the victorious Warwick, after ſuppreſſing the Norfolk rebellion, marched againſt and quickly defeated them. Two of their principal ring-leaders being taken were hanged at York; and as a general pardon was offered to the reſt, they laid down their arms, and quietly diſperſed.

Notwithſtanding theſe rebellions were thus happily ſuppreſſed yet they proved of great prejudice to the king's affairs, not only in Scotland but on the continent. The forces deſtined for Scotland were detained in England; and M. de Thermes landing there with freſh ſuccours from France, gave great aſſiſtance to the Scots. He took the caſtle of Boughtry, and put the whole garriſon to the ſword. Haddington, however, held out againſt all his efforts, and it was determined to reduce the place by famine. But this was not eaſily effected, ſupplies were continually thrown into the place during the ſummer, ſo that all his efforts proved abortive. At laſt winter effected what his whole power could not perform. The inclemency of the weather was an obſtacle not to be ſurmounted by the Engliſh. The earl of Rutland, warden of the Eaſt Marches, received orders to diſmantle the place. He accordingly marched thither at the head of a ſtrong body of forces, demoliſhed the fortifications and brought off the garriſon.

Theſe were far from being the worſt inconveniencies that aroſe in conſequence of the late diſturbances at home. The French monarch, encouraged by the inteſtine troubles of England, made an effort to execute his favourite ſcheme of recovering Boulogne. The Engliſh court had for ſome time been apprehenſive that he had formed that deſign, and ſent over ſecretary Paget to the court of Charles V. in order to conclude an alliance with that powerful monarch. But Charles having formed a deſign of extending his dominions by acting the part of a champion for the catholic religion, liſtened not to the advances made by the Engliſh for entering into a ſtrict confederacy. In the mean time Henry II. entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of a numerous army, took ſeveral caſtles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a deſcent on the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; but a ſquadron of the Engliſh ſhips being immediately fitted out, fell upon the enemy, and drove them from the iſlands with the loſs of above a thouſand men.

Somerſet, finding himſelf diſappointed in his wiſhed-for alliance with the emperor, was deſirous of concluding a peace with France and Scotland; eſpecially as he was in no condition to ſupport the neceſſary expences, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attended miniſters in demanding and raiſing new ſubſidies: at the ſame time, he was anxious for completing the great work of the reformation ſo ſucceſsfully begun. He therefore determined to ſacrifice Boulogne, in order to gain the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Henry. But when he propoſed the reſtitution of that place in the council, he met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition from his enemies; who knowing he was in no condition to carry on the war, were determined, for that very reaſon, to oppoſe every meaſure that had any tendency to procure a pacification, and to embrace the firſt opportunity that offered for depriving him of his dignity.

Somerſet was particularly expoſed to danger from the great authority he enjoyed above the reſt of the nobility. The haughtineſs of his carriage, his ambition, the contempt he expreſſed for all thoſe who refuſed to be directed by his ſentiments, joined to the conſideration of his limited and inferior capacity, irritated daily the diſcontented nobles. Warwick, the moſt powerful, and therefore the moſt dangerous of his enemies, formed a very ſtrong party againſt him. He had provoked the nobility and gentry by the preference he had ſhewn the people with regard to the incloſures, and the commotions that followed: they even dreaded a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his preſent affectation of popularity. He had created a court of requeſts in his own houſe for the poorer claſs of the people, and readily embraced every meaſure calculated to promote their intereſt and ſafety.

But though Somerſet courted the affections of the people, his power was not conſiderable: the popiſh party, which ſtill formed a principal part of the illiterate commonalty, were his inveterate enemies, and readily embraced every opportunity to condemn his conduct. All his actions were miſrepreſented; he was reproached with the execution of his own brother; a crime ſo unnatural in the eyes of mankind in general, that he was repreſented as a monſter rather than an human being. Add to this the great parade he made of his wealth in erecting that magnificent palace in the Strand, called from him Somerſet-houſe. The pariſh church of St. Mary, and three biſhops houſes were pulled down, to furniſh ground and materials for this ſtructure. Nor was he contented with that piece of ſacrilege; he made an attempt to demoliſh St. Margaret's Weſtminſter, in order to employ ſtones to the ſame purpoſe; but the pariſhioner roſe upon the workmen, drove them from the church and threatened to put them to death if they made a ſecond attempt. But Somerſet was not intimidated at this repulſe. He ſeized a chapel, together with a cloiſter and charnel-houſe belonging to it in St. Paul's church-yard, and alſo the church of St. John of Jeruſalem; and with theſe materials his palace was raiſed.*

The enemies of Somerſet now thought they had ſufficient accuſations to form articles of impeachment againſt him. Accordingly, the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counſellors, met, on Sunday the 6th of October, at Ely-houſe, where the earl of Warwick reſided; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, ſent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; and after arraigning the protector's conduct, and charging him with the moſt enormous crimes, commanded them to obey no orders but ſuch as were iſſued by themſelves. The next day the lord-chancellor, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, Sir Thomas Cheny, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief-juſtice Montague, joined the malecontent counſellors, and every thing ſeemed to threaten a final period to the diſtinguiſhed authority of the protector.

Intimidated at theſe appearances, the protector removed the king from Hampton-court to Windſor-caſtle; and arming his friends and ſervants, ſeemed determined to defend himſelf againſt his enemies. But finding that Cranmer and Paget were the only perſons of rank that adhered to him, that he was abandoned by his partiſans, and that the people did not ſeem to intereſt themſelves in his favour, he loſt all hopes of ſucceſs, and offered to ſubmit to the deciſions of the council, provided they would promiſe to treat him with candour. This, indeed, was agreed to; but he was nevertheleſs, ſent to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and adherents; among whom was Cecil, afterwards ſo famous in the reign of queen Elizabeth. On the fourteenth of October, he was brought before the council, and articles of accuſation exhibited againſt him, of which the following were the chief: That he had not obſerved the conditions on which he had been made protector: that he had treated with ambaſſadors, without notifying it to the council; and had, by his own authority, diſpoſed of governments and biſhoprics: that he had held a court of requeſts in his own houſe: that he had debaſed the coin: that he had iſſued proclamations in the affair of incloſures, contrary to the opinion of the whole council: that he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late inſurrections; but had, on the contrary, ſupported and encouraged them: that he had occaſioned the loſs of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furniſh them with proviſions and ammuniton: that he had endeavoured to inſtil into the king a bad opinion of his counſellors, by perſuading him they intended to deſtroy him: that he had cauſed the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors; and that he had maliciouſly not only put the king in great fear by carrying him ſo ſuddenly to Windſor, but had alſo been the means of throwing him into a moſt violent diſeaſe, to the great danger of his life.

As the duke had not been apprized of the nature of the articles intended to be exhibited againſt him, he was not prepared to give his anſwer, and was therefore remanded back to the Tower. The marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, the lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth, were appointed governors of the king's perſon, and the principal adminiſtration of the government entruſted with the earl of Warwick, but without any title that might give him the leaſt authority over the other counſellors. A revocation of the protector's power was alſo publiſhed under the great ſeal.

But all the arts of Warwick could not perſuade the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing intentionally bad, either againſt the king or the conſtitution of his country: they indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed intereſt of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs; and therefore willingly engaged in meaſures for removing him from the ſeat of power, as well as for excluding him from ever regaining it for the future.

The fall of the duke of Somerſet gave freſh ſpirits to the Roman Catholic party, who aſcribed all the late innovations to his councils. They flattered themſelves that Warwick, who was always conſidered as a friend to the Romiſh religion, would reſtore the ancient faith and mode of worſhip; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken. Warwick always made religion ſubſervient to his intereſt; and knowing that the king had imbibed a ſtrong attachment to the Proteſtant doctrines, he was reſolved not to oppoſe his inclinations, nor forfeit his own power by purſuing any violent meaſures. He accordingly declared his intention to promote the Reformation; and ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the meaſures of Southampton, who was conſidered as the head of the Catholics, that he retired from court in diſguſt, and ſoon after died of vexation. Several other changes were alſo made in the council; but they all tended to convince the Romaniſts, that they had nothing to expect from their having been inſtrumental in the fall of the duke of Somerſet. The earl of Warwick was made lord-high-admiral of England; the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltſhire, and made treaſurer, in the room of the duke of Somerſet; Wootton was made ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Smith; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth was made maſter of the king's houſhold.

The diſgraced Somerſet was now prevailed upon to confeſs, on his knees, before the council, all the articles of the charge exhibited againſt him; a ſubmiſſion that made him contemptible in the eyes of the nation. The parliament deprived him of all his offices, and condemned him in a large fine. But Warwick thinking he had now ſufficiently humbled the haughty Somerſet, and that his abject behaviour had effectually deſtroyed the ſmall remains of his authority, re-admitted him into the council.

---

* After Somerſet's death this palace fell to the crown; and re Anne of Denmark, queen to king James I. kept her court, ence, during that reign, it was called Denmark-houſe; but it n after recovered the name of the founder. It was afterwards reſidence of queen Catharine, dowager of Charles II. and, an act paſſed in the ſecond year of the reign of his preſent jeſty, it was ſettled upon the preſent queen for life.

This palace conſiſted of ſeveral courts, and had a garden be- d it ſituated on the bank of the Thames. The front next the rand was adorned with columns and other decorations, and in center was a handſome gate that opened into a quadrangle. the ſouth ſide of this quadrangle was a piazza, before the at hall or guard-room; beyond which were other courts that on a deſcent towards the garden. The back front next the Thames was added to it by king Charles II. and was a magnificent ſtructure of free-ſtone, with a noble piazza built by Inigo Jones. In this new building were the royal apartments, which commanded a beautiful proſpect of the river, and the adjacent country. The garden was ornamented with ſtatues, ſhady walks and a bowling-green: but as none of the royal family had reſided there after queen Catharine, dowager of Charles II. ſeveral of the officers belonging to the crown were permitted to lodge in it; and a great part of it was for ſome time uſed as barracks for ſoldiers.

This palace has been lately taken down, and on its ſcite are now erecting ſeveral elegant buildings, the principal of which are intended as public offices for the uſe of government.

A. D. 1550. Notwithſtanding Warwick and his party had made ſuch grievous complaints againſt the late protector, with regard to his conduct in foreign affairs, they ſoon found themſelves involved in the ſame difficulties. The wars with France and Scotland, which could not be ſupported by an exhauſted exchequer, appeared dangerous to a divided and diſcontented nation; eſpecially as there was now no object worth contending for. Ambaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to the French court; but Henry abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predeceſſors had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of penſions, declaring that he would never conſent to be a tributary prince to any power. He, however, offered a ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne, and four hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt agreed upon, one half to be paid immediately, and the other in Auguſt following. Six hoſtages were given for the performance of this article. Scotland was alſo included in the treaty; the Engliſh, ſtipulating to reſtore Lauder and Douglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Eymouth and Roxburgh.

Though great rejoicings were made, by order of government, on account of this peace, yet it was far from being agreeable to the nation. The reſtitution of Boulogne, which had been conſidered as ſo great a crime even to have propoſed it, in the duke of Somerſet, opened the eyes of the people: they were now convinced, that the ambition of the courtiers, not any regard for the glory of the king and the welfare of the nation, had raiſed the ſtorm that had ſwept Somerſet from the ſeat of power. The murmurs became general, and ſoon reached the ears of the aſpiring Warwick, who, to divert the public attention, and prevent their reſentment from proving fatal to the adminiſtration, undertook the popular office of enquiring into certain miſdemeanors of thoſe who had been intruſted with the management of the public money, ſome of whom were ſeverely puniſhed. He alſo thought it neceſſary to make all the friends and well-wiſhers of the duke of Somerſet eaſy, rather than to provoke them: the lord Ruſſel was made earl of Bedford; Cecil had a promiſe of being made ſecretary of ſtate; and as a mark of ſincere reconciliation to Somerſet, the lord Liſle (Warwick's ſon) was contracted to a daughter of the duke's; and ſeveral of that nobleman's friends who had been impriſoned on his account were diſcharged upon their own recognizances.

A. D. 1551. Warwick, who had already declared his deſign of completing the reformation, now began to carry his promiſe into execution. Several biſhops, though they had extended their complaiſance very far with regard to the meaſures of the court, were ſtill friends to the tenets of the Roman church, and it was now determined to ſeize their revenues. The proſecution was begun with the famous Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who, in ſeveral inſtances, had rendered himſelf obnoxious to the adminiſtration. He was required to acknowledge his former miſbehaviour, and confeſs the juſtneſs of his confinement; to own that the king was ſupreme head of the church; that the power of making and diſpenſing with holidays was part of the prerogative; that the common-prayer-book was a godly and commendable form; that the king was a complete ſovereign in his minority; that the ſtatute of the ſix articles was juſtly repealed; and that the king had full authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. The biſhop ſaid he was ready to ſubſcribe to all theſe articles except the firſt. He maintained, that his conduct had always been innoffenſive; and declared he would never hold himſelf guilty of faults he had not committed. But the council, who never intended to accept of any acknowledgment, multiplied the articles in proportion to his ſubmiſſion. At laſt, the prelate, from a dread of totally diſhonouring his former conduct by mean compliances, determined to act with vigour. He refuſed to ſubſcribe any articles they might preſent to him; and was therefore depoſed from his ſee by a commiſſion appointed for that purpoſe. He was likewiſe committed cloſe priſoner; his books and papers were taken from him; he was denied all company; nor was he permitted either to ſend or receive any letters or meſſages. Several other biſhops, much leſs ſuſpected and obnoxious than Gardiner, were alſo deprived of their ſees; particularly the biſhops of Chicheſter, Worceſter and Exeter; and thoſe of Landaff, Saliſbury and Coventry, were obliged to ſacrifice the greater part of their revenues to the rapacity of the courtiers.

Nor were theſe plunderers of the church contented with the revenues of the prieſthood; they extended their rapacity to objects of much ſmaller importance. The council iſſued an order for purging the libraries of all ſuperſtitious books, and all that were plated with gold and ſilver were condemned for their ornaments. If they were books of literature, they were deſtroyed, as uſeleſs; if of mathematics, geometry, or aſtronomy, they were ſuppoſed to be infected with magic. The libraries of Oxford ſuffered the utmoſt outrage; nor had the univerſity power to oppoſe theſe barbarous violences; they even feared that their revenues would attract the rapacity of the earl of Warwick.

The princeſs Mary herſelf was expoſed to th utmoſt danger: ſhe was required to change her religion, or at leaſt to read St. Auguſtin and the ancient fathers, who would convince her of the error of popery. But Mary was inſenſible to all theſe remonſtrances. She was, however, alarmed for he own ſafety, and formed a plan for making her eſcape to the court of Charles V. but her deſign wa diſcovered, and prevented. The emperor, however made ſtrong repreſentations in her behalf: he eve threatened to commence hoſtilities, if liberty of conſcience was refuſed her. His remonſtrances had th deſired effect: is was not thought adviſeable to plung the nation into a war on ſo ſlight an occaſion; an Edward, who had imbibed the utmoſt deteſtation fo the idolatrous worſhip of the catholics, lamented wit tears the obſtinacy of his ſiſter, and his own misfortune in being obliged to tolerate her errors.

In the mean time the ambition of Warwick wa arrived at the moſt exorbitant height. Not contente with the emoluments he had already acquired, he extended his pretenſions much farther, and had gaine over to his intereſt a very formidable party, wh were determined to facilitate all his ambitions ente prizes. The late earl of Northumberland died wit out iſſue, and his brother Sir Thomas Piercy havin been attainted on account of the ſhare he had in th Yorkſhire inſurrection, the title became extinct, a the eſtate was veſted in the crown. This was too ri a prize to be neglected by the ambitious Warwic he procured from the king a grant of thoſe amp poſſeſſions, and was dignified with the title of du of Northumberland. His friend Paulet St. Jo earl of Wiltſhire and and lord-high treaſurer, w created marquis of Wincheſter, Sir William Herbe earl of Pembroke; and William Cecil was made cretary of ſtate.—By Warwick's thus forming projects for the advancement of his family ſo early, appears that he had ſome reaſon to think, that the of the king would be but of ſhort duration.

But ſtill Northumberland was far from being ſatisfied: he conſidered all increaſe of titles or poſſeſſions, either to himſelf or his adherents, only as ſteps to farther acquiſitions; and perceiving the duke of Somerſet (though deprived of his dignity) ſtill preſerved a conſiderable degree of popularity, he determined to ruin a man, whom he conſidered as the chief obſtacle to his ambitious projects. He began his infamous deſign by alienating the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he repreſented as a very dangerous ſubject: he ſpread a report, that Somerſet had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king in ſeveral counties, and that he was preparing an armed force to make himſelf maſter of his majeſty's perſon. At the ſame time he continually offered him freſh inſults, in order to provoke him to commit imprudent actions; and had gained over many of the friends and ſervants of that unfortunate nobleman to his intereſt. Thus provoked, the unguarded Somerſet let fall ſome menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland, and his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every paſſionate word that dropped from him; they even revealed the ſchemes which they themſelves ſuggeſted. The king was informed of theſe pretended diſcoveries, and by too readily believing the ſlanderous tales, he abandoned his uncle, and conſented to his being put under arreſt.

Accordingly, on the 17th of October, at night, the duke of Somerſet, the lord Gray, David and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's ſervants, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were all apprehended at the ſame time, and committed to priſon. The next day the ducheſs of Somerſet, with her two favourites, Crane and his wife, Sir Miles Patridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Baniſter, and others, were taken into cuſtody. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had acted as a ſpy upon the duke's actions, charged him with having formed a deſign "to excite a rebellion in the north; to attack the horſe-guards on a muſter-day; to take poſſeſſion of the Tower; and to raiſe an inſurrection in London." But the only accuſation that ſeemed to have ſome truth for its foundation was, that he had formed a deſign to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, at an entertainment that was to be made for them at lord Paget's. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to the laſt ſcheme; and Hammond confeſſed that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

On the firſt of December the duke was brought to his trial at Weſtminſter-hall, the marquis of Wincheſter preſiding as high-ſteward on the occaſion. He denied the charge, and demanded to be confronted by his accuſers; but this requeſt, however equitable, was refuſed, and the court proceeded to the trial. The depoſitions of the witneſſes, as given before the privy-council, were delivered in to the jury, but they were neither produced in court, nor confronted by the priſoner. The duke's defence, however, was ſo ſatisfactory with regard to the treaſonable part of the charge, that the peers gave a verdict in his favour; but they found him guilty of the other part of the charge, purſuant to a ſtatute paſſed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felony for any perſon to form a deſign of killing a privy-counſellor; in conſequence of which he received ſentence of death.

A. D. 1552. From the time this unfortunate nobleman received his woeful ſentence, his behaviour was calm, reſigned, and unaffected; and he chiefly employed himſelf in reading and compoſing exerciſes of devotion. He made a decent application to the king in favour of his wife and family, and on the twenty-ſecond of January he was carried to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, where he was to ſuffer. He was attended on this melancholy occaſion by Dr. Cox; and after performing ſome devotions, he addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the people, in which he declared his innocence with regard to the king, and his fidelity to his country: he ſubmitted to his ſentence, becauſe awarded by the law: he profeſſed his zeal and affection for the proteſtant religion, and a ſincere ſatisfaction in what he had done to promote it. He expreſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon of the king; he exhorted the people to pay both him and the council the moſt implicit obedience: declared he died in peace with all mankind; aſked pardon of all whom he had offended; and requeſted the prayers of all preſent. On finiſhing his ſpeech, he adjuſted himſelf with the utmoſt calmneſs on the block, where he received the blow which put a period to his exiſtence.

When the fatal ſtroke was given, a dreadful groan univerſally iſſued from the ſpectators, many of whom ruſhed in and dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they preſerved as a precious relic; and ſeveral of them, when Northumberland, ſome time after, met a ſimilar fate, upbraided him with his cruelty, and diſplayed before his eyes theſe ſymbols of his crime.

Thus fell the great duke of Somerſet, an eminent inſtance how incapable the beſt intentions, not tempered with caution and modeſty, are to ward off the blows which deſtructive ambition aims at virtuous greatneſs. He was an honeſt, but not amiable man; he had courage, but not reſolution; honour, but not ſpirit. In power he was too over-bearing; out of power always repining, though retirement would have been his poſt of honour, as well as his only ſource of happineſs. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life. Fortune had made him too great and too little for a conſpicuous ſtation. His abilities could not ſecure the honours which his virtue deſerved, while his virtue could not conquer the diſgraces his ſpirit was forced to ſuffer. He lived the darling of a people who could not aſſiſt him in his diſtreſs; he fell a victim to a faction whom he had deſpiſed in his greatneſs. But with all his faults and failings, religion has ſince ſeen few friends ſo ſincere, and England fewer patriots ſo honeſt as the duke of Somerſet.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old ſoldier, and Sir Miles Patridge were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded, as the duke's confederates; but ſtrenuouſly denied, in their laſt moments, the crime for which they ſuffered. Lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Somerſet, was deprived of his office, and condemned to pay a fine of ſix thouſand pounds; and lord Rich, lord high chancellor, was alſo deprived of the ſeals, for having ſent a letter to Somerſet, informing him of the deſigns of the council.

The day after the execution of Somerſet, the king convoked a parliament, in which ſeveral bills were paſſed both of a civil and religious nature; but the moſt remarkable was one relative to the crime of treaſon; to which the Commons annexed a clauſe of infinitely more conſequence than the bill itſelf. It was declared, "That none ſhould be attainted of treaſon on this act, unleſs two witneſſes ſhould come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except ſuch as ſhould make a voluntary confeſſion; and that none ſhould be queſtioned for any thing ſaid or written againſt the king or government, but within three months after it was done." This equitable and conſtitutional clauſe was ſtrongly oppoſed by all Northumberland's faction, as it totally condemned their late proceedings in the caſe of the unfortunate duke of Somerſet; but notwithſtanding all their arts, it paſſed both houſes, and has ever ſince remained one of the chief bulwarks of Engliſh liberty.

The ambitious Northumberland had for ſome time formed a deſign of ruining Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, and appropriating to himſelf the ample revenues of that ſee. Accordingly, during this ſeſſion, a bill of attainder was brought into the Houſe of Lords againſt that prelate, (on pretence of his having concealed a conſpiracy againſt the king) where it paſſed with two diſſenting voices, Cranmer and lord Stourton. But when the bill was ſent down to the Commons, they inſiſted that witneſſes ſhould be examined, in order to prove the charge againſt him; that the biſhop ſhould be confronted with his accuſers, and be permitted to ſpeak in his own defence. Theſe equitable demands were refuſed, and the Commons nobly exerted the power with which they were entruſted, by throwing out the bill. This oppoſition of the Commons ſo enraged Northumberland, that he immediately diſſolved the parliament, and ſummoned another to meet in the beginning of the enſuing year.

In the mean time he continued to wreak his vengeance on the adherents of the late duke of Somerſet. He commenced a rigorous inquiſition about the lands formerly appertaining to the chauntries, which had been given away during the adminiſtration of that nobleman; and ſome of the new proprietors were condemned in heavy fines, while others appeaſed him with large ſums of money.

A. D. 1553. Northumberland exerted himſelf with ſo much induſtry and ſucceſs, and employed ſo many corrupt and unjuſtifiable methods in the election of members, that when the new parliament met, he found the Commons totally obſequious to his will; and that there was no likelihood of any oppoſition being made to whatever meaſures he ſhould adopt.

Tonſtal had, during the receſs of parliament, been depoſed by lay commiſſioners, and the ſentence was now confirmed by that aſſembly, who divided the ſee of Durham into two biſhoprics; but the dignity of earl Palatine was veſted in the king, who gave it to Northumberland. Having thus accompliſhed his deſigns with this tool of a parliament, during the ſeſſion of a month, Northumberland cauſed it to be prorogued, and applied himſelf to other meaſures for the gratification of his towering ambition.

During the ſpring of the preceding year, Edward had been ſeized with the meaſles, and afterwards with the ſmall-pox, but paſſed through both without any dangerous ſymptoms, and his health had ſome time been fully re-eſtabliſhed, when he was ſeized with a cough, which brought on a conſumption. It was, however, hoped, that his youth, the approach of ſpring, and the medicines adminiſtered by his phyſicians, would, by degrees, get the better of his diſorder; but it proved of too malignant a nature for the power of medicine to eradicate.

The duke now thought it neceſſary to ſet about the deſign he had formed of placing his own family on the throne of England. He therefore ſuffered no one to approach the royal perſon except thoſe who were ſtrongly attached to his intereſt. At the ſame time he affected the moſt anxious concern for the young monarch's health and recovery; and, by theſe hypocritical expreſſions of duty, ſoon gained the firſt place in the affections and confidence of his ſovereign.

Having thus far ſucceeded, Northumberland's next ſtep was, to prevail upon the king to alter the ſucceſſion. Edward, who was ſincerely attached to the Proteſtant religion, had often expreſſed his dread of the fatal conſequences that would inevitably attend its profeſſors if ſo bigotted a catholic as his ſiſter Mary ſhould ever aſcend the throne. Northumberland improved theſe melancholy reflections, and artfully inſinuated, that the only method of averting thoſe dreadful misfortunes from the profeſſors of the new religion conſiſted in changing the ſucceſſion. He added, that the king poſſeſſed the ſame power with his father, and might therefore transfer the crown from the princeſs Mary to the lady Jane Gray, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and grand-daughter to Mary queen of France, ſiſter to Henry VIII*. He obſerved, at the ſame time, that the princeſs Elizabeth muſt inevitably ſhare the fate of her ſiſter; becauſe the only pretence they could uſe againſt Mary was her illegitimacy, which equally affected Elizabeth, the marriages both of Catharine and Anne having been declared unlawful by the parliament.

Edward, whoſe prevailing paſſion was the intereſt of the reformed religion, liſtened with great attention to this expedient. He knew the lady Jane to be a perſon equally diſtinguiſhed for the accompliſhments of her mind and perſon; ſtrongly attached to the reformed religion, a friend to virtue, and a lover of her country. He therefore acquieſced with the duke's propoſal, and promiſed to leave the crown to that accompliſhed princeſs.

Northumberland, in order effectually to accompliſh his deſign, now perſuaded the duke of Suffolk to give his daughter the lady Jane Gray in marriage to his fourth ſon, the lord Guildford Dudley. Suffolk readily agreed to the offered alliance; and the nuptials were accordingly ſolemnized. This being effected, Northumberland determined to ſtrengthen his intereſt by other marriages, and accordingly brough about a match between the lady Catherine Gray (ſecond daughter to the duke of Suffolk) and the lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke and beſtowed his only daughter Catharine upon lor Haſtings, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Huntingdon.

The only matter that now remained was, to obtai the execution of the change which Edward had determined to make in the ſucceſſion. Accordingly, o the 11th of June, Sir Edward Montague, chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker and Si Thomas Bromley, attorney and ſolicitor-general, attended the council, in obedience to a ſummons they had received for that purpoſe, when Edward gav them the minutes of an intended deed for altering th ſucceſſion, with orders to draw them up in the form of a patent. They at firſt refuſed complying wit the king's orders; but being wrought on by th threats and promiſes of the powerful duke, they a length obeyed; the patent was drawn up, an ſigned by all the judges, except Sir James Hale who, though a ſincere friend to the reformation, obſtinately refuſed to put his name to the inſtrument.

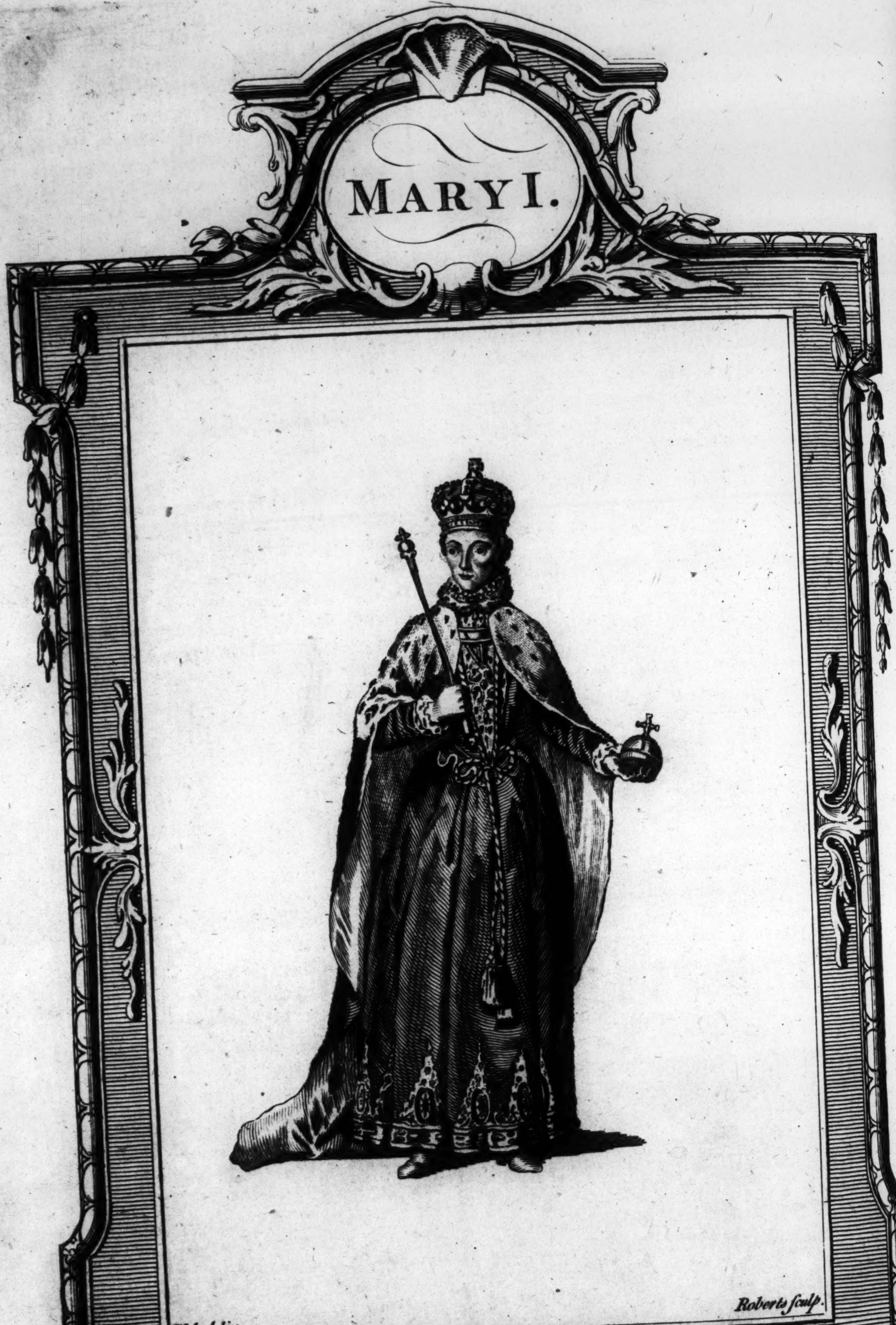
The king's health now viſibly declined every day and all hopes of his recovery vaniſhed. The peopl had not ſcrupled, for ſome time, to impute his diſorder to the practices of Northumberland; and an incident which now happened tended to confirm them i their opinion. His phyſicians were all diſcharged by a

orde

---

* It is here neceſſary to obſerve, that on the death of the late duke of Suffolk, which happened in 1551, the title became extinct in the family of Brandon. And the duke of Northumberland (at that time earl of Warwick) having formed a deſign upon the crown in favour of his own family, cauſed Henry Gray, marquis of Dorſet (who had married Frances Brandon, one of the daughters of the deceaſed duke) to be created duke of Suffol His ſcheme was, to effect a match between one of his ſons and t eldeſt daughter of the ſaid Henry Gray by Frances Brandon, wh in the order of ſucceſſion, held the next place to the two daug ters of the late king, whom he meant to exclude from the thro of England.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



MARY I.

Wale delin.
Roberts sculp.

order of council procured by Northumberland, and the king committed to the care of an ignorant old woman, who engaged, by the help of her noſtrums, to reſtore him, in a ſhort time, to his former health and vigour. But experience ſoon expoſed the falſehood of her pretenſions; for after uſing her medicines only a few days, all the alarming ſymptoms increaſed to the moſt violent degree: he felt a difficulty of ſpeech and breathing; his pulſe became feeble, his legs ſwelled, and his colour changed livid: indications that ſhewed too plainly he could not be long an inhabitant of this world. But his pious diſpoſition, and his benevolent turn of mind, never left him. He prayed, with his lateſt breath, for the peace and happineſs of England; and expired at Greenwich on the 6th of July, in the Sixteenth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign.

This young prince poſſeſſed all the qualities, both natural and acquired, that could attract the admiration of the world, or recommend him to the affection of his ſubjects. His perſon was elegant, his diſpoſition affable and humane, and his mind cultivated by extenſive learning. Though only ſixteen years of age, he is ſaid to have been verſed in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages, together with the ſciences of logic, muſic and natural philoſophy. Notwithſtanding theſe amiable accompliſhments, a youth of his tender years can hardly be ſaid to have had any public character, as every part of his political conduct was influenced by thoſe who happened to be at the head of the council, both of whom were devoted, not to the ſervice of their country, but their ſordid ſelves.

Had his life been protracted, his regal conduct would, in all probability, have redounded to his own honour, and the happineſs of his ſubjects: with juſtice, therefore, might they lament, that ſo fair a ſun ſhould ſet before it reached its meridian glory.

Edward, a ſhort time before his death, founded and inſtituted Chriſt's Hoſpital for the maintenance and education of a certain number of orphan children deſcended from freemen of the city of London; which is a ſtanding memento of his benevolence, as well as an eſtabliſhment of infinite benefit to ſociety. He alſo gave the old palace of Bridewell to the city for the lodging of poor way-faring people, the correction of vagabonds and diſorderly perſons, and for finding them work.

The remains of Edward were depoſited in the chapel of St. Peter's church, Weſtminſter, near the body of Henry VII. his grand-father, with great funeral pomp, and the unfeigned lamentations of an affectionate people.

The only remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were the following:

In his fourth year the horſe-guards were firſt appointed to attend the kings of England.

In the ſame year the river Thames ebbed and flowed three times in the ſpace of nine hours, occaſioned by a violent eaſterly wind repelling the ebb before it could perform its natural courſe.

In his fifth year the ſweating ſickneſs viſited England for the laſt time; and carried off a great number of the inhabitants. It raged with particular violence in London, where ſeveral of the nobility fell victims to its fury; among whom was Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk. He was ſucceded in the title by his brother, who died four days after with the ſame diſeaſe, by which means the family of Brandon became extinct.

SECTION IV.

MARY.

THOUGH the title of this princeſs to the crown of England was indiſputable, after the death of her brother, yet her acceſſion was greatly interrupted by the diſtinguiſhed machinations of the duke of Northumberland. Though he knew the people conſidered her as legal ſucceſſor to Edward, yet he was determined to perſevere in the plan he had ſo long concerted, and, if poſſible, to place the lady Jane Gray on the throne of England.

Conſcious, however, that his paſt actions had made him odious in the eyes of the people, and that he had reaſon to expect a powerful oppoſition, he determined to proceed with the utmoſt caution. He concealed the king's death for ſome days; and prevailed upon the council to requeſt the attendance of the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, under pretence of the bad ſtate of health of their brother, who deſired the aſſiſtance of their counſel, and the conſolation of their company.

Mary, who was at this time in the north of England, readily obeyed the ſummons, and was actually arrived as far as Hunſdon in Hertfordſhire before ſhe diſcovered the ſnare that was laid for her deſtruction. Here ſhe received a letter from the earl of Arundel, informing her of the death of the king, of the ſettlement of the crown upon lady Jane, and of the deſigns of Northumberland to ſeize her perſon. She was convinced of the neceſſity of providing for her own ſafety, and therefore precipitately retired to Framlingham in Suffolk, from whence ſhe wrote circular letters to the council and nobility, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her queen of England.

The duke of Northumberland, finding it in vain to diſſemble any longer, now threw off the maſk, and reſolved to act in a more open manner. He engaged the council to depute him and the earl of Suffolk to go to Sion-houſe, where the lady Jane then reſided, to inform her that ſhe had been appointed by the deceaſed king to ſucceed him in the throne.

Jane, who was nearly of the ſame age with Edward, had received her education with him; and could perſonal merit have entitled her to the crown, ſhe had enjoyed it without oppoſition. She was a lady of the moſt amiable perſon, the moſt engaging diſpoſition, and the moſt accompliſhed parts. The ſtudy of the learned languages was at once her employment and her delight; and ſhe preferred the leſſons of Plato to the amuſements of the court. She had hitherto been acquainted with the ſecret diſpoſition of Edward in her favour; but never imagined ſhe was deſtined to the throne.

Struck with ſurprize and conſternation at the meſſage brought by Northumberland and Suffolk, Jane refuſed the offer; alledging the preferable right of the two princeſſes, and warning them of the fatal conſequences that would, in all probability, attend ſo dangerous, and, in her opinion, ſo criminal an enterprize; and earneſtly entreated, that they would let her continue in the private ſtation ſhe had hitherto enjoyed.

At length, however, being overpowered by their arguments, and the ſtrong ſolicitations of her huſband, whom ſhe tenderly loved, ſhe yielded to their importunities; but with ſo much reluctance, that her conſent was rather extorted than given. In conſequence of this, ſhe was immediately conducted to the Tower, where it was then cuſtomary for the new ſovereigns to reſide ſome days before the ceremony of their coronation.

The next day, being the 10th of July, lady Jane Gray was proclaimed queen of England, with the uſual formalities, in the city of London; which being ſo contrary to the expectations of the people, who had not the leaſt notion of this lady's immediate acceſſion to the throne, they received the news with ſilent ſurprize, nor were any of thoſe acclamations heard, which are uſual on ſuch occaſions: and though orders were ſent for her being proclaimed through the realm, they were not obſerved farther than ten miles from London. The diſcontent of the people (which aroſe from their hatred to the duke of Northumberland) was not a little increaſed by an ill-timed act of ſeverity in the council, who ordered one Gilbert Pot, a vintner's ſervant, to be ſet on the pillory, with his ears cut off and nailed to it, on the very day the lady Jane was proclaimed, only for expreſſing himſelf in a ſlighting manner of the new queen.

In the mean time Mary exerted all her intereſt to oppoſe the deſigns of Northumberland. She was attended by great numbers of the neighbouring inhabitants; and, by poſitively promiſing to leave religion in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it (reſerving nothing more than a liberty to profeſs her own) ſhe fixed the people in her intereſt; and, though ſtrongly attached to the Reformation, they promiſed to ſupport her with their lives and fortunes. She was now joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry, particularly John Bouchier, earl of Bath; Henry Radcliff, earl of Suſſex; Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir William Drury, and the lord Thomas Howard, ſon to the duke of Norfolk; all of whom repaired to her ſtandard, with ſtrong reinforcements. And Sir Edward Haſtings, who had been ordered to levy troops for the ſervice of lady Jane, deſerted to her, at the head of 4000 men.

When Northumberland was informed of the great progreſs made by Mary to oppoſe him, he ordered the army now ready in London to march immediately towards Newmarket, under the command of the duke of Suffolk. But the counſellors perſuaded him to head the army in perſon; obſerving, that his known valour, his ſuperior military acquiſitions, and the dread of his name (already terrible in Norfolk by his victory in the late reign) would ſtrike the inſurgents with fear. He accordingly took their advice, and joined the army, which conſiſted of 2000 horſe and 6000 foot. He was attended by his ſon the earl of Huntingdon and the lord Gray of Wilton.

The friends of Mary, being informed that Northumberland was in full march againſt them, adviſed the princeſs to retire to the continent. This advice might, in all probability, have been followed, had the duke advanced with that expedition the cauſe he had undertaken demanded; but he marched in ſo ſlow and deliberate a manner, that Mary's friends had time to recover from their fears, and to join her ſtandard with all their forces. When the duke reached Bury, he found that great numbers of his men had deſerted; and he was obliged to wait for reinforcements from London, before he could advance againſt Mary's army, which now amounted to 40,000 men.

The council, inſtead of making levies for reinforcing the duke, left the Tower, (where they had been confined by that ambitious nobleman under pretence of attending on the perſon of lady Jane) and repaired to Baynard's Caſtle, a houſe belonging to the earl of Pembroke, whither they invited all the noblemen whom they conceived to be well affected to Mary. Accordingly, a conſiderable number attended; and the conference was opened by the earl of Arundel, who inveighed, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of Northumberland, his inſatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal deſign he had formed for altering the ſucceſſion, and the wickedneſs in which he had involved the whole council: and concluded with moving, that they might return immediately to their duty and allegiance, which they owed their lawful ſovereign, by proclaiming Mary queen; that being the only method they could take to recover their own honour, and preſerve the tranquillity of the ſtate.

This motion was immediately ſeconded by Pembroke, who, laying his hand upon his ſword, ſwore he was ready to fight any man who ſhould preſume to oppoſe ſo ſalutary a meaſure: but there was little occaſion for employing force, the majority expreſſing their approbation of the propoſal. They then ſent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and informed them of the reſolution that had been taken; with which theſe magiſtrates were ſo well pleaſed that they immediately mounted their horſes, and rode in a body to the Croſs in Cheapſide, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England by Sir Chriſtopher Barker, principal king at arms, on the 19th of July; and the ceremony was performed on the ſame day at the other uſual places in London and Weſtminſter. Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and the event celebrated with great rejoicings by the populace. Even the duke of Suffolk himſelf, who commanded in the Tower, finding all reſiſtance would be vain, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and declared for Mary. The lady Jane now threw off her royal robes, and again deſcended to a private ſtation, which ſhe would never have left, had not the ambition of her relations forced her to graſp a ſcepter which belonged to another.

The firſt ſtep taken by the council, after proclaiming lady Mary queen, was, to diſpatch the earl of Arundel and lord Paget to Framlingham Caſtle, to give that princeſs an account of what had been tranſacted in her favour; and the next day they ſigned an order to the duke of Northumberland, commanding him to diſband his forces, and behave himſelf a became a dutiful ſubject. Before, however, the duk received theſe orders, he had diſmiſſed the ſmall body which remained after an almoſt general deſertion, and had endeavoured to gain the favour of Mary by a early ſubmiſſion, which he teſtified by proclaiming he queen with all the external marks of joy and ſatisfaction But Mary was not be deceived by the hypocritica behaviour of Northumberland; ſhe knew him to b an inveterate enemy to her whole family, and that hi expreſſions of loyalty and zeal for her ſervice wer wholly extorted by fear. She therefore immediatel ſent the earl of Arundel to arreſt that ambitious no bleman, his ſons and accomplices. The haught Northumberland loſt at once both his hopes and h courage. Arundel no ſooner informed him of th purport of his viſit, than he fell at his feet, and, i the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, begged his favou This abject behaviour, ſo peculiar to fallen inſolenc excited the contempt, rather than the pity of Aru del. He told the duke the queen's orders muſt b obeyed; and Northumberland, together with two his ſons, and his principal accomplices, were ſent

London and committed to the Tower. The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guildford Dudley, were alſo taken into cuſtody.

On the 30th of July, Mary, attended by vaſt numbers of people, and a long train of courtiers, ſet out from Framlingham for London, where ſhe was met by the princeſs Elizabeth, with a body of two thouſand men. She had raiſed thoſe forces as a defence for her own perſon during the troubles which ſeemed to threaten the kingdom with all the horrors of a civil war; but on being informed of her ſiſter's ſucceſs, ſhe proceeded, at the head of her little army, to join her ſiſter; and had the addreſs to gain her confidence, by aſſuring her that thoſe men were raiſed for her ſervice.

As ſoon as Mary arrived in London ſhe immediately proceeded to the Tower, where the duke of Norfolk, who had been detained priſoner there ever ſince the death of her father; Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter, who without being charged with any crime, had been ſubject to the ſame puniſhment ever ſince his father's attainder; the three prelates, Gardiner, Tonſtal, and Bonner, who had been confined for their adherence to the catholic religion, appeared before her, and implored her clemency and protection. She embraced them all in the moſt affectionate manner, ſaying to the conſtable of the Tower, "Theſe are my priſoners;" and inſtantly ordered them to be ſet at liberty. The next day the prelates were reſtored to their ſees; Courtney was created earl of Devonſhire, and Gardiner made lord high chancellor of England.

Notwithſtanding Mary had given the moſt ſolemn promiſes that ſhe would preſerve the religion eſtabliſhed by Edward, yet, ſo bigotted was ſhe to her own opinions, that ſhe determined to make promiſes, oaths, juſtice, and even intereſt itſelf give way to her favourite project of reſtoring the religion of the church of Rome. And had it not been for the more artful counſels of the emperor Charles V. and biſhop Gardiner, ſhe had ſent directly for cardinal Pole, as legate, to reconcile England to the Pope; but they diſapproving ſo hazardous a ſtep, ſhe was prevailed upon to ſuſpend her reſolution for the preſent, and to content herſelf with publiſhing a liberty of conſcience in affairs of religion.

Though this declaration was conſidered by the partizans of Mary as a diſtinguiſhed inſtance of her generoſity, it was conſidered in a very different light by the proteſtants: they were alarmed for their religion; and their fears were ſoon confirmed by the confidence of the catholics, who made no ſcruple of inveighing, in the moſt bitter terms, againſt the tenets of the proteſtants. Bourne, one of the chaplains of biſhop Bonner, in a ſermon preached before that prelate in the cathedral of St. Paul's, uſed the moſt indecent invectives againſt Edward's adminiſtration, particularly with regard to the reformation. But he ſhould have remembered, that the memory of Edward was ſtill dear to the people who were alarmed for their religion, and it could not be ſuppoſed they would part with it eaſily. Accordingly a furious tumult was excited: ſome of the audience reproached him in the harſheſt terms; others pelted him with ſtones; and one of them threw a dagger with ſuch dexterity at the preacher, that it narrowly miſſed his face, and ſtuck faſt in the wood of the pulpit behind him. At laſt the people grew ſo furious, that Bourne would probably have been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent proteſtant miniſters, interpoſed, and conveyed him, by a private door, out of the church, to a neighbouring houſe.

No ſanguinary act had yet taken place ſince Mary's acceſſion; but it was now thought neceſſary to open thoſe ſluices of ſeverity which ſoon deluged the kingdom with the blood of its inhabitants.

On the 18th of Auguſt the duke of Northumberland was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall, and arraigned for high treaſon. After the indictment was read, the duke deſired permiſſion to propoſe two queſtions to the peers who were appointed to decide his fate: firſt, whether any perſon could be guilty of treaſon for having obeyed orders given him by the council, under the great ſeal? Secondly, Whether thoſe who were equally guilty with himſelf could ſit as his judges? The high-ſteward anſwered, That the great ſeal of an uſurper had no authority; and that thoſe peers who had neither been impeached nor convicted, were innocent in the eye of the law, and therefore might be admitted on any jury. Theſe anſwers, though far from being uncontrovertible, ſufficiently convinced the duke, that it would be abſolutely uſeleſs to make any objections: he therefore pleaded guilty to the indictment. His example was followed by the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, who were tried at the ſame tribunal, and were all condemned to ſuffer as traitors. Sir John and Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, who had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing the duke of Somerſet to the block during the late reign, pleaded guilty, and received the ſame ſentence.

From the diſpoſition of the queen, and the preſent ſituation of affairs, Northumberland had little hopes of expecting any favour. He was, indeed, deteſted by all parties, and his fate was conſidered as a neceſſary act of juſtice. On the ſcaffold, he profeſſed himſelf a member of the catholic religion; and lamented his having plundered the effects of the church, eſpecially as it was not now in his power to make reſtitution. But whether theſe were his real ſentiments, or whether he hoped by this declaration, to render the queen more favourable to his family, cannot be known. However that be, the people who had ſincerely lamented the duke of Somerſet, beheld with joy the puniſhment of his oppreſſor. Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, ſuffered with him. The reſt were thought proper objects of the royal clemency, as they pleaded conſtraint as an excuſe for their treaſon. Suffolk himſelf was pardoned, and recovered his liberty; an indulgence which he owed, in a great meaſure, to the contempt entertained of his capacity. Sentence of death had been pronounced againſt the lady Jane, and her huſband the lord Guilford Dudley, but no time was yet fixed for their execution.

The adminiſtration, who were formed of creatures merely at the will of the queen, now applied themſelves to forward her favourite deſign, the re-eſtabliſhment of the Popiſh religion in England. They began with ſilencing all preachers, under pretence of diſcouraging controverſy, except ſuch as ſhould obtain a particular licence from Gardiner; and it was eaſily foreſeen that none but Catholics would be favoured with ſuch a privilege. Bradford, one of the two proteſtant miniſters who had reſcued Bourne in the late tumult at St. Paul's, was committed to priſon, and his companion, Rogers, was confined to his own houſe. Judge Hales, who alone, of all his brethren, had refuſed to ſign the inſtrument which transferred the crown to lady Jane Gray was ſent to priſon, where he was treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he fell into a frenzy, and put an end to his own life. Sir Edward Montague, who was alſo a Proteſtant, was deprived of his office, and fined a thouſand pounds, for having aſſiſted in drawing up the ſettlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane; and his poſt given to Sir Thomas Bromley, a bigotted papiſt, though he had been equally concerned in drawing up that deed, and alſo ſigned it without heſitation. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Ferrar, biſhop of St David's, were impriſoned, for daring to preach without a licence from Gardiner. Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, was alſo confined to his own houſe, for the ſame crime. Peter Martyr, profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, ſuffered ſo many indignities and inſults from the enemies of the reformation that he was obliged to retire for protection to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, though that prelate was in no condition to protect himſelf, the court having already doomed him to deſtruction.

Bonner, the ſworn enemy of Cranmer, not only attempted to ridicule him by indecent ribaldry, but to ruin his character, by propagating a report, that he had ſubmitted to the queen, and offered publickly to recant his errors. The archbiſhop, in order to wipe off this calumny, drew up a confeſſion of his faith, which he offered, with the queen's permiſſion, to defend in public. A copy of this confeſſion being ſhewn to the council, Cranmer was ſummoned to appear before them, when he acknowledged himſelf the author, and was, for that day, diſmiſſed. Some of the council adviſed the queen to treat him with lenity, as it was owing to him ſhe was chiefly indebted for that indulgence ſhe enjoyed during the reign of her father. But the ungrateful queen declared, ſhe remembered nothing of Cranmer, except his having pronounced her mother's divorce, and promoted the reformation. He was therefore ſummoned a ſecond time before the council, who, on pretence of his having publiſhed ſeveral ſeditious libels, committed him priſoner to the Tower.

The impriſonment of the primate was followed by that of biſhop Latimer. Nor was there hardly a biſhop, or even a preacher who had ſignalized himſelf in eſtabliſhing the tenets of the reformation, and did not either recant or fly beyond the ſeas, that eſcaped either deprivation or impriſonment. John a Laſco, a Pruſſian nobleman and miniſter of the German proteſtant church in Auſtin-friars, with all the other reformed preachers, who were foreigners, were baniſhed the kingdom. Theſe were followed by a great number of Engliſh families, who had embraced the reformation. They foreſaw that the deſtructive hand of bigotry would ſoon light the flames of perſecution in their unhappy country, and were unwilling to behold the miſeries of their fellow-ſubjects.

On the firſt day of October Mary was crowned with great pomp at Weſtminſter. The ceremony was performed by the hands of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, aſſiſted by Bonner, biſhop of London, Tonſtall of Durham, and eight other prelates. On the ſame day was publiſhed what is uſually called a general amneſty; from the benefit of which, however, all thoſe who had been arreſted before the laſt day of September, and many others, were nominally excluded.

As a parliament had been appointed to meet on the fifth of October, the miniſtry were very diligent in obtaining thoſe members that might be moſt likely to anſwer their ſiniſter purpoſes, and ſuch ſcandalous methods were uſed on this occaſion, that though the proteſtants in England were more numerous than the papiſts, the Houſe of Commons was almoſt filled with the latter. In the upper Houſe alſo the queen had a great majority; for even the principal part of thoſe noblemen, who had rejected the papal authority in the late reign, now infamouſly conformed to the doctrines of the court, from motives of intereſt or ambition. Mary was well informed of this, and therefore ordered maſs to be performed in Latin, with all the antient ceremonies, before both Houſes of Parliament, on the firſt day of opening the ſeſſion, though directly contrary to an act of parliament then in being. Dr. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, biſhop of Hereford, nobly ſupported the laws of their country: they refuſed to kneel, for which oppoſition they were immediately thruſt out and expelled the Houſe.

This violation of the laws of Edward was followed by an act that aboliſhed them: and thus, by bringing things back to the ſtate in which they were left by Henry VIII. the maſs was eſtabliſhed, and Mary continued in poſſeſſion of the title of ſupreme head of the church. Here it was thought ſhe would have ſtopped; but it ſoon appeared that this was only the firſt ſtep towards eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion in England. The parliament, however, paſſed an act of a popular nature. They aboliſhed every ſpecies of treaſon which was contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every ſpecies of felony which did not ſubſiſt before the firſt year of Henry VIII.

Thus far the parliament had acquieſced with the meaſures of the court; but they now thought proper to exert their authority in a matter which ſeemed of the utmoſt importance to the intereſt of the nation. The ambitious Charles V. having by his deſpotiſm and diſregard to the principles of natural juſtice, occaſioned a revolt in the empire, and been obliged to ſubmit to articles of peace, which ſecured the independency of Germany, was very deſirous of retrieving his loſſes by acquiring the crown of England to his family. His ſon Philip was a widower; and the emperor immediately on the death of Edward, ſent over an agent to the queen, propoſing a marriage between her and his ſon. Mary, who was very deſirous of being united with a houſe from whence ſhe derived her origin, and which might afford her aſſiſtance in the execution of her deſigns with regard to the catholic religion, embraced the offer with great ſatisfaction. The negotiations were carried on with the utmoſt ſecrecy and ſucceſs. But the Commons were no ſooner informed of this intended marriage, than they made it known to the whole nation. The parliament were greatly alarmed with the thoughts of an alliance which they conſidered as prejudicial to their country; they could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing a Spaniard on the throne of England, eſpecially one who had already patronized the inquiſition in his own dominions, and recorded his cruelty with the blood of the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, Naples, Sicily and Milan. The Commons now ſhook off their ſubmiſſion to the court; and preſented a remonſtrance to the queen, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt ſuch a dangerous and imprudent ſtep. But Mary, who was naturally obſtinate, perſiſted in her reſolution, and to prevent any farther addreſſes of the like nature, diſſolved the parliament.

A. D. 1554. In the beginning of this year Charle ſent over the count of Egmont, at the head of ſplendid embaſſy, to adjuſt the marriage articles; and Gardiner was appointed to act in behalf of the queen The treaty was at length concluded, and, that i might give as little diſguſt as poſſible, the articles wer drawn up not only favourable but advantageous t England. It was agreed, that though Philip ſhoul have the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould b ſolely in the hands of the queen; that no foreigne ſhould be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation ſhould be made in th Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, or privileges; that Phili ſhould not carry the queen abroad without her conſent, nor any of her children without the conſent the nobility; that ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhou be ſettled on her as a jointure; that the male iſſue the marriage ſhould inherit together with Englan both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his former marriag ſhould die, and his line be extinct, the queen's iſſu

wheth

whether male or female, ſhould inherit Spain, Sicily, and all the other dominions of Philip.

No ſooner were theſe articles publiſhed, than a general diſcontent prevailed throughout the nation. The people diſtruſted, with reaſon, the artful emperor, and ſtill more his ſon, who was equally inclined to ſuperſtition and tyranny. The inquiſition diſplayed itſelf in all its horrors; and the moſt ſpecious advantages ſeemed only intended to veil the moſt hideous ſlavery.

The ſpirit of revolt appeared now to be univerſal; and ſome perſons, more factious than the reſt, believing it was eaſier to prevent, than to remedy evils, determined to take up arms, and vigorouſly oppoſe the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyat, a Kentiſh gentleman (very conſiderable on account of his ample fortune, and ſtill more ſo by the opinion the world entertained of his virtues and abilities) engaged to arm the inhabitants of Kent: Sir Peter Carew undertook to aſſemble and provide for the inhabitants of Devonſhire; and theſe two perſuaded the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of reſtoring the lady Jane to the throne, to attempt to raiſe the Midland counties.

Carew, prompted either by his impetuoſity or apprehenſions, roſe in arms before the day appointed; but his troops were ſoon diſperſed by the duke of Bedford, and he himſelf was forced to take refuge in France. Suffolk, informed of the fate of this confederate, and dreading an arreſt, quitted the town, and attempted to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his intereſt chiefly lay; but he was ſo cloſely purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of 300 horſe, that he was obliged to diſmiſs his followers, and being diſcovered in his retreat, was taken into cuſtody and ſent priſoner to London.

Wyatt's attempt was at firſt more ſucceſsful, and ſeemed to threaten more fatal conſequences. He ſummoned his friends to meet him in the field on the twenty-fifth of January, and was immediately joined by Sir Henry Iſley, Sir George Harper, Thomas Colepepper, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction in Kent. Proper perſons were immediately diſpatched into different parts of the county, to raiſe the people, while he himſelf, with ſome of his principal followers, retired to Rocheſter, took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and fortified the eaſtern part of the city, which he intended as a rendezvous for his army. At the ſame time he ordered a manifeſto to be publiſhed at Maidſtone, and other places, againſt the queen's marriage, and invited every well-wiſher to his country to join him in his endeavours to defend England from the inſolent and tyrannical government of a haughty foreigner. The people were ſoon alarmed at their danger, and flocked to Wyat's ſtandard in conſiderable numbers.

Advice of this rebellion being brought to the queen and her council, they were thrown into the greateſt conſternation. They were incapable of making any vigorous efforts againſt the force of a diſcontented people. The inclemency of the ſeaſon rendered it very difficult to raiſe a number of forces, and thoſe that had been collected to eſcort Mary to the capital, were diſbanded. It was therefore determined to ſend an herald to Wyat, with aſſurance of a full pardon; but the herald not being ſuffered to deliver his meſſage, the duke of Norfolk was diſpatched againſt the rebels, at the head of ſix hundred of the trained-bands, and the queen's guards. The two parties ſoon met, but the very inſtant the duke's artillery began to play, the Londoners deſerted and joined the inſurgents. This treacherous action threw the duke into the utmoſt conſternation. The ranks of his little army were thrown into confuſion, and it was with great difficulty that he himſelf and Sir Henry Jernegan, captain of the queen's guards, were ſaved by a precipitate flight. Thus the rebels, without ſtriking a blow, became maſters of the field, the duke's baggage, and eight pieces of braſs cannon.

Wyat, animated by this ſucceſs, led his army towards the capital, perſuaded that the Londoners would open their gates, and declare in his favour. At Dartford he was met by lord Haſtings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who promiſed him, in the queen's name, every reaſonable ſatiſfaction he ſhould require. This conceſſion raiſed the preſumption of Wyat; he now thought himſelf invincible, and had the inſolence to demand poſſeſſion of the Tower, and of the queen's perſon, with authority to change the council at his pleaſure. Haſtings could not bear to hear ſuch ſhameful conditions with any great degree of patience; he defied Wyat, and returned immediately with Cornwallis to court.

The conſternation of the council was ſtill farther increaſed by the demands of Wyat. The queen repaired to Guildhall, acquainted the citizens with the inſolent anſwer of the rebels, aſſerted that ſhe had done nothing in the marriage treaty, without the advice of her council, and declared her reſolution to throw herſelf upon the protection of the faithful city of London. Pleaſed with this condeſcenſion of their ſovereign, the citizens reſolved to oppoſe the rebels. They ordered the bridge to be ſtrongly barricadoed, and every precaution to be taken that had any tendency to render the efforts of the inſurgents abortive, ſhould they attempt to force a paſſage into the city.

Wyat, who was ignorant of theſe reſolutions, advanced as far as Southwark, in order to croſs over the bridge into the city; but finding it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to force a paſſage, he determined to croſs the Thames at Kingſton; he therefore marched with all expedition to that town, but found on his arrival, that the bridge was ſo decayed as to be impaſſable. This obliged him to halt ſome time till the bridge was repaired. By theſe delays, the critical ſeaſon, on which all popular commotions depend, was entirely loſt. He entered Weſtminſter indeed without reſiſtance; but no perſon of note joining him, his men became diſpirited, and inſenſibly forſook their leader, who was at laſt taken priſoner near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley. The principal leaders were alſo taken, and the ſcene cloſed with the moſt bloody executions.

Above ſeventy perſons ſuffered for this rebellion; and four hundred, falling on their knees, obtained pardon, and were diſmiſſed. Wyat was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that, on his examination, he had accuſed the princeſs Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire as accomplices, he took occaſion to declare, on the ſcaffold, before the whole people, that neither of them had the leaſt concern in the rebellion.

Several attempts had been made to accuſe the princeſs Elizabeth of ſome deſign againſt the peace of the government, and ſhe was in the utmoſt danger of falling a ſacrifice to the malevolence of her ſiſter. Her being the daughter of Anne Boleyn, her attracting, by her ſuperior qualities, the regard of the nation, and her engaging the affections of Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, who was allied to the crown, and on whom the queen had matrimonial views, were crimes which the gloomy ſoul of Mary could never forgive. She was ſhut up in the Tower, and all acceſs to her denied. But the declaration made by Wyat rendered it impoſſible to prove any thing againſt her; and ſhe made ſo good a defence before the council, that there was not a ſingle pretence left for keeping her in confinement. She was therefore reſtored to her liberty; but on refuſing an offer of marriage made her by the duke of Savoy, ſhe was again committed to cuſtody, under a ſtrong guard, at Woodſtock. The earl of Devonſhire experienced the ſame ungenerous treatment: he was equally innocent with the princeſs; and though nothing could be proved againſt him, yet he was committed priſoner to Fotheringay caſtle.

But this rebellion proved ſtill more fatal to lady Jane Gray and her huſband. The duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her; and Mary, who was a ſtranger both to generoſity and clemency, reſolved to remove every perſon from whom the leaſt danger could be apprehended. Lady Jane and her huſband had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the queen's acceſſion, and it was now determined to finiſh the diſmal tragedy. Accordingly Fakenham, abbot of Weſtminſter, was ſent to the Tower to announce the fatal meſſage of death to theſe unhappy priſoners. Jane received the news with great compoſure: ſhe had long expected it; and the innocence of her life, together with the misfortunes to which ſhe had been expoſed, rendered it no unwelcome news. During three days (which was the intervening ſpace before that appointed for her execution) the Romiſh prieſts were continually diſturbing her with religious controverſies; but even in theſe melancholy circumſtances lady Jane had preſence of mind ſufficient to baffle all their attempts: ſhe defended the tenets of the Reformation with great learning and eloquence. She alſo wrote a letter, in the Greek language, to her ſiſter Catharine, exhorting her to maintain, in every circumſtance of life, a like ſteady perſeverance. On the morning of her execution, her huſband deſired permiſſion to ſee her, but ſhe refuſed her conſent: ſhe feared the tenderneſs of a parting interview would overcome the fortitude of both, and render them incapable of finiſhing the period of life with that conſtancy which was neceſſary in their melancholy circumſtances. "Our ſeparation (ſaid ſhe) will only be for a moment; we ſhall ſoon rejoin each other in the regions above, where our affections will be for ever united, and where the ſtorms of adverſity, and even death itſelf, can never afflict us more."

It had been determined to execute the lady Jane and her huſband on the ſame ſcaffold, erected on Tower-hill. But the council dreading the conſequences that might ariſe from the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, changed the order, and gave direction that ſhe ſhould be executed within the verge of the Tower. She ſaw her huſband led to execution, and having given him from the window, ſome token of her remembrance, ſhe waited with tranquillity till her own appointed hour ſhould bring her to a like fate. She even ſaw his headleſs body carried back in a cart, and found herſelf more confirmed by the reports ſhe heard of the conſtancy with which he met the king of terrors, than ſhaken by ſo tender and melancholy a ſpectacle. Sir John Gage, conſtable of the Tower, when he led her to execution, deſired her to beſtow on him ſome ſmall preſent, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She accordingly gave him her table book, in which ſhe had juſt wrote three ſentences on ſeeing her huſband's dead body, one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in Engliſh. The purport of them was, that human juſtice was againſt his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul: that if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth and innocence might plead her excuſe; and that ſhe truſted, God and poſterity would ſhew her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe made a ſpeech to the ſpectators, in which the mildneſs of her diſpoſition led her to take the blame entirely on herſelf, without uttering a ſingle complaint againſt the ſeverity with which ſhe had been treated. She ſaid that her fault did not conſiſt in having laid her hand upon the crown, but in her not having rejected it with ſufficient conſtancy: that ſhe had erred leſs through ambition than thro' reverence to her parents, whom ſhe had been taught to reſpect and obey: that ſhe willingly ſuffered death as the only ſatisfaction ſhe could make to the injured ſtate; and that though her infringement of the laws had been conſtrained, ſhe would ſhow by her voluntary ſubmiſſion to their ſentence, that ſhe was deſirous of atoning for that diſobedience into which too much filial piety had betrayed her: that ſhe had juſtly deſerved this puniſhment for being made the inſtrument, though the unwilling inſtrument, of the ambition of others: and that the ſtory of her life might at leaſt be uſeful, by proving that innocence cannot excuſe great defects, if they have any tendency to deſtroy the commonwealth. After uttering theſe words, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her women; and with a ſteady ſerene countenance ſubmitted herſelf to the hands of the executioner.

Thus fell, in the bloom of life, the lady Jane Gray, whoſe innocence merited a much better fate. She was only in the ſeventeenth year of her age; but her beauty, ſpirit, ſenſe, and virtue, did honor to her country; and her happineſs, had ſhe been left to the indulgence of her own ſtudious inclinations, would have been more to be envied than that of princes: but the fatal ambition of her family cropt the lovely flower before it was expanded to its full luſtre.

The duke of Suffolk was ſoon after tried and executed. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was alſo impeached, but owed his deliverance to the amazing ſpirit and abilities he diſcovered on his trial. He challenged the court to bring proof of any one overt-act of the treaſon of which he was indicted; and no poſitive proof being produced, he was acquitted by his jury. But ſo great was the power of the judge, and ſo malignant the ſpirit of the miniſtry, that the jury, for daring to obey the dictates of their own conſciences, were proſecuted, and ſeverely fined.

The queen no ſooner found herſelf delivered from the danger apprehended from Wyatt's conſpiracy, than ſhe, with redoubled vigor, reſumed the deſign of totally deſtroying the Reformation in England. On the eighth of March Sir John Williams, by order of the council, received from the Tower the biſhops Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and carried them down to Oxford, to diſpute with the popiſh divines concerning the tenets of their religion. Though the reformed biſhops evidently defeated their antagoniſts, and reduced them firſt to abſurdities, and then to ſcurrility; yet the party in power aſſumed the victory, and the three prelates were declared obſtinate heretics. Cranmer had before been convicted of treaſon, but he was pardoned for that crime, that he might ſuffer the more painful death of an heretic. Four biſhops were deprived for marrying contrary to their vows when regular prieſts; and three others were deprived for pretended miſdemeanors. This was effected by virtue of the queen's ſupremacy, which ſhe thought ſhe might lawfully uſe againſt heretics. Sixteen new biſhops were created: the old worſhip was univerſally eſtabliſhed; and the married clergy every where ejected, together with thoſe who made any difficulty of embracing popery. Theſe proceedings rendered the government ſufficiently odious; but this had no effect upon Gardiner, who was determined, if poſſible, to cruſh effectually the reformation in England. The lord Rich and Sir John Wentworth were ordered to proceed againſt ſome of the diſaffected in Eſſex, particularly at Colcheſter; and this commiſſion produced many commitments and proſecutions. Thus every thing ſeemed to portend a total deſtruction of the reformiſts;

but it was impoſſible to prevent the lower claſs of people from exclaiming againſt the ſanguinary proceedings of the government.

A parliament was now ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter; but Gardiner had taken care, previous to the election, by means of money procured from the emperor, to corrupt the members to a degree before unknown. This was done with a view to procure their aſſent to the Spaniſh alliance, and facilitate the intentions of the government with regard to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion.

Gardiner, the chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he aſſerted the queen's hereditary title to the crown; maintained her right of chuſing a huſband for herſelf; obſerved the proper uſe ſhe had made of that right, by preferring an old ally deſcended from the houſe of Burgundy, and remarked the failure of the poſterity of Henry the eighth, of whom there now remained only the queen and the princeſs Elizabeth. He added, that in order to obviate the inconveniencies that might ariſe from different pretenders to the throne, it was neceſſary to inveſt the queen, by a ſolemn act of the legiſlature, with a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and appointing her ſucceſſor.

But however willing the parliament might be to gratify the queen in all her reaſonable deſires, yet, when the liberty, the independence, and even the very being of the nation, were expoſed to ſuch imminent danger, they could not by any means be perſuaded to comply. They were no ſtrangers to the inveterate hatred the queen bore to the lady Elizabeth, nor to her ſtrong attachment to the houſe of Auſtria. They remembered her bigotry and ſuperſtition, which prompted her to prefer the eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion to all conſiderations of juſtice and national intereſt. They obſerved that Gardiner, in his ſpeech, had carefully avoided giving Elizabeth the title of the queen's ſiſter, and thence inferred, that a deſign was formed of declaring her illegitimate. They apprehended that Mary, if inveſted with the power ſhe demanded, would bequeath the crown to her huſband, and, by that means, render England a province of the Spaniſh monarchy. They were the more inclined to entertain theſe ſuſpicions when they were informed that Philip's deſcent from the Houſe of Lancaſter had been carefully traced and explained, and that he was repreſented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, ſenſible of their danger, reſolved not to entruſt the queen with the power ſhe demanded. They ſaw the precipice, and were determined to keep at a ſecure diſtance from its brink. They could not refuſe confirming the articles of the marriage, becauſe they were extremely advantageous to England; but they abſolutely refuſed to agree to any ſuch law as was recommended by the chancellor. They would not even declare it treaſon to attempt the death of the queen's huſband while ſhe was alive; and a bill being brought in for that purpoſe, it was rejected at its firſt reading. At the ſame time, in order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exerciſe any authority in England, they enacted a law, by which it was declared, "That her majeſty as their only queen, ſhould ſolely, and as ſole queen, enjoy the crown and ſovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminence, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courteſy of the realm, or by any other means whatever."

Notwithſtanding the corrupt practices uſed by Gardiner, the ſpirit of the parliament was far from being confined to the queen's marriage; for they oppoſed the meaſures of the court in ſeveral other inſtances. Bills were brought in for ſuppreſſing the many erroneous opinions contained in books publiſhed by the reformers; for reviving the ſtatute of the Six Articles; with thoſe againſt the Lollards, and thoſe againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching; but they were thrown out by the Commons. The queen, therefore, finding the parliament would not pay an implicit obedience to her will, was ſo provoked, that ſhe thought proper to diſſolve it on the 5th of May; and writs were immediately iſſued for chooſing another, to aſſemble on the 11th of November following.

The marriage articles between the queen and Philip having been confirmed by the parliament, the earl of Suſſex was ſent over, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to bring the prince to England; and he arrived at Southampton on the 19th of July. On his firſt landing he drew his ſword, and carried it for ſome time naked in his hand; and when the magiſtrates preſented him with the keys of their town, he received them without ſpeaking a ſingle word. The queen met him at Wincheſter, where their nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp and magnificence on the 24th of July; and on the 18th of Auguſt following they made their public entry into London.

Gardiner now employed himſelf with the greateſt diligence in influencing the elections for members to ſerve in the enſuing parliament. No endeavours to obtain his ends were neglected: bribery, corruption, promiſes, and menaces, were uſed by him and his agents; by which means an aſſembly was formed, who were ready to ſignify their zeal for the Romiſh church, whenever the court thought it neceſſary to introduce any bill for that purpoſe. They met, according to appointment, on the 11th of November, when the king and queen rode together on horſeback in their robes, to the houſe, two ſwords of ſtate, and two caps of maintenance being borne before them.

The firſt act of this ſenate was to ſecure the admiſſion of cardinal Pole, who had been inveſted with the dignity of legate; and in order to this, the act of attainder paſſed againſt him in the reign of Henry VIII. was annulled; and the queen, by her prerogative, diſpenſing with long eſtabliſhed ſtatutes, he was empowered to act in his office of legation.

When the cardinal arrived in London, he exhorted the parliament to be reconciled to the holy ſee: upon which the two houſes expreſſed their regret at being ſeparated from the church, and their reſolution to annihilate every thing that ſchiſm had attempted againſt it. They requeſted abſolution in the moſt humble manner; which the cardinal readily granted, and, in the name of the ſovereign pontiff, removed all cenſures. But the ſubmiſſion of the nobility, who were in poſſeſſion of the church-lands, would never have been made, had not meaſures been prudently taken to aſſure them they ſhould not be deprived of their eſtates. The parliament accordingly confirmed their poſſeſſion; and they, in return, did not heſitate to come into all the meaſures of the court: they readily ſacrificed their liberty, and the exerciſe of their reaſon, at the altar of ſuperſtitious bigotry: they ſhewed the utmoſt indifference with regard to religion, or even the lives of their fellow-ſubjects; and renewed the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics which had been aboliſhed in the reign of Edward VI. and once more lighted up the piles for conſuming all who thought differently from the Roman church. Such, however, was their rooted averſion to Spain, that though the queen laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity to procure her huſband to be declared preſumptive heir to the crown, and inveſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſhe failed in both attempts: ſhe could not even prevail upon the parliament to agree to his coronation, nor obtain from the Commons a ſubſidy for aſſiſting the emperor in his war againſt France.

Philip was not formed to attract the affection of the Engliſh: his cold, reſerved, imperious air, and the vexatious ceremony that, in a manner, cut off all acceſs to his perſon, rendered him obnoxious to the people. This was ſo viſible, that he began now to alter his conduct, and endeavoured to obtain the favour of the public by procuring the enlargement of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who had been confined in conſequence of the jealouſy or reſentment of the court; but nothing was more acceptable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her ſiſter, and obtaining for her the enjoyment of her liberty. He well knew, that if this princeſs fell a ſacrifice to the malevolent diſpoſition of the queen, Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and wife to the dauphin of France, was the next in the order of ſucceſſion, and, conſequently, that England would be annexed to that crown. To prevent an incident of ſuch importance to his own tranquillity, Philip affected a generoſity little conſiſtent with his real character.

A. D. 1555. The attention of the miniſtry was now chiefly engaged in conſulting the methods proper to be purſued for re-eſtabliſhing the antient religion. Cardinal Pole, and biſhop Gardiner, were the two churchmen moſt in favour; and between theſe a very impotant queſtion was frequently debated before the queen and council, namely, Whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be executed in their full extent and rigour, or ſhould only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations. Pole, who was ſincerely attached to the Catholic faith, and virtuous from principle, was for moderation and indulgence. Gardiner, on the contrary, who was a zealot from intereſt, and indifferent from principle, was for violence and puniſhment. The bigotted queen paid the greateſt attention to the arguments of Gardiner; but willing at the ſame time to ſhew regard to the counſels of Pole, ſhe ordered him to take upon himſelf the reformation of the clergy, and charged Gardiner with the work of extirpating the Proteſtant religion.

It was now determined to execute the laws againſt hereſy in their full force; and England was ſoon filled with thoſe ſcenes of horror, which have ever ſince rendered the Romiſh religion the object of general deteſtation. We could wiſh, indeed, for the honour of humanity, that the mantle of oblivion could be drawn over theſe deteſtable actions; but the pen of hiſtory muſt not diſſemble the exceſſes and dreadful conſequences of bigotted zeal. The horrid ſcenes which muſt be diſplayed furniſh an important, though melancholy leſſon to mankind.

The two firſt victims of religious fury were Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's: both eminent for their learning, their piety, and their virtue. But Gardiner's plan was firſt to attack men of that character; vainly imagining, that terror would force them to ſubmiſſion; and that their example, either of puniſhment or recantation, would naturally influence the multitude. Rogers had preſerved the life of Bourne, the popiſh preacher at St. Paul's, at the hazard of his own; and therefore deſerved ſome favour at the hands of Gardiner, who was no ſtranger to that circumſtance: but no regard was ſhewn to this eminent preacher; the dictates of juſtice and humanity had loſt their force. Rogers was even denied the favour of ſeeing his wife and children, whom he tenderly loved. But this denial could not ſhake his conſtancy: the ties of nature gave way to the influence of religion; and he went with chearfulneſs to the ſtake, and periſhed in the flames with unſhaken conſtancy.

Hooper behaved with all the fortitude of a primitive martyr, and ſhewed a noble contempt for all the inſults he received. He was tried with Rogers in London, but ſent down to his own dioceſe to be executed. This circumſtance, which was contrived to ſtrike a greater terror into his flock, was a ſource of ſatisfaction to Hooper, who ſincerely rejoiced in having an opportunity of giving teſtimony, by his death, to the doctrine he had formerly inculcated from the pulpit. When he was faſtened to the ſtake, a ſtool was placed before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, and which it was ſtill in his power to merit by his recantation. But life, on ſuch conditions, was deſpiſed: he ordered it to be removed, and chearfully prepared himſelf to ſuffer the ſentence pronounced againſt him by his enemies. His death was attended with every circumſtance that could heighten its ſeverity. The wind, which was very ſtrong, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not eaſily take fire; all his lower parts were conſumed before his vitals were affected; one arm dropped off, while he continued to beat his breaſt with the other. He was heard to pray, and exhort the people to adhere to their religion, until his tongue, ſwoln with the violence of the agony, ſtopped his ſpeech. He was full three quarters of an hour in torture, but bore the whole with a conſtancy that was truly aſtoniſhing.

About the ſame time, Mr. Laurence Saunders, miniſter of Allhallows, Bread-ſtreet; and Mr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were delivered over to the ſecular arm, and ſealed the truth of the doctrines they had taught with their blood. Saunders ſuffered at Coventry, and was alſo indulged with the offer of a pardon; but he rejected it with diſdain, and embraced the ſtake, crying out, "I ſalute thee, O croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, O life eternal!" Taylor was executed among his antient friends and pariſhioners: and repeated, in the midſt of the flames, a pſalm in Engliſh; on which one of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth and bid him pray in Latin. Another, ſtill more violent, ſtruck him on the head with his halbert, and the blow put a period to his life.

Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burnt about the ſame time at Caermarthen. He appealed to Cardinal Pole, but his appeal was diſregarded, and he received the crown of martyrdom.

So many inhuman executions, merely for the ſake of opinion, inflamed the nation, and Gardiner began to entertain diſagreeable apprehenſions for his ſafety. He therefore refuſed to act any longer, and devolved his odious commiſſion on Bonner, biſhop of London; a man of the moſt profligate and abandoned morals, and, at the ſame time, of ſo ſavage and cruel a diſpoſition, that he ſeemed to delight in the torments o thoſe unfortunate perſons whom his iniquitous ſentences committed to the flames.

It would be uſeleſs, as well as ſhocking to the reader, to particularize the various executions that took place at the inſtigation of this finiſhed monſter: the ſavage barbarity on the one hand, and the patien conſtancy on the other, are ſimilar in all. A few inſtances more will, therefore, be abundantly ſufficient.

In the beginning of October Ridley, biſhop o London, and Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter (wh had been a long time confined with archbiſhop Cranmer at Oxford) were both tried for hereſy, and condemned to the flames. They ſuffered together on th north ſide of the city of Oxford, oppoſite Balio college, on the 16th of the ſame month; and behaved with a conſtancy and reſolution little inferio to what we read of the primitive martyrs.

Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland. He was firſt educated at Newcaſtle, from whence he was ſent to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, of which he became maſter. King Henry VIII. made him firſt his chaplain, and afterwards promoted him to the ſee of Rocheſter, from whence king Edward VI. tranſlated him to London. He was one of the moſt able champions of the reformation; pious, learned, ſolid in judgment, conſtant, admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies; which were ſufficient reaſons for the popiſh counſellors to put him to death. The night immediately before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to ſee him die; and the good woman melting into tears, he ſpoke to her with an aſſurance which baniſhed her ſorrow, and convinced her that ſo much firmneſs on ſo melancholy an occaſion could only be the gift from heaven, inſpiring and animating him againſt his approaching agony. He was ſo little ſhocked with the terrors before him, that he not only gave a ſerious attention to the furious bigot that preached at his execution, but calmly propoſed to anſwer exceptionable parts of his ſermon, which was not permitted, leſt his eloquence and reaſon ſhould bias his hearers and ſpectators too much in his favour; and he left the world with an act of juſtice, for he ſent a petition to the queen, praying that either the tenants of the biſhopric of London might be continued in their leaſes, or that their fines might be reſtored out of his goods, ſeized when he was impriſoned. But he paid dearly for his courage. The faggots were ordered to be placed in ſuch a manner as to torment him as much as poſſible; and he was rather roaſted than burned, for his legs were almoſt conſumed before the fire was permitted to reach his body.

Biſhop Latimer was born at Thurcaſton, in Leiceſterſhire, and brought up alſo at Cambridge. Henry VIII. promoted him to the ſee of Worceſter, which he reſigned becauſe he would not ſubſcribe to what were called King Henry's Six bloody Articles. He was remarkable for his ſimplicity, freedom and plainneſs, with which he arraigned great ſinners, and which, without the ornament of human eloquence, found a way to their hearts, and made them humble, though ever ſo exalted. One of his converts, a notorious robber, who had been perſuaded by him to reform, attended his execution, and comforted him at the ſtake; where, deſiring to accompany ſo righteous a man in ſo good a cauſe, he propheſied with unſhaken zeal, in the midſt of reigning popery, "that thoſe two biſhops and martyrs ſhould light up ſuch a candle in England, as, by God's grace, ſhould never be extinguiſhed." Latimer's age, who was upwards of eighty, made him ſoon yield up his ſoul in the flames, without undergoing much pain; and he died with the character of having preſerved the piety and integrity of the firſt ages, in the corruptions of the laſt.

The paſſion for martyrdom, infuſed by theſe examples, communicated itſelf to the young as well as to the old, and even to women, ſeveral of whom ſuffered in different parts of the kingdom with the moſt unſhaken conſtancy. Theſe unhappy people, though condemned to torture ſhocking to humanity, were not always convicted of having inculcated tenets contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion: they were taken up merely on ſuſpicion, and condemned on refuſing to ſign certain articles. Hence they excited the concern and admiration of their own party, and a general hatred againſt the government. Philip perceived the whole nation was agitated; and, by an artifice ſuitable to his character, endeavoured to throw the odium of theſe barbarities on the Engliſh biſhops. He ordered friar Alphonſo, his confeſſor, to diſclaim theſe ſanguinary proceedings from the pulpit. The eccleſiaſtic obeyed; and, in a ſermon preached before their majeſties, he exclaimed againſt all religious perſecution, and accuſed the biſhops of all the barbarities that had been inflicted on the Proteſtants.

Alarmed at this charge, Bonner himſelf refuſed to be any longer concerned in ſuch ſanguinary proceedings, unleſs others were involved in the ſame odious buſineſs. In conſequence of this, the fires of perſecution ceaſed for a time; till repeated orders were ſent to Bonner, by the queen and her conſort, enjoining him to proſecute his duty. Thus animated, the brutal prieſt reſumed the perſecution with the moſt unremitting diligence, and great numbers of people were inhumanly dragged to the ſtake.

England was now reduced to a more deplorable ſituation than ever Spain itſelf, where the inquiſition is eſtabliſhed with all its horrors. Commiſſioners were appointed to take an account of all hereſies; to puniſh all neglect of the Catholic worſhip in churches and chapels; and to proceed againſt the clergy who did not preach the doctrine of the euchariſt; to puniſh every perſon who did not hear maſs, who did not aſſiſt at the ſervice of the church, who did not receive the euchariſt, or uſe the holy water. The juſtices of the peace were ordered to appoint ſpies over the conduct of the people: to ſummon the accuſed, without diſcovering the accuſer, and to put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons who would not confeſs. Nor did the tyranny of the court terminate here; a proclamation was iſſued, commanding all who were poſſeſſed of heretical books to burn them without reading or ſhewing them to others: and declaring that all who refuſed to pay an implicit obedience to theſe orders ſhould be deemed rebels, and executed immediately by martial law.

But notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, the proteſtants ſtill ſupported their tenets with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſolution, and the doctrines of the reformation encreaſed ſurpriſingly. The iron rod of tyranny was diſplayed in vain; every martyrdom was equivalent to a thouſand ſermons againſt popery; and the aſhes of the ſufferer, like ſeed diſſeminated in a fertile ſoil, produced an hundred fold. The proteſtants were far more numerous at the cloſe, than in the beginning of this bloody reign, though it is computed, that in the ſpace of three years, no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were burnt for hereſy, among whom were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradeſmen, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, fifty-five women and four children.

The meaſure of iniquity in this bloody reign was now filled up by the execution of that good but unfortunate prelate, archbiſhop Cranmer. He had long been confined in priſon at Oxford; and it was now determined to puniſh him as an heretic. He was accordingly tried before Brooks, biſhop of Glouceſter, who had been commiſſioned to that office by the pope. Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, who attended as commiſſioners from the queen, accuſed him of having been twice married; of keeping a wife ſecretly in the reign of Henry VIII. and openly in the reign of his ſucceſſor; of publiſhing books againſt, and forſaking the doctrines of the Roman church; and of denying the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. He owned the facts, and they cited him to appear before the pope in eight days, though they knew it was impoſſible, as he was then their priſoner. He was, however, on not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirley, biſhop of Ely, were ſent down to Oxford to degrade him. The former performed his office with his uſual inſolence, uſing the moſt bitter railleries and invectives againſt the priſoner, during the ceremony, while Thirley melted into tears. Bonner put on him pontifical robes made of canvas, that he might appear the more ridiculous; after which he ſtripped him of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the bull and ceremonies of degradation ſent from Rome. During this mortifying ceremony the primate's behaviour was uniform and becoming his unfortunate circumſtances. He ſaid he was not ſorry to be thus cut off with all his pageantry from his relation to the ſee of Rome; but thought it great injuſtice to be condemned for not going to that capital, when they kept him cloſe confined in priſon. At the ſame time he denied the pope's authority over him, and appealed from his ſentence to a free general council.

Notwithſtanding the queen, from her conſummate bigotry, was ſatisfied in her own mind, that Cranmer would periſh eternally, yet ſhe was deſirous of augmenting the weight of his misfortunes, by ruining his honour and conſigning his name over to infamy. Perſons were accordingly employed to attack him, not by reaſon and argument, againſt which they knew he was too well prepared, but by the moſt artful flattery, inſinuation and addreſs. They diſplayed before him, in the faireſt point of light, the dignities and honours to which his character ſtill entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation: they flattered him with long enjoying thoſe powerful friends whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the courſe of his proſperity; and the great advantages that might yet reſult to ſociety by his labours. Theſe inſinuations ſhook the firmneſs of the primate, who, influenced by that love of life ſo deeply engraven in the human heart, and terrified at the proſpect of thoſe dreadful tortures he was condemned to ſuffer, permitted, in an unguarded hour, the feelings of nature to overpower his reſolution; he agreed to ſign a paper, acknowledging the doctrines of the papal ſupremacy, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament.

The queen, whoſe perfidy was only exceeded by her cruelty, reſolved that this recantation ſhould not ſave his life. She ſent orders that he ſhould acknowledge his errors in the church before the whole congregation, and that after he had ſo done, he ſhould be immediately led to the place of execution.

Mary's diſtinguiſhed malevolence, however, was for once diſappointed. Cranmer had now reſumed his proper dignity; he had ſincerely repented of his weakneſs and apoſtacy, and determined, inſtead of the declaration they expected, to ſpeak the real ſentiments of his heart without diſguiſe. Accordingly, when he was brought to the church, he began his addreſs to the audience with obſerving, that he was ſufficiently acquainted with the obedience he owed to his ſovereign, and the laws of his country; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without reſiſtance, whatever puniſhment they might inflict upon him; that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to maintain the truth on all occaſions, and not to abandon, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind; that there was one error in his life, which, above all others, filled him with the moſt unfeigned ſorrow and repentance, the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had unhappily been induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him; that he chearfully embraced the preſent opportunity of atoning for his crime, by a ſincere and open recantation; and was willing to ſeal with his blood that doctrine which he verily believed to be revealed from heaven; and that as his hand had erred in betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, and by a ſevere, but juſt ſentence, firſt expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the inſtrument of committing.

Cranmer's enemies were ſo exaſperated at this declaration, that they immediately dragged him from the church, and conducted him to the ſtake amidſt the ſhouts and inſults of the catholics. But having now collected the whole force and vigour of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſurprizing courage: he ſtretched out his right hand, and without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, held it in the flames till it dropt off. His mind ſeemed to be wholly poſſeſſed with reflecting on his former fault, and he was heard to exclaim ſeveral times, "This unworthy hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he reaſſumed a wonderful compoſure and ſerenity of countenance: and when the fire ſurrounded his body, he ſeemed to be entirely inſenſible of all his outward ſufferings, and by the force of hope and chriſtian fortitude, to have raiſed himſelf above all bodily ſenſations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames.

Cranmer was a man of the moſt amiable character; equally diſtinguiſhed by his piety and learning, and poſſeſſed of candour, ſincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almoſt every virtue that could render him the object of public eſteem and veneration. His death was lamented by the ingenuous of all parties; and he is conſidered as the hero of the Proteſtant faith. Cardinal Pole ſucceeded him in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury; and ſincerely diſapproved of the violent meaſures of the court, but wanted power to oppoſe its ſanguinary proceedings.

When we conſider the gloomy and malevolent diſpoſition of Mary, together with her unparalleled bigotry to her own opinion, it is not at all ſurprizing that ſhe ſhould be guilty of theſe diſtinguiſhed cruelties; but it is aſtoniſhing that, conſidering the ſtate of the kingdom at this period, when the number of proteſtants greatly exceeded that of the catholics, ſhe was ſuffered to ſurvive one moment the commiſſion of ſuch horrid barbarities. It was not, however, long before ſhe felt the effect of the public hatred. The miniſtry became extremely unpopular; and every thing bore the marks of diſguſt and averſion. Mary's ill temper was alſo increaſed by a very ſingular circumſtance. She had flattered herſelf with an imaginary pregnancy, and when ſhe found her miſtake, ſhe fell into a profound melancholy.

Philip, diſguſted with a wife who was extremely jealous, without being in any reſpect amiable, made preparations for returning to the continent. He had received an invitation from the emperor, who had declared his intentions of reſigning to him his dominions. He therefore took this opportunity of retiring to Flanders, and met his father at Bruſſels. Here the emperor, (previous to the reſigning of hi ſovereignty, which took place on the 25th of October instructed his ſon in the art of government; and recommended to him the following maxims for his conduct, which Philip took no care to obſerve: "T think himſelf rich, when his ſubjects were ſo; an wiſe when he had wiſe counſellors; to govern hi ſubjects rather by love than by fear; to let a ſmal fault paſs unpuniſhed, rather than condemn an innocent perſon; to avoid the curioſity of ſearching int things done in private; to leave the ſecrets of men hearts and thoughts to God, and the chaſtiſement o interior offences to the divine vengeance; ſince what the eyes of man could not ſee, it was not fit fo their hands to puniſh." Had Charles himſelf directe his conduct by theſe maxims, Germany and the Ne therlands had not been deluged with blood, no Europe been filled with widows and orphans. B the cool reflections of age had now diſcovered him the emptineſs of his former purſuits; and h found that the vain ſcheme of extending his empi had now been the ſource of endleſs oppoſition a diſa diſappointment, had kept himſelf, his neighbours, and his ſubjects in perpetual inquietude, and had fruſtrated the ſole end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care.

The parliament met on the 21ſt of October, when ſo viſible a diſcontent appeared among the members from the late proceedings againſt the proteſtants, that it was with the greateſt difficulty the queen could obtain a very moderate ſupply. This ſudden change in the temper of the Houſe of Commons was, perhaps, with juſtice, attributed to the death of Gardiner, who paid the debt of nature on the 12th of November. By the loſs of this prelate the queen was deprived of her ableſt counſellor, and the only perſon in the miniſtry who had any great authority in the parliament. He was a man of a ſelfiſh character; a profound diſſembler, and of a proud, vindictive and cruel diſpoſition. He underſtood the canon and civil law as well as moſt of his time; he wrote Latin with eaſe and purity, and few of his cotemporaries excelled him in the knowledge of the Greek language. He is ſaid to have felt ſome remorſe in his laſt moments for the cruel perſecutions he had carried on againſt the proteſtants, and to have exclaimed, "I have ſinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter."——He was buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter, where his monument and effigy are ſtill to be ſeen.

A. D. 1556. Mary was ſo exaſperated at the refuſal of the parliament to grant her the neceſſary ſupplies wanted, that ſhe had recourſe to every method in her power to extort money from her people. She levied a loan of 60,000l. on a certain number of people whom ſhe was aſſured would not refuſe to aſſiſt her; but that ſum being inſufficient to anſwer the end propoſed, ſhe exacted a general loan of 100l. a piece on all perſons poſſeſſed of 20l. a year: ſhe alſo extorted 60,000 marks from ſeven thouſand yeomen, who had not contributed to former loans; and exacted 60,000l. from the cloth-merchants of London trading to Antwerp, which they refuſed, having advanced her large ſums already. But Mary was determined not to be diſappointed, and having received advice that they had ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, ſhe ſeized both ſhips and cargo, laying upon them a new ſubſidy of twenty ſhillings for each piece of cloth, by an arbitrary ſtretch of the royal prerogative; nor could they procure this impoſition to be aboliſhed, till they had agreed to advance 40,000l. and to engage to pay 20,000l. more in a limited time.

All theſe violent and oppreſſive meaſures were purſued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and when Mary herſelf had no other occaſion for money than to ſatisfy the exorbitant demands of a huſband, who was equally regardleſs of her love and her generoſity, and attended to nothing but his own emolument.

Charles V. after having relinquiſhed the ſovereignty of his dominions into the hands of his ſon, determined to ſeek, in the tranquillity of retirement, that happineſs he had ſo ardently purſued in vain amidſt the tumults of war, and the reſtleſs projects of ambition. He accordingly embarked on board a fleet, ſailed immediately to Spain, and took his journey to St. Juſt, a monaſtery in Eſtramedura, which being ſituated in a happy climate, and amidſt the greateſt beauties of nature, he had choſen that for the place where he intended to end his days in ſolitude and contemplation. He was ſoon convinced that the homage he had received had been paid to his fortune rather than to his perſon; but he purſued his deſign with undaunted reſolution, and ſhut himſelf up in his retreat. Being thus ſecluded from the world, he amuſed himſelf in examining the religious controverſies which had ſo much agitated Europe in his reign, and in imitating the works of celebrated mechanics. Among the reſt the conſtruction of clocks and watches engaged his attention, and never being able to make two go in a perfect equality of time, he concluded from thence that it was impoſſible for men to agree exactly in the articles of faith; and that it was unjuſt to puniſh them for their opinions. This concluſion proved, at leaſt, that he had changed his own. Notwithſtanding the ingratitude of his ſon Philip, who no ſooner ſucceeded than he neglected him, he endeavoured to make him maſter of the empire, with all the other vaſt eſtates of the family. But Ferdinand the brother of Charles, who had been elected king of the Romans, would not come into his views; and the houſe of Auſtria was divided into two branches. Paul IV. refuſed to crown Ferdinand, alledging, that though on the death of an emperor he was obliged to crown the prince elected; yet in caſe of a reſignation, the right devolved to the holy ſee, and conſequently it belonged to the pope alone to appoint a ſucceſſor.

The pope was a ſworn enemy to the houſe of Auſtria, and accordingly engaged Henry II. of France to break the truce with Spain. Philip was not fond of war; his object was to govern by political reſources, and flattered himſelf by that means alone to riſe ſuperior to all his enemies, and extend, at once, his authority and dominions. But being obliged to take up arms, he endeavoured to engage the Engliſh in his cauſe againſt France. Had the deciſion depended entirely upon the queen, he would have found no difficulty in his application: ſhe was incapable of refuſing the demands of a huſband ſhe ſo tenderly loved; but ſhe had little influence in the council, and ſtill leſs among the people: her government was hardly able to ſupport itſelf in the midſt of a profound peace.

A. D. 1557. On the 20th of March Philip arrived in England, and during his ſtay continued at Greenwich, where his queen had ſome time reſided in order to avail herſelf of thoſe melancholy reflections which had been occaſioned by his abſence. Soon after Philip's arrival, the nation was alarmed with accounts that a rebellion was broke out in the northern parts of the kingdom. Thomas Stafford, a lineal deſcendant from the late duke of Buckingham, and conſequently poſſeſſed of a diſtant claim upon the crown, had for ſome time taken refuge in France, where he had been joined by ſeveral other diſaffected perſons; and, unhappily for themſelves, miſtaking the diſcontents of the people for an indication of their readineſs to take up arms againſt the government, they attempted to excite an inſurrection. About the latter end of April they landed in Scotland, marched directly to Scarborough, and ſeized the caſtle. Stafford now aſſumed the title of Protector of the kingdom, and publiſhed a maniſeſto, pretending that the queen had forfeited her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into England. But he ſoon found the people, however oppreſſed with regard to religion, were too cautious to join his ſtandard. The earl of Weſtmoreland marched againſt him, defeated his little army, and took him priſoner. Perſuaded that this attempt to diſturb the internal peace of the kingdom was owing to the inſtigations of the French King, a reſolution was taken in the council to declare war againſt that monarch, which was accordingly performed, with great ſolemnity, about the middle of June.

Philip, having procured from the Engliſh a body of 8000 forces, immediately paſſed over to the Lower Countries; while his general, the duke of Savoy, ſtrengthened with the junction of another body of Britiſh troops, entered St. Quintin in Picardy. As the place was but poorly fortified, and defended only by a weak garriſon, he hoped in a few days to compel it to ſurrender: but the governor, admiral Coligny, thinking it his duty to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into the town, with a few battalions of French and Scots, and by his exhortations and example, encouraged the ſoldiers to make a vigorous defence. In the mean time he ſent an expreſs to his uncle, the conſtable Montmorency, then at the head of the French army, requeſting a reinforcement. That general accordingly advanced towards St. Quintin, at the head of his whole army, in order to facilitate the attempt of throwing a body of forces into the town; but the duke of Savoy being informed of the conſtable's deſign, fell upon the reinforcement with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that not more than five hundred men entered the place. Animated by this ſucceſs, he attacked the conſtable, routed his whole army, and took him priſoner. Two thouſand five hundred of the enemy fell on the field of battle.

The duke of Savoy, in order to improve the advantage he had thus gained over the enemy, diſpatched the duke of Bedford, and the count of Egmont, at the head of 4000 men, to make an inroad into France. They obeyed their inſtructions, and ravaged the country to the diſtance of two and twenty miles, without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance. The inhabitants of Paris were ſo terrified, that they began to fortify their city with the utmoſt expedition; and had the duke of Savoy marched directly to the capital, he had, in all probability, made himſelf maſter of the place; but he continued the ſiege of St. Quintin, which, by the bravery of the admiral, held out ſeventeen days, when it was taken by ſtorm, and that gallant officer, with his brother, and all who had ſurvived of the garriſon, were made priſoners.

In the mean time, the French, having recovered from their fears, made the neceſſary preparations for rendering abortive any farther attempts of the enemy. They had even formed a deſign of reducing Calais, as appeared by ſome obſcure hints found among the papers of the French admiral, taken priſoner at St. Quintin. Philip failed not to inform Mary of the diſcovery, and offered to ſupply her with troops to defend the place; but the Engliſh council, conſidering this as a ſtratagem of Philip to get poſſeſſion of Calais, declined the offer.

However right the Engliſh might be in their ſuſpicions of Philip, they ſoon found the information he had given them, relative to the deſigns of the French, was not without foundation; for the duke of Guiſe, who had lately been created lieutenant-general of France, not content with fortifying the frontiers of the kingdom, reſolved, though in the depth of winter, to attempt the reduction of Calais; an enterprize which France, during her greateſt ſucceſs, had always conſidered as impracticable.

The place was commanded by the lord Wentworth, a brave and experienced officer, whoſe garriſon conſiſted only of 500 ſoldiers, and about 200 townſmen. It was ſurrounded by moraſſes on the land ſide, and could only be approached by a dyke, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newnham, about a quarter of a mile from the town. Near this fort was another, called St. Agatha; and the entrance of the harbour was defended by a caſtle, termed the Ryſbank. Such was the ſituation of Calais, when Guiſe, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, inveſted it on the firſt of January, 1558.

At the time the duke began his march towards Calais, a fleet of French ſhips was ſent into the channel, under pretence of cruiſing on the trading veſſels of the Engliſh, but in reality to aſſiſt the land forces in their attempts upon a place deemed impregnable. The firſt operation of the French was againſt Fort Agatha, which the Engliſh, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon. The garriſon, however, threw themſelves into Fort Newnham, which was immediately inveſted by the enemy. At the ſame time, the French ſhips cannonaded the Ryſbank, and both forts ſoon became untenable. Wentworth ſaw the neceſſity of abandoning theſe caſtles, as the greater part of his garriſon was employed in defending them: he therefore gave orders for their capitulating with the enemy, and joining him in Calais, which, without their aſſiſtance, he was in no condition to defend. The garriſon of Newnham followed his inſtructions, and were permitted to retire into the town: but thoſe in the Ryſbank were not ſo fortunate; the French admiral refuſed to ſign any capitulation; and the garriſon were ſoon after obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

All the avenues to the place being now ſecured, the duke of Guiſe, with prodigious labour, formed a road, conſtructed of pitched hurdles, through the moraſs, by the help of which a large detachment of his army lodged themſelves behind ſome heights, near the walls of the town. Here they erected a battery of fifteen pieces of large cannon againſt the caſtle, in which a practicable breach was ſoon made. D'Andelot, brother to admiral Coligny, was now ordered to draw the water out of the ditch, and ſucceſsfully executed the taſk in one night. The next day the duke ordered a general aſſault, which was made with ſuch fury, that the breach was carried by ſtorm, and the French effected a lodgment in the caſtle. During the enſuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to recover that poſt; but having loſt two hundred men, and the French pouring ſuch numbers into the caſtle, he thought any farther defence would be madneſs, and accordingly capitulated on the following conditions, the beſt he could obtain in his diſtreſſed ſituation: "That he himſelf ſhould remain a priſoner of war, with fifty of the chief officers of his garriſon: that the reſt ſhould be at liberty to retire, either to England or Flanders; and that the place, with all its proviſions, ammunition, cannon, and riches, ſhould be immediately delivered up to the French." This capitulation was ſigned on the ſeventeenth of January. Ham and Guiſnes were taken by the twenty-ſecond; and the duke of Guiſe reduced, in leſs than thirty days, and even in the depth of winter, what had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months. And thus all the Engliſh poſſeſſions on the continent were totally loſt.

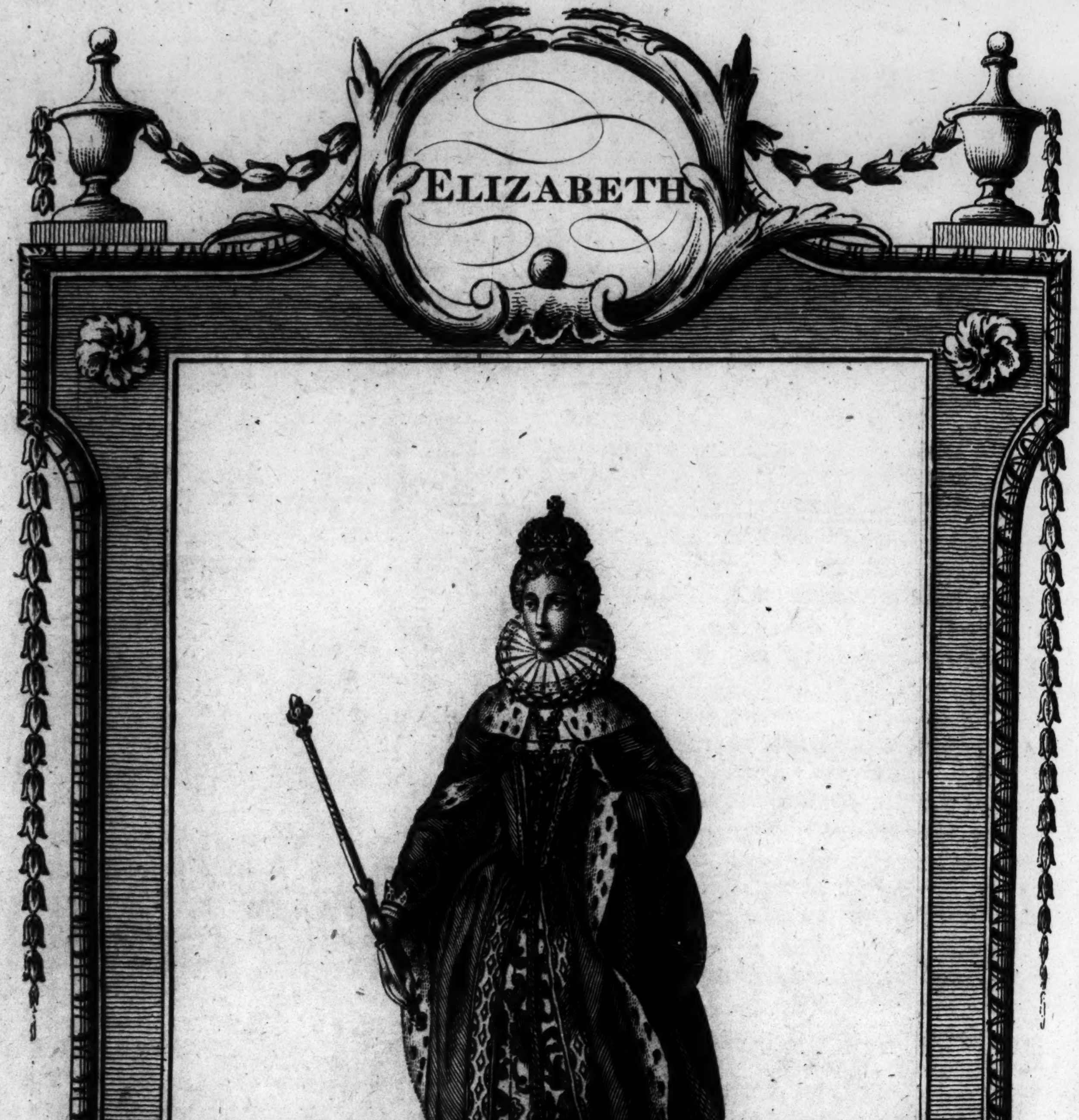
The news of this important conqueſt threw th nation into a ferment: they murmured loudly againſt the queen and her council for having, on the moſt frivolous pretences, engaged the kingdom in a war, by which one of the moſt important poſſeſſions of th crown was irretrievably loſt.

Mary was ſo ſenſibly affected with the loſs of Calais, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to grief; and repeatedly declared to thoſe about her, "That her end wa approaching, and that ſhe ſhould never recover th effects of this misfortune." She, however, aſſembled the parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies. This wa effected, though not without oppoſition from th Commons, who ſeemed determined to remonſtrat againſt the abuſe of prerogative. They alſo paſſe an act for confirming all alienations of crown lan that the queen had made or might think proper t make during the ſpace of ſeven years to come.

Although the Engliſh had refuſed the offer of Ph lip with regard to throwing a ſtrong reinforceme into Calais, yet he made a propoſal for aſſiſting the to the utmoſt of his power in recovering that i portant fortreſs, before the ſeaſon would permit t French to repair the works which were now in a ve bad condition. But this offer was alſo refuſed, a no military expedition attempted till the ſpring w conſiderably advanced, when a fleet of one hundr

a

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


ELIZABETH
Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

and forty ſail of ſhips was fitted out, for revenging the inſult upon the enemy. This fleet being reinforced with thirty Flemiſh ſhips, having on board a body of ſix thouſand land forces, were ſent to alarm the coaſt of France. They accordingly landed near Breſt; but ſo little care had been taken to conceal the deſign, that the French were prepared for their reception; and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat to their ſhips, without having effected any thing of conſequence.

This diſgrace, however, was ſoon after recovered by the activity of a ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting only of ten ſhips. The marſhal de Thermes, governor of Calais, invaded Flanders at the head of an army of fourteen thouſand men. He croſſed the Aa without oppoſition, and made himſelf maſter of Dunkirk and Berg St. Winloc. But being overtaken by the Spaniards under count Egmont, near Gravelines, a bloody conteſt enſued. While the two armies were cloſely engaged, and fortune ſeemed undetermined on which ſide to beſtow the wreath of victory, the Engliſh men of war came into the harbour; and pointing their cannon againſt the flank of the French, made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter, that the whole army was thrown into confuſion, and the Spaniards gained a complete victory. The mareſchal himſelf was taken priſoner, and about 5000 were left dead on the field of battle.

During theſe tranſactions the two armies of France and Spain approached each other on the frontiers of Picardy, and a deciſive battle was every moment expected; when offers were made for a general peace, and the two armies retired into winter quarters, that the contending princes might have time ſufficient to finiſh the treaty. Indeed the demands of Henry and Philip were ſo very oppoſite, that there were hardly any hopes of their coming to an agreement. The former demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its proper owner: and the latter that of Calais and its territories to England. But, during theſe negotiations, news arrived of the death of queen Mary; and Philip, no longer connected with England, did not inſiſt on the reſtitution of Calais, and a peace was ſoon after concluded between the two monarchs.

Mary's health had been long declining. She had for ſome time been afflicted with the dropſy, the conſequence of her falſe conception, and the improper regimen ſhe had purſued. The malady was greatly increaſed by the anxiety of her mind, which was now increaſed by the moſt painful reflections. The conſciouſneſs of being hated by her ſubjects; the mortification of being without children; the fear of leaving her crown to a ſiſter whom ſhe deteſted; the approaching ruin that threatened the Catholic religion; the indifference of a huſband, who was going to retire into Spain; all theſe diſagreeable reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a ſlow fever, of which ſhe died on the ſeventeenth of November, in the forty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign.

The progreſſive circumſtances attending the reign of this princeſs renders it almoſt ſuperfluous to add any thing relative to her character. Indeed, the barbarities committed in her time are beyond the pen of hiſtory to deſcribe. With her the practice of religion became the trade of murder, and the care of her people the exerciſe of her cruelty; while all her views for their happineſs terminated in puniſhments for their virtues. Her bigotry infected every branch of government, and weakened every band of ſociety. She had not any thing engaging either in her perſon, her behaviour, or her addreſs: her underſtanding was confined within very narrow limits; and her temper moroſe and gloomy; while obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny, directed all her actions.

Cardinal Pole, who had long laboured under an intermitting fever, died about ſixteen hours after the queen, ſo that the throne and the archiepiſcopal chair of Canterbury became vacant nearly at the ſame time; an event which the reformed conſidered as the happy omen of the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of civil and religious liberty.

Mary's funeral was ſolemnized on the 14th of December, at Weſtminſter, with a maſs of Requiem in the uſual form of the Romiſh church; and her body was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. her grandfather.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened during the ſhort reign of this queen were as follow:

Her firſt year gave riſe to the practice of ſtarching linen, the art of which was brought into England by one Mrs. Dinghen, a native of Flanders.

In her third year, alderman Draper of Cordwainers Ward, firſt inſtituted the office of Bellman, whoſe buſineſs was to go about the ward by night, and, ringing his bell at certain places, exhort the inhabitants, with an audible voice, to take care of their fires and lights, to help the poor and pray for the dead. This inſtitution was ſoon after adopted in all the other wards of the city.

During this year a malignant fever raged with great violence in London: it carried off a conſiderable number of its inhabitants, among whom were ſeven aldermen.

In this queen's reign, needles were firſt made in Cheapſide, London, by a negro from Spain; but he would not teach his art; and, dying ſoon after, it was loſt till the ſucceeding reign, when Elias Growſe, a German, taught the Engliſh the art; which has ſince been brought to the greateſt perfection.

SECTION V.

ELIZABETH,

The Fifth and laſt Sovereign of the Houſe of Tudor.

THE death of Mary revived the drooping ſpirits of the proteſtants. They now beheld the pleaſing proſpect that they ſhould no longer be perſecuted for their religion; and that their virtues would not expoſe them, for the future, to the rage of ignorance and bigotry.

As the parliament was at this time ſitting, Heath, archbiſhop of York, notified the death of the queen to that aſſembly; when both houſes unanimouſly declared Elizabeth the legal ſucceſſor to the crown, and ſhe was accordingly proclaimed on the ſame day at the uſual places in London and Weſtminſter.

Elizabeth was at Hatfield when ſhe received the news of her ſiſter's death, a few days after which ſhe proceeded to London admidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, who ſeemed to vie with each other in teſtifying their joy on the happy event of her acceſſion to the throne of England.

The day after her arrival in London, ſhe iſſued a proclamation, ſtrictly enjoining all her ſubjects "to keep the peace, and forbear all attempts, upon any pretence whatever, to break or alter any order or uſage at that time eſtabliſhed." This prudent meaſure was taken to prevent thoſe diſorders which there was too much reaſon to apprehend would otherwiſe have reſulted from the intemperate zeal of ſome of the reformed, who, following the precedent given them by the popiſh party in the late reign, might have proceeded in an illegal and riotous manner by deſtroying the ſuperſtitious objects of the catholics, and reſtoring the reformed method of worſhip without waiting for the royal authority.

Elizabeth was about twenty-five years of age when ſhe paſſed as it were from a priſon to a throne. The remembrance of her misfortunes added a luſtre to her merit, and ſhe was conſidered as the deliverer of the kingdom. Born with ſuperior talents, ſhe had acquired, by ſtudy, the great art of government, and had in herſelf all the reſources of genius, authority and policy. Her compliances during the late reign had inſpired the catholics with hopes, that ſhe was not ſo great an enemy to their religion as to the cruel and bloody methods made uſe of to enforce it; while the proteſtants believed her to be a ſincere friend to their more humane and enlightened doctrine. She knew the advantage of keeping both parties in ſuſpence, and therefore formed her council of perſons of both religions, though at the ſame time ſhe was attentive to the choice of thoſe who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their wiſdom, reputation and experience.

Though Elizabeth had been ſo cruelly perſecuted during the reign of her ſiſter, yet ſhe ſeemed, on her change of fortune, to forget all the injuries ſhe had received from her enemies. She returned thanks to heaven for her deliverance as for a miracle; but ſhe wiſhed not to make her perſecutors feel the rod of retaliation: her prudence and magnanimity buried all offences in oblivion. She received with affability thoſe very perſons who had acted with the greateſt virulence againſt her; and even Sir Henry Bedingfield, (to whoſe cuſtody ſhe had been committed, and who had treated her with uncommon ſeverity) found her inſenſible to the deſire of revenge. This noble inſtance of a ſuperior underſtanding and beneficent diſpoſition charmed her enemies; they were convinced that their religion would never be puniſhed as a crime by a princeſs who cheriſhed not the paſſion of revenge.

But though Elizabeth readily paſſed over all injuries offered to herſelf, ſhe could not forgive thoſe who had inflicted the moſt inhuman cruelties on her innocent people. When the biſhops came in a body to pay her their obedience, ſhe expreſſed her ſentiments of regard for them all, except Bonner, from whom ſhe turned aſide as from a man polluted with blood; an object that excited horror in every heart ſuſceptible of the tender feelings of humanity.

As ſoon as the queen had, in ſome meaſure, ſettled the domeſtic tranquillity of the kingdom, ſhe diſpatched orders to her ambaſſadors at foreign courts, to notify her ſiſter's death, and her own acceſſion to the Engliſh crown. At the ſame time the lord Cobham was diſpatched to Philip, who ſtill continued in the Low Countries, in order to keep that monarch firm to the intereſts of England.

When Philip received advice of Elizabeth's acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, he expreſſed great ſurprize; but being deſirous of ſecuring his intereſt in that kingdom, he ordered his miniſter to pay her his compliments on the occaſion, and offer her propoſals of marriage. He flattered himſelf with obtaining at laſt the government of that kingdom over which Mary, or rather the parliament, gave him no power. But the queen knew too well the averſion of the Engliſh to an alliance with Spain; and, at the ſame time, was too fond of her own independence, to accept his propoſals. However, ſhe thought it moſt prudent to treat the ambaſſador with particular reſpect, and to elude his offers, without appearing to reject them. She likewiſe took care that the court of France ſhould be acquainted with Philip's offer, in order to induce Henry to conclude a ſpeedy peace, and by that means prevent her from throwing herſelf into the arms of the Spaniſh monarch.

Notwithſtanding Elizabeth was determined to reſtore the reformed religion in England, yet her ambaſſador at Rome received orders to notify to the pope her acceſſion to the throne. Had the pontiff been the leaſt deſirous of ſupporting his own intereſt, and that of the holy ſee, he could not, on this critical occaſion, have acted with too much prudence and moderation. But Paul IV. one of the moſt haughty and inflexible churchmen that ever filled the papal chair, inſtead of endeavouring to heal the breaches that had ſo long ſubſiſted between the churches of Rome and England, behaved with all the inſolence natural to his character. He declared, that the kingdom, being a fief of the holy ſee, it was an act of the higheſt preſumption in Elizabeth to aſſume the title of queen without his concurrence; that her illegitimate birth excluded her from the right of ſucceſſion; that he would annul the decree paſſed againſt the marriage of her father with Anne Boleyn; but that if ſhe would ſolicit his favour, he would ſhew her all the indulgence ſhe could expect from the head of the church. The queen being informed of this anſwer, ſaid, that the pope, in order to gain too much, was willing to loſe the whole. She accordingly recalled her ambaſſador, and applied herſelf ſeriouſly to reſtore a religion altogether unfavourable to the papacy. She, however, uſed not terrifying, but conciliating meaſures; nor did ſhe withdraw her favours from a ſingle individual of the catholic party.

The people, from the diſtinguiſhed violences committed in the preceding reign, were ſufficiently diſpoſed to a change of religion; but the queen was fearful of their running into the oppoſite extreme, and ſeverely retaliating on the catholics the miſeries that had been inflicted on the proteſtants. In order, therefore, to render this change leſs dangerous and more durable, ſhe imitated not the precipitate conduct of her ſiſter; ſhe took meaſures with caution, and inſured her ſucceſs by the rectitude of her views. She ſoon perceived that the proteſtant divines attacked, with all the virulence of religious zeal, the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Roman church, and that the papiſts retorted upon them with equal acrimony. She therefore publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all preaching, without a ſpecial licence, that the pulpits might not be filled with the combuſtibles of diſcord. At the ſame time, ſhe introduced ſuch a number of proteſtants into her council, as were ſufficient to counterbalance the power of the papiſts, ſhould they exert themſelves in favour of the ancient religion. She diſcharged from priſon, or recalled from exile, thoſe whoſe religion only had been their crime and ſhe ordered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, th Ten Commandments, and the Goſpel, to be read i Engliſh. The elevation of the hoſt was diſcontinued and a greater zeal was expreſſed for the Bible tha for the church of Rome.

Th

The popiſh biſhops were ſo alarmed at theſe meaſures, that (apprehending a total abolition of the papal power, together with the ceremonies of the church of Rome, would ſoon follow; or, perhaps fearful of offending the holy father, who had ſcrupled to acknowledge the queen's title, and abſolutely denied her legitimacy) they reſolved not to officiate at her coronation. The only perſon that diſſented from this reſolution was the biſhop of Carliſle, who readily undertook to diſcharge the important office of crowning his ſovereign.

A. D. 1559. The ceremony of the coronation being fixed for the 15th of January, her majeſty, the preceding day, paſſed in grand proceſſion from the Tower to Weſtminſter, amidſt the acclamations of a prodigious number of ſpectators. The queen's behaviour was remarkable; ſhe returned their applauſes with ſuch a modeſt affability and winning behaviour as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But nothing diſplayed in a ſtronger light the religious ſentiments of the citizens, or tended more to endear the new ſovereign to the people, than her accepting of an Engliſh bible, richly gilt, which was let down, from a pageant in Cheapſide, by a child repreſenting Truth, who made the queen a ſpeech on the occaſion. Elizabeth received the book in both her hands; and having kiſſed it, held it up, and laid it on her boſom, promiſing to be diligent in reading it; and aſſuring the citizens, that ſhe eſteemed that gift more than all the coſtly preſents they had made her. The next day ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter with great ſolemnity; and the two following days were celebrated with juſts and tournaments.

The parliament met on the 25th of January, where both houſes teſtified, in the moſt ample manner, their obedience and loyalty to the queen. After confirming her right to the crown, they acknowledged her ſupremacy, and gave her, under the title of head of the church, the tenths, firſt-fruits, and impropriations, which had been reſtored to the pope by queen Mary, together with all the eccleſiaſtical authority which her father and her brother had enjoyed, and alſo a power of adjuſting that authority to ſuch commiſſioners, whether eccleſiaſtics or laymen, as ſhe ſhould think proper to nominate. Several penalties were levied on all thoſe who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy. The ſtatutes of Edward the VI. were confirmed; and the maſs and liturgy of the church of Rome were aboliſhed.

Nor did the parliament confine their attention ſolely to the affairs of religion. The commons, excluſive of tonnage and poundage, then conſidered as the property of the crown, voted new ſupplies to Elizabeth: they granted her a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound on land, and two ſhillings and eight-pence on goods, together with two fifteenths.

Before the commons broke up, they voted an addreſs to the queen, requeſting her to fix her choice of a huſband which they ſuppoſed could not be diſagreeable to a perſon of her age and beauty. This addreſs, though couched in the moſt reſpectful terms, met with a refuſal from the queen. She told the ſpeaker, who preſented it, that as the application from the houſe was conceived in general terms, ſhe could not take offence at the addreſs, or conſider it in any other light than as a freſh inſtance of their affection and regard for her; but that any farther application on this head would ill become either them to make as ſubjects, or her to hear as an independent princeſs. She farther ſaid, that ſhe alwas conſidered marriage as a burthen, and that while ſhe was charged with the government of ſo great a kingdom, it ſeemed ſtill more ſo; that the ſtate was her huſband, and the people of England her children; and that ſhe ſhould not think herſelf barren, nor her life unfruitful, while her days were devoted to the care of ſuch a family. She concluded with ſaying, that ſhe deſired no higher character, nor that a fairer remembrance of her ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity, than to leave this inſcription engraved on her tomb-ſtone, when ſhe had paid the laſt debt of nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

The new liturgy was eaſily introduced into the churches; but all the biſhops, except Landaffe, refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, and were deprived of their ſees. The inferior clergy, however, were not in general ſo tenaciouſly addicted to the ancient tenets, as to forfeit their livings; a few only refuſed to take the oath required, and were deprived of their benefices. Bonner was committed to the Marſhalſea, where he died in confinement. Dr. Parker was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, Jewel, biſhop of Saliſbury; Barlow, Scovy, and Coverdale, biſhops under Edward, were reſtored to their ſees, and the other vacant biſhoprics were filled up with men of piety and learning.

While the queen and parliament were employed in ſettling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on at Chateau-Cambroſis, between the miniſters of France, Spain and England. The treaty was at laſt concluded, by which Calais was given up to Henry, who, on the other hand, engaged to reſtore it at the end of eight years, provided, during that time, Elizabeth did not break the peace either with France or Scotland. All men of penetration eaſily ſaw, that this ſtipulation was nothing more than a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excuſed the queen for making the ſacrifice on account of the neceſſity of her affairs, and even extolled her prudence in ſubmitting without farther ſtruggle to that neceſſity. A peace with Scotland followed as a neceſſary conſequence of that with France. The treaty was more honourable for the king of Spain. Henry II. reſtored all the places he had conquered, and gave Philip his daughter in marriage. It was alſo agreed that Philibert, duke of Savoy, ſhould marry the French king's ſiſter. The ceremonies were accordingly performed, when Henry II. was accidentally killed by a wound he received in his eye from the ſplinter of a lance, at a tournament held in honor of the nuptials.

His ſon and ſucceſſor Francis II. who had married Mary, queen of Scots, was a prince void of genius and experience. He was nothing more than an inſtrument in the hands of the Guiſes, who hurried him into meaſures which tended to augment their ambition and vanity. By their perſuaſions he conteſted the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth, in order, at a proper opportunity, to diſpute her right to the Engliſh crown. Mary took the arms and title of queen of England, and by her intimate alliance with the French nation, was conſidered as a formidable rival. Elizabeth ſaw her danger, and determined to exert all her prudence and courage to render the attempts of her enemies abortive.

The French influence was at this time ſo ſtrong in the Scottiſh parliament, that an act paſſed for ſending the crown of that kingdom over to France. This complaiſance threw the Scots into a flame; the duke of Caſtle-herault, who was next heir to the crown, entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt it; and the earl of Arran, his eldeſt ſon, loudly exclaimed againſt ſo abſurd a proceeding.

In the mean time the friends of the reformation began to increaſe conſiderably, and the diſturbances excited by religious diſputes in Scotland now aroſe to the moſt enormous height. The proteſtants were headed by perſons of the firſt diſtinction; particularly by the earl of Argyle, the lords Turner and Morton, and others of the nobility. Theſe reformers

ers had ſent an invitation to Knox, one of their countrymen, and a famous proteſtant teacher, inviting him to return from Geneva, where he then reſided. Knox was one of the moſt extraordinary men of that age. He was born in Scotland, and had taken orders in the Romiſh church. His birth was mean, his education illiberal, his learning ſmall, and his manners unpoliſhed. But with all theſe diſadvantages he roſe above the titles beſtowed by ſovereigns; he became the companion of princes; and though his enthuſiaſtic zeal carried him far beyond the bounds of decency, it was not in the power of courts to controul him. By reſiding long in England he had acquired the language in great perfection, and enlivened his writings with a peculiar vein of wit, always keen, and ſometimes delicate. He was the firſt who had the art of teaching politics from the pulpit, and of erecting on the altar a battery againſt the crown. His ambition was too refined to be ſatisfied with what crowns could beſtow: it could be ſatisfied only by the rank of a deſtroying angel, when it was in his power to have proved the better genius of his country. He raiſed, guided, and enjoyed the tempeſt, which reduced the Scottiſh churches to ruins, the independency of the ſtate to a ſhadow, and the crown to beggary. He had no juſt notions of liberty, becauſe he had none of order. In civil affairs he affected the ſpirit of a tribune, and in eccleſiaſtical, he exceeded even the inſolence of a pope. He was a perfect maſter of impenetrable diſſimulation; and by that deceitful acquiſition, proved the moſt formidable enemy to the eſtabliſhed government of his country.

Knox immediately obeyed the ſummons, and on his arrival in Scotland, the reformers entered into a bond of aſſociation, calling themſelves, "The Congregation of the Lord," in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated "The Congregation of Satan." The ſigning of this bond was followed by an open revolt from the clergy and the church of Rome. They committed ravages in various parts of the country, and the whole kingdom became one continued ſcene of diſorder. The enthuſiaſtic ſermons preached by Knox kindled the flames of rebellion. The Romiſh prieſts were attacked, the images broken, the monaſteries demoliſhed, and every diſorder was committed that could be expected from a multitude inflamed with religious madneſs.

The heads of theſe revolters, however, ſoon perceived that it would be impoſſible to complete their project, of effectually extirpating the Romiſh religion, without the aſſiſtance of ſome foreign power. They were already diſtreſſed for want of money, and found, that the reformation of religion, however deſired by the people, would not be ſufficient to keep a numerous army together. The revolters therefore, notwithſtanding the inveterate hatred that ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, applied to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance. The court of France were at firſt pleaſed with theſe commotions, as they afforded a plauſible pretence for ſending forces into Scotland, who would be there in readineſs to act againſt Elizabeth, and ſupport Mary's claim to the Engliſh crown. But on receiving intelligence that the Scottiſh revolters were negotiating with Elizabeth for aſſiſtance, they were greatly alarmed, and exerted all their influence to render the treaty abortive. They even offered to reſtore Calais, and all its dependences, if the queen would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. But Elizabeth was too prudent to be diverted from her purpoſe: ſhe anſwered, that a ſmall fiſhing town was of little conſequence when compared to the ſecurity of her dominions. She diſpatched Randolph into Scotland, to aſſure the revolters of ſupport, and to animate the leaders of the congregation in their deſign of ſhaking off their ſubjection to Rome.

A. D. 1560. Accordingly, in the beginning of January a ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips of war was fitted out under the command of vice-admiral Winter; and an army of 8000 men was ordered to rendezvous at Berwick, in order to act in conſort with the fleet, and join the revolters. The appearance of the Engliſh ſhips in the Forth gave new ſpirits to the leaders of the congregation; while the French forces, terrified at the loſs of ſome of their ſhips, which Winter had deſtroyed in his paſſage up the river, retired to Leith, in order to wait the powerful reinforcement they expected from the continent. But the troubles which now broke out in France engaged the attention of the miniſtry, and all thoughts of invading England totally vaniſhed.

On the 27th of February a treaty of mutual defence was ſigned at Berwick, between the duke of Norfolk, earl marſhal of England, (on the part of Elizabeth) and the leaders of the congregation; and the Engliſh received orders to join the Scottiſh revolters. The combined army immediately began their march for Leith, which was immediately inveſted. The queen-regent retired to the caſtle of Edinburgh, where ſhe ſoon after expired. She was a princeſs of great capacity, virtue, and moderation; and had the management of the affairs of Scotland been wholly intruſted to her, ſhe would, probably, have accommodated all differences with the reformers, and preſerved the nation from the miſeries of a civil war.

The French, finding that all farther oppoſition would be in vain, deſired to capitulate. The offer was accordingly accepted; and a treaty was ſigned at Edinburgh, whereby it was ſtipulated, That the French ſhould evacuate Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ſhips furniſhed by Elizabeth: that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England, or aſſuming the title of that kingdom: that farther ſatisfaction for the injury already done in that particular ſhould be granted Elizabeth; and that commiſſioners ſhould meet to ſettle this point; or, if they could not agree, the king of Spain ſhould be arbiter between the two crowns. Beſides theſe ſtipulations, which ſolely regarded England, ſome conceſſions were granted to the Scots, which the plenipotentiaries, in the name of the king and queen of France and Scotland, promiſed, in the treaty with Elizabeth, to obſerve; that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould be put into any office in Scotland; that the ſtates ſhould name twenty-four perſons, of whom the Queen of Scots ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the States five; that the whole adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be committed to theſe twelve, during the queen's abſence; and that Mary ſhould neither make peace nor war without the conſent of the States.

A treaty, ſo glorious for Elizabeth, greatly increaſed her power, and extended her reputation. She became, from that moment, ſure of the confidence of the Scottiſh malecontents, and miſtreſs of their hearts and fortunes. This union was ſtill farther cemented by the ſubſequent meaſures of the reformers. They aſſembled the parliament, without any authority or orders from Mary. As ſoon as the ſeſſion was opened, they preſented a petition againſt the catholics, in which they were repreſented as robbers, aſſaſſins, and traitors, that ought no longer to be tolerated. Thus the reformers adopted all the violent meaſures of their enemies. The parliament itſelf ſeemed alſo to be actuated by the ſame ſpirit of rage and perſecution. The maſs was prohibited, under pain of confiſcation, baniſhment and death. The preſbyterian worſhip, founded on the moſt rigid principles of Calviniſm, was eſtabliſhed ; and the Roman clergy were ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, and baniſhed from the kingdom.

The queen of France and Scotland, who governed her huſband, and was herſelf governed by her uncles, the Guiſes, refuſed her conſent to theſe meaſures, declared ſhe would not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and continued the war againſt Elizabeth. The reformers, however, gave themſelves little concern about the refuſal of their ſovereign; they immediately put the ſtatutes in execution; aboliſhed the maſs ; ſettled their miniſters ; committed every where the moſt dreadful devaſtations upon the monaſteries, and even the churches, which they conſidered as having been polluted with idolatry. The rapacity of the people, who had been excited to rebellion by their new preachers, could not be reſtrained ; and fanaticiſm concurring with avarice, gave an incurable blow to the papal authority in Scotland.

A. D. 1561. While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, the fortune of Mary underwent a ſudden change by the death of the king her huſband, who was not yet eighteen years of age. Francis II. was ſucceeded by his brother Charles IX. who being only ten years old, Catherine de Medicis, his mother, was appointed regent during his minority. Mary, who had experienced nothing but mortifications from the hands of Catherine, found herſelf obliged to leave a country which ſhe loved, and return to her unhappy kingdom, rent to pieces on account of religion. Accordingly ſhe ſent her ambaſſador to England, to demand from Elizabeth a ſafe conduct for herſelf and the ſhips that were to attend her. But that princeſs, who was highly exaſperated at her refuſing to ſign the treaty of Edinburgh, anſwered, " that every part of her requeſt ſhould be readily granted, provided ſhe previouſly ratified that convention." She added, " That ſhe ſhould have free liberty to paſs through England, where ſhe ſhould be received with all the marks of affection ſhe could expect from a ſiſter." Mary could not retain her reſentment at this refuſal : ſhe ſent for Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, and aſked him, What offence ſhe had given his miſtreſs, that Elizabeth ſhould deny her ſo ſmall a favour ? " But, (added ſhe) " I can, with God's aſſiſtance, return into my own country without her leave, as I came into France in ſpite of all the oppoſition of her brother Edward. I want not friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they brought me hither, though I was deſirous rather to make an experiment of her friendſhip than of the aſſiſtance of any other perſon."

As a ſafe conduct could not be hoped for from Elizabeth, Mary determined to run all hazards rather than continue any longer at the French court. She accordingly repaired to Calais, attended by all her relations, and ſeveral noblemen of the firſt rank in that kingdom, from whence ſhe embarked for Scotland in the beginning of Auguſt. She ſeemed greatly affected on her leaving France ; ſhe kept her eyes fixed on the coaſt till darkneſs intercepted it from her view. " Farewell France !" ſhe cried, " Farewell, beloved country ! I ſhall never ſee thee more !" Elizabeth had fitted out a fleet of ſhips, under pretence of purſuing ſome pirates, but, probably, with a view of intercepting the Queen of Scots in her paſſage. Mary, however, paſſed the fleet in a fog, and reached her native kingdom in ſafety on the eighteenth of Auguſt, after an abſence of thirteen years. She was received by her people with every mark of eſteem, regard, and affection ; and was prompted, from the preſent appearances, to flatter herſelf with the expectations of a long and happy reign.

Mary, at this time, had only reached the nineteenth year of her age ; and, if the graces of youth, if the charms of beauty, if ſoftneſs of ſoul, if elegance of manners, if every amiable talent could have touched the hearts of a ſtubborn, unenlightened, and fanatical people, Mary would have ſoon become the idol of her ſubjects. Far from interfering in their religious ſentiments, ſhe repoſed her whole confidence in the heads of the reformers, who were now the leaders of the people. But her being a papiſt was a ſufficient provocation to the multitude. It was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could obtain permiſſion to celebrate maſs in her own chapel. " One ſingle maſs (ſaid the reforming miniſters) is more dangerous to this kingdom than an hundred thouſand armed men."

Knox, the enthuſiaſtic and turbulent preacher, daily ſignalized himſelf by freſh inſtances of zeal againſt the Catholics. He publicly called the queen Jezabel ; and even went ſo far as to tell her to her face, in one of his ſermons, That Samuel did not heſitate to hew Agag in pieces, in ſpite of king Saul ; that Elias, in the preſence of Ahab, neither ſpared the falſe prophets of Jezabel, nor the prieſts of Baal ; that Phineas, though no magiſtrate, put the fornicators to death ; and that others of courſe, though no magiſtrates, might legally puniſh thoſe crimes which were condemned by the laws of God." All the endeavours of Mary to gain this impracticable preacher over to her intereſt were in vain : he rejected her offers with contempt, and continued to diſſeminate the ſeeds of revolt and rebellion. He was cited before the council, but refuſed to make any acknowledgment : he defended his principles without timidity, and was diſcharged without puniſhment.

Mary, finding herſelf ſurrounded with dangers from a bigotted people, determined, if poſſible, to maintain a good underſtanding with Elizabeth. In order to this, ſhe diſpatched Maitland, her ſecretary, to pay her reſpects to that princeſs, to ſignify her deſire of cultivating a friendſhip and good correſpondence with her, and requeſting that ſhe might be acknowledged her ſucceſſor in the throne of England, in caſe ſhe died without iſſue. It was hardly poſſible for Mary to have made a more unreaſonable requeſt, or to have urged it at a more improper juncture. Elizabeth was highly provoked, and told the Scottiſh ambaſſador, " That ſhe was determined to live and die queen of England, and would therefore never have the mortification of ſeeing her ſubjects adore the riſing ſun ; that to name a ſucceſſor was to expoſe her own life to danger, to deſtroy the ſecurity of her government, to place a winding-ſheet before her, and to invite the king of terrors before his time." She added, " That ſhe ſhould leave it to others, after her death, to diſcuſs the title of her ſucceſſor ; that ſhe hoped the Queen of Scots claim would then be found preferable, and that ſhe would do nothing to hurt her intereſt in that reſpect.

Though this imprudent ſtep taken by Mary greatly contributed to increaſe the jealouſy Elizabeth had long entertained againſt that princeſs, yet ſhe thought proper to ſend Sir Peter Meutas with compliments to Mary on her ſafe return to her kingdom, and to inſiſt on her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh : but Mary ſtill eluded the demand, pretending that the affairs of Scotland were yet in too unſettled a condition for her to examine the articles of the treaty with that attention the importance of them required, as ſhe imagined they might tend to deprive her of all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown of England. Elizabeth, to put the matter out of all diſpute, offered to explain the words of the treaty in ſuch a manner as to leave no ſuſpicion of their excluding Mary's right of ſucceſſion. But ſtill difficulties occurred, and the treaty continued without being ratified.

Elizabeth's whole attention was now engaged in taking proper meaſures for the preſervation and government of her kingdom. Her firſt buſineſs was to put the navy in a very reſpectable condition: ſhe augmented the pay of her ſeamen; filled her magazines with arms; introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; ordered a great number of iron and braſs pieces of ordnance to be caſt; reinforced the garriſon of Berwick; fortified the northern borders of her kingdom; introduced and encouraged improvements in agriculture, by permitting the exportation of corn; promoted the trade and navigation of England; regulated the national coin, which her predeceſſors had altered; and ordered her people to attend the exerciſe of arms at ſtated times.

The glory that attended Elizabeth's labours attracted the admiration of Europe; and ſhe received the addreſſes of ſeveral princes, who were either in love with her perſon or her power. She amuſed their hopes, but always with a reſolution to preſerve her liberty. Self-love had, poſſibly, as much concern in this particular as the love of dominion. What is ſtill more ſingular in her conduct, is, that though ſhe determined never to have any heirs of her own body, ſhe was not only averſe to fix any ſucceſſor to the crown, but alſo deſirous to prevent, as far as lay in her power, any perſon who had the leaſt pretenſion to the ſucceſſion from ever having heirs. Catherine Gray, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, ſiſter to lady Jane, and now the ſole heireſs of that houſe, was ſent to the Tower, for marrying the earl of Hertford without her conſent. The earl was ſoon after committed to the ſame priſon, where they remained for the ſpace of nine years, when Catherine dying, the queen was freed from all apprehenſions, and the earl was again reſtored to his liberty.

Notwithſtanding, however, Elizabeth was very ſevere with regard to thoſe who had any pretenſions to the throne, ſhe was attentive to remove the oppreſſions of her ſubjects. She revoked all warrants granted to the purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very vexatious manner; and iſſued orders, that the people ſhould be paid in money for whatever proviſions they furniſhed. She reformed the impoſitions of the exchequer; and took care that the penſions aſſigned to the popiſh clergy, on their reſigning their livings, ſhould be punctually paid. She alſo increaſed the ſalary of the judges, and allowed them a proviſion for their reſpective circuits. At the ſame time, ſhe took care that her œconomy ſhould go hand in hand with her liberality: ſhe gave very little out of the royal demeſnes, but on condition of its reverting, on default of male iſſue, to the crown.

A. D. 1562. The attention of Elizabeth and her council was now principally engaged by the civil commotions which had for ſome time raged with the greateſt violence in France. After the death of Francis II. the French proteſtants, or Hugonots, whom that prince had perſecuted with the utmoſt rigour, became a very formidable people, whether we conſider their zeal for the reformation, their numbers, or the talents of their leaders. The prince of Conde, admiral Coligny, and his brother Andelot, were at the head of the Hugonots, and rendered their party reſpectable to the government. The Guiſes were their declared enemies, and armed againſt them the popiſh faction. Both parties aſſumed the maſk of religion; and, under pretence of ſupporting the goſpel of peace, carried on the moſt dreadful war againſt each other. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France: each province, each city, each family, was agitated with inteſtine rage and animoſity. The father was divided againſt the ſon; and even the women ſacrificing at once their humanity and timidity to religious fury, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of ferocity and valour. Wherever the reformed, or Hugonots prevailed, the images were demoliſhed, the altars pillaged, the churches ruined, and the monaſteries deſtroyed. Where ſucceſs attended the catholics, they burned the bibles, re-baptized the infants, and obliged married perſons to repeat the ceremony: while plunder, deſolation, and murder, attended equally the triumph of both parties.

Catherine of Medicis, the queen-regent, wiſhing to put an end to theſe civil diſcords, perſuaded the catholics to compromiſe their differences with the chiefs of the Proteſtant party; and an edict, favourable to the reformers, was publiſhed, by which they were permitted to have places without the cities and towns, for performing divine ſervice according to the tenets of their religion. But this deceitful compliance ſerved only to irritate theſe two irreconcileable parties. The duke of Guiſe, who was conſidered as the protector of the catholic religion, paſſing through Vaſſi, a town on the borders of Champagne, fell upon a congregation of Hugonots, who, in conſequence of the privilege granted them, were ſinging pſalms in a barn. Above ſixty of theſe poor defenceleſs people were killed, and the reſt fled to the woods for ſhelter. The conſequence of this inhuman action was a general inſurrection of the proteſtants in almoſt every par of the kingdom, and the nation was divided betwee the duke of Guiſe and the prince of Conde. Catherine, fluctuated between both, attempted, but in vain to mediate a peace between them. She was then a Paris with the young king her ſon, where finding herſelf deprived of all authority, ſhe wrote to the princ of Conde to come to her deliverance. This lette augmented the flames of the civil war, which wa carried on with the greateſt inhumanity: every tow was a fortified poſt; every ſtreet a field of battl Anthony, king of Navarre, the firſt prince of th blood, was obliged to ſerve in the army of the duk of Guiſe, and, with the queen mother, dragged to th ſiege of Rouen, where he was killed.

Philip, engaged by intereſt and inclination to ſup port the catholic religion, formed a ſecret allianc with the duke of Guiſe; and accordingly ſent 600 men to aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing the Hugonots. Alarme at this confederacy, the prince of Conde, who pe ceived it would be impoſſible to ſupport himſe againſt this combined party without aſſiſtance, applie to Elizabeth for ſupplies both of men and money, i order to prevent the total ruin of the proteſtant par in France. Accordingly Vidame of Chartres, a Briguemant were diſpatched to London to ſettle t treaty. Conde, who was poſſeſſed of moſt of t provinces of Normandy, offered to put Havre Grace into the hands of the Engliſh, on conditi that Elizabeth ſhould ſend three thouſand men to g riſon the place, together with three thouſand ot troops to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furniſh t prince with an hundred thouſand crowns. The qu accepted the offer, and three thouſand men were i mediately ſent under the command of Sir Edw Poinings; but the fortifications of the place were ſo ruinous a condition, that the town was ſoon ab doned, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty t Poinings was able to throw a ſmall garriſon into Rou the city having for ſome time been inveſted by catholics, who at laſt took it by ſtorm, and put whole garriſon to the ſword. Soon after the of Warwick, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Northum land, arrived at Havre, with another body of th

thou

thouſand Engliſh, and took upon himſelf the command of the place.

But theſe forces were not ſufficient to ſtop the career of the catholics. And accordingly Elizabeth, who foreſaw the conſequence, had negotiated with the princes of Germany for a body of troops to aſſiſt the Hugonots. Dandelot, who conducted this negotiation, ſoon procured a body of ſix thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe: and the German princes were ſo ſincere in their profeſſions of religion, that they refuſed any pay for the forces, till there was a proſpect of ſucceſs. This reinforcement enabled the prince of Conde, who was now at Orleans, the ſeat of the Hugonot's power, to take the field, and oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. He intended to march to Havre; but the catholic army, commanded by the duke of Guiſe and the conſtable Montmorency, followed the rear of the Hugonots, and forced them to a battle in the neighbourhood of Dreux. The conteſt was very obſtinate on both ſides; but at laſt the Hugonots thought proper to retire, though the loſs was nearly equal on both ſides. One particular, however, was very remarkable; the prince of Conde was taken priſoner by the catholics, and the conſtable Montmorency by the Hugonots. Coligni, who commanded under Conde, was not intimidated by this misfortune: he inſpired his own unconquerable courage and conſtancy into every breaſt, kept forces together, and ſubdued ſome of the moſt conſiderable places in Normandy.

A. D. 1563. The aſſiſtance given by Elizabeth in favour of the Hugonots had greatly exhauſted her treaſury, and ſhe found it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament. They accordingly met on the 11th of January, a few days before which the queen was ſeized with the ſmall pox, and her life appeared in danger. The commons therefore preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, requeſting that ſhe would either marry, or fix the ſucceſſion in ſuch a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities which it was natural to fear would reſult from the conteſts of ſeveral claims to the throne. But Elizabeth ſtill found means to elude their application: ſhe could not be prevailed upon to declare a ſucceſſor. The parliament, however, made no difficulty of granting the neceſſary ſupplies. They were very willing to ſupport the noble deſigns of Elizabeth for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the augmentation of her navy, for the ſuppreſſion of vice, and for the more effectual reſtraining the progreſs of popery. They granted two fteenths and two ſubſidies. They alſo paſſed a bill r enlarging the oath of ſupremacy, and thoſe who refuſed to take it were to be deemed traitors.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the catholic rmy under the duke of Guiſe were carrying on the ege of Orleans with great vigour. A very confi- erable progreſs had been made in this undertaking, hen the duke was aſſaſſinated by a young enthuſiaſt lled Poltrot de Merc. The duke, before he ex- red, expreſſed the deepeſt remorſe for having in- lved his country in the horrors of a civil war; and njured the queen-regent to conclude a peace as on as poſſible with the Hugonots. His advice was llowed; both parties were heartily tired of the r, and ſoon agreed to articles of pacification.

toleration, under ſome reſtrictions, was again nted to the proteſtants; a general amneſty was bliſhed; Conde was reinſtated in his offices and vernments; and money being advanced to pay the rears of the German troops, they were ſent out of kingdom. Not the leaſt regard was paid to Eli- beth in this treaty; and a garriſon of ſix thouſand n ill ſupplied with proviſions could not long re- the whole army of France. The earl of War- k, who commanded the Engliſh garriſon at Havre, made a gallant defence, notwithſtanding the many difficulties under which he laboured; but the plague breaking out among his troops, he was obliged to ſurrender the place. Nor did the misfortune terminate here; the garriſon imported with them the peſtilence, which afterwards raged with ſuch violence in England, that above 20,000 perſons died of it in London only.

Soon after Warwick's arrival in England a peace was concluded between England and France; Elizabeth received 200,000 crowns for the redemption of hoſtages, and the mutual pretenſions of both parties ſtill continued.

The queen being no longer engaged in foreign affairs, and a perfect tranquillity prevailing at home, ſhe made a progreſs to the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe was received with the greateſt pomp and magnificence. Every thing was conducted with a ſplendor that did honor to that celebrated ſeat of learning; and the queen declared her ſatisfaction in an elegant oration, in which ſhe aſſured the univerſity of her protection, and promiſed to exert her utmoſt endeavours for the promotion of knowledge, and the advancement of learning.

A. D. 1565. This year opened with a new ſcene of diſcontent and troubles between Elizabeth and Mary; as alſo between the latter and her ſubjects. Mary had for ſome time determined to marry, and the object ſhe pitched on was lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox. This young nobleman was her couſin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII, and daughter to the earl of Angus by Margaret queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly reſided, after being expelled his native country by the ſuperior intereſt of the Hamiltons. Darnley was alſo, by his father, deſcended from the ſame family with Mary herſelf; and would, by marrying her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who affected to deny her title, on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and to give it the preference. It was therefore conſidered as no inconſiderable advantage, that by eſpouſing him, ſhe could unite both their titles; and as he was an Engliſhman by birth, and could not, either by his power or alliances, give any cauſe or ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was preſumed that the propoſal of this marriage could not be diſagreeable to the queen of England. She, indeed, ſeemed to conſent to this alliance; and even wrote to Mary, thanking her for her kind behaviour towards the earl of Lenox, whom that princeſs now treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect.

Darnley, having obtained the aſſent of Elizabeth, repaired to Scotland; and, by his preſence, completed the conqueſt, which the fame of his accompliſhments had already begun. He was in the flower of his age, and his appearance remarkably graceful. Mary, forgetting all her ſchemes of policy, liſtened only to the dictates of her growing paſſion. Elizabeth was no ſooner informed that the queen of Scots was pleaſed with the figure and perſon of Darnley, and that the treaty was on the point of being concluded, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; diſpatched Throgmorton to Scotland, to diſſuade Mary from eſpouſing lord Darnley; ordered the earl of Lenox and his ſon to return immediately into England, under the ſevereſt pains and penalties the laws could inflict; and cauſed the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon, who were then in England, to be committed to the Tower.

Though Elizabeth's conduct was generally judicious, yet it was too often full of duplicity; but never did ſhe behave with greater inſincerity than in her tranſactions with the queen of Scotland. Though ſhe now expreſſed ſo violent a reſentment againſt the intended marriage of Mary with Darnley, ſhe was not averſe to it in her heart. She would rather, indeed, have wiſhed that Mary had remained for ever in a ſingle ſtate; but as that could not be effected, ſhe did not diſlike a choice that effectually delivered her from the fear of a foreign alliance. She had, however, ſome ſtrong reaſons of a political nature for affecting diſpleaſure on the preſent occaſion; it furniſhed her with a plauſible pretence for refuſing to declare Mary her ſucceſſor to the Engliſh crown, a point which ſhe had always laboured to evade; and it gave her an opportunity of exciting a ſpirit of rebellion among the Scottiſh nobility and clergy.

As ſoon as Mary received advice of Elizabeth's oppoſition to her marriage, ſhe juſtly obſerved to Throgmorton, that as the queen of England had already ſignified her deſire of her marrying an Engliſh nobleman, to avoid the umbrage of her eſpouſing a foreign prince, ſhe had, in effect, followed her own advice; but in order to give Elizabeth time to examine the affair with more deliberation, ſhe would defer her marriage for three months. But this conceſſion not ſatisfying Elizabeth, the ceremony was performed at Edinburgh; and Mary was ſo pleaſed with her new conſort, that ſhe gave him the title of king, and added his name to her own in all public acts. But ſhe ſoon perceived that his advantages of perſon ſerved only to conceal a mind that was trifling, vain, ungrateful, too much occupied with ſelf-love, too much ſwollen with ſilly pride, too much the ſlave of libertine folly, to be ſincerely attached to the moſt amiable of women. Reaſonably diſguſted with this unworthy huſband, ſhe withdrew from him, by degrees, her confidence, and treated him with that contempt his ingratitude merited.

At this time there was in the court of Scotland one David Rezzio, a Piedmonteſe muſician, who had raiſed himſelf to an honorable employment by his addreſs rather than by his talents. Mary had appointed him her ſecretary for foreign affairs, loaded him with favours, and by repoſing in him too much confidence, and giving him too much credit, empowered him to make a traffic of his patronage, and to exerciſe all the inſolence of an upſtart favourite. The king was perſuaded that Rezzio was the principal cauſe of the queen's coolneſs. Jealouſy enſued, and notwithſtanding the diſagreeable figure of the Piedmonteſe, he was thought to enjoy more of Mary's favour, than merely her confidence. The ſuſpicion was ridiculous, but ſufficient to make the moſt dreadful impreſſions on a heart already inflamed. The malecontents among the nobility added fuel to the flame of his jealouſy; and perſuaded him to expoſtulate with the queen on her too great intimacy with this Italian favourite. Secure in conſcious innocence, the queen treated theſe inſinuations with the contempt they merited; and in order to convince her unworthy conſort, that in exalting him ſhe meant not to diveſt herſelf of any part of her authority, ſhe ordered his name to be omitted on the coin, and to be placed after her own in all public acts, which before ſhe had ordered to take the precedence.

A. D. 1566. Darnley, inflamed with rage, and incapable of curbing the violence of his paſſion, vowed the moſt ſevere revenge againſt Rezzio; and the diſſatiſfied nobility offered to aſſiſt him in his deſign, and to be themſelves the executors of his vengeance. The ninth of March was the day fixed for this ſanguinary purpoſe, and the neceſſary precautions were taken to prevent the deſign from being rendered abortive. Mary, who was then in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, was ſupping in private with her natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Argyle, and David Rezzio. The king entered the apartment by a private paſſage, and placed himſelf at the back of Mary's chair: the lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conſpirators ruſhed in after him. Terrified with this appearance, the queen demanded the reaſon for ſo rude an intruſion. They told her, that not the leaſt violence was intended againſt her perſon; they meant only to bring that villain (pointing to Rezzio) to the puniſhment he ſo juſtly deſerved. Aware of his danger, Rezzio ran behind his miſtreſs, and ſeizing her waiſt, called aloud to her for protection; while ſhe interpoſed in his behalf with cries, menaces, and entreaties. But all her efforts were in vain; the impatient aſſaſſins ruſhed upon their prey; and by overturning the table, greatly increaſed the horror and confuſion of this dreadful ſcene. Douglas ſeizing Darnley's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rezzio, who ſcreaming with fear and agony, was dragged into an anti-chamber, and his body peirced with no leſs than fifty-ſix wounds.

Mary's conduct on this occaſion was directed by the moſt diſtinguiſhed prudence. After paying a decent tribute of grief to the memory of the man ſhe had honoured with her confidence, ſhe dried up her tears, and employed her mind wholly on meditating a ſevere revenge; while the aſſaſſins, conſcious o their own guilt, and dreading the reſentment of thei ſovereign, detained her a priſoner in the palace, diſmiſſing all who might have attempted her eſcape. In this alarming ſituation, ſhe determined to pardo thoſe noblemen who had oppoſed her government, i order to ſecure herſelf againſt the malice of the a ſaſſins, whom ſhe now conſidered as her moſt inve terate enemies. They readily accepted the offer returned to court, and the aſſaſſins of Rezzio wer obliged to fly into England, where they lived in grea poverty and diſtreſs. Darnley declared himſelf, b proclamation, innocent of the murder of Rezzi and that he ſincerely repented of having given an countenance to the perpetrators of ſo horrid a dee

Soon after this event Mary was delivered of a ſo whoſe fortune it was to unite the crowns of Englan and Scotland. Sir James Melvill was diſpatched the court of Elizabeth to inform her of this happ event, and was received with great politeneſs by th queen. She thanked him for the diſpatch he h made in bringing her ſuch agreeable intelligence, an expreſſed the moſt cordial friendſhip for the Scotti queen. She ſoon after ſent the earl of Bedford, a George Carey, ſon to the lord Hunſdon, to aſſiſt the baptiſm of the young prince.

The birth of a ſon contributed greatly to encoura the zeal of Mary's partizans in England; and perſo of all ranks began to be impatient for ſome ſett ment of the ſucceſſion; but Elizabeth, whenev preſſed on that ſubject, eluded the queſtion, by p tending ſhe had ſome thoughts of marrying Charl archduke of Auſtria. Several of Mary's frien however, adviſed Melvill to make the propoſal to queen. He followed their inſtructions, but uſed utmoſt circumſpection in this delicate affair. He her majeſty "he was well aſſured ſhe formerly layed declaring his miſtreſs preſumptive heir of crown of England, merely to wait till ſhe ſhould ſome iſſue of her body. And as that objection fortunately removed, he hoped her majeſty would longer defer gratifying the deſire of her ſubje who wiſhed to ſee one point ſettled, in doing juſtic the title of his ſovereign, who would never ſeek place or right in England, but by her favour an ſiſtance." The queen anſwered, "that the birt a prince was a ſtrong inducement to her uſing gre diligence in making a ſtrict inquiſition into that ter; that ſhe was perſuaded the right belonged t ſiſter of Scotland, in whoſe favour ſhe heartily wiſhed it might be decided;" but added, "that ſhe ſhould defer making any declaration till the young prince was baptized, when ſhe would certainly ſatisfy the queen in that particular." Melvill conſidered this anſwer as a mere evaſion, which was truly evinced by the future conduct of the queen.

About autumn Elizabeth made a progreſs to Oxford, where ſhe diſplayed her great knowledge and love of literature. She addreſſed the univerſity in an elegant Latin ſpeech, in which ſhe recommended the moſt aſſiduous attention to the inſtruction of youth committed to their care. And during her ſtay in that famous ſeat of the muſes, ſhe diſplayed ſuch a lively concern for the proſperity of literature, and the welfare of the univerſity, that the members were enraptured with her government, and ever after made her the ſole arbiter of all their diſputes.

A few days after the queen's return from Oxford, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and once more determined to addreſs her, either to marry, or ſettle the ſucceſſion. Accordingly Mr. Molyneux made a motion, that the affair of the ſubſidy, which had already been moved by ſecretary Cecil, might go hand in hand with that of the ſucceſſion. The majority declared in ſupport of the motion; but the members of the privy council, who knew how diſagreeable the ſubject would be to Elizabeth, oppoſed it with all their influence. They informed the houſe that they had authority to aſſure them, that the queen would marry as ſoon as ſhe could find a prince deſerving her affection; that the appointing a ſucceſſor would expoſe her perſon to the moſt imminent danger; and that ſhe was therefore determined to delay the deciſion of that important ſubject to a more favourable opportunity. But theſe reaſons not being ſatisfactory to the members, they reſumed the ſubject with ſome warmth; ſeveral of them ſpoke with great freedom. Elizabeth was alarmed, and ſent a meſſage by Sir Francis Knolles, expreſsly commanding them o proceed no farther in that affair; but to reſt ſatisied with her promiſe to marry. Paul Wentworth, a nember who nobly ſupported the cauſe of liberty, ade a motion, and put the queſtion, whether ſuch prohibition was not an infringement on the liberties nd privileges of that houſe? This brought on very arm debates; and Elizabeth repeated her commands againſt their proceeding any farther in that atter. But this order, inſtead of ſilencing the embers, increaſed their ardour; the whole houſe as in a flame, and ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of diſguſt ppeared, that the queen was obliged to retract her rmer orders, and allow the houſe free liberty of ebate. In conſequence of this the ſpeakers deliver- their thoughts with more calmneſs and temper; d even voted the ſupply without any condition. t as it appeared to have been given with a view of taining her conſent to fix the ſucceſſion, ſhe remit- d one third of it, declaring, that the money of her ople might as well be in their own pockets as in the blic treaſury. She was, however, far from being aſed with the ſpirited behaviour of the commons; d when ſhe put an end to the ſeſſion, ſhe ſeverely primanded the members in her ſpeech from the one, and adviſed them never to put her patience to ſevere a trial for the future.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the Nether- ds were agitated with thoſe alarming convulſions, ch at laſt gave liberty to a very conſiderable part that country. Soon after Philip had quitted theſe vinces, in order to reſide in Spain, the diſcontent the inhabitants arrived at ſuch a height, that it was oſſible for affairs to continue long in their preſent ation. This univerſal diſſatisfaction flowed from ral cauſes. The people were perſuaded that the king intended to aboliſh the ſmall remains of their liberties and privileges, and to erect on their ruins the throne of deſpotic power. The eſtabliſhment of biſhoprics alarmed many of the principal families, as the juriſdiction and revenues of the abbies, in which they were nearly concerned, were greatly leſſened. The inquiſition, which was going to be eſtabliſhed in theſe provinces, cauſed an univerſal alarm, that bloody tribunal being little leſs abhorred by the catholics than by the proteſtants themſelves. The ſtates had been prohibited from aſſembling; and a project was formed by the king for extirpating the reformed religion, which had now a multitude of profeſſors. Theſe meaſures, which were on the point of being eſtabliſhed, ſet the provinces in a flame. They had, for ſeveral years, petitioned the governeſs to aſſemble the ſtates, in order to avert the ſtorm which threatened the deſtruction of their country. Their requeſt was always rejected, and often with contumacious language. This ſtrange behaviour raiſed the reſentment of the people. The prince of Orange, with the counts of Egmont and Horne, withdrew from the council, and joined in a petition to the king. The cardinal de Glanville, who directed all the meaſures of the government, had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the moſt violent attempts were to be feared, if he filled any longer the ſeat of power. Philip, whoſe pride would not ſuffer him to recall the cardinal, adviſed him to withdraw. The cardinal obeyed, and the nobles reſumed their ſeats at the council-board. This point being obtained, they exerted themſelves to prevent the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition, which they conſidered as one of the greateſt misfortunes that could attend any people. They formed aſſociations; and the proteſtants celebrated divine ſervice openly, notwithſtanding all the threats of the government. From this moment Philip conſidered the people of the Low Countries as rebels, while they looked upon him as an unjuſt and arbitrary ſovereign. Such was the beginning of the troubles in the Netherlands, and in which the Engliſh were afterwards very intimately engaged.

A. D. 1567. This year opened with the moſt alarming commotions in Scotland, occaſioned by the earl of Bothwell, who had for ſome time been in great credit with Mary. He was always ſincerely attached to her family and perſon, and had performed ſignal ſervices to both. His courage and conduct as a ſoldier were unqueſtionable, and he bore an utter hatred to the Engliſh, againſt whom he had been a great and ſucceſsful commander on the borders where his own eſtate lay. He had been for ſome years baniſhed through the influence of the earls of Arran and Murray, but had been recalled by Mary, and pardoned. His figure was manly, though now advancing to the decline of life: he was equally gallant in the court as in the field; and he poſſeſſed that openneſs of manners, which, with his experience in life, rendered him to both ſexes an agreeable companion.

A man of ſuch a character could not be well reliſhed by the gloomy reformers of Scotland; and thisver y circumſtance, perhaps, ſerved to rivet him in Mary's eſteem. He had now acquired ſuch an aſcendancy over that princeſs, that all her meaſures were directed by his advice. Reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them; and theſe reports gained more credit, as the hatred of Mary towards her huſband ſeemed rather to increaſe than diminiſh. Even Darnley himſelf was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſperation, that he had ſecretly provided a veſſel, in order to paſs over to the continent: while ſeveral of the nobility, perceiving there were no hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between them, propoſed ſome expedients for obtaining a divorce; but ſo many difficulties aroſe, chiefly with regard to the young prince's legitimacy, that it was laid aſide. The king, convinced that it was in vain ever to hope to recover the favour he had loſt, retired to Glaſgow, where he was ſeized with an illneſs of a very extraordinary nature.

Mary's enemies, who took every opportunity of blackening her character, imputed her huſband's diſeaſe to a doſe of poiſon adminiſtered to him with her own hand. But whatever truth there might be in this report, Mary ſeemed greatly alarmed. She repaired to Glaſgow, paid him a viſit, and behaved with the utmoſt tenderneſs; forgetting, in the duty ſhe owed him as a wife, the cauſes of reſentment he had given her as his ſovereign. This behaviour of the queen gave the greateſt pleaſure to all who wiſhed ſhe might retrieve her character, eſpecially when it was known that ſhe had brought the king with her to Edinburgh. The queen herſelf reſided in the palace of Holyrood-houſe; but as the ſituation of that place was unhealthy, and the noiſe of a court not well adapted to perſons in ſickneſs, it was thought proper to fit up apartments for him in a houſe at ſome diſtance from the city, called the Kirk Field. Here the queen continued her viſits, and behaved in the moſt endearing manner. She even lay ſeveral nights in a room below Darnley's chamber. But on the ninth of February, Mary told the king, that ſhe intended to ſleep that night in the palace, in order to be preſent at the marriage of one of her maids of honour. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole city was alarmed with a violent noiſe; and every face wore the aſpect of aſtoniſhment, when it was known that it was occaſioned by the blowing up of the houſe where the king reſided. Darnley's body was found at ſome diſtance, without any marks either of fire, contuſion, or violence; but not the leaſt doubt was made by any, that the king had been murdered; and Bothwell was generally conſidered as the author of that atrocious crime.

Mary ſeemed to be inconſolable on this occaſion: ſhe appeared to have devoted herſelf wholly to grief. The earl of Lenox loudly demanded juſtice on the murderers of his ſon; and accuſed Bothwell, and ſeveral others, as the perſons who had committed the regicide. Placards were ſecretly affixed on the walls in various parts of the city, accuſing Bothwell as the principal author, and that Mary herſelf was privy to the bloody deed. Voices were alſo heard in the ſtreets of Edinburgh during the ſtillneſs of the night, imputing to Mary and Bothwell the death of the late king. Whatever reaſons there might be for deſiring that the ſanguinary act might be conſigned to oblivion, the court was ſoon convinced, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome enquiry; and that Bothwell and his aſſociates, accuſed by the earl of Lenox, ſhould undergo a legal trial: but, at the ſame time, care was taken that no evidences ſhould appear againſt him. Fifteen days only were allowed the earl of Lenox for making good his charge againſt Bothwell, though he lived at a great diſtance from the court, and though he conjured the queen, for the ſake of vindicating her own honour, to employ more leiſure and deliberation in determining a queſtion of ſuch importance to the whole kingdom. Lenox finding all his attempts to put off the trial were in vain, ſent one of his retinue to proteſt, in his name, againſt the acquittal of the criminal, finding it would be impoſſible, in ſo ſhort a time, to collect the witneſſes ſufficient to prove the charge againſt ſo powerful a nobleman. No regard was, however, paid to this proteſt; and Bothwell, after a ſhort trial, was honourably acquitted.

Theſe proceedings were far from ſatisfying the people, and, inſtead of exculpating Bothwell, tended rather to prove his guilt. "Why (it was aſked) ſhould a perſon, innocent of the crime he is accuſed of, endeavour to precipitate the trial? The witneſſes themſelves, if any are produced, will tend to clear his character; and every enquiry will withdraw part of the veil of calumny and detraction." The murder of the king was, however, only a prelude to the crimes of Bothwell. He forcibly carried off the queen, as ſhe was going to ſee her ſon, and conveyed her to the caſtle of Dunbar, with an intent to marry her. It was generally ſuſpected that the whole tranſaction was managed in conſort with the queen; and ſome of the nobility, in order to diſcover the truth, ſent her a private meſſage, aſſuring her, that if ſhe lay under any conſtraint, they would exert all their power for her relief. She anſwered, that ſhe had indeed been carried to Dunbar by violence, but had been treated with ſo much kindneſs ſince her arrival, that ſhe willingly remained with Bothwell. The nobility were now ſufficiently convinced that the whole had been previouſly planned between them, and gave themſelves no farther concern about her captivity. A few days after, Bothwell received a pardon, not only for this violence, but for all other crimes he had ever committed.

Mary's thoughts were now engaged in effecting a marriage with Bothwell; but this ſeemed to be attended with an inſuperable difficulty. That nobleman had been married, about ſix months before, to a lady of great merit and noble family; and it was neceſſary to ſet this marriage aſide. Villainy is always fertile in expedients. The cauſe was pleaded with ſucceſs in two ſpiritual courts, the catholic and the proteſtant. The firſt decided in his favour from reaſons of conſanguinity, alledged by Bothwell; the latter from reaſons of adultery, alledged by his wife. Craig, the miniſter of Edinburgh, received orders t publiſh the banns of the queen's marriage, which h nobly refuſed. He even exhorted all thoſe who ha acceſs to her perſon, to give her their advice againſ ſo ſcandalous an alliance. But all his endeavour were in vain; the queen perſiſted in her intention t marry Bothwell and the ceremony was performed b the biſhop of Orkney. Very few lords attende notwithſtanding many of them had ſigned a petitio for her marrying Bothwell; and even the Frenc ambaſſador, though a dependant on the houſe o Guiſe, could not be prevailed upon to countenanc the marriage by his preſence.

This event diſgraced Mary in the eyes of all Eu rope: her ſubjects beheld her with horror. The ſu picions ſhe lay under with regard to her being an a complice in the death of the king grew ſtronge Her connection with the man whom the public voi had pointed out as the murderer; her great anxie to have him acquitted; a marriage ſo contrary to decency, negotiated by means ſo odious; all the conſiderations ſeemed to confirm, that Mary, t ſlave of her paſſion for Bothwell, was the partner his crime.

Bothwell's iniquity was augmented by his inſolen He treated the queen herſelf with the greateſt b tality; and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter the young prince, who had been committed to care of lord Erſkine, lately created earl of M but he nobly refuſed to part with his charge. T attempt alarmed the whole nation; and the princi nobility, by whom Bothwell was hated for his o bearing inſolence, met at Stirling, and formed aſſociation for protecting the prince, and bring the murderers of the late king to condign puniſhm They ſoon collected a conſiderable number of tro and marched, with the utmoſt diligence and ſecr to ſurprize the queen and Bothwell in Holy-ro houſe. Their attempt had certainly been ſucceſ had not one of their number informed the quee their deſign. She ſlighted not the notice ſhe had received, but made her eſcape, with Bothwell, to the caſtle of Brothwick, which the aſſociated lords reſolved immediately to beſiege. Bothwell fled to the Marches at the appearance of the enemy; and the queen eſcaped, in man's cloaths, to the caſtle of Dunbar, which was capable of holding out till her friends could come to her aſſiſtance. Had Mary continued in Dunbar, the army of the aſſociated lords muſt have been diſperſed for want of pay; but being joined by a conſiderable number of troops, ſhe imprudently took the field againſt her rebellious ſubjects, and marched to Preſton, where ſhe was joined by Bothwell. She ſoon perceived that his preſence was of no advantage to her cauſe; for on meeting the forces of the enemy at Carberry Hill, they refuſed to fight in defence of a man who was univerſally conſidered as the murderer of the late king. Mary was now obliged to have recourſe to negotiation; and Bothwell, perceiving that the authority of the queen was no longer able to protect him, made his eſcape to Dunbar, and thence paſſed over into Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died in the moſt abject diſtreſs.

Mary, finding all hopes of reſiſtance were vaniſhed, ook the fatal reſolution of ſubmitting to her enemies, nd was conducted to Edinburgh amidſt the inſults f the populace. A banner was carried before her, on which was painted the murder of her huſband, nd her ſon in tears, imploring the vengeance of eaven. She was not permitted to continue long at he palace: the conſpirators ſent her, under a ſtrong uard, to the caſtle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray. This caſtle was ſituated on a ſmall iſland n the middle of a lake, and acceſſible only by a boat. Here the captive queen was treated with the utmoſt ruelty, without a ſingle friend to comfort her in this cene of diſtreſs.

The ſufferings of the unhappy princeſs affected lizabeth, and ſhe reſolved to employ all her authoty to alleviate her misfortunes, and reduce her reellious ſubjects to reaſon. She diſpatched Throgorton to Scotland, with orders to enquire into the al ſituation of Mary, and to promiſe her all the aſſtance in her power. At the ſame time, he was mmiſſioned to demand of the conſpirators the lierty of their ſovereign, and, in caſe of refuſal, threaten them with the reſentment of his miſtreſs.

The aſſociated lords, who were determined to mble Mary, refuſed the Engliſh ambaſſador acceſs her perſon; and obliged the unfortunate queen to n an inſtrument, whereby ſhe reſigned the crown her infant ſon, who was proclaimed in Edinburgh der the name of James VI. and crowned at Stirling the 29th of July. They alſo forced her to ſign a ond inſtrument, by which the earl of Murray, ary's natural brother, and one of the principal proters of the reformation in Scotland) was appointed ent during the minority of the young king.

The ſigning of theſe inſtruments, however, was ſufficient to procure Mary her liberty. The conators feared the conſequence of the return of the ctions of the people at the ſight of majeſty in diſs. Murray, therefore, ſummoned a parliament, that aſſembly, after voting the queen an accome in her huſband's murder, condemned her to peral impriſonment, ratified the inſtruments ſhe had ed, acknowledged her ſon for their king, and rray for regent. But though no difficulties occurthe parliament, many of the nobility were diſed at the proceedings of the conſpirators. The t of Bothwell had tended greatly to alter the ſennts of the virtuous part of the nation; the ſitua- of Mary was commiſerated; and a powerful party was formed for ſupporting the cauſe of diſtreſſed majeſty.

A. D. 1568. The endeavours of Mary's partiſans would, in all probability, have been rendered abortive, had it not been for George Douglas, (brother to the laird of Lochleven) who was ſo affected at the melancholy ſituation of Mary, and ſo captivated with her charms, that he determined, if poſſible, to effect her eſcape. He found means to ſteal the keys of the caſtle from his brother's chamber, and, while the family were engaged in their devotions, opened the gates, conveyed her into a ſmall boat, and rowed her aſhore. The news of her eſcape was ſoon known to her friends, who conveyed her to Hamilton, where ſhe was joined by a great number of the nobility. A bond of aſſociation was immediately ſigned for her defence, and Mary, in a few days, found herſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army.

In conſequence of this ſhe diſpatched Bethune, a perſon of abilities, and one that had been very inſtrumental in her releaſe, with a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the happy change in her circumſtances, and requeſting a body of troops to aſſiſt her in reducing her rebel ſubjects. Mary intended to retire to the ſtrong caſtle of Dumbarton, in order to wait the arrival of the ſuccours expected from England. She alſo took ſome ſteps towards opening a negotiation with Murray. But the regent refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation that tended to diveſt him of the power he had acquired by uſurpation: and both parties prepared to decide the conteſt by the ſword. The regent could collect no more than four thouſand men; but notwithſtanding the inferior number of his army, he took the field againſt his ſovereign. The two armies met on the thirteenth of May, at Langſide, near Glaſgow; and a battle was fought in which Mary's forces were totally defeated. The unhappy princeſs fled with great precipitation, attended by a few friends, to the borders of England. A conſultation was now held with regard to the meaſures ſhe ought to purſue, as they would, in all probability, determine her future happineſs or miſery. It was hoped, that the late interpoſition of Elizabeth in favour of the Scottiſh queen, would induce her to aſſiſt her effectually in her diſtreſs; and it was therefore determined to paſs over into England. Accordingly the queen, attended by a ſmall retinue of ſeventeen perſons, landed at Workington in Cumberland, and was conducted with great pomp to the caſtle of Carliſle, where ſhe was received by the governor of that fortreſs with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect.

No ſooner was Mary landed in England, than ſhe diſpatched a letter to Elizabeth, informing her of the unfortunate iſſue of the battle of Langſide, and ſolliciting that aſſiſtance ſhe had promiſed her againſt her rebellious ſubjects. Elizabeth received the letter with aſtoniſhment; and had ſhe been left to follow the dictates of her own mind at that inſtant, ſhe would certainly have complied with the requeſt of the Scottiſh queen; but ſhe was cautioned againſt the danger of ſuffering the failings of humanity to prevail over the dictates of prudence. She, however, diſpatched lord Scroop, warden of the Marches, and Sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain, to pay her compliments to Mary, and to take care that ſhe was treated with all the reſpect due to her high rank and dignity.

In the mean time, a privy-council being aſſembled, great debates enſued on the manner of proceeding with regard to the Scottiſh princeſs. To detain her in England might, it was thought, be attended with many diſagreeable circumſtances, and to ſend her to France with ſtill more. Humanity would not permit her being delivered into the hands of her rebellious ſubjects. At laſt it was agreed by the majority, that ſhe ſhould be detained a priſoner, till ſhe had made ſatisfaction for having aſſumed the title and arms of England, and proved her innocence with regard to the murder of her huſband.

Mary had certainly entered England without leave from Elizabeth, or procuring any ſafe conduct; and from this circumſtance, it was determined by the council, that ſhe was actually a priſoner of war. It cannot be denied, that a ſovereign has power to ſeize a foreign prince, who enters his dominions without a ſafe conduct; but there are caſes wherein that right deviates into juſtice. In this inſtance, the circumſtances were remarkably favourable. Mary had been forced out of her dominions by her rebellious ſubjects, and obliged to take refuge in the firſt place that offered. She had no time for choice: ſhe muſt either ſubmit to thoſe who ſought her life, or take ſhelter in the country of a friend and ally. She had alſo received aſſurances of aſſiſtance from Elizabeth; ſo that if the detaining her a priſoner was not contrary to the law of nations, it was at leaſt repugnant to the dictates of humanity.

Elizabeth's mind was ſo agitated that ſhe knew not in what manner to proceed: political prudence, and her natural generoſity contended with each other. The former at laſt prevailed; ſhe followed the advice of her council, and informed the queen of Scots, that notwithſtanding her friendſhip for her, ſhe could not, with any degree of decency, either ſee or ſupport her, till ſhe ſhould be cleared of the crimes of which ſhe was accuſed. Mary anſwered, that ſhe would willingly juſtify herſelf before a princeſs whom ſhe conſidered as a ſiſter. But Elizabeth reflected that ſhould ſhe ſit in perſon as a judge, and pronounce any ſentence, it would produce many difficulties: the royal dignity would be wounded when majeſty itſelf ſubmitted to puniſhment. She therefore declined the office, but offered to ſend two noblemen, as her commiſſioners, to hear the mutual charges between her and her ſubjects. Mary accepted the offer, and Elizabeth wrote immediately to Murray, charging him in a very peremptory manner, to deſiſt from any farther hoſtilities againſt the friends of the queen of Scots, and to appear in perſon to vindicate his conduct with regard to his ſovereign, before the commiſſioners, who were appointed to ſit at York for that purpoſe.

Murray was equally ſurprized and offended at this peremptory meſſage; but having always been an abject ſlave to the Engliſh, and his domeſtic enemies being now both numerous and powerful, he determined to obey the commands of Elizabeth, as the only perſon from whom he could hope for aſſiſtance. This reſolution was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed in the council, by the moſt judicious of his party. They repreſented that it would caſt an indelible ſtain on himſelf and his country ſhould he accuſe his lawful and native ſovereign before a foreign court of judicature; before perſons who were profeſſed enemies to the Scottiſh nation. But their arguments were urged in vain. Murray was not to be diverted from his purpoſe; he paſſed into England, attended by the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, the lord Lindſey, and the abbot of Dumfermling.

At firſt Mary's cauſe appeared triumphant. Murray flattered himſelf that if her honour was not impeached, ſhe might be prevailed upon to accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation; whereas if he accuſed her of being an accomplice in the murder of Darnley, and ſhe ſhould afterwards re-aſcend the throne, inevitable death muſt be the conſequence. This accuſation being omitted, the anſwers of the queen to the arguments of her adverſaries were extremely plauſible: "How could ſhe ſuſpect, ſaid her advocate, that Bothwell was the murderer of her huſband, after he had been legally tried and acquitted, and after the nobility themſelves had ſolicited her to marry him? If he was guilty, ſhe deſired he might be puniſhed; ſhe appealed to the laws of her country, and they found him innocent. As to her reſignation of the crown, it was evidently an act of conſtraint, and conſequently null and void. By what right, or on what pretence, could the Scots revolt from their allegiance, throw their queen into priſon, give her battle, and place her ſucceſſor on the throne. Theſe are confeſſedly acts of rebellion, and puniſhed as ſuch in every well-governed ſtate."

The force of theſe arguments was clearly diſcerned by Murray, who was now convinced, that he muſt either give up the conteſt, or accuſe his ſovereign as the murderer of her huſband. He choſe the latter; and being aſſured that if Mary's crime was proved in a ſatisfactory manner, Elizabeth would immediately declare againſt her, and give him every reaſonable protection he could deſire, he produced proofs in ſupport of the moſt horrid accuſations. Theſe were love-letters written by Mary to Bothwell, and a promiſe of marriage ſigned by the hand of that infamous ſeducer. From theſe papers it was ſufficiently evident, that all the crimes committed by Bothwell, the murder of the king, and forcibly carrying off the queen, had been concerted with her majeſty.

Mary's commiſſioners were aſtoniſhed when they perceived that Murray had produced teſtimonies which could not be anſwered, unleſs they could prove that the papers were forged. They therefore changed their ſyſtem; they deſired that Elizabeth would bring about an accommodation; and on being informed, that the accuſations exhibited againſt Mary muſt be firſt obviated, they broke off the conferences. The friends of Mary have laboured to prove that theſe famous letters were forged, and many volumes have been written with that intention. The ſubject is, however, too diffuſe, nor indeed is it neceſſary to diſcuſs the arguments that have been offered both for and againſt the authenticity of theſe letters here. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that from a candid examination, the circumſtances advanced to prove them forgeries are weak and inconcluſive.

Elizabeth uſed her utmoſt endeavours to prevail on Mary to continue the conferences, but without effect. That princeſs remained inflexible, and even accuſed Murray and other commiſſioners of being the murderers of her huſband: but produced no proof againſt them. Elizabeth offered to bury whateve was paſt in oblivion, and negotiate a reconciliatio with her ſubjects, provided ſhe would renounce th throne, and ſuffer the direction of affairs to continu in the hands of Murray during the minority of th young prince. But Mary rejected the propoſal wit diſdain. "My laſt words, anſwered ſhe, ſhall b the words of the queen of Scotland."

While Murray was abſent, the Hamiltons and th earl of Huntley, who were ſtill in arms, had take poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, with a body of ſeven thouſan men, intending to march forward, and intercept th regent in his return from England. Murray, bein informed of this, had recourſe to artifice: he ſe Sir Robert Melvill to Mary, with propoſals of ma riage between her and the duke of Norfolk, and ceſſation of hoſtilities between the two parties in Sco land. She anſwered that her repugnance to a n marriage ſhould give way to the public good, and th ſhe ſhould be ready to receive any propoſal that mig be recommended by her parliament, and to make peace with the rebels; but at the ſame time declar ſhe would give no definitive anſwer till ſhe was ſet liberty, and reſtored to the throne of her anceſto

Sh

She, however, agreed to ſend orders to the lords of her party to ſuſpend hoſtilities againſt Murray till further orders. This was the ſole point the regent had in view; he took advantage of the queen's order, and returned to Scotland in ſafety.

A. D. 1569. Mary now preſſed Elizabeth either to enable her to regain poſſeſſion of her kingdom, or to ſuffer her to retire into France and ſeek other reſources. Elizabeth was exaſperated to the higheſt degree by ſome letters which Mary had wrote to her friends in Scotland, which, being intercepted were put into her hands. She therefore evaded complying with Mary's requeſts, and that unfortunate princeſs, whoſe wit and inſinuating graces might have created her intereſt in too many hearts, was removed, on the 18th of January, to Tutbury caſtle, in Staffordſhire, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury.

The duke of Norfolk, however, ſtill purſued his deſign of marrying Mary. He was greatly beloved by the people, and the firſt nobleman in England in point of birth and fortune. He was paſſionately fond of the Scottiſh queen, but, fearful of concluding a treaty of that importance without the conſent of his ſovereign, he conſulted the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex, Pembroke, and Southampton, who all agreed in adviſing him to proceed. The principal nobility and gentry engaged to ſupport him; and the lord Lumley and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton joined his intereſt with great cordiality. It was now agreed to open the affair to the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's declared favourite. He approved the deſign, and wrote to Mary, recommending the duke of Norfolk for a huſband, and ſtipulating the following articles for the advantage of both kingdoms: "That Mary ſhould attempt nothing in conſequence of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or her poſterity; that ſhe ſhould confirm the preſent eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland, and grant a free pardon to ſuch of her ſubjects as had appeared in arms againſt her." Mary very readily gave her conſent to theſe propoſals, which ſeemed to open a path to liberty, and the recovery of the crown of her anceſtors.

Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate to Elizabeth, having got intelligence of the intended marriage, communicated it to his miſtreſs, who one day told Norfolk to take care on what pillow he laid his head. She afterwards ſent for the duke, upbraided him ſharply for preſuming to engage in a treaty without her knowledge, and commanded him upon his allegiance, to proceed no farther. The duke promiſed to obey her commands; but retired from court without taking leave, and repaired to his ſeat in Norfolk. He was ſo greatly beloved in that country, that he could eaſily have aſſembled a conſiderable army in his defence; but his loyalty would not permit him to take up arms againſt his ſovereign. He ſet out on his return to the court, but was arreſted at St. Albans and ſent to the Tower. All who had been privy to the deſign were alſo taken into cuſtody; but as they unanimouſly agreed in declaring, that the marriage had been propoſed by Murray, and that it was never intended to be concluded without Elizabeth's conſent, they were ſet at liberty.

The people had been univerſally alarmed at the impriſonment of ſo many of the nobility, and ſeveral ſuſpicious aſſemblies were held in the north, where Mary was the idol of the people. Lord Suſſex, preſident of York, was not ignorant of theſe meetings, nor of the inclination of the northern inhabitants. He ſent for the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who thought proper to pay no regard to the ſummons; but being alarmed of their danger they flew to arms without waiting for a ſupply of men and money, which they had been promiſed by the duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands. The inſurgents proceeded immediately to Durham, tore the bible and common prayer book in the public market-place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and cauſed maſs to be openly celebrated in an aſſembly of above ſix thouſand perſons. The rebel army now became very numerous, and a party of 500 horſe were detached to releaſe the queen of Scotland from her confinement in Tutbury caſtle; but that princeſs having been removed to Coventry before their arrival, the expedition miſcarried. The inſurgents ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Bernard-caſtle, and Hartpool, the latter of which they ſtrongly fortified.

While part of their forces, amounting to about 15,000 foot and 2,000 horſe, were employed in theſe operations, the reſt, formed into ſmall detachments, over-ran all Yorkſhire; the royal army, commanded by the earl of Suſſex, being too weak to prevent their ravages. But the chiefs of the rebels finding it impoſſible to furniſh money ſufficient to pay their troops, the army diſperſed. Northumberland fled into Scotland, where he was ſeized by the regent, and committed to the caſtle of Lochleven. But the earl of Weſtmoreland was more fortunate; he found means to paſs over into Flanders, where he lived on a ſmall penſion ſettled on him by the Spaniſh monarch.

A. D. 1570. This year was opened by a circumſtance that greatly facilitated the already diſturbances that ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Scots. The earl of Murray, regent of that kingdom, was aſſaſſinated on the 23d of January by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, who gave no other reaſon for his conduct than obtaining revenge for a private injury he had received from the earl.

From this remarkable event Scotland was again thrown into its former anarchy. No ſooner was the death of the regent known, than a conſiderable body of Scots entered England, and committed ravages which equalled in cruelty thoſe of the moſt barbarous times. This expedition ſeems to have been undertaken merely to provoke the Engliſh to revenge theſe affronts on all the Scots in general; and by that means to revive the ancient enmity between the two people, and unite all the inhabitants of Scotland againſt their ſouthern neighbours. But they were miſtaken in their politics: Elizabeth was too cautious to be deceived by ſo ill-concerted a ſcheme: ſhe declared, that ſhe did not think the party that ſupported the government concerned in the late unprecedented inſult upon her ſubjects, nor inclined to think the whole nation criminal. She even offered her aſſiſtance to reſtore the government to its former vigour, and to redreſs the diſorders that had been committed by Mary's friends. She added, that ſhould her friendly offers be rejected, ſhe was ſufficiently prepared to do herſelf juſtice, and take a ſevere revenge on thoſe who had wantonly, and without the leaſt provocation, inſulted her crown and dignity.

This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to an aſſembly of the ſtates, diſconcerted all the meaſures of Mary's friends: they were not prepared with an anſwer, and obtained a farther time for that purpoſe. During this interval, both parties exerted all their abilities to gain the aſcendant. Elizabeth collected an army to give weight to her counſels; and her ambaſſador artfully cheriſhed the diviſions in Scotland, while he ſeemed to be labouring to promote an union between the two parties. Mary's friends had recourſe to the moſt provoking ſarcaſms upon Elizabeth and her council, in order to urge them to a general rupture. At the ſame time, they expected conſiderable aſſiſtance from

France and Spain, to enable them to oppoſe, with more probability of ſucceſs, the attempts of the party ſupported by the Engliſh.

The earl of Suſſex, who commanded Elizabeth's army, received orders to march into Scotland, in order to revenge the injuries ſuffered by the Engliſh, and to influence the election of a regent. But before he arrived in that kingdom, he was recalled by an agreement with the queen of Scots, who ſtipulated, that no foreign troops ſhould be introduced into Scotland; and that the Engliſh rebels, who had taken refuge in that kingdom, ſhould be delivered up by her partizans. The earl of Lenox was ſoon after choſen regent in an aſſembly of the ſtates, and Randolph received orders to maintain a correſpondence with him.

Elizabeth, notwithſtanding theſe inſtances of partiality to Mary's enemies, ſtill continued her ambiguous conduct, and maintained the appearance of friendſhip with that unfortunate princeſs. At the requeſt of the biſhop of Roſs, Mary's ambaſſador, joined with the preſſing inſtances of ſome foreign powers, Elizabeth procured a ſuſpenſion of arms between the Scottiſh factions; and by that means checked the progreſs of the regent's party, when they were on the point of gaining very conſiderable advantages over their opponents. By this variable conduct, Elizabeth artfully fed the flames of civil diſcord in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of horror and deſolation.

A. D. 1571. The attention of the Engliſh was now engaged by the affairs on the continent, where the moſt dreadful ravages were committed, and whole cities laid waſte by religious wars. The prince of Conde was ſlain at the battle of Jarnac: and his ſon, with the young prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. placed at the head of the Hugonots. The admiral Coligni, always unfortunate, but always formidable in his misfortunes, conſtantly ſupported the proteſtant party againſt the royal forces, headed by the ambitious Henry de Guiſe. Elizabeth ſaw the neceſſity of ſupporting the Hugonots, whoſe intereſts were connected with her own, notwithſtanding her hatred of all rebellion, and every ſpecies of oppoſition to the will of the ſovereign. Soon after, the whole army of the inſurgents was defeated at Moncontour, in Poictou, and the admiral himſelf dangerouſly wounded. The loſs of this battle ſeemed to have put a final period to the attempts of the Hugonots; and the court of France, perſuaded that the force of the rebels was totally annihilated, neglected to make any farther preparations againſt an enemy whom they thought could never be more dangerous. But they were miſtaken. Coligni appeared in another quarter of the kingdom, at the head of ſo powerful an army, that even the capital itſelf was in danger. It was now thought proper to have recourſe to negotiation; and a treaty was ſoon concluded, in which liberty of conſcience, and a pardon for their revolt, were once more granted them.

The low countries felt much more ſeverely than France the dreadful effects of ſuperſtitious tyranny. Philip was determined to rule thoſe commercial provinces with a deſpotic power, and employed a man well qualified to execute his tyrannical deſign. Ferdinand of Toledo, duke of Alva, was the man ſelected by Philip for this purpoſe. He had been educated in a camp; and having obtained a conſummate knowledge of the military art, his habits led him to transfer into all governments the ſevere diſcipline of an army. This general, about three years ſince, had conducted into the Low Countries, from Italy, a powerful body of veteran Spaniſh forces. The Flemings, who were no ſtrangers to his ferocious character, and the inveterate hatred he entertained againſt them, were ſtruck with conſternation. Nor were they terrified in vain. The military executions of that unfeeling nobleman are ſhocking to humanity, and will hand down his name with infamy to the lateſt poſterity. All the privileges of that people were aboliſhed by edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals erected; the counts of Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding all their merits and paſt ſervices, were brought to the ſcaffold; multitudes of all ranks were thrown into priſon, and thence delivered over to the hand of the executioner. He met with no reſiſtance; the people ſubmitted to his power; but this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ſlaviſh purpoſes: he proceeded in his career of cruelty; and nothing was heard of but confiſcation, impriſonment, exile, torture and death.

Driven to deſpair, great numbers of the Flemings took refuge in England, where they were protected by Elizabeth, and where they eſtabliſhed their uſeful manufactures, for which they had been long famous. It was impoſſible for the violent government of Alva to be of any long continuance, without exciting ſome dreadful commotion. Elizabeth declared, ſhe could not behold the deſtruction of a whole people, without affording them aſſiſtance. She accordingly ſeized a large ſum of money which ſome Genoeſe merchants were ſending to Alva, for the payment of his forces. This reduced him to have recourſe to the moſt oppreſſive meaſures, which ſtill farther animated the Flemings againſt the Spaniſh government.

Alva, exaſperated at the proceedings of Elizabeth, determined if poſſible, to raiſe diſturbances in England. He accordingly opened a ſecret correſpondence with Mary, queen of Scots, by means of one Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided many years in London, and managed all the intrigues between the catholics and the court of Rome. It was agreed that a powerful army of Spaniſh troops ſhould be landed in England, and at the ſame time an inſurrection ſhould be excited in the heart of the kingdom. But Alva was perſuaded that the attempt could not poſſibly ſucceed unleſs ſome Engliſh nobleman of authority could be found to head the inſurgents, and inſpire them with courage; and no perſon appeared ſo proper for this purpoſe as the duke of Norfolk. Mary, who was now ſufficiently convinced of Elizabeth's duplicity, and deſpaired of ever recovering her crown or even her liberty, by pacific meaſures, readily embraced the offer: while Norfolk, unable to recover the favour of Elizabeth, agreed to violate the promiſe he had made of breaking off all correſpondence with Mary. He engaged in this new conſpiracy; the promiſe of marriage was renewed between them; but he ſtill flattered himſelf that there was nothing criminal in his actions, as his ſole view was, that of obtaining the queen's conſent to marry the captive princeſs. In conſequence of the duke's conſent, three letters were wrote in his name by Rodolphi, one to Alva, another to the pope, and a third to the king of Spain; but Norfolk, though very deſirous of delivering Mary from confinement, refuſed to ſign them. He could only be prevailed upon to ſend Baker, one of his confidents, to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to vouch for their being authentic. The ſcheme was embraced with great alacrity by Alva and the pope, and every thing ſeemed to wear a very promiſing aſpect.

Theſe proceedings could not long remain concealed in ſo prying a court as that of Elizabeth's. Rodolphi, indeed, was beyond the reach of the Engliſh council; but one Baley, a ſervant to the queen of Scots, whom Rodolphi had diſpatched with letters to Mary, the biſhop of Roſs, the duke of Norfolk, and the lord Lumley, was ſeized at Dover immediately upon his landing, and the letters ſent to lord Cobham, governor of the cinque ports; who being a friend to the duke of Norfolk, ſuffered the biſhop of Roſs to change the letters for others of leſs importance. Walſingham, Elilabeth's miniſter at Paris, had obtained ſome intelligence of this affair, and was perpetually alarming his miſtreſs with accounts of plots forming againſt her by Mary's party. The letters delivered by lord Cobham contained no traces of any ſecret deſigns againſt the government, and ſuſpicions were entertained by the miniſtry, that theſe were other letters which had not reached their hands. Baley was therefore ſent for to the council, and ſoon brought to confeſs all he had learned from Rodolphi, and that the original packet he had brought over was in the poſſeſſion of the biſhop of Roſs.

That prelate ſuſpecting his public character would not protect him, and fearful of the conſequence, had ſecreted the moſt material of his papers; and on the 13th of May, after undergoing a ſtrict examination before a committee of the council, he was delivered into the cuſtody of the biſhop of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerard, and one Rolſton were committed to the Tower on ſuſpicion.

Hitherto nothing had appeared that could greatly affect the duke of Norfolk; but a ſubſequent tranſaction completed his ruin. Mary was very deſirous of ſending a ſum of money to lord Herries, and her partizans in Scotland; and Norfolk undertook to convey it to Banniſter, a ſervant of his in the north, who was to find ſome expedient to have it delivered to lord Herries. The perſon who was entruſted to convey the money to Banniſter not being in the ſecret, and judging from the weight and ſize of the box that it was full of gold, carried it, together with a letter he was charged with to Banniſter, to Cecil, now lord Burleigh. As ſoon as this diſcovery was made, Banniſter and Hickford, the duke's ſecretary, were apprehended and brought before the council. On being threatened with the torture, they immediately confeſſed the whole, and as Hickford, (though ordered to burn all Mary's letters) had concealed them under the mats of the duke's chamber, the miniſtry became poſſeſſed of ſufficient evidence againſt his maſter.

Ignorant of the diſcoveries made by Hickford, the duke, when cited before the council, denied every article of the charge brought againſt him, and though exhorted to merit the mercy of his ſovereign by a full confeſſion, he perſevered in his firſt declaration. He was therefore ſent to the Tower, and after being convicted of high-treaſon, finiſhed his life upon the ſcaffold. He died with great calmneſs and conſtancy, and was ſincerely regretted by the people, by whom he was greatly beloved. He had acquired their affections by his beneficence, generoſity, and affability. His anceſtors had long been conſidered as the leaders of the catholics; and this hereditary attachment, joined to the alliances of blood, had procured him the friendſhip of the moſt conſiderable men of that party; but as he had been educated among the reformers, was ſincerely devoted to their principles, and maintained that ſtrict decorum and regularity of life by which the proteſtants were at that time diſtinguiſhed; he thereby enjoyed the real felicity of being popular even in the moſt oppoſite factions. The height of his proſperity alone was the cauſe of his misfortunes, and engaged him in attempts from which his virtue and prudence would naturally have for ever kept him at a diſtance.

During theſe tranſactions the kingdom of Scotland remained in a perfect ſtate of anarchy. Kirkaldy of Grange, who commanded in the caſtle of Edinburgh, having declared for Mary, the lords of her party, encouraged by his countenance, made themſelves maſters of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war, againſt the regent, who was obliged to retire to Stirling. The inſurgents followed, and made themſelves maſters of his perſon; but perceiving his friends at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, were advancing, they immediately put him to death. The earl of Mar was choſen regent in his room; but that nobleman found it impoſſible to govern ſo divided a country. At laſt the two courts of France and England ordered their miniſters to negotiate a ceſſation of arms, which they accordingly effected. But this tranquillity was of no long duration; Mar ſoon after died of grief for the diſtracted ſtate of his country, and the earl of Morton was elected to the regency. Morton had always been directed in his meaſures by Elizabeth, and it was now determined to ſupport effectually the party at the head of which he was placed. Sir Henry Killigrew was accordingly ſent ambaſſador into Scotland, where he found the partizans of Mary ſo diſcouraged by the diſcovery of Norfolk's conſpiracy, that they were glad to ſubmit to the royal authority, and accept an indemnity for all paſt offences.

A. D. 1572. We muſt now direct our attention to the affairs on the continent, where, through the power of exceſſive bigotry, the kingdom of France became the theatre of cruelty hardly to be equalled in the moſt barbarous ages. The deceitful peace granted to the Hugonots was pregnant with horrors that ſhock humanity. Charles, the more effectually to lull the proteſtants into a fatal ſecurity, offered his ſiſter in marriage to the prince of Navarre, and great preparations were made for celebrating the nuptials with uncommon ſplendor. Deceived by theſe perfidious arts, the leaders of the Hugonots flocked to Paris to be ſpectators of a ceremony which they imagined would for ever put a period to the civil wars that had ſo long waſted their country. The queen of Navarre died ſuddenly ſoon after her arrival, not without the moſt violent ſuſpicion of poiſon; and Coligni, the high-admiral of France, was dangerouſly wounded by a baſe aſſaſſin as he was returning to his lodgings. Charles, however, by redoubling his diſſimulation, was ſtill able to retain the Hugonots in their fatal ſecurity. He viſited the admiral, expreſſed the greateſt concern for his misfortune, and promiſed to take the ſevereſt vengeance on the aſſaſſin, and all his abettors. The eve of St. Bartholomew was appointed for putting in execution this horrid ſcheme. The duke of Guiſe, who was at the head of this infernal enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards, to arm the citizens privately, and when the alarm was given, to place lights in their windows, break into the houſes of the Hugonots, and put them all to the ſword without diſtinction. About midnight, when the whole city was wrapt in darkneſs, and the unſuſpecting victims folded in the arms of ſleep, the fatal alarm was given, and the catholics began the horrid butchery. The hatred they had long bore to the proteſtants ſteeled their breaſts againſt the feelings of humanity, and all conditions, ages, and ſexes, ſuſpected of any propenſity to that religion, were involved in an undiſtinguiſhed ruin. The ſtreets of Paris flowed with blood, and the catholics, after all their deteſted victims were deſtroyed, exerciſed on their bodies all the rage of the moſt licentious brutality. They ſeemed to regret that the work of death was over. Above five hundred gentlemen of rank and fortune periſhed in this maſſacre; and near ten thouſand of inferior condition. Among the former were admiral Coligni, his ſon-in-law Teligni, Sobize, Rochefoucaut, Pardillon, Piles, and Lavardin; all perſons diſtinguiſhed by their births and talents, and whoſe only crime was their religion.

Nor was this inhuman execution ſufficient to ſatiſfy the brutality of the French miniſtry. Orders were immediately diſpatched to all the provinces for continuing the ſanguinary ſacrifice. The people emulated the fury of the capital, and the proteſtants in Meaux, Orleans, Trope, Bourges, Angers, Thoulouſe, Rouen, Lyons, and other cities, were butchered in the ſame inhuman manner. Even the young king of Navarre, and his couſin the prince of Conde, had been devoted to deſtruction by the duke of Guiſe; but Charles, hoping that theſe young princes might be eaſily converted to the catholic faith, determined to ſpare their lives, though he obliged them to purchaſe their ſafety by an apparent change of their religion.

When Charles came ſeriouſly to reflect on his barbarous conduct, and the inhuman maſſacre that had taken place in conſequence thereof, he ſeemed ſhocked with the thought, and endeavoured to conceal from the eyes of the world his barbarous perfidy. He pretended that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots againſt his perſon was ſuddenly diſcovered, and that the ſeverity they ſuffered flowed entirely from neceſſity. He wiſhed to bury in oblivion a tranſaction that is ſhocking at once to religion and humanity. Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at London, abhorred the treachery, and did not heſitate to expreſs his grief. He bluſhed, he ſaid, to bear the name of a Frenchman. Being, however, ordered to juſtify the court of France, he demanded an audience of Elizabeth. He repaired to court, which ſeemed plunged in the abyſs of ſorrow. An awful ſilence reigned through all the chambers of the royal apartment. The nobility, clad in deep mourning, were ranged on each ſide, and allowed him to paſs without interruption. Sorrow and indignation were painted in every countenance, and declared, in the ſtrongeſt language, the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation. The queen heard his apology with great coolneſs, and calmly anſwered, that ſuppoſing there had been a conſpiracy formed by the proteſtants, it was not neceſſary to have recourſe to ſuch cruel methods; that the ſame force that had murdered ſo many defenceleſs men, might eaſily have ſecured their perſons; and that by proceeding in a legal manner, diſtinctions might have been made between the guilty and the innocent; that Coligni, in particular, who was dangerouſly wounded, could not have fled from the juſtice of his prince; that cruel aſſaſſins were not the proper executors of juſtice; the ſword ſhould not be put into the hands of a ferocious multitude. She added, the future conduct of the king would more fully diſplay his real intentions; and that, in the mean time, ſhe ſhould proceed no farther than to lament the rigour with which he had treated his ſubjects. Elizabeth well knew the power of the Guiſes, and their attachment to the queen of Scotland. She was therefore unwilling to break with a court that was capable of giving her ſo much uneaſineſs.

Notwithſtanding, however, Elizabeth ſo cautiouſly avoided coming to extremities with Charles, whoſe union with the courts of Spain and Rome for the extermination of the proteſtants, gave her ſo much anxiety, ſhe afforded protection to all the unhappy fugitives, who, on receiving intelligence of the maſſacre of their brethren, fled into England; and when the French ambaſſador made a propoſal from his maſter, to have them delivered up as rebellious fugitives, ſhe plainly told him, that humanity would not ſuffer her to refuſe an aſylum to ſo many wretches, who were driven by the barbarity of their enemies to ſeek refuge in a foreign country.

Neither did ſhe neglect to take the neceſſary meaſures for her own defence. She prepared for that attack which ſeemed inevitable from the combined power and violence of the catholics. She fortified Portſmouth; augmented her fleet; exerciſed her militia; cultivated popularity with her ſubjects; diſcharged the ſums ſhe had borrowed; and paid the debts which her father and brother had contracted. By theſe prudent meaſures ſhe gained the love and eſteem of her people, who were willing to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in her defence. The nobility and gentry offered to levy an army of twenty-two thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, tranſport them into France, and maintain them ſix months at their own expence, in order to aſſiſt the Hugonots to retaliate on their perfidious enemies the miſeries they had ſuffered.

The ſame principles which engaged Elizabeth to aſſiſt the Hugonots in France, pleaded ſtrongly in favour of the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the Low-Countries; but the great power of Philip rendered her more cautious in her proceedings. That monarch ſent an ambaſſador to London, with remonſtrances againſt the conduct of Elizabeth. He complained that many of the Flemiſh exiles, who infeſted the ſeas, and robbed his maſter's ſubjects, were protected in England, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two courts. Unwilling to engage in an open rupture with Spain, Elizabeth publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all the Flemings, ſuſpected of rebellion, to depart the kingdom. But this was far from anſwering the views of the Spaniards. Driven to deſpair, theſe wretched exiles undertook the moſt dangerous expedients. William Vandermark, a perſon of diſtinction in the Netherlands, having collected a conſiderable number of his countrymen, left England in the beginning of April, and made himſelf maſter of the Brill and Fluſhing. This ſucceſs raiſed the ſpirits of the Flemings; they flocked to his ſtandard, and before the end of the year he was joined by the greater part of the provinces of Holland and Zealand.

D. A. 1573. The dreadful maſſacre of the Hugonots in France was ſo far from extirpating thoſe perſecuted people, that they now became more powerful and violent than ever. The king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, both retracted the abjuration that fear had extorted from them. Under theſe two chiefs the Hugonots were in a condition of revenging the blood of their brethren; and every thing again relapſed into confuſion. The catholics had, for ſome time, cloſely beſieged Rochelle, the bulwark of the proteſtants in France. The Hugonots made the moſt deſperate reſiſtance; and the duke of Anjou, (brother to the French king) who commanded the catholic army, loſt twenty-four thouſand men, without making any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege. Anjou now perceived he had undertaken a taſk he was unable to perform, and ſincerely wiſhed that ſome incident might happen to preſerve his honor. Hi deſires were fulfilled. Advice arrived of his being elected king of Poland; and he immediately concluded a treaty with the inhabitants of Rochelle.

A. D. 1574. Charles, exaſperated at the miſcarriage of his brother, called aloud for new ſeveritie againſt the proteſtants; but before he could carry then into execution, he paid the debt of nature on the 30t of May, in the 25th year of his age, after having ren dered his name odious to all the world, and throw an eternal ſtain of infamy upon his country. H died without iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brothe the duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected ſove reign of the Poliſh dominions.

Elizabeth was now greatly alarmed at the diſtur bances in Ireland, which raged with little leſs vio lence than thoſe on the continent, and from the ſam cauſe, namely, the enmity of the Roman Catholics the Proteſtants. The earl of Eſſex, an active youn nobleman, offered a propoſal to the queen, for pu ting an end to the troubles in that iſland. Elizabe accepted the offer; and it was agreed, that the e ſhould tranſport to Ireland 200 horſe, and 400 fo and maintain them there at his own expence; th the theſe forces ſhould act againſt the rebels for two years, the queen furniſhing the ſame number during that period; and that the earl ſhould receive the commiſſion of captain-general for ſeven years. In conſideration of this ſervice, the queen agreed to inveſt him with half the lordſhips of Clandeboy, Ferney, and other lands of a great extent, which he agreed to people with as many ſoldiers as the queen ſhould think proper to maintain on the other half of theſe lordſhips. The expence of maintaining the fortifications was to be equally divided between the queen and the earl. Eſſex was ſo fond of this command, which placed him on the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thouſand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Eſſex; and landed in Ireland about the latter end of Auguſt, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, three ſons of the lord Norris, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction, who ſerved under him as volunteers. He met with almoſt every difficulty that could be expected from an attempt of this kind. The lord deputy Fitz-Williams, thinking the command of Eſſex an encroachment on his own authority, ſecretly favoured the rebels, and greatly increaſed the obſtacles that naturally oppoſed the execution of this deſign. The earl ſoon perceived that the reduction of the rebels, while clandeſtinely aſſiſted by the Engliſh, was a taſk beyond his power. He, however, exerted all his abilities, but in vain: he was obliged to return to England, after having ſpent the greater part of his fortune.

A. D. 1575. The war with the Hugonots in France was carried on with no leſs alacrity by Henry IV. than it had been by his brother Charles; but ſo formidable were thoſe people now grown, and ſo ſtrong was their oppoſition, that Henry found himſelf obliged to grant them a truce for ſix months, under the mediation of Elizabeth. This was the fifth pacification made with the Hugonots; but the terms were ſo diſgraceful to the crown of France, that the duke of Guiſe made no ſcruple to condemn openly the meaſures and maxims of his ſovereign. That old and daring leader embraced this opportunity of forming his party into a regular and conſiſtent body, and laid the foundation of that famous league, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Henry ſaw the conſequence, and laboured aſſiduouſly to adopt a new plan, by acting as arbitrator between the two parties, and, by balancing their power, to reduce both to a dependence upon himſelf. But all his attempts were rendered abortive. France was reduced to ſo wretched a condition by the former ſeverities of her princes, that toleration could be no longer practiſed; and an edict for liberty of conſcience, which would, probably, have ſatisfied the proteſtants, inflamed the catholics, and threatened the kingdom with anarchy.

A. D. 1576. William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, had exerted his utmoſt endeavours in ſupporting the confederacy of Holland and Zealand againſt the attempts of Lewis Zuniga, who, on the death of the duke of Alva, ſucceeded to the government of the Netherlands. But the prince of Orange finding it would be impoſſible to continue the oppoſition much longer without ſome foreign aſſiſtance, he ſent a deputation to Elizabeth, imploring her protection; and offering to acknowledge her for their ſovereign, if ſhe would engage in their defence. The queen rejected a ſovereignty which ſhe could not ſupport without carrying on the moſt dangerous wars; but promiſed to uſe all her influence in negotiations with Philip in their favour. An ambaſſador was accordingly diſpatched to the court of Spain; but Philip found means to evade a categorical anſwer, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever. An accident delivered the Hollanders, when they were driven to the very brink of deſtruction. Zuniga died ſuddenly; and the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into the moſt dreadful mutiny. They ſacked and plundered the cities of Antwerp and Maeſtricht, and maſſacred ſeventeen thouſand perſons of all ages and ſexes; nor was there any poſſibility of preventing their dreadful outrages. They menaced all the cities of the Low Countries with the ſame fate. Alarmed at the deſtruction which awaited them, all the provinces, that of Luxembourg excepted, engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence; and diſpatched a deputation to the prince of Orange, imploring his protection, and requeſting that he would put himſelf at their head. Conferences were immediately opened at Ghent; and an union was formed between the provinces, called the Pacification of Ghent. By this treaty, which was ſigned on the eighth of November, the contracting parties declared, that they had entered into this union for the defence of the laws and liberties of their country, againſt the encroachments, oppreſſions and cruelties long exerciſed on them by the Spaniards. At the ſame time, they declared, that, notwithſtanding this treaty, they were ſtill willing to acknowledge the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern them according to the antient laws. This union being formed, the fortreſſes which had been raiſed to keep the Netherlands in ſubjection were every where demoliſhed; and the nobility and clergy ſoon after aſſembled at Bruſſels, and took a ſolemn oath to obſerve inviolably the articles of the aſſociation. Philip was now reduced to the mortifying alternative of governing according to the laws eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors, or content himſelf with the bare title of ſovereign, while the regal authority was exerciſed by others.

The troubles of Ireland ſtill continuing, the earl of Eſſex was ſent back to that kingdom, with the title of earl marſhal, in the room of Sir Nicholas Bagnal. But he ſoon perceived that, notwithſtanding his new dignity, he was little more than a private officer. He, however, exerted all his abilities to reduce that turbulent people to order, but without effect; and he died a few months after his arrival, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned by ſome of the creatures of the earl of Leiceſter, who was his declared enemy. What tended to give weight to this conjecture was, the impudent behaviour of Leiceſter himſelf, who, immediately after the death of Eſſex, divorced his own wife, and married the widow of that nobleman.

A. D. 1577. This year was opened with the ambitious projects of Don John of Auſtria, who had been made governor of the Netherlands. He was naturally of an aſpiring genius, and had rendered himſelf particularly famous for a glorious victory obtained over the Turks at Lepanto. Encouraged by the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended him, he now projected a ſcheme for rendering himſelf one of the moſt powerful princes in Europe. After reducing the revolted provinces of the Netherlands to obedience, he propoſed, by the aſſiſtance of the pope and the king of Spain, to land a powerful army in England, releaſe the queen of Scots, and carry into execution the bull fulminated at Rome, for dethroning Elizabeth.

The prince of Orange, being informed of Don John's deſign with regard to the Scottiſh princeſs, immediately imparted the ſecret to Elizabeth, who, fearing the conſequences of his ambition, no longer ſcrupled to aſſiſt the oppreſſed confederates, whoſe liberties ſeemed now to be materially connected with her own ſafety.

The meaſures purſued by Don John contributed daily to enlarge the breach already made between him and the ſtates; and Don John, not thinking himſelf ſafe in Bruſſels, ſeized the caſtle of Namur. This violent proceeding convinced the ſtates that they had nothing to expect from their new governor, and prepared to defend their liberties, which it was ſufficiently evident Don John intended to wreſt from them. They accordingly diſpatched the marquis of Hautree, and Adolphus Meetkirck, to Elizabeth, to vindicate their proceedings, and ſolicit a loan of an hundred thouſand pounds for eight months. Elizabeth very readily granted their requeſt, but inſiſted that certain towns of the Netherlands ſhould be bound for the payment. At the ſame time, ſhe entered into a treaty with them, whereby it was ſtipulated, That the queen ſhould furniſh them with five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, to be paid by the Flemings, but commanded by an Engliſh general; that this commander ſhould have a ſeat in the council of the ſtates; that nothing ſhould be determined concerning war or peace, without previouſly imparting it either to the queen or to him; that they ſhould enter into no league without her conſent; that if any difference happened among themſelves, it ſhould be ſubmitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretence whatever, ſhould attempt hoſtilities againſt her, they ſhould ſend to her aſſiſtance an army equal to that ſhe had employed in their ſervice.

As Elizabeth was unwilling to declare openly againſt Spain, ſhe ſent an ambaſſador to that court, where he preſented a memorial on the the twentieth of December, importing, that the queen by no means intended to break the antient alliance concluded with the houſe of Burgundy; that with this view ſhe had refuſed the ſovereignty of Holland and Zealand, when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance, and even threatened him with her diſpleaſure in caſe of refuſal. She added, that ſhe would ſtill continue in the ſame friendly intentions, and exert all her intereſt to compromiſe the preſent differences, provided Don John, whom ſhe could not but regard as her mortal enemy, was recalled, ſome other prince, more popular, ſubſtituted in his place, the Spaniſh forces withdrawn, and the Flemings reſtored to their antient liberties. If theſe conditions were accepted, the queen promiſed, if the Flemings ſtill continued obſtinate, to join her arms to thoſe of the king of Spain, and force them to a compliance. Philip, who was far from being pleaſed with the interpoſition of the queen, gave an evaſive anſwer, but ſtill continued to furniſh Don John with troops and money.

A. D. 1578. The great aſſiſtance given by Philip to Don John ſo animated that enterpriſing and ambitious governor, that inſtead of liſtening to any lenient propoſition, he was determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. He was joined by the prince of Parma one of the beſt ſoldiers of that or any other age, and received prodigious ſupplies of men and money both from Italy and Spain. But notwithſtanding his power daily increaſed, the prince of Orange found means to prevail on the cities of Amſterdam, Haerlem and Utretch to declare in his favour.

Alarmed at this acquiſition, the court of Spain offered to recall Don John, and to ſubſtitute in his room either the prince of Parma, the archduke Ferdinand, or even the archduke Matthias, provided the ſtates would return to their duty. The offer was refuſed, and the operations of war were continued with the utmoſt fury. Don John knew that the army of the ſtates lay in a ſtrong camp at Rimenant, and that they expected a ſtrong reinforcement of French troops, under the command of the duke of Anjou; and that prince Caſſimir was advancing to join them, with a German army in the pay of the ſtates. He therefore propoſed, in a council of war, to attack the enemy before they were joined by their reinforcements. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the prince of Parma; but his reaſons were not thought ſufficient, and it was reſolved to attack the confederate army. The battle was fought with amazing perſeverance, and the Engliſh and Scotch auxiliaries diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner: they oppoſed the whole Spaniſh forces; and had it not been for the amazing genius of the prince of Parma, the army of Don John muſt have been totally routed.

The Spaniſh monarch was now convinced that he had every thing to fear from the power of Elizabeth. He ſaw that the invaſion of England, projected by Don John, was at a great diſtance; and therefore entered into a freſh negotiation with the pope, for raiſing troubles againſt Elizabeth in Ireland. One Steukley, a native of England, whom the pope had created marquis of Leinſter, was engaged to command the expedition, and alſo to attempt to deſtroy the royal navy of England. As Philip was deſirous of concealing his being concerned in this attempt, it was agreed that it ſhould be made in the name of his holineſs; and that his natural ſon, James Boncampagni, ſhould be declared king of Ireland. Steukley, on his arrival in the Tagus, was prevailed upon to accompany Don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, in making a deſcent in Africa againſt the Moors. This put a final period to the expedition. Steukley and his whole detatchment were cut to peices, and Don Sebaſtian himſelf fell by the ſwords of the infidels. A few of the Spaniſh and Italian troops, who purſued their courſe when Steukley entered the Tagus, landed in Ireland, and animated the Iriſh, who were then zealous catholics, though a barbarous people, to continue in rebellion to the Engliſh. But the enterprize had no ſucceſs: the foreign troops were cut in pieces, and about 2500 of the Iriſh were put to death by order of government.

A. D. 1579. We muſt now turn our attention to the affairs of Scotland. That kingdom had hitherto been retained in ſtrict alliance with Elizabeth, by the influence of Morton the regent. But among a people regardleſs of laws, and agitated by religious controverſies, it could not be expected that the authority of a regent could be long ſupported. Factions were formed among the nobility, who were diſguſted with Morton's avarice; while the clergy, whoſe narrow revenues were ſtill farther invaded, joined the diſcontented party, and encreaſed the confuſion. Alarmed at his dangerous ſituation, and oppreſſed with the increaſing weight of government, the regent dropped ſome peviſh expreſſions, implying a deſire of being relieved from the care of conducting the adminiſtration. This conceſſion, whether real or pretended, was readily ſeized by the oppoſite party, and he was diſmiſſed from the regency. Morton, who flattered himſelf that a general pardon, which was now paſſed, would render abortive all the deſigns of his enemies, reſigned his authority into the hands of the young king, who was then only eleven years of age. James determined to hold himſelf the reins of government, and conduct, in his own name, the adminiſtration of the affairs of the kingdom. The regent ſeemed at firſt determined never more to engage in the buſy ſcenes of active life; but ſeek in domeſtic affairs that tranquillity which was not to be found in the hurry of a court, and amidſt the contentions of turbulent parties. But either his ambition would not ſuffer him to continue in the ſhades of obſcurity, or he did not find in retirement that tranquillity he expected, for he returned again to court, acquired the aſcendant in the council, and directed as before all the affairs of the adminiſtration, but without reſuming the title of regent. The oppoſite party ſaw their danger, and flew to arms, under pretence of reſcuing their prince from captivity. Both parties endeavoured to gain the protection of Elizabeth; but that of Morton prevailed, and he was ſuffered to continue at the head of adminiſtration.

The party formed againſt Morton were ſupported by the duke of Guiſe, who ſent over the count d'Aubigney, a deſcendant of the houſe of Lenox, and couſin-german to the young king's father, to detach that prince from the Engliſh intereſt. D'Aubigney was poſſeſſed of all the talents neceſſary for effecting the projected deſign. He had been educated in France, was poſſeſſed of an inſinuating addreſs, and of a pleaſing diſpoſition. Guiſe was not miſtaken. D'Aubigney ſoon gained the affections of the young monarch: and joining his intereſts with James Stuart, of the houſe of Ochiltree, a young man of great parts, but of the moſt profligate manners, who was already in great favour with the king, he inſtilled into the tender mind of James principles of politics and government very different from thoſe in which he had been educated. He painted, in ſuch glaring colours, the great injuſtice of depoſing his mother, and detaining her a priſoner in England, that James was greatly affected at her ſufferings, and wiſhed either to reſign the adminiſtration into her hands, or aſſociate her with him in the government.

Elizabeth, alarmed at the great progreſs daily made by this party in Scotland, diſpatched Sir Robert Bowes to Stirling, where James then reſided, to warn the king of the danger that would inevitably enſue, if he continued to liſten to the falſe ſuggeſtions of d'Aubigney, now created earl of Lenox. The young prince, deſirous of preventing Elizabeth from aſſiſting the party of Morton, ſent excuſes to the court of London; but Lenox, perceiving that the Engliſh princeſs was determined to ruin him, reſolved, if poſſible, to overturn the Scottiſh government, as the only expedient that remained to ſupport his intereſt. Morton was conſidered as the head of the oppoſite party, and his ruin was therefore neceſſary. He was accordingly arreſted at the council board, committed to priſon, accuſed of being an accomplice in the late king's murder, and condemned to ſuffer as a traitor. He confeſſed upon his trial that he was not ignorant of Bothwell's deſign, but denied his having ever given his conſent to that attrocious act. He added, that he ſhould have revealed it either to Henry or Mary, had not the danger to which he muſt have been expoſed, deterred him from purſuing his deſign; Henry poſſeſſing neither reſolution nor conſtancy, and Mary appearing to him to be an accomplice in the crime. Great intereſt was made in behalf of Morton. The queen diſpatched Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, and that ambaſſador exerted all his influence in favour of the late regent. He even engaged the earls of Argyle, Montroſe, Angus, Mar, and Glencarne, to enter into a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. At the ſame time, an Engliſh army moved towards the frontiers of Scotland, to give weight to the interceſſions of the ambaſſador. The French party ſaw the danger of delaying the execution of the ſentence, and Morton finiſhed his life upon the ſcaffold. He died with the ſame conſtancy and reſolution he had always diſplayed in every action of his life; and had his probity and virtue been equal to his abilities, he might have been conſidered as one of the moſt accompliſhed ſtateſmen of the age.

A. D. 1580. In the beginning of this year Sir Francis Drake (the firſt Engliſh circum-navigator) returned from his voyage round the world. This intrepid ſeaman was a native of Devonſhire, and introduced at court by the vice-chamberlain Hatton, on his propoſing to paſs into the South Seas through the ſtreights of Magellan, a voyage till that time unattempted by the Engliſh. Drake's fleet conſiſted only of the five following veſſels, namely, the Pelican, of an hundred tons, commanded by himſelf; the Elizabeth of eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty-tons, commanded by captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of thirty tons, under captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain Thomas Moon. On board this ſmall ſquadron were embarked one hundred and ſixty-four men, and the gallant admiral ſailed on a voyage, which, with ſuch ſmall ſhips, would, even in our times, be conſidered as a very raſh undertaking. He ſoon found that his veſſels were too ſmall for the tempeſtuous ſeas near the ſtreights of Magellan, and entered the pacific ocean with only his own ſhip. During his cruiſes in the South-ſea, he took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in that diſtant part of the world. He ſacked and plundered the town of Arica, and in one ſhip took four hundred pounds weight of Baldivian gold. Hardly any oppoſition was made by the Spaniards; Drake eaſily loaded the Pelican with gold, ſilver and precious ſtones. But he ſoon after learned that the vice-roy of Peru had fitted two large ſhips, and ſent them to cruize near the ſtreights of Magellan, in order to intercept him in his return. A new paſſage was therefore to be attempted, as he was in no condition to fight the two Spaniſh ſhips fitted out to intercept him. He firſt endeavoured to find a paſſage by the north of California; but failing in that enterprize, he ſailed for the Eaſt Indies, and returned ſafely by the Cape of Good Hope.

The return of Drake animated the Engliſh, who were now deſirous of ſharing in the riches of South America; and his name became celebrated on account of his bold and fortunate attempt. It was, however, apprehended that this attack upon the Spaniſh territories in South America, would occaſion an open war with Spain, an event which it was thought ſhould, if poſſible, be avoided at this juncture. It was therefore moved in the council, that the queen ſhould diſown the enterprize, puniſh Drake, and reſtore the treaſure. But Elizabeth rejected the propoſal; ſhe loved valour, and determined to protect that intrepid ſeaman, againſt all the machinations of his enemies. She accepted a banquet from him on board the ſhip which had performed ſo memorable a voyage, and conferred on the commander the honour of knighthood. The Spaniſh ambaſſador did not fail to make complaints againſt what he called the piracies of Drake. But he was told by Elizabeth, that no treaty with his catholic majeſty excluded her ſubjects from trading in the South Seas; that ſhe could not conſider all South America as the property of the king of Spain, as he held it by no better title than a donation from the biſhop of Rome, who having no right over thoſe countries himſelf, could convey none to another, and whoſe authority both in temporal and civil matters ſhe diſowned. She added, that the inſignificant ceremonies practiſed by the Spaniards in taking poſſeſſion of ſuch immenſe tracts of land in America, ſhould never preclude her from ſending colonies thither, nor would ſhe even ſubmit to ſuffer the ocean to be claimed as the property of any prince or perſon. She, however, ordered part of the treaſure to be reſtored to Pedro Sebrura, a Spaniard, who pretended to be an agent from the merchants whoſe effects Drake had ſeized; but underſtanding afterwards that Philip had ſequeſtered the money, ſhe refuſed to make any farther reſtitution.

A. D. 1581. On the 6th of January the parliament met at Weſtminſter, when a ſupply was granted to the queen of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. Several laws were made for the ſecurity of the government, but chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics, who had occaſioned many diſturbances. In one of theſe laſt it was enacted, that whoever reconciled any perſon to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon: to ſay maſs was ſubject to the penalty of a year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks: whoever abſented himſelf during a whole month from the ſervice of the church, was ſubjected to a fine of twenty pounds. The uttering ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen, was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony. The writing or printing ſuch words, was felony, even for the firſt offence.

A treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and Elizabeth had been for ſome time negotiating, and a reſolution was now taken on the part of the former to finiſh it. The duke had long been convinced that political reaſons alone would never be ſufficient to anſwer the intended purpoſe; and he accordingly ſent over Simier, an agent of his own, to act in conjunction with his brother's ambaſſador. He could not have ſent a perſon more likely to anſwer his purpoſe. He was artful and intriguing, of inſinuating addreſs and agreeable converſation. Inſtead of entering into the ſerious reaſons of political intereſt, he entertained the queen with the topics of paſſion and gallantry. Elizabeth liſtened to his diſcourſe, and Simier ſoon inſinuated himſelf ſo firmly into the queen's favour, that he obtained a more ready acceſs to her perſon, than even the moſt favoured miniſters of ſtate. Leiceſter, who had laughed at every preceding treaty of marriage, was now ſufficiently alarmed; he feared that the queen was at laſt caught in her own ſnare, and that the young Frenchman had really engaged her affections. He was acquainted with the arts of Simier, and exerted all his power to render him odious; he even took advantage of the credulity of the times, and ſpread reports, that Simier had gained an aſcendancy over the queen, not by any natural principles of her conſtitution, but by love potions and incantations. Simier was exaſperated at theſe unmanly proceedings, and determined to ruin the credit of Leiceſter. He accordingly revealed to the queen a ſecret which none of her courtiers dared to diſcover; namely, the marriage of Leiceſter with the widow of the late earl of Eſſex, which that nobleman had hitherto carefully concealed from Elizabeth. This diſcovery anſwered the purpoſe of Simier; the queen was ſo provoked at the action, that ſhe threatened to ſend Leiceſter a priſoner to the Tower, and to prevent the effects of his reſentment, took the Frenchman under her own protection.

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts he received from his agent, and deſirous of finiſhing a treaty pregnant with the moſt conſpicuous advantages, determined to paſs over into England, and ſolicit his ſuit in perſon. He accordingly landed at Dover, and ſecretly viſited the queen at Greenwich. Anjou had no reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his viſit; he loſt no ground in being perſonally known to Elizabeth. For ſoon after his departure ſhe commanded Burleigh, now lord treaſurer, Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to concert with the French ambaſſadors the terms of the intended treaty. And as Henry, who was deſirous of freeing France from the reſtleſs ambition of the duke of Anjou, had given his plenipotentiaries almoſt unlimited powers to agree to all the demands of the court of England, the conditions of the treaty were ſoon ſettled, and the inſtrument ready for the royal ſignet. It was agreed, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles; that the duke and his retinue ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion; that after the marriage was ſolemnized, the duke of Anjou ſhould enjoy the title of king, but that the management of affairs ſhould continue ſolely in Elizabeth; that their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; that if there ſhould be two males, the eldeſt, in caſe of Henry's death, without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, and the younger of England; that if there ſhould be one male only, and he ſhould ſucceed to both the crowns of France and England, he ſhould be obliged to reſide eight months every two years in the latter kingdom; that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be obſerved inviolate; and that no foreigner ſhould be promoted by the duke to any office in England.

Notwithſtanding theſe articles were very favourable to the Engliſh, and though there was little probability that Elizabeth, who was then in her fortieth year, ſhould have any children by the duke of Anjou, yet the treaty ſpread an alarm through the whole kingdom. It was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by all her favourite miniſters, and the queen herſelf, as a proof of her remaining uncertainty, added a clauſe, by which it was declared, that ſhe was not bound to complete the marriage till farther articles, not ſpecified in the treaty, ſhould be agreed on between the parties, and till the king of France ſhould be certified of thei agreement. Walſingham was diſpatched to Paris, in order to form the cloſeſt connection with Henry, and enter into a league offenſive, and defenſive, againſt the encreaſing power and dangerous uſurpation of the Spaniſh monarch.

Walſingham purſued his inſtructions with the utmoſt aſſiduity; but had the mortification to perceiv that the reſolutions of Elizabeth were fluctuating an unſettled. Sometimes he received orders to purſu the negotiation for completing the marriage, preferable to that of the league; and at others ſhe declared for the league in preference to the marriag The miniſter was aſtoniſhed at this inconſiſtent conduct in the queen, and the whole privy-council wer doubtful what would be the reſult of this conteſt between inclination and reaſon, love and ambition.

In the mean time the duke of Anjou exerted h utmoſt abilities in defence of the Low Countries; b he was now ſo greatly diſtreſſed for want of mone that he had been obliged to put his army into ca tonments. This inability of the duke alarmed t confederates. The prince of Orange ſaw the artf web of policy he had been weaving ſo many yea ready to be cut to pieces by the ſword of the prin of Parma: his laſt effort was to perſuade the ſta to throw off even their nominal obedience to t crown of Spain. Accordingly, in an aſſembly of t confederates at Antwerp, he repreſented the neceſſ they were under of either ſubmitting to the ter preſcribed by the Spaniards, or of ſhaking from th necks the yoke of a tyrannical and perfidious maſt by diſclaiming his authority, and uniting under t duke of Anjou, who had already been declared p tector of their liberties. He obſerved, that as marriage of the duke with the queen of England on the point of being concluded, there was all reaſon in the world to imagine that Elizabeth wo look upon his quarrel as her own; that all the r of good policy engaged his brother, the king France, to ſupport him in his new acquired dign and that Hainault and Artois, together with Fre Flanders, which was now returned to the Spa yoke, would then undoubtedly follow the exampl the other ſtates, and join in the confederacy. T reaſons, however powerful, did not appear ſuffic to induce the ſtates to embrace the offer immedia they did not think the provocations they had received from the king of Spain could diſſolve the allegiance they owed their ſovereign. But the imprudent conduct of Philip effected what their leader attempted in vain. He proſcribed the prince of Orange, and ſet a price of twenty-five thouſand crowns upon his head. Exaſperated at this tyrannical action, the ſtates immediately aſſembled and declared, by proclamation, that Philip, king of Spain, had forfeited the ſovereignty of the Low Countries, by violating, contrary to his oath, the privileges of the people; "That therefore the provinces, in conſequence of the permiſſion given them by Philip himſelf, when they recognized him to be prince of Flanders, and before they owed him any allegiance, voluntarily, and of their own proper motion, had choſen for their prince Philip Valois, duke of Anjou, and brother to the king of France."

In conſequence of this reſolution taken by the tates, a formal deputation was ſent to the duke, in- iting him to come and take poſſeſſion of the princi- ality of the Low Countries; but before this could e effected, ſome very alarming difficulties were to e overcome. The active prince of Parma had, ith incredible expedition, marched his army towards rench Flanders, the provinces where the duke's hief intereſt lay, and ſat down before the city of Cambra. Anjou immediately advanced to raiſe the iege, at the head of a well-diſciplined army of twen- y thouſand men. Parma puſhed the ſiege with reat violence; but not being able to make himſelf aſter of the place before the duke's arrival, he was bliged to abandon the undertaking, and retreat with me precipitation, his forces conſiſting only of five ouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. Soon after, ompone de Bellievre arrived in the prince of Par- a's camp, with letters from the king of France, owning and diſclaiming the duke's behaviour, and ffering a ceſſation of arms till every thing could be ccommodated in a friendly manner. But the prince Parma treated this as a mere artifice; and, upon s retreat, the duke of Anjou drove the Spaniards t of the Cambreſis. His ſucceſs was not, how- er, ſufficient to ſupport his army; money was anting; and unleſs a very conſiderable ſum could procured, all his conqueſts were in danger of re- rting again to the enemy. The moſt preſſing ap- ications were made to Elizabeth, and ſhe remitted e duke an hundred thouſand crowns; with which, d the aſſiſtance he received from his brother and e queen dowager, he levied a new army, and took e field againſt the prince of Parma. But the cam- ign being now greatly advanced, he, after ſeveral cceſsful ſkirmiſhes with the Spaniſh forces, put his my into winter quarters, and determined to paſs er into England, in order to proſecute his ſuit to e queen.

Accordingly, about the middle of November, he ded at Dover, and proceeding immediately to ndon, was received by Elizabeth with the greateſt gnificence and affection. Every action betrayed r tenderneſs; and ſhe appeared, at laſt, indiffe- t about concealing it. The truth is, ſhe ſeems to have known how far either ambition or affec- n would carry her; and notwithſtanding all her dence, to have been deceived by both. In the dſt of the pomp which attended the anniverſary of r coronation, ſhe was ſeen, after a long and inti- te diſcourſe with him, to take a ring from her own ger, and put it upon his. This unguarded action s conſtrued into an abſolute promiſe of marriage all the ſpectators, and that ſhe was deſirous of ifying her intentions to all the world. Expreſſes e immediately ſent to every part of the kingdom, well as to all the courts of Europe. Perhaps Elizabeth, in that critical moment, when ſhe ſeemed diſſolved in ſoftneſs, was ignorant that ambition would evermore gain the aſcendancy in her ſoul. But ſhe no ſooner reflected on the conſequences that might poſſibly reſult from ſuffering the ſofter paſſions to prevail, than ſhe ſhuddered at the precipitate ſtep ſhe was going to take; a ſtep by which, perhaps, ſhe was to loſe all the glories her wiſdom, her courage, and her perſeverance, crowned with perpetual ſucceſs, could impart. She was ready to divide her power, by which all England was obedient to her nod, and all Europe in terror of her frown, with a young man of untried temper, of foreign education, and of a different religion. She was to hear the diſcontents, the reproaches, nay, perhaps, the curſes of her ſubjects, who, by this marriage, dreaded to ſee the fair and flouriſhing fabric of their religion, reared by the toil of princes, and cemented by the blood of martyrs, ſink into ruins. She reflected with horror on her ſiſter's miſery, who, in the decline of life, married a catholic prince much younger than herſelf; and ſhe began already to imagine that ſhe ſaw a total alteration in the laws and government of her kingdom.

Agitated by theſe reflections, the queen paſſed ſeveral nights in great anxiety without ſleep or repoſe. At the ſame time her moſt favourite courtiers diſcovered an extreme averſion to the marriage; and even the ladies of her bed-chamber made no ſcruple of oppoſing her reſolution with the moſt zealous remonſtrances. At laſt, her ſettled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and ſending for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long converſation with him in private, where ſhe was ſuppoſed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. But, however that be, he expreſſed great diſguſt at leaving her; threw away the ring ſhe had given him; and uttered many curſes on the mutability of women in general, and of Iſlanders in particular.

A ſhort time after this, the duke of Anjou returned to the Low Countries; but wanting to make himſelf maſter of their forts, he was driven away as a traitor and oppreſſor, and obliged to return to France, where he died. The diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy prevented the queen from feeling any effects of that reſentment ſhe had reaſon to dread from the affront ſo wantonly put upon that royal family. The blind tenderneſs of Elizabeth for a man more worthy of hatred than of love, can only be accounted for by the weakneſs of the human heart, which frequently ſuffers genius and merit to be impoſed on by incapacity and unworthineſs.

A. D. 1582. During theſe tranſactions the troubles in Scotland continued to rage with the moſt unremitting violence. The death of Morton, and the influence of the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, now earl of Arran, alarmed the enthuſiaſtic preachers. A faſt was appointed to be held all over the kingdom, when the pulpits reſounded with declamations againſt the king's preſent counſellors. A conſpiracy of the nobility was formed for ſeizing the perſon of James, who was then at Ruthven, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Gowry. The utmoſt ſecrecy was obſerved; and the council not having the leaſt intimation of the conſpirators deſigns, the attempt ſucceeded without any oppoſition. The earls of Gowry and Mar, the lords Lindſey and Boyd, the maſter of Glamis and Oliphant, the abbots of Dunfermling, Plaiſey and Cambuſkenneth, were the principal leaders in this enterprize. James wept when he found himſelf deprived of his liberty. "No matter for his tears, (ſaid one of the conſpirators) better that boys ſhould weep than bearded men." James was deeply affected, and could never be prevailed upon to forgive the expreſſion. He, however, prudently ſubmitted to the preſent neceſſity, and ſtifled his reſentment. He agreed to iſſue writs for calling an aſſembly of the church and a convention of the ſtates, in order to exculpate the aſſociated lords from the crime of treaſon, and ratify their enterprize. Though the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly had no right to meddle with civil matters, yet on this occaſion they uſurped an authority they never enjoyed, and declared that the late attempt was agreeable to all that feared God, or deſired to preſerve the perſon of the king, and the proſperity of the realm. They even threatned every perſon who ſhould dare to oppoſe the authority of the confederated lords with the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures. The convention ratified theſe proceedings, and declared the attempts of the aſſociates a lawful act. The earl of Lenox, unwilling to excite a civil war in the heart of his country, retired into France, where he ſoon after died. The earl of Arran was confined a priſoner in his own houſe; and Elizabeth (who it is ſuppoſed countenanced the conſpiracy) ſent ambaſſadors to compliment the captive king on his delivery from ſuch pernicious counſellors.

A. D. 1583. Mary no ſooner heard of her ſon's detention, than ſhe immediately wrote a pathetic and ſpirited letter to Elizabeth, craving the aſſiſtance of that princeſs, both for his and her own liberty. She ſaid, that the account of the prince's captivity had excited her moſt tender concern; and the experience which ſhe herſelf, during ſo many years, had acquired of the extreme unhappineſs attending ſuch a ſituation, had rendered her more apprehenſive that a ſimilar fate ſhould attend her unfortunate offſpring. She concluded by entreating Elizabeth to reſume her natural diſpoſition and to reflect on the ſupport as well as comfort which ſhe might receive from her ſon and herſelf, if, joining the obligations of gratitude to the ties of blood, ſhe would deign to raiſe them from their preſent melancholy ſituation, and reinſtate them in that liberty and authority to which they were intitled.

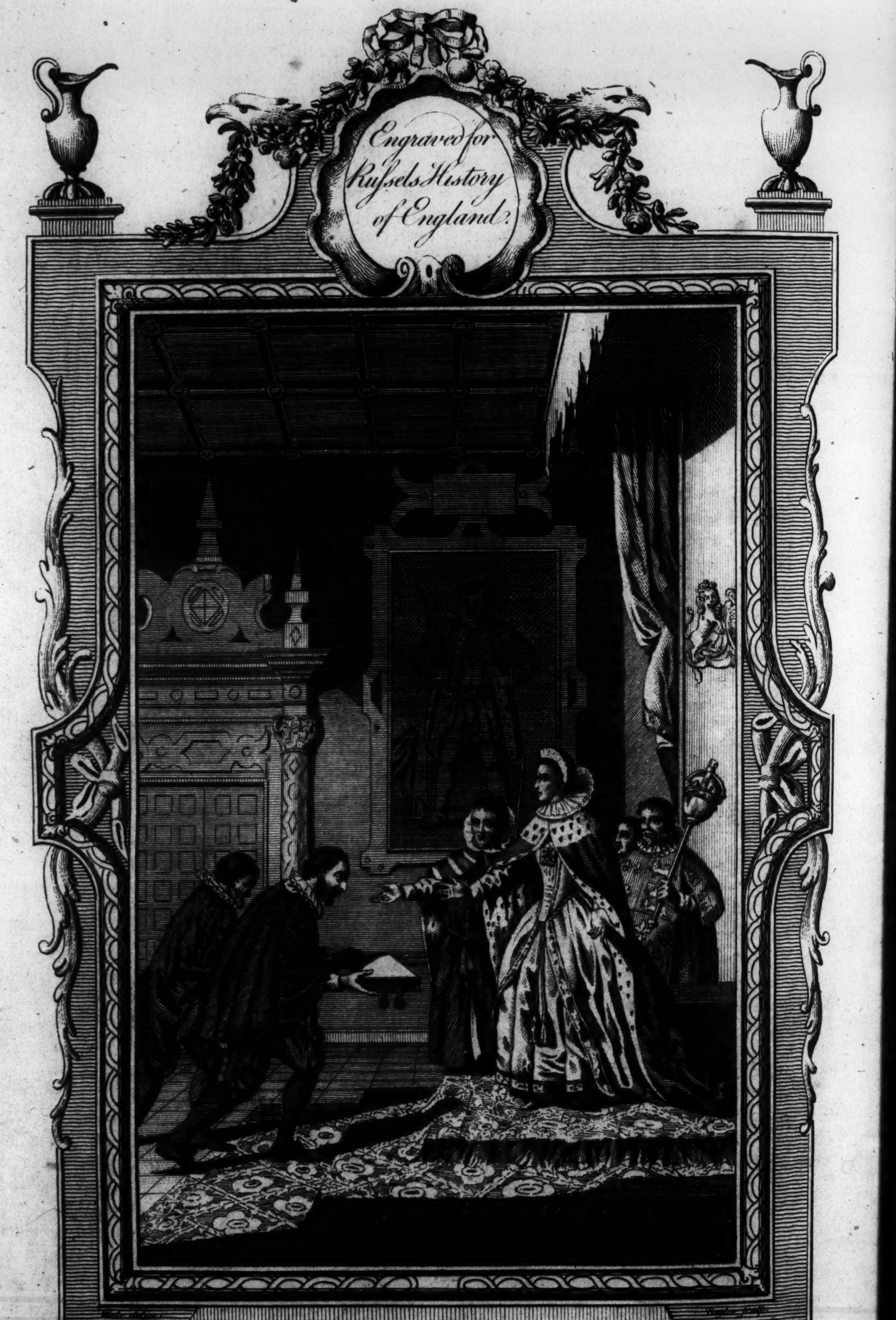
Though Elizabeth was ſenſibly affected with Mary's letter, yet political motives prevented her from paying any attention to its contents. She was apprehenſive of the conſequences, and the hopes of Mary once more vaniſhed. In the mean time James, impatient of reſtraint, made his eſcape from his keepers; and going to St. Andrew's, ſummoned his friends and partiſans to attend him. The confederated lords perceiving that all the oppoſition they could make would be in vain, laid aſide any farther thoughts of attempting to recover their authority: ſome of them accepted a pardon, which was offered them on their ſubmiſſion, while others took ſhelter in England and Ireland; and the earl of Arran, a man without either manners or moderation, was placed at the head of affairs, and engaged the chief attention and confidence of the young monarch.

In the beginning of the following year 1584, James, who had now ſhook off that natural puſillanimity to which he was ſubject, ſummoned a parliament, and cauſed an act to be paſſed for preventing the clergy from ſowing the ſeeds of ſedition from the pulpit. It was declared, that no clergyman ſhould, for the future, preſume to blacken the character of the king, or his miniſters, in their ſermons, or cenſure the affairs of government. This highly provoked the enthuſiaſtical preachers: they ſaid, that the king himſelf was a papiſt in his heart, and beſtowed the moſt degrading epithets on his friends and favorites. But all their attempts would, probably, have been rendered abortive, had not the violent conduct of the earl of Arran engaged the people to ſupport them. Gowry, notwithſtanding the late pardon, was tried, and executed; and many innocent perſons ſuffered from the tyranny of that favourite. The baniſhed noblemen were perſuaded that they had now an opportunity of recovering their honours and eſtates: they made the attempt, and were ſucceſsful. Arran was degraded from his authority, deprived of the eſtate and title he had uſurped, and the whole country ſeemed to have obtained that tranquillity to which they had long been ſtrangers.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, the Engliſh were frequently alarmed by the practices of the diſcontented party. All the prudence o Elizabeth could not ſecure her from conſpiracies. The zeal of the papiſts grew ſtronger by reſtraint. A great number of letters were diſpatched, containing the moſt earneſt exhortations to ſeveral ladie more immediately concerned about the perſon o Elizabeth, to imitate the example of Judith, and pu a period to the life of a princeſs anathematized b the holy father. At the ſame time, aſſuring them that they would be powerfully protected by the pope the king, and the duke of Guiſe, who had forme an aſſociation for reſtoring the catholic religion i England, and extirpating the proteſtants. The letters appeared to have been written by one Franc Throgmorton, a young man of family and exceller parts; who being apprehended, and brought befo the council, abſolutely denied the accuſation: b on being ſhewn two liſts, one of all the ports in England favourable for landing an army, and the oth of all the gentlemen who favoured the Romiſh rel gion, and were well diſpoſed to aſſiſt in an invaſio he retracted his denial, and made the following co feſſion: “ That going, ſome few years ſince, to t German Spa, he contracted an intimacy with Jen and Sir Francis Inglefield, two Engliſh fugitive that their conferences generally turned on the b means of invading England; and that they deliver him the two liſts above mentioned: that after return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, t him the catholic princes had formed a deſign to fr the queen of Scots from her confinement, and t the care of executing the attempt would be co mitted to the duke of Guiſe: that nothing was wa ing but to know what aſſiſtance might be depend upon from the Engliſh catholics: that in order to fo their meaſures on more certain information, Cha Paget, under the name of Mope, was ſent into S ſex, where the duke of Guiſe intended to land forces: that he (Throgmorton) himſelf had impar the project to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who, found, had been already intruſted with the ſec and ſhewed him a copy of the liſt of the ports wh the troops might be landed: that he alſo acquain the ambaſſador with the names of the nobility whom he might ſafely open his mind, in order to p mote the deſign; and that conferences had actu been held on the beſt method of raiſing troop England to join the foreign forces on their landi Throgmorton was immediately ſent to priſon, being ſoon after tried and convicted of treaſon, with ſeveral of his acomplices, executed at Tybu

A. D. 1585. In the beginning of this yea moſt horrid conſpiracy was diſcovered to have b projected againſt the life of Elizabeth. Wil Parry, a bigotted catholic, after having received queen's pardon for a capital offence, retired Italy, where he openly profeſſed his religion, w he had concealed while he continued in Engl Happening to contract an intimacy with one Pal a jeſuit, he too readily liſtened to the deteſtable trine of that order, and was perſuaded that he c not do a more acceptable or meritorious action that of taking away the life of his ſovereign and nefactor. Campeggio, the pope's nuncio, w Parry conſulted on this important queſtion, rem

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsels History of England.

The Dutch Ambaſsadors imploring the Protection of QUEEN ELIZABETH all his doubts, and approved extremely of his intended undertaking. Parry accordingly retired to Paris, whence he propoſed to paſs over into England, in order to execute his bloody deſign. Remorſe, however, ſtaggered his reſolution; it is not ſometimes even in the power of fanaticiſm to ſilence the remonſtrances of conſcience. He was deſirous of trying every method in his power to ſoften the perſecutions carried on againſt the catholics, before he proceeded to extremities. His ſoul ſhuddered at the complicated horror he was going to commit. He found means of being introduced to the queen; aſſured her that many conſpiracies were formed againſt her life; and exhorted her, as the only means of rendering the attempts abortive, to allow the catholics a little more indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion. Finding all his attempts were, in vain, he determined to execute his bloody deſign, and imparted his intention to Nevil, next heir to the Weſtmoreland family, who readily approving of the infernal project, meaſures were immediately taken for carrying it into execution. But while they were waiting for a favourable opportunity, the earl of Weſtmoreland died; and Nevil, hoping to recover the honours and eſtates of that noble family, revealed the whole to the queen. In conſequence of this Parry was ſeized and impriſoned; a few days after which he was tried at Weſtminſter, when he confeſſed the fact, and being found guilty of treaſon, was condemned to be hanged, which ſentence was executed in Palace-yard Weſtminſter, during the ſitting of parliament.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the prince of Orange was aſſaſſinated by one Baltazar Gerard, a native of Burgundy, who executed the bloody deed with the moſt conſummate intrepidity. He ſacrificed his own life, in order to deſtroy the famous reſtorer and protector of religious liberty. This event ſpread a general conſternation through the Netherlands, where the people conſidered that prince as their father, and where the prince of Parma had made an alarming progreſs in re-eſtabliſhing the authority of Philip.

In this deplorable ſituation the ſtates offered the ſovereignty of their country to the king of France; but the preſent condition of that monarchy obliged him to reject ſo advantageous an offer. Thus diſappointed, the ſtates ſent over a ſolemn embaſſy to Elizabeth, imploring the queen to take them under her protection. The buſineſs was of a delicate nature; and the council were divided in opinion, whether they ſhould accept or reject the offer. Some conſidered the Flemings as rebels, whoſe revolt could not be countenanced without injuſtice, and whoſe propoſals, if they were accepted, would expoſe the kingdom to dangers, to which they would bring no adequate advantage. Others repreſented the unbounded ambition of the king of Spain, his tyranny over the Low Countries, his implacable hatred to Elizabeth, as ſufficient motives for accepting the offer. It was ſaid, that the acquiſition of the provinces, and the efforts of a brave people groaning under the weight of lawleſs power, would leſſen the danger by multiplying reſources. The queen, always leſs enterprizing than circumſpect, thought proper to adopt the medium. She declined the ſovereignty, that ſhe might avoid the reproach of being a uſurper; but ſhe entered into a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with the ſtates, whereby ſhe engaged to ſend them ſix thouſand men, and maintain them during the war: that the general, and two others whom ſhe ſhould appoint, ſhould be admitted into the council of the ſtates; that neither party ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other; that her expences ſhould be refunded at the concluſion of the war; and that the towns of Fluſhing and Brille, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould be immediately put into her hands, by way of ſecurity.

Elizabeth was not inſenſible that theſe proceedings would immediately occaſion a rupture with Spain; but ſhe was far from being terrified at the ambitious power of Philip. The great ſucceſs he had acquired, and the increaſe of his naval power, were not ſufficient to deter her from ſuccouring a people diſtreſſed, and ſupporting the liberties of a country threatened with the moſt arbitrary deſpotiſm. The earl of Leiceſter, who was appointed to command the Engliſh forces, embarked on the 23d of October, attended by ſeveral of the principal nobility, and a ſelect company of 500 gentlemen. On his arrival at Fluſhing, he was met by his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, governor of that place; and every town through which he paſſed expreſſed the moſt ſincere joy, conſidering him as their guardian angel, and the perſon who was to reſcue them from the moſt impending danger.

Philip II. was one of the moſt formidable princes of Europe. Beſides large acquiſitions in America and the Eaſt, he was, in ſome meaſure, the arbiter of the court of Rome, and the protector of the holy league formed in France againſt the Hugonots. He made religion a political reſource for his unbounded ambition. The idea of his prodigious power alarmed moſt of the princes of Europe; and the king of Sweden, when informed that Elizabeth had entered into a league with the ſtates-general, highly blamed her conduct, and ſaid ſhe was tearing the crown from her head. But ſhe ſhewed no leſs courage in the danger than prudence in the deſign. She diſpatched a fleet of one and twenty ſail, under the command of Sir Francis Drake, with two thouſand three hundred land forces, commanded by Chriſtopher Carliſle, to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, the chief ſource of Philip's power, and the moſt defenceleſs parts of his extenſive dominions. The appearance of the Engliſh being wholly unexpected in that diſtant part of the world, they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the capital of St. Domingo, reduced Carthagena, and burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida. Drake loſt ſeveral hundred men in this expedition, but brought home ſuch a prodigious quantity of treaſure, as ſufficiently rewarded the ſurvivors for their ſufferings. At the ſame time, he diſplayed the weakneſs of the Spaniards in the New World, in ſuch alluring colours, that his countrymen were animated to attempt other enterprizes of a ſimilar nature.

But the earl of Leiceſter was far from having equal ſucceſs in the Low Countries. The prince of Parma, at the head of twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, made himſelf maſter of Grave and Venlo; while, on the other hand, lord Willoughby, governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, cut off a large quantity of proviſions belonging to the enemy; and Sir Philip Sidney and count Maurice ſurpriſed the town of Axel, in Flanders. The prince of Parma, exaſperated at theſe loſſes, beſieged Rheinburgh, garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under the command of colonel Morgan. Leiceſter thought this place of too much importance to be neglected, and immediately made diſpoſitions for attacking Zutphen, a town of the greateſt conſequence to the enemy. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; the prince of Parma immediately abandoned the ſiege of Rheinburgh, and advanced to give Leiceſter battle before Zutphen. A bloody engagement enſued; but the Engliſh, after exerting all their valour, were obliged to retreat. Among others, the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, a man of the fineſt genius, and the moſt heroic virtue, periſhed in this battle. Being mortally wounded, and almoſt ſuffocated with thirſt, a bottle of water was offered him; but obſerving a ſoldier lying by his ſide, in the ſame dreadful ſituation, he reſigned to him the valuable acquiſition, with this generous obſervation, "That man's neceſſities are ſtill greater than mine."

A. D. 1586. As Elizabeth received daily intelligence of Philip's deſigns againſt her perſon and government, ſhe thought it eſſentially neceſſary to ſecure the intereſt of the king of Scotland. Wotton, her ambaſſador, by conſulting only how to pleaſe him and gain his confidence, ſoon became thoroughly acquainted with all the ſecrets of his cabinet. It is no wonder Wotton ſucceeded in gaining the aſcendancy over a prince of ſo open and unguarded a temper as James: he was a maſter of profound diſſimulation, and knew how to cover, under the appearance of the moſt careleſs gaiety, the deepeſt deſigns and moſt dangerous artifices. Elizabeth was fearful leſt James ſhould contract an alliance by marriage, that might render him formidable to England: in the preſent ſtate of the Scottiſh kingdom there was nothing to fear. But Wotton employed his intrigues to ſtill more dangerous purpoſes: he formed a conſpiracy for ſeizing the perſon of the king, and delivering him into the hands of the Engliſh princeſs; who would certainly not have been diſpleaſed had it ſucceeded, though ſhe was intirely ignorant of the ſcheme. The treachery was, however, diſcovered, and Wotton was obliged to ſecure himſelf by a precipitate flight.

Notwithſtanding James was highly exaſperated at this deſign againſt his liberty, he thought it prudent to diſſemble his reſentment: negotiations were ſoon after formed, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between the two kingdoms, for their mutual ſecurity and the defence of the proteſtant religion againſt the open combination of all the catholic powers of Europe. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that if Elizabeth was invaded, James ſhould furniſh her with a body of two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot: that the charge of theſe armies ſhould be defrayed by the prince that demanded aſſiſtance; that if the invaſion ſhould be made in England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James ſhould march his whole force to the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth; and that the preſent league ſhould ſuperſede all former alliances of either ſtate with any foreign prince, ſo far as religion was concerned.

By this treaty James was guarantied not only againſt the dangers of an invaſion, but alſo againſt domeſtic troubles, ſo much the more to be dreaded in Scotland, as the fanaticiſm of the preſbyterian teachers had lately defied the authority of the king, the parliament, and the church. They had even proceeded to that height of audacity, as to excommunicate the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, becauſe he had found it neceſſary to reſtrain their licentious conduct; and the primate of the kingdom was conſtrained to diveſt himſelf of his eccleſiaſtical authority. One of the preachers declared publickly from the pulpit, that the king himſelf was the chief perſecutor of the church; and, as a puniſhment, denounced againſt him the curſe that fell upon Jeroboam that he ſhould die childleſs and be the laſt of his race.——Such are the effects of religious bigotry, which ſometimes carries its votaries to the moſt unreaſonable lengths!

The ſpirit of depoſing and murdering princes upon papal bulls and excommunications had arrived to the greateſt height in the Engliſh ſeminaries abroad; and ſeveral plots were formed by the catholics for taking away the life of Elizabeth. The brain of one John Savage had been fired to ſuch a degree by the king-killing doctrine, that he ſolemnly devoted himſelf to murder Elizabeth. A plot of the like nature had alſo been formed in the Engliſh ſeminary at Rheims; and one Ballard, a prieſt of that ſchool, came over to England, with a reſolution of executing the like horrid project. Ballard found means to engage in his deſign one Babington, a young gentleman of good fortune in Derbyſhire: he was alſo countenanced by ſeveral catholics of diſtinction, and it was agreed amongſt them that a ſelect number ſhould join Savage in executing his diabolical intentions.

In the mean time the papiſts, in order to carry on their plot with leſs ſuſpicion, and lull, if poſſible, the watchful council of the Engliſh cabinet into a fatal ſecurity, publiſhed ſeveral hypocritical writings, in which they profeſſed the higheſt regard for the perſon and government of Elizabeth, admoniſhed the people of their perſuaſion not to engage in any practices againſt the ſtate, but to confine themſelves to ſuch weapons as were alone lawful for chriſtians to uſe, ſuch as tears, prayers, faſtings, and the like.

Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate to the queen, ever watchful for the ſafety of his miſtreſs, ſoon obtained a ſuperficial account of the deſigns o the conſpirators; and, (by the aſſiſtance of one Maud a man of impenetrable diſſimulation, who found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of Ballard was regularly informed of every circumſtance attending the conſpiracy. It had been determined, in ſeveral of their meetings, to aſſaſſinate Elizabeth place Mary on the Engliſh throne, and reſtore th catholic religion. Babington had, ſome years before contracted an intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a penſioner of the queen of Scots, and had by him bee introduced to the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's amba ſador at the court of France. That prelate ſtrongl recommended him to the captive queen, and he, f ſome time, managed her correſpondence with her foreign friends. But, on her being more cloſely co fined, the connection dropped, and Babington lai aſide all farther thoughts of Mary and her concern Unfortunately for him, Ballard re-kindled all his fo mer zeal for her ſervice; and he undertook, with th aſſiſtance of an hundred gentlemen, to ſet Mary at l berty.

As ſoon as the plan was ſettled, Babington wro to Mary informing her of all that had paſſed betwe him and Ballard; and inſiſted that the gentleme who were concerned in ſo dangerous an attempt f her ſervice, ſhould be aſſured of a reward ſuitable their merit. This letter was written in the uſu cypher which had paſſed between him and Mary and was ſo agreeable to her, that ſhe failed not to a ſwer it in the ſame cypher, deſiring the conſpirat to be extremely cautious, leſt they ſhould precipit matters before the return of their Engliſh frien from abroad, before they were aſſured of foreign ſ cours, and before ſome diſturbances were raiſed Ireland. At the ſame time, ſhe pointed out the m natural methods for her own deliverance, which w either by overturning a cart in the gateway of houſe where ſhe was confined, ſetting the ſtables fire, or carrying her off when ſhe rode out for the nefit of her health.

The artful and diligent Walſingham found me to obtain the letters that paſſed between Mary Babington. But he was ſtill deſirous of obtain farther information. To effect this, he added to of Mary's letters, delivered to him by Maud, truſty agent, a poſtſcript in the ſame cypher, requ ing Babington to ſend her the names of the princ conſpirators. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; and ſtateſman ſoon diſcovered, that Savage, already m tioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, and of Elizabeth's penſioners; John Charnock, a gen man of Lancaſhire; Edward Abingdon, whoſe fa had been cofferer to Elizabeth; Chidcock Tichb a gentleman of Southamptom; and one Barnwe perſon of quality in Ireland, were the ſix engage oath to aſſaſſinate the queen. At the ſame time, ridiculous vanity of Babington furniſhed Wal ham with another method of diſcovery, and alſo an indication of defence. He had cauſed a picture to be drawn, in which he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins, with a motto, implying, that they were all embarked in ſome dangerous enterprize. A copy of this picture was carried to Walſingham by another of his ſpies, who had found means to inſinuate himſelf into Babington's confidence. Walſingham delivered this copy to the queen, that ſhe might know the aſſaſſins, and be upon her guard if any of them ſhould attempt to approach her perſon.

Babington, convinced that delays in ſecret enterprizes were dangerous, procured a licence for Ballard, under a feigned name, to paſs over to the continent; but the real intention of his journey was, to haſten the foreign ſuccours, whoſe arrival was deſired with anxiety. And to remove all ſuſpicion, Babington applied to Walſingham himſelf, pretended the greateſt zeal for her majeſty's ſervice, offered to go abroad, and employ that confidence which he had gained among the catholics, to the detection and diſappointment of their conſpiracies. Walſingham, deſirous of ſeizing all the aſſaſſins, commended his loyal intention, promiſed to aſſiſt him with his counſel and advice in the execution, and encouraged his deluſive hopes by keeping up a correſpondence with him.

The treacherous Babington having, as he imagined, gained the favour of Walſingham, began to flatter himſelf that the whole ſcheme would ſucceed according to his wiſhes. But while he was lulled in this fatal ſecurity, Ballard was ſeized by a warrant from one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. This incident alarmed the conſpirators, and introduced confuſion into their councils. Some propoſed, as the only method of eſcaping, to paſs immediately over to the continent: while others adviſed, that Savage and Charnock ſhould execute, without delay, their intended purpoſe upon Elizabeth. The laſt propoſition was agreed to, and Babington furniſhed Savage with money that he might purchaſe cloaths neceſſary for obtaining the more eaſy acceſs to the queen's perſon. The next day they began to apprehend that they had taken the alarm too haſtily; and Babington, having renewed his correſpondence with Walſingham, the anxiety and concern with which the conſciouſneſs of guilt had inſpired the conſpirators, began to ſubſide; they flattered themſelves that the ſeizure of Ballard was owing entirely to the uſual diligence of informers in detecting popiſh and ſeminary prieſts: Babington was even perſuaded to take lodgings in Walſingham's houſe; but obſerving that all his actions were watched with the moſt careful aſſiduity by one Scudamore, he began to be alarmed for his ſafety. Soon after, as they were ſitting at ſupper, Scudamore received a note from Walſingham, ordering him to watch Babington more narrowly than ever; and Babington, by Scudamore's inadvertency, reading the note over his ſhoulder, was ſufficiently convinced of his danger. He roſe haſtily from table, went out of the room, as if on ſome ſudden occaſion, made the beſt of his way to Weſtminſter, and, after acquainting Charnock and ſome others with the diſcovery he had made, they withdrew immediately into the woods, where they concealed themſelves for ten days; but were at laſt diſcovered near Harrow on the Hill, dreſſed like countrymen, and brought priſoners to London.

On the thirteenth of September, Babington and Ballard, with five of their accomplices, were arraigned, and pleaded guilty; and the next day ſeven more of the conſpirators were convicted on evidence. The firſt ſeven ſuffered the ſentence pronounced againſt traitors in its utmoſt rigour; but the others were ſuffered to hang till they were dead. They all behaved with great decency and reſignation, and confeſſed their ſorrow for that part of the conſpiracy relative to the murder of Elizabeth.

The leſſer conſpirators being thus puniſhed, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of the queen of Scots, on whoſe account, and by whoſe concurrence, this deep and dangerous plot had been formed againſt the life of the queen, and the peace of the kingdom. But great difficulties occured with regard to the manner of proceeding. Scarce a precedent in the hiſtory of mankind could be found of a meaſure of this nature: not one in the annals of England. Some of the council therefore propoſed, that no farther proceedings ſhould be carried on againſt the queen of Scots; thinking that the cloſe confinement of a woman, who was now become very ſickly, would be ſufficient ſecurity to the government. Leiceſter adviſed that Mary ſhould be ſecretly diſpatched by poiſon: but Walſingham declared his abhorrence of ſo deteſtable an action, and inſiſted that all their proceedings ſhould be open and candid. The majority of the council declaring for Walſingham's opinion, a reſolution was taken for trying the queen of Scots; and ſhe was immediately removed to Fotheringay caſtle in Northamptonſhire.

Mary had for ſome time been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe was ſtill ignorant of the detection of Babington's conſpiracy; and ſhe received the intelligence of this event with equal ſurprize and concern, from Sir Thomas Gorges, who had been ſent for that purpoſe by Elizabeth. Nau and Curle, her two ſecretaries, were immediately apprehended; all her papers were ſeized, and tranſmitted to the council: among which were many letters from perſons abroad, and ſome Engliſh noblemen, expreſſing their firm attachment to her perſon and title.

Elizabeth thought proper to take no notice of this laſt diſcovery; but the perſons themſelves, conſcious of their guilt, and dreading the puniſhment due to their crime, endeavoured to atone for their fault by changing their principles, and declaring themſelves inveterate enemies to the queen of Scots.

In the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, an act had been paſſed relative to the crime of treaſon, and it was determined to try Mary on this ſtatute, and not by the common laws made againſt that crime. Accordingly Elizabeth appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of forty noblemen and privy-counſellors, and judges, who were empowered to examine and pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, whom they ſtiled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland.

On the 11th of October the commiſſioners repaired to Fotheringay caſtle, when Sir Walter Mildmay and Edward Barker delivered to the queen of Scots a letter from Elizabeth, informing her of the commiſſion, and of her approaching trial. Mary read the letter with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her ſituation, and told them, without the leaſt emotion, that it was very ſurprizing the queen ſhould command her as a ſubject to ſubmit to a trial and examination before perſons of a rank far inferior to herſelf: that ſhe was an abſolute independent princeſs, and would ſubmit to nothing that had a tendency to leſſen her royal majeſty, the ſtate of ſovereign princes, or the dignity or rank of her ſon; that however her ſpirits might be broken and oppreſſed by misfortunes and calamities, ſhe was not yet reduced to that abject ſtate her enemies deſired; nor would ſhe ever be prevailed upon to conſent to her own degradation and diſhonour: that though ſhe had long lived in England, ſhe had lived in captivity; was ignorant of the laws and ſtatutes of the kingdom, deſtitute of council, and could not conceive who could be called her peers, or ſit in judgment on a ſovereign princeſs: that ſhe had never enjoyed the protection of the laws of England, and therefore could not be ſuppoſed to have ſubjected herſelf to their juriſdiction and authority: that if in her own perſon every rule of juſtice ſhould be violated, ſhe ſhould find her revenge in the judgment of the whole world, where innocence would triumph on a theatre infinitely larger than that of a ſingle kingdom.

The commiſſioners were greatly embarraſſed at this ſpirited anſwer to Elizabeth's letter; and they deputed lord Burleigh the treaſurer, Bromley the chancellor, and Sir Chriſtopher Hatton the vice-chamberlain, to prevail upon her to relinquiſh her plea with regard to her royal dignity, and ſubmit chearfully to a trial, which was now abſolutely impoſſible to be avoided, even though her acquieſcence could not be obtained. Various arguments were urged on this occaſion, which were ſo forcible that they at length produced the deſired effect: Mary gave up her plea of royalty, and agreed to appear before the court of commiſſioners on the 14th of October.

The trial had the appearance of great order and ſolemnity. At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of ſtate for the queen of England, under a royal canopy: over againſt it, at ſome diſtance, ſtood a chair for the queen of Scots; and by the walls, on both ſides, benches were placed for the commiſſioners. As ſoon as the court was opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, "that ſhe was accuſed of conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant religion; and that they were commiſſioned to examine into the truth of the accuſation, and to hear her anſwer. Mary replied, "that ſhe came into England to crave the aſſiſtance which had been promiſed her: that ſhe was a queen, and no ſubject to Elizabeth; and if ſhe appeared before them, it was only to ſecure her honour and reputation." The chancellor denied that any aſſiſtance had been promiſed her; and declared, that her proteſtation was in vain; for ſince the law, upon which the accuſation was founded, allowed of no diſtinction in the perſon of the tranſgreſſor, it could not be admitted.

This conteſted point being ſettled, the crown lawyers opened the charge againſt Mary queen of Scots. They accuſed her of offering to cede to the king of Spain the right to the crown of Scotland, if James, her ſon, refuſed to be a convert to popery. Mary did not attempt to exculpate herſelf from this accuſation; ſhe only anſwered, that ſhe had no longer a kingdom at her diſpoſal, but had ſtill power to give what belonged to her, and was not reſponſible to any perſon. Strong proofs were produced, that ſhe had formed a reſolution of diſinheriting her ſon as an heretic; that the late alliance of that prince with Elizabeth had heightened theſe prejudices; and that her maternal tenderneſs was abated by time, reſentment, and religious zeal.

As Mary knew theſe facts could not affect her life, ſhe took no pains to confute the aſſertions. The great buſineſs, therefore, was to prove the capital charge of the impeachment, that Mary had concurred in the conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating Elizabeth. In order to effect this, copies of the intercepted letters between her and Babington were produced, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expreſſed; and this was confirmed by the evidence of her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, who, even without being threatened with the torture, had ſworn, that ſhe both received theſe letters from Babington, and that they had wrote the anſwers by her order. The confeſſion of Babington alſo correſponded with the depoſitions of her ſecretaries. Mary was incapable of making a ſatisfactory defence before the commiſſioners; her reply conſiſted chiefly in her own denial. She aſſerted, that as Nau and Curle had taken an oath of ſecrecy and fidelity to her, their evidence could not be credited; and that if theſe men had received any letters, or wrote any anſwers, the imputation could never lie upon her. She added, that it was eaſy to forge the hand writing and cypher of another.

As ſoon as the trial was finiſhed, the commiſſioners adjourned from Fotheringay-caſtle to the Star-Chamber in London; where, after taking the oaths of Mary's two ſecretaries, who voluntarily atteſted the authenticity of the letters produced at the trial, they pronounced ſentence of death againſt the queen of Scots. At the ſame time a declaration was publiſhed by the commiſſioners and judges, importing, "That the ſentence againſt Mary no way derogated from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland; but that he was in the ſame place, degree, and right, as if the ſentence had never been pronounced."

Though Elizabeth was, in reality, far from being diſpleaſed at the ſentence paſſed againſt Mary, yet ſhe affected to be deeply intereſted in the fate of that unfortunate princeſs: and in order to exculpate herſelf from any public odium, ſhe ſummoned a parliament, that ſhe might appear to be guided ſolely by the voice of her ſubjects. She well knew that ſhe ſhould not want the moſt earneſt ſolicitations from that aſſembly to conſent to a meaſure ſo agreeable to her ſecret inclinations. Nor was ſhe deceived: the two houſes confirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary, and requeſted the execution of it with all the ardour ſhe could deſire.

Elizabeth failed not to ſupport, with great propriety, the part ſhe acted: ſhe made a parade of humanity and hypocritical moderation, would promiſe nothing, and left the world in uncertainty with regard to her real ſentiments. She complained of her own unfortunate ſituation; expreſſed her uneaſineſs from the importunity of her parliament; renewed her expreſſions of affection for her people; but ſtill refuſed to declare her real intention with regard to the fate of the captive princeſs. She, however, complied with the requeſt of the parliament, with regard to the publication of Mary's ſentence. The lord Buckhurſt, and Beale, clerk of the council, were ſent to notify to the queen of Scots the ſentence pronounced againſt her, its ratification by the parliament, and the earneſt applications made by that aſſembly for its being carried into execution, from a perſuaſion that their religion could never, while ſhe was alive, attain a full ſettlement and ſecurity. Mary received the news with joy, the idea of dying a marytr for the catholic faith ſupported her ſpirits in this melancholy moment. "I can hardly believe (ſaid ſhe, ſmiling) that the queen, my ſiſter, has conſented to my death; but if her will be ſuch, that death, which will put an end to my ſufferings, cannot be unwelcome to me: and I think that ſoul unworthy of celeſtial happineſs, that ſhould ſhrink in paſſing through the gloomy valley of the ſhadow of death."

In the mean time great efforts were made by foreign powers to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary. The ambaſſadors of France and Scotland made vehement remonſtrances, though it was conjectured that the oppoſition made by the king of France was not ſincere: but however that be, it had no weight with Elizabeth. Her miniſters, indeed, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed every argument that had a tendency to make her heſitate. They enlarged on the troubles and conſpiracies that had been excited by the queen of Scotland. They obſerved, that ſhe was already degraded from her rank; and that, in natural equity, every perſon, much more a ſovereign, had a right to juſtice againſt thoſe who ſhould attempt their life. They added, that while Mary lived, every thing was to be feared from the artempts of the catholics; and that therefore prudence

dence and juſtice demanded the puniſhment of that princeſs.

Although Elizabeth's actions ſufficiently indicated ſhe had malice in her heart, yet ſhe ſtill continued to conceal her ſentiments; and her duplicity furniſhed her with new artifices. Rumours of invaſions, rebellions, and aſſaſſinations, were ſpread with great addreſs. The people were terrified at their danger, and the death of Mary was conſidered as neceſſary to reſtore the tranquillity of the nation. The captive princeſs, however, ſupported herſelf with ſuch placid dignity, as does honour to her memory. When Sir Amias Paulet took down her canopy of ſtate, ſhe bore the inſult with the utmoſt patience; and when he told her, that ſhe could now be conſidered only as a dead perſon, and incapable of any dignity, ſhe only anſwered, that ſhe received her royal character from the hands of the Almighty, and no earthly power could ever wreſt it from her. She wrote a pathetic letter to queen Elizabeth, requeſting, "that after the fatal ſentence was executed, her body might be ſent to France, there to be interred near the ſacred relics of her mother, and accompanied with thoſe rites and ceremonies which her religion required: that the execution of her ſentence might be public in the ſight of all the world; and that her ſervants, after they had done the laſt offices, and been witneſſes of her perſeverance in the faith, and of her ſubmiſſion to the will of heaven, might be ſuffered to depart without moleſtation, and enjoy the legacies bequeathed them by their dying miſtreſs."

A. D. 1587. When Elizabeth thought importunities ſufficient had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed as decency required, ſhe determined to proceed to the laſt act of this affecting tragedy; but even in making her final reſolution ſhe had recourſe to artifice. She ſent for ſecretary Daviſon, a man of great parts, but eaſy to be deceived, and commanded him to make out a warrant for the execution of Mary queen of Scots. He obeyed the order; the queen ſigned the warrant, and told him to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the ſeal affixed to it. The next day ſhe ſent him a meſſage, enjoining him not to execute her former commands till farther orders. Daviſon came immediately to court, and informed the queen, that the warrant had paſſed the ſeals. She ſeemed offended, and blamed him for his precipitation. Alarmed at this inconſiſtency of conduct, Daviſon informed the council of the whole tranſaction; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would proceed no farther without their participation. They all requeſted that the execution might be haſtened; declaring, that if the queen was offended, they would all equally ſhare the blame; and Beale, clerk of the council, was accordingly diſpatched with the warrant, addreſſed to the earls of Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby and Cumberland, commanding them to ſee the ſentence executed on the queen of Scots.

In conſequence of this, on the ſeventh of February, the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent reached Fotheringay caſtle, and informed Mary of their commiſſion; adding, that ſhe muſt prepare for death the next morning by eight o'clock. She received the ſummons with great calmneſs and compoſure. She confeſſed, indeed, that ſhe did not expect to die ſo ſoon; but all her geſtures, looks and words, were full of reſignation. She deſired that ſhe might have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melvil, the maſter of her houſhold; but they refuſed her requeſt with regard to her confeſſor. They, however, recommended the dean of Peterborough, who would very readily aſſiſt her in making preparations for her paſſage into eternity. She replied, that his aſſiſtance was not neceſſary; and as they had thought proper to deny a requeſt for which the dictates of humanity ſo ſtrongly pleaded, ſhe would endeavour to ſupply the defect by her own prayers.

When Shrewſbury and Kent had left her, ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, and having eat ſparingly, as was her uſual cuſtom, ſhe called for for a glaſs of wine, and drank to all her attendants. They pledged her in order on their knees; and craved her pardon for any paſt neglect of their duty. She, in return, deigned to aſk their pardon for her offences towards them; and a plentiful effuſion of tears attended this laſt ſolemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveneſs.

Then addreſſing herſelf to her chaplain, ſhe ſaid, they pretend I muſt die becauſe I conſpired againſt the queen's life: but the earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cauſe of my death but the apprehenſions, which, if I ſhould live, they entertain for their religion. My conſtancy in the faith is my real crime: the reſt is only a colour invented by intereſted and deſigning men.

She then read over her teſtament, with the inventory of her goods and moveables, and wrote on them the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed them; and what money ſhe had ſhe put in different purſes, according to the number of her ſervants, and according to their merits and qualities diſtributed among them. After this, ſhe wrote letters of recommendation for all her ſervants to the king of France and the duke of Guiſe, and one to her confeſſor, deſiring him to pray for her ſoul. She then retired to reſt, and after ſleeping with the greateſt compoſure for ſome hours, ſhe ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer.

Towards the morning ſhe ordered her women to dreſs her in a rich habit of ſilk and velvet; and all the time they were performing this office, ſhe continued to exhort them to patience and reſignation.

Thomas Andrews, ſheriff of the county, entering the room, informed her that ſhe muſt attend him to the place of execution. She replied that ſhe was ready; and bidding adieu to her ſervants, followed him with a ſerene aſpect, being gently ſupported by two of Sir Amias Paulet's guards. In paſſing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, ſhe was met by the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other perſons of diſtinction. When ſhe came to the porch of the hall where the ſcaffold on which ſhe was to die was erected, her faithful ſervant Melvil, for whom ſhe had a particular regard, threw himſelf at her feet in tears, and uttered the moſt paſſionate expreſſions of ſorrow and heavineſs. "My good ſervant," ſaid the queen, "ceaſe to lament; for thou haſt cauſe rather to rejoice than mourn; for now thou ſhalt ſee Mary Stuart's troubles receive their expected end. For know, my good ſervant, that all the world is but vanity, and ſubject ſtill to more ſorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee, carry this meſſage from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and France. But God forgive them, who have long deſired my life, and thirſted for my blood, like as the hart panteth for the water brooks. O God, thou who art the author of truth, and truth itſelf, knows the inward chamber of my thoughts, how that I was ever willing that Scotland and England ſhould be united, and to obviate the ſource of all theſe fatal diſcords." "Hitherto," continued ſhe to Melvil, "thou haſt ſerved me faithfully; and howbeit I take thee in religion to be a proteſtant, and I am a catholic, yet, ſeeing there is but one Chriſt, I charge thee, upon thine account to him, that thou carry theſe my laſt words to my ſon. Tell him, that I pray him to ſerve God, to defend the catholic church, to govern his kingdom in peace, and never to put himſelf in the power of another, as I have done. Aſſure him likewiſe, that notwithſtanding all my diſtreſſes, I have done nothing prejudicial to the ſtate and kingdom of Scotland." She then with her face bedewed with tears, added, "Good Melvil farewell. Once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the aſſiſtance of thy prayers to thy queen and miſtreſs."

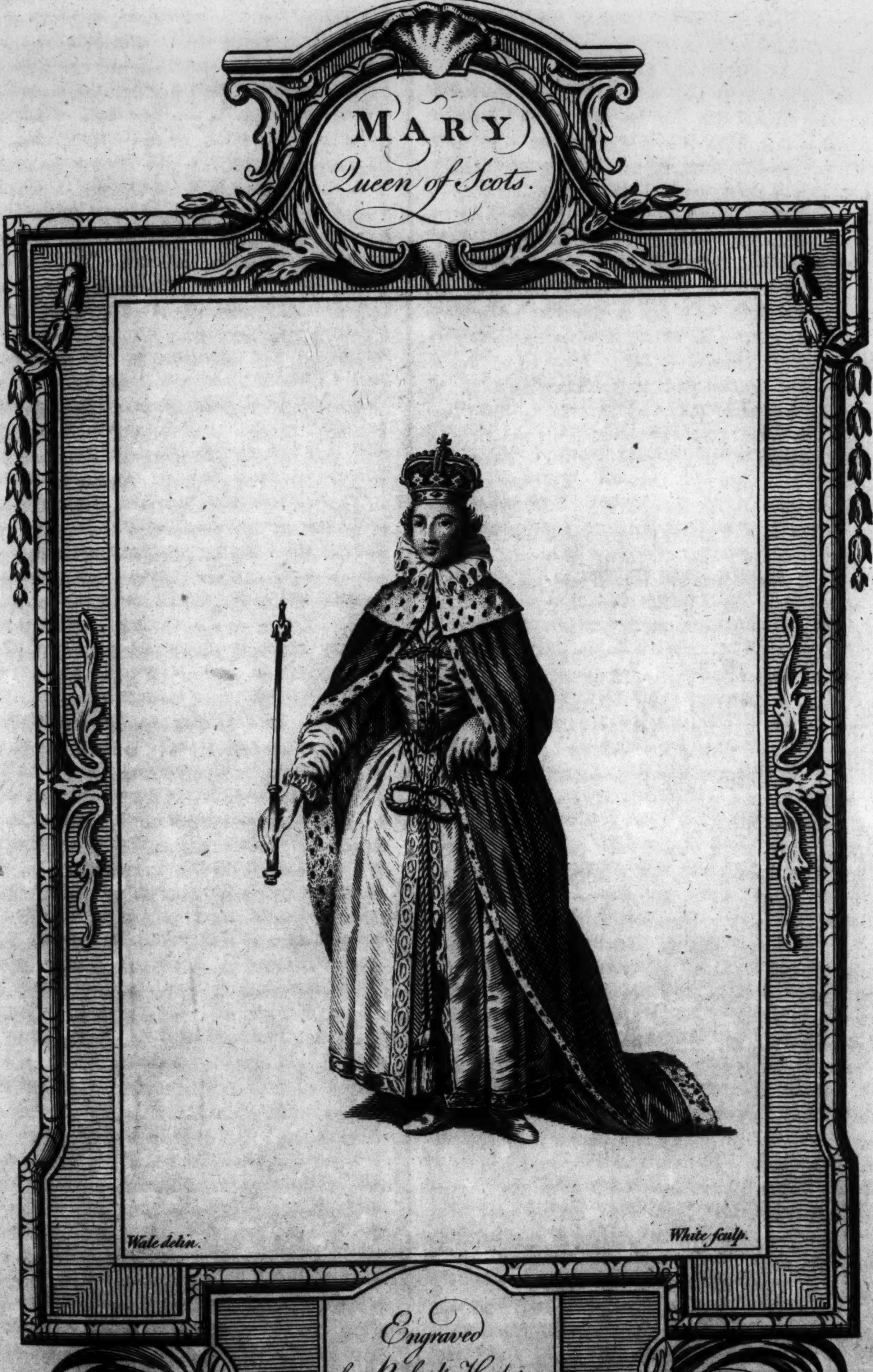
She then turned to the noblemen who attended her, and deſired that her ſervants might have and enjoy with quietneſs, what ſhe had given them by her will and teſtament; that they might be favourably treated, and ſent ſafely to their reſpective countries, and laſtly, that they might be permitted to be preſent at her death; that their eyes might behold, and, their hearts be witneſſes, how patiently their queen and miſtreſs ſhould endure her execution, that thereby they might be able to make a relation when they came to their own countries, how ſhe died firm in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent ſtrongly oppoſed granting her this laſt requeſt, telling her that they would be apt by their ſpeeches and cries both to diſturb her and the ſpectators: that he was alſo apprehenſive, leſt they ſhould practice ſome ſuperſtition unmeet for him to ſuffer; ſuch as dipping their hankerchiefs in her blood, &c. To which ſhe replied, "My lord I give you my word (although it be but dead) that they ſhall not deſerve any blame in any of the actions you have named; but alas! poor ſouls! it would do them good to bid their miſtreſs farewell. And I hope," added ſhe, "that your miſtreſs, being a maiden queen, would vouchſafe, in regard of womankind, that I ſhould have ſome of my own people about me at my death. And I know her majeſty hath not given you any ſuch ſtrict command, but that you might grant me a requeſt, of far greater courteſy than this, even were I a woman of much inferior rank to that which I bear." Finding that ſhe was not like to obtain her requeſt, ſhe burſt into tears. "I am couſin to your queen," cried ſhe, "and deſcended from the blood royal of Henry the ſeventh, a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." For her mind, which was fortified againſt the terrors of death, was not prepared for this freſh inſult and indignity.

After ſome conſultation, the lords agreed that Mary might make choice of a few of her ſervants to attend her on the ſcaffold. The perſons ſhe fixed on were Melvil, her phyſician, her ſurgeon, her apothecary, and another old man; and two ladies who uſed always to lie in her bed-chamber. She then entered the great hall, where was erected the ſcaffold, covered with black. She mounted it, and ſaw without diſmay, the two executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with ſpectators, and no one was ſo ſteeled againſt all ſentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, at ſeeing a ſovereign princeſs in diſtreſs, remembered the ſurprizing train of misfortunes that had attended her, beheld her mild but inflexible conſtancy, or ſurveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and ſtill more by affliction, fully diſplayed themſelves at this fatal moment. As ſoon as ſhe aſcended the ſcaffold, and ſeated herſelf in a chair which was placed for that purpoſe and covered with black cloth, Beal, the clerk of the council, read the warrant for her execution; but ſhe continued ſilent during the whole ceremony, and ſhewed by her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern as if it did not relate to her.

She now prepared herſelf to ſuffer the ſentence which was to put an end to all her misfortunes here; and ſhe ſeemed to have ſo far done with temporal things, as to be wholly employed in thoſe that will never end. But this tranquillity of ſoul was interrupted by Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who exhorted her to change her religion, and die in the true faith. To which ſhe anſwered, "Do not, Mr. Dean, trouble yourſelf with me. I was born and educated in the Roman faith, and mean to ſpend my blood in its defence." Notwithſtanding this check, the lords ordered the dean to proceed; but Mary again interrupted him, and requeſted, with great earneſtneſs, not to endeavour to diſturb the tranquillity of her ſoul: and the two earls perceiving that it was fruitleſs to harraſs her farther with theological diſputes, ordered the dean to deſiſt from his unreaſonable exhortations, and to pray for her converſion. The dean accordingly addreſſed a prayer to heaven for enlightening her heart with the light of the truth, and diſpelling the clouds of bigotry and ſuperſtition. During the dean's prayer, ſhe employed herſelf in private devotion from the office of the virgin; and afterwards prayed aloud in Engliſh, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own ſufferings, for her own ſon, and for queen Elizabeth.

Her prayer being thus ended, ſhe began, with the help of her two women, to diſrobe herſelf; the executioner alſo lending his aſſiſtance. She ſmiled at the incident, ſaying, that ſhe was not accuſtomed to undreſs herſelf before ſo large a company, nor to be ſerved by ſuch valets. Her ſervants ſeeing their miſtreſs ready to lay her head upon the block, burſt into tears and lamentations; ſhe turned about to them, put her finger to her lips, as a ſign of impoſing ſilence upon them; and having given them her bleſſing, deſired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom ſhe had appointed for that purpoſe, tied a linen handkerchief round her eyes, which being done, Mary laid her head upon the block without fear or trepidation, repeated the thirty-firſt pſalm; and ſtretching out her arms, the ſignal for the execution, her head was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes. The executioner inſtantly taking the head from the floor, held it up, ſtreaming with blood, and agitated with the convulſions of death, cried aloud, "Long live queen Elizabeth, and may all her enemies periſh in this manner." The dean of Peterborough and the earl of Kent only replied, "Amen;" the reſt of the ſpectators being diſſolved in tears. Her corpſe was interred with great pomp and ſolemnity in the cathedral of Peterborough, where it lay till the acceſſion of her ſon to the throne of England; when he ordered the remains to be removed into the ſouth iſle of Henry the Seventh's chapel at Weſtminſter, where they now lie under a ſtately monument erected to her memory.

Thus fell Mary queen of Scots, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England. She was a lady in whom nature and fortune ſeemed to have directly oppoſed each other; the former having exhauſted her whole art to render her accompliſhed, and the latter to make her miſerable. It was her peculiar misfortune that all the advantages ſhe ought to have derived from her birth, education, rank, beauty and accompliſhments, operated immediately to her deſtruction. In her cradle ſhe was an exile; ſhe was educated in the boſom of adulation, and in the politeſt, though the moſt wicked court then in the world; which rendered her ſometimes impatient under the mortifications ſhe received in her native country. No princeſs was ever more unhappy in marriage than Mary. When very young ſhe was eſpouſed to a boy of an unſound conſtitution and mean capacity. In her future attachments, ſhe abandoned herſelf to the directions of profligate men. Theſe are doubtleſs egregious faults, whether they are conſidered as imprudences or crimes; as the reſult of an inexplicable, though not uncommon inconſtancy in the human mind, or the



MARY
Queen of Scots.

Wale delin.
White sculp.

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

the frailty of human nature, or of violent paſſions, and momentary incidents. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her huſband, ſeduced by the treacherous counſels of one in whom ſhe repoſed unlimited confidence, tranſported by the violence of her own temper, which was never ſufficiently under the guidance of diſcretion; ſhe was betrayed into actions, which may, with ſome difficulty, be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. At the ſame time the beauties of her perſon, and graces of her air, combined to render her one of the moſt amiable of women; while the charms of her addreſs and converſation aided the impreſſions which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to chearfulneſs and ſociety; of a lofty ſpirit, conſtant and even vehement in her purpoſe; yet polite, gentle, and affable in her demeanor; ſhe ſeemed to partake only of ſo much of the male virtues as to render her eſtimable, without relinquiſhing thoſe ſofter graces, which compoſe the proper ornaments of her ſex.

Elizabeth was no ſooner informed of the death of Mary, than ſhe affected the utmoſt grief; nor would he, for ſome time, ſuffer any of her miniſters to approach her. She openly declared, that the execution had been done without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclinations. She wrote a very pathetic letter to the king of Scotland, calling heaven and arth to witneſs, that it was her reſolution to have pared the blood of Mary. She committed Davidſon to priſon, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-Chamber. The miniſter well knew the danger f a conteſt with his ſovereign; he acknowledged his uilt, and ſued for pardon. The queen was inexorable; a tedious impriſonment, and a fine that reduced him to beggary, were the reward of his ſervices. o perſon was deceived by this behaviour of the ueen; they knew that diſſimulation coſt her nothing. aviſon wrote an apology to his friend Walſingham, ontaining many curious anecdotes. He declared, at on the departure of the French and Scottiſh mbaſſadors, who had made ſtrong repreſentations in vour of Mary, Elizabeth commanded him to deliver e warrant for her execution. She ſigned it readily, dered it to be ſealed, and appeared in ſuch good mour on the occaſion, that ſhe ſaid to him, in a cular manner, "Go tell this to Walſingham, who now ſick, though I fear he will die with ſorrow when hears it." At the ſame time, ſhe blamed Paulet d Drury, that they had not before eaſed her of this uble, and wiſhed Walſingham would bring them a compliance in that particular. "I told her ys Daviſon) that Paulet had abſolutely refuſed to any thing inconſiſtent with the principles of honour d juſtice." The queen was very angry, and accuſed n and others of perjury, in having taken the oath aſſociation, whereby they had bound themſelves to enge her wrongs, and yet refuſed their aſſiſtance en it was wanted. "But (added ſhe) there are ers who will be found leſs ſcrupulous."

When the king of Scotland received advice of the e of his mother, he was ſo afflicted with grief that abandoned himſelf to the wildeſt reſolutions. He uſed to admit Cary, who brought the letter from zabeth, into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſa- r from the Engliſh court; war and vengeance med to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul. Great t of the nobility catched the flame, and a rupture h England ſeemed inevitable. When the court t into mourning, lord Sinclair appeared in a ſuit armour, and ſaid, his dreſs only was the proper urning for the queen of Scotland.

Elizabeth was alarmed at theſe warlike appearances; , as ſoon as the firſt flame was abated, ſhe had recourſe to conciliating meaſures. Walſingham wrote a long letter to James, wherein he intimated the dangers to which Scotland would be expoſed in a war with England; the inconveniences that muſt attend his receiving ſuccours either from France or Spain; and how abſurd it would be for James to riſque his expectations of the crown of England, by irritating the people. Theſe conſiderations, joined to the peaceable temper of the young prince, prevailed over his reſentment, and a good correſpondence with the Engliſh court was gradually reſtored.

The northern ſtorm being thus diſſipated, Elizabeth was more at leiſure to watch the motions of Philip of Spain, who had for ſome time been making preparations for invading England. A prodigious number of ſhips were equipping in his ports; and though he had not yet declared war againſt England, no perſon was deceived in his intentions. But the navy of Elizabeth was able to diſpute the prize of victory with the ſovereign of the New World. Drake was ſent, with a ſtrong fleet, to inſult the coaſts of Spain, intercept the ſupplies of naval and military ſtores continually ſending to Cadiz, and deſtroy the ſhipping of the enemy in their own harbours. Drake executed his commiſſion with great courage and ſucceſs, burning and deſtroying above an hundred ſail of ſhips, moſt of them laden with proviſions and military ſtores; and after taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Liſbon, he ſailed for the Weſtern-Iſlands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, or galleon, called the St. Philip, then on her return from the Eaſt-Indies. He ſucceeded, and returned to England with an immenſe booty. But the moſt valuable acquiſition was a pacquet of papers found in the galleon, by which the Engliſh learned the nature of the oriental commerce, and were inſpired with the thoughts of eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company.

A ſhort time after this ſucceſsful expedition, Thomas Cavendiſh, who had made a voyage round the world, returned to England. He was a gentleman of Devonſhire, and having ſpent his fortune at court, reſolved, if poſſible, to retrieve it by an attempt againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the New World. He fitted out three ſhips at Plymouth, one of 120 tons, another of 60, and a third of 40. With theſe ſmall veſſels he ventured into the ſouth-ſeas, and committed great depredations on the Spaniards. He took no leſs than nineteen veſſels richly laden; and returning to England by the Cape of Good Hope, entered the Thames in triumph, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. His ſailors and ſoldiers were dreſſed in ſilks; the ſails of his veſſels were made of damaſk; and the booty he brought with him was immenſe.

But the Engliſh were not equally ſucceſsful in the Netherlands. The earl of Leiceſter had entruſted the command of Zutphen and Deventer to Stanley and York, two of his creatures; who, inſtead of defending thoſe important poſts, treacherouſly delivered them up to the prince of Parma. The ſtates, alarmed at theſe practices, ſent an embaſſy to the Engliſh court, requeſting that the government might be taken from the earl of Leiceſter, and given to ſome more able and prudent general. Elizabeth knew too well the value of the Dutch alliance to ſacrifice it to the impetuous temper of a favourite. Accordingly, Leiceſter was recalled, and the ſtates elected Maurice, ſon to the prince of Orange, governor in his ſtead.

A. D. 1588. The great preparations made by Philip of Spain gave a univerſal alarm to the Engliſh nation. That ſagacious and hypocritical monarch, though he had not yet declared his intention, was manifeſtly taking meaſures for ſeizing the crown of England. Pope Sextus V. not leſs ambitious than Philip, excited him to the enterprize: he again excommunicated the queen, and publiſhed a cruſade againſt her, with the uſual indulgences. All the ports of Spain reſounded with preparations for this alarming expedition; and the Spaniards ſeemed to threaten the Engliſh with a total annihilation.

Three whole years had been ſpent by Philip in making the neceſſary preparations for this diſtinguiſhed enterprize; and his fleet, which, on account of its prodigious ſtrength, was called "The Invincible Armada," was now completed. A conſecrated banner was procured from the pope, and the gold of Peru was laviſhed on the occaſion. This tremenduous armament conſiſted of the following particulars: nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety ſoldiers; eight thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeamen; two thouſand and eight galley ſlaves; and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. The marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer of great reputation and experience, was appointed to command the Armada; and by his counſels and directions all the naval preparations were conducted. There was hardly a noble family in Spain but ſent either a ſon, a brother, or a nephew, on board this fleet, in order to acquire riches and eſtates in England, which was conſidered as an eaſy conqueſt. The duke of Parma, in order to inſure ſucceſs, was ordered to provide tranſports ſufficient to embark an army of twenty-five thouſand men, and land them in England as ſoon as the Spaniſh fleet appeared on the coaſt of Flanders. Ships were accordingly provided, and the duke quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport.

The Engliſh fleet at this time conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſail, moſt of which were very ſmall veſſels; but the alacrity of Elizabeth's ſubjects ſufficiently atoned for the weakneſs of her navy. The maritime towns, the nobility and gentry, teſtified the greateſt zeal on this occaſion. The city of London fitted out thirty ſhips, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility hired and armed forty-three ſhips at their own expence. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, was lord admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him. The main fleet was ſtationed at Plymouth; while a ſmaller fleet, conſiſting of forty veſſels, under the command of lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

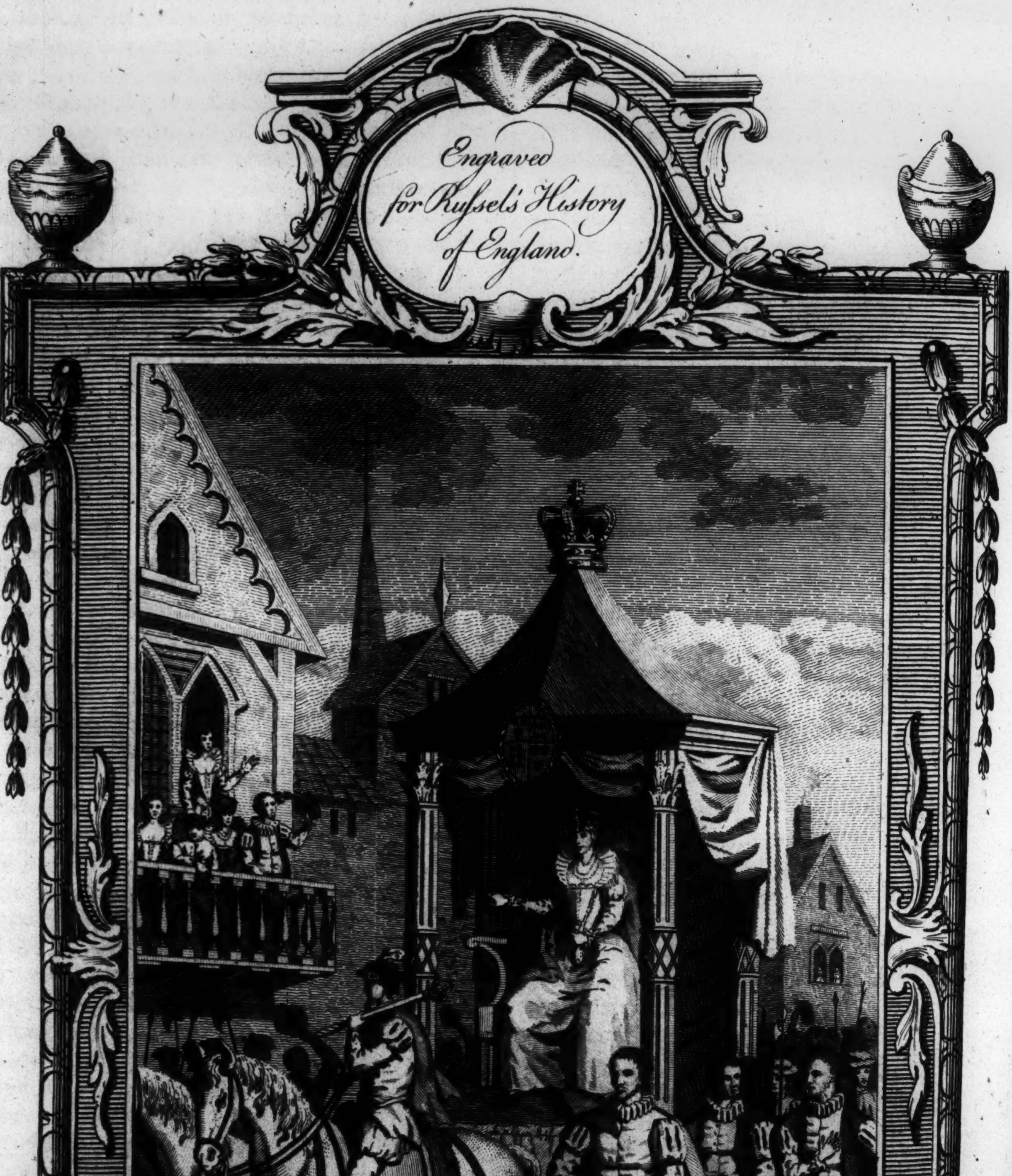
Twenty thouſand land forces were cantoned along the ſouthern coaſts of England; another body of diſciplined men encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, whom the queen, on this occaſion, created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord of Hunſdon commanded a third army, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, for the defence of her majeſty's perſon. Arthur, lord Grey, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were conſulted about the management of the war; and, purſuant to their advice, all the landing-places on the coaſt from Hull, to the Land's-End, and thence to Milford-Haven, were fortified and garriſoned. The militia of the country were armed and regulated under proper officers, who received inſtructions for interrupting the diſembarkation of the enemy, waſting the country before them, attacking their rear, and keeping up a continual alarm in their army, till a ſufficient force could be aſſembled to give them battle. Sir Robert Sydney was ſent into Scotland, in order to induce James to continue firmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt. The Scottiſh monarch was ſufficiently diſpoſed to cultivate an union with Elizabeth, and even to march, at the head of all the forces of his kingdom, to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh. Her authority with the king of Denmark, and the connection reſulting from their common religion, prevailed upon that prince to ſeize a ſquadron of ſhips which Philip had either purchaſed or hired in the Daniſh harbours. But her chief hopes of ſucceſs were placed on the affections of her people. The very papiſts themſelves, though they knew the pope had abſolved them from their oaths of allegiance, exerted themſelves on this occaſion. Conſcious that they could not expect to be intruſted with authority, ſeveral of the young nobility ſerved as volunteers, either in the fleet or army: ſome equipped ſhips at their own expence, and gave the command of them to proteſtants; while others were active in animating their tenants and vaſſals in ſupport of their ſovereign. Party diſtinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himſelf in the defence of his country.

The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occaſion. She appeard on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury, harangued her army, and expreſſed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. She aſſured her troops, that the weakneſs of her ſex ſhould not prevent her marching at their head againſt the Spaniſh invaders; that ſhe would behold and reward their bravery herſelf; and that ſhe would ſooner periſh on the field of battle than live to ſee the ſlavery of her people. "My arm (ſaid ſhe) is but the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and, what is more, of a king of England." The whole army catched the heroic ardour of the queen; they were impatient to meet the enemy, and earneſtly deſirous of convincing the haughty Spaniards, that they ſtill poſſeſſed the ſpirit of Engliſhmen.

The Armada was ſome time prevented from ſailing by the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz. The duke of Madeira Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This interval was employed by Elizabeth in making new preparations for rendering the deſign abortive. At length the invincible fleet ſailed from Liſbon on the twenty-ninth of May; but being overtaken with a dreadful tempeſt, the fleet was obliged to put into the Groyne, having received conſiderable damage. After a delay of two months, the armada ſailed once more to proſecute the intended enterprize. The fleet conſiſte of one hundred and thirty ſhips, of which near an hundred were galleons, and of a greater burden tha any that had ever before appeared on the coaſt o England. The Spaniſh admiral was ordered to ſail a near the coaſt of France as poſſible, in order to joi prince Parma, and avoid meeting the Engliſh flee which might occaſion ſome delay in the enterprize; fo it was never imagined that they could make any effectual oppoſition. But an accident induced the Spaniſ admiral to neglect this prudent advice. He took fiſhing-boat in his paſſage, the maſter of which i formed him, that the Engliſh admiral, perſuade that the late ſtorm, which ſcattered the armada, ha prevented any attempt being made this ſeaſon, ha laid up his ſhips, and diſcharged the greater part his ſeamen. Deceived by this intelligence, the Spaniard determined to deſtroy the Engliſh ſhips in Plmouth harbour before he joined the prince of Parm He accordingly ſteered towards that port, hoping obtain an eaſy victory. The armada was diſpoſed the form of a half-moon, and ſtretched to the diſtan of ſeven leagues from the extremity of one diviſio to that of the other. But this tremendous appearan diſmayed not the Engliſh; they knew their hu veſſels were ſo ill conſtructed, and ſo difficult to managed, that they would not be able to ſuppo themſelves againſt the repeated attacks of ſhips a

diſtan

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

QUEEN ELIZABETH going in Proceſsion to S.^t Paul's Cathedral, to return Thanks for the Defeat of the Spanish Armada

Chesham delin et sculp.

diſtance. Experience ſoon convinced them that they were not miſtaken. Two of the largeſt ſhips in the Spaniſh fleet were ſoon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced ſlowly up the channel, the Engliſh followed their rear, and harraſſed them with perpetual ſkirmiſhes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of ſucceſs: the deſign of attacking the Engliſh navy in Plymouth was laid aſide; and they directed their courſe towards Calais, in order to join the prince of Parma.

No ſooner were theſe tranſactions made known in England, than the nobility and gentry haſtened out with their ſhips from every harbour to join the admiral, who ſoon found his fleet amounted to one hundred and forty ſail. He ſtill hung upon the rear of the Spaniards, and diſtreſſed them with repeated attacks. At laſt the armada came to an anchor before Calais, in expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma; but before that general could embark his troops, all hopes of ſucceſs vaniſhed, by a ſtratagem of the Engliſh admiral. He filled eight of his ſmaller ſhips with combuſtible materials, and ſetting them on fire, ſent them, one after another, into the midſt of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables, and betook themſelves to flight in a very precipitate and diſorderly manner. In the midſt of this confuſion, the Engliſh fell upon them with ſuch fury, that twelve of their largeſt ſhips were taken, and ſeveral others were thoroughly damaged.

The ambitious Spaniards were now convinced that their ſcheme was entirely fruſtrated; and would willingly have abandoned the enterprize, and returned immediately to their ports, could they have done it with ſafety: but this was impoſſible; the wind was contrary; and the only chance of eſcaping, was that of making a tour of the whole iſland, and reaching at laſt the Spaniſh harbours by the ocean. But a violent ſtorm ſoon overtook them, and compleated the deſtruction of the Invincible Armada; not half the number of veſſels returned to the ports of Spain. It is ſaid that Philip, being informed of theſe diſaſters, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for leaving him ſo much; while the Spaniſh clergy, confounded at an event ſo contrary to their expectations, aſſigned a very ridiculous cauſe for it, namely, that ſome infidel Mahometans were ſuffered to continue in a catholic kingdom.

The lord high-admiral having entirely cleared the Engliſh coaſt of Spaniards, returned with his fleet to the Downs, and was received in London with the greateſt acclamations of joy. A public thankſgiving was ordered to be obſerved throughout the whole kingdom for ſo ſingular a deliverance; and the queen herſelf went to St. Paul's, in great ſolemnity, to perform the ſacred duty. At the ſame time eleven ſtandards and colours, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the body of the church, as trophies of ſo diſtinguiſhed a victory*.

A ſhort time after the diſperſion of the Spaniſh Armada, Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great, but unworthy, favourite, paid the debt of nature. Though he had not diſcovered either abilities or courage in any of his military enterprizes, yet he was entruſted with the chief command of the Engliſh at a time when the Spaniards were expected to invade the kingdom; a partiality that might have proved fatal to Elizabeth, had the prince of Parma landed his troops in England. But the queen's affections ſeemed to terminate entirely with his death; for ſhe cauſed his goods to be expoſed to ſale, in order to reimburſe herſelf for the money ſhe had lent him.

A. D. 1589. The affairs of England were now in a ſtate of tranquillity. The Scots, ſince the death of Mary, were no longer terrible. James, ſurrounded by factions, inveſted with little authority, and naturally inclined to repoſe, was ſo far from being able to give the Engliſh any diſturbance, that he found it his intereſt to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. He had lately married a daughter of the king of Denmark, and by that means loſt the favour of the catholic party. Philip of Spain had ſufficiently ſeen his error, to attempt a new invaſion: he was not ſo fond of enterprize as to ſquander the treaſures of his kingdom in undertakings big with abſurdity. Elizabeth was therefore now able to aſſiſt the Hugonots in France, who ſtill ſuffered the moſt violent perſecutions. The duke of Guiſe, more abſolute than Henry III. had compelled that prince to take up arms againſt them, and alſo againſt the king of Navarre, the preſumptive heir of the crown. Elizabeth furniſhed the latter with large ſums; and, by her aſſiſtance, he had gained a victory over the league at Coutray. He could not, however, maintain his advantage, becauſe the Germans, who were marching to his aſſiſtance, were defeated by the duke of Guiſe. Unforeſeen events, however, changed the face of things in France. The inhabitants of Paris, intoxicated with the admiration of Guiſe, and ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the king, took up arms againſt him, and Henry was obliged to fly from his capital for ſafety. He, however, diſſembled his reſentment, entered into a negotiation with the league, and loaded Guiſe and his partizans with offices and favours. Deceived by theſe appearances of friendſhip, Guiſe, and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine, came to court, and were both aſſaſſinated by the king's orders. This perfidious conduct rendered the league more furious and formidable than ever. The citizens of Paris renounced their allegiance, and were followed by thoſe of many conſiderable places in the kingdom. Henry finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the ſtorm that was gathering round him, was obliged to have recourſe to the Hugonots for aſſiſtance; he joined the hero whom he had been obliged to treat as an enemy. At the ſame time, he inliſted large bodies of Swiſs infantry and German cavalry; and being ſtill ſupported by his chief nobility, he aſſembled an army of near forty thouſand men, and advanced to the gates of Paris, threatening the ſevereſt revenge againſt the inhabitants. But the city was ſaved by the reſolution of Jaques Clement, a Dominican monk. Inflamed by the bloody ſpirit of bigotry which diſtinguiſhed this century, he embraced the reſolution of ſacrificing his own life to ſave the church from the perſecutions of an heretical tyrant. He found means to be admitted into the king's preſence, and plunged a dagger into the breaſt of his ſovereign, who expired on the firſt of Auguſt. The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. aſcended the throne, but found he had a kingdom to conquer, and ſubjects to ſubdue.

In the month of October this year died the famous Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate to Elizabeth. He was one of the moſt able and accompliſhed miniſters that ever appeared in this or any other country, and not more diſtinguiſhed by his great abilities than his unſullied virtues. Though he had paſſed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he died ſo poor, that his family were obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, who was firſt married to Sir Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Eſſex, the great favourite of Elizabeth.

---

* A part of the ammunition taken from the Spaniards in this enterprize, together with different inſtruments deſigned for the capture and deſtruction of the Engliſh, had they ſucceeded, are ſtill preſerved in the Tower of London; an ample deſcription of which is given in the account of that fortreſs, inſerted in *Harriſon's Hiſtory and Survey of London.*

A. D. 1590. No ſooner did Henry IV. aſcend the throne of France, than the ambitious Philip formed a deſign of depoſing that monarch; intimation of which being given to Elizabeth, ſhe ſent the former a conſiderable body of troops in order to aſſiſt him againſt ſo dangerous an enemy. The famous ſieges of Paris and Rouen, which the duke of Parma had the honour of raiſing, deceived, however, the hopes of the queen. She ſeemed diſſatisfied with the conduct of her ally, and complained of his expoſing the Engliſh too much on every occaſion; a complaint that ſeems not to have been well founded, as it was undoubtedly owing to the valour of thoſe troops, eſpecially to their officers, who, under the command of the young earl of Eſſex, riſqued every thing for glory. But while the Engliſh were gathering laurels in the fields of France, the queen ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, lord high chancellor of England. He was a perſon of great abilities, unſhaken probity, and firmly attached to the conſtitutions of his country.

A. D. 1591. Elizabeth, deſirous of diſtreſſing Philip as much as poſſible, determined to make an attack on part of the treaſure of the Indies, the true ſource of all his power. Accordingly, in the beginning of the ſpring, ſhe diſpatched lord Thomas Howard to the Azores, or Weſtern Iſlands, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, to intercept the galleons in their return to Europe; but the Spaniſh monarch, apprized of her deſign, fitted out a fleet of fifty-five ſail, and ſent them to the Azores, to convoy the India ſhips. Howard, who knew nothing of this ſtrong fleet, eſcaped with difficulty. His little ſquadron was riding at anchor in the harbour of Flores when the Spaniſh fleet appeared. He, however, found means to put to ſea, by which the enemy were diſappointed in the hopes of taking him and his whole diviſion. Sir Richard Grenville, in the Revenge, was not ſo fortunate: he was ſurrounded by the enemy, and all hopes of eſcaping were cut off. In this deſperate ſituation he attempted to break through the Spaniſh fleet, but was diſappointed; and after an engagement of fifteen hours with the whole force of the enemy, he was obliged to ſurrender, but not before he was mortally wounded. The reſt of the ſquadron returned to England, diſappointed, indeed, in their expectations of acquiring part of the riches of the New World, but not in eſſentially diſtreſſing the enemy; for the Plate fleet had been ſo long detained at the Havannah, through fear of the Engliſh, that they were obliged to put to ſea at an improper ſeaſon; the conſequence of which was, that they were unable to reach the Spaniſh ports, and the greater part of them were loſt.

A. D. 1592. Notwithſtanding Henry IV. had obtained ſome advantages over the league, yet the catholics were far from being intimidated: they made the moſt violent efforts againſt their ſovereign, and the cardinal legate publiſhed the pontiff's bull for the election of a popiſh king. They intended to have given the crown to Philip; and the duke of Parma marched a powerful army into France, to over-awe the aſſembly, which the Spaniſh party propoſed to be held at Rheims or Soiſſons. But the duke of Mayenne, ſenſible of the conſequences, ordered the aſſembly to be held at Paris. This, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted the plan of the prince of Parma; and Henry drew all his troops out of Normandy, in order to fight the Spaniſh general before he could advance into the heart of the country. What the conſequence would have been, it is impoſſible to ſay; but all the vaſt deſigns of Philip were rendered abortive by the death of the prince of Parma, who paid the debt of nature in the forty-fifth year of his age. Even Elizabeth herſelf is ſaid to have dropped ſome generous expreſſions to the memory of that great man; and, perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and in military accompliſhments. His great merits were ſoon conſpicuous after his death. No other general had authority ſufficient to maintain a proper diſcipline in the Spaniſh troops. The ſoldiers mutinied, and a great number of them deſerted.

Elizabeth now determined to make another attempt to humble the pride of Philip, by cutting off the ſinews of his ſtrength in the Weſt Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent with a ſquadron of fifteen men of war, either to attack Panama, or intercept the Plate fleet in their return to Europe. No man was ever better adapted to enterprizes of this kind than Sir Walter: his ſchemes were great, but difficult, if not impracticable to any capacity but his own: his learning was not inferior to his knowledge, his conſtancy to his courage, nor his virtue to his genius, which was equal to the greateſt undertakings. Having been detained too long in port by contrary winds, he ſailed three months later than he intended; and after paſſing the Land's End, he learned, that orders had been ſent from Spain to ſtop the return of the Plate fleet to Europe that ſeaſon. This intelligence, together with a violent ſtorm which ſeparated his fleet, obliged him to altar his plan of operations. He ſent one part of his ſquadron, under Sir Martin Forbiſher, to cruize on the coaſt of Spain; and another par under Burroughs, a brave ſea officer, to the Azores. The earl of Cumberland was alſo at ſea with three men of war, and had chaſed a galleon into Flores, juſt as Burroughs arrived at that iſland; while the Spaniſh fleet, which was then at ſea, went in ſearch o Forbiſher. Burroughs would have made himſel maſter of the galleon, which had taken ſhelter i Flores, had not a dead calm ſucceeded, and given th Spaniards an opportunity of unloading the treaſure and ſetting the ſhip on fire. He had, however, the good fortune, ſoon after, to take another galleon, afte a deſperate engagement, in which the greater part o the Spaniſh crew, conſiſting of ſix hundred men were either killed or wounded. The Engliſ gained both riches and honour by this capture. The money publickly known amounted t one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and th embezzlements were thought to be at leaſt equa in value,

Towards the latter end of this year the papiſts began again to ſhew their inclination to rebellion both in England and Scotland. One Richard Hacket was ſent by the Engliſh fugitives beyond ſea, t perſuade Ferdinand, earl of Derby, to aſſume th regal title, by claim of deſcent from Mary, daughte to Henry VII. and to threaten him that, unleſs h undertook this enterprize, and withal concealed th adviſer, he ſhould ſhortly die in the moſt wretche manner; and, as an encouragement, he was told that he might aſſuredly rely on the aſſiſtance of th king of Spain. The earl, however, fearing this w a trap laid for him, diſcovered the whole affair to th council, and Hacket was taken and hanged: but th threats of that villain were unhappily fulfilled upo the poor earl, who, in leſs than four months afte died in the moſt excruciating torture, ſuppoſed to b the effects of poiſon. The ſuſpicion fell upon h gentleman of the horſe, who diſappeared on th morrow after his lordſhip's death. In the earl's cham ber was found an image of wax, with hairs thru

throug

through the belly of it of the ſame colour with his own; which was thought to have been placed there to take off the ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned, and to throw it upon the effects of necromancy, which, in thoſe days, was greatly credited. Coppinger and Arthington, two principals concerned with Hacket, died ſoon after, the former in Bridewell, and the latter in Wood-ſtreet Compter.

A. D. 1593. The French monarch, notwithſtanding all his heroic qualities, and the great aſſiſtance he received from the Engliſh, ſoon found that arms alone would never make him maſter of his kingdom. He found it impoſſible to triumph over the rage of a party whom religious zeal had rendered the moſt obſtinate rebels. A conſpiracy was even formed in his own court, for electing ſome catholic prince to fill the throne of France, if Henry any longer delayed to embrace the eſtabliſhed religion. The more ſenſible among the proteſtants perceived the neceſſity of ſatisfying the catholics. Henry accordingly abjured Calviniſm, either from conviction, or, as it is rather ſuppoſed, from political motives. But however that be, the papiſts triumphed greatly in gaining ſo illuſtrious a proſelyte; and the dreadful diſputes, which had for ſo many years deluged France with blood, began to ſubſide. Elizabeth, who was herſelf chiefly attached to the proteſtants by political reaſons, reproached Henry for this intereſted converſion in a very angry letter; but ſhe at length liſtened to his apologies, and continued her aſſiſtance: ſhe even entered into a new treaty with him, in which it was ſtipulated, that no peace ſhould be made with Philip without the concurrence of both parties.

A. D. 1594. Philip's intrigues were not confined to England only: he endeavoured to excite freſh diſturbances in Scotland; large ſupplies were promiſed by the governor of the Netherlands if the catholics would attempt to wreſt the ſceptre from James, and give it to a prince of the Romiſh perſuaſion. The project, however, was principally levelled againſt England; for though the Spaniards promiſed to ſend an army into Scotland, it was only to cover their enterprize againſt Elizabeth, whom they intended to aſſaſſinate; and, during the general conſternation which they imagined muſt attend her death, they propoſed to invade England, which would then become an eaſy conqueſt. The ſcheme was carried on for ſome time with apparent ſucceſs; but being at length happily diſcovered, ſeveral of the agents employed by the conſpirators were apprehended, two of whom were executed at Tyburn, where they confeſſed every particular relative to the horrid undertaking in which they had been employed.

A. D. 1595. Elizabeth was ſo enraged at the perfidious and treacherous Spaniards, that ſhe determined o carry the war into the very heart of Spain, and mmediately gave orders that all neceſſary preparaions ſhould be made for that purpoſe. During this uſineſs ſeveral noble atchievements were performed t ſea by the Engliſh; but the moſt remarkable was n expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, a rge tract of land in South America, rather poſſeſſed an inhabited by the Spaniards. He had, at his wn expence, ſent one Whiddon to view the coaſt, nd make all the obverſations in his power. His port confirmed Raleigh in his reſolution of endeauring to wreſt that extenſive country out of the nds of the Spaniards. His undertaking was ſo nerally applauded, that both the treaſurer and adiral of England contributed to the expences of tting out a fleet for carrying the deſign into execuon. Accordingly, on the ſixth of February, Sir Walter ſailed from Plymouth; and on the twentycond of March, took the city of St. Joſeph, in the and of Trinadada, and made Boreo, the Spaniſh vernor, priſoner. Having procured all the information poſſible with regard to the ſtrength and riches of Guiana, Raleigh manned his long-boats with about an hundred men, and proceeded above four hundred miles up the river Oroonoko; but met with ſo many difficulties from the navigation and the heat of the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages ſo brave and dangerous an undertaking deſerved. It is certain, however, that he made great diſcoveries; and though we have no authentic account of the riches he acquired in this undertaking, there is ſufficient reaſon to believe they were very conſiderable.

A. D. 1596. In conſequence of the orders iſſued by Elizabeth, the neceſſary preparations were now ready for making a forcible attack on the Spaniſh territories. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of one hundred and ninety veſſels, on board of which were 6360 ſoldiers, 1000 volunteers, and 6772 ſeamen. The fleet was commanded by lord Effingham, and the land forces by the earl of Eſſex. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Conniers Clifford, had commands in this expedition, and were named as counſellors to the general and admiral.

Every precaution being taken to render the expedition ſucceſsful, the fleet ſet ſail from Plymouth on the firſt of June. The general rendezvous was appointed at Cadiz, and armed tenders were diſpatched before the fleet to intercept every ſhip that could carry any intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Iriſh veſſel, by which they learned that the harbour was full of merchant ſhips of great value; and that the Spaniards lived in perfect ſecurity, without the leaſt apprehenſions of a viſit from the enemy. This intelligence raiſed the ſpirits of the Engliſh, and inſpired them with hopes of enriching themſelves at the expence of the Spaniards.

After making a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtian's, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, a propoſition was made by Sir Walter Raleigh to attack the ſhips and veſſels in the bay; and he was ſtrongly ſeconded by the young earl of Eſſex, who burnt with an eager deſire of ſignalizing his courage on this important occaſion. The motion was unanimouſly agreed to; and it was determined that Raleigh ſhould lead the attack in the Warſpite, and be ſeconded by Sir George Carew in the Mary Roſe, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lion, Sir Francis Vere in the Rainbow, vice-admiral Croſs in the Swiftſure, Sir Conniers Clifford in the Dreadnought, and the lord Thomas Howard in the Nonpareil.

In the mean time the Spaniards were not idle in making proper diſpoſitions to receive the enemy. They ranged their gallies under the wall of the city, ſo as to flank the Engliſh ſhips as they paſſed: ſome culverins were planted to ſecure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery, both of Fort St. Philip and the curtain of the fortification, were brought to bear on the Engliſh fleet. Beſides theſe, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons, which were covered by Fort Puntal, ſituated in the middle of the harbour. The cannonade continued the whole night on both ſides, and the following morning, at break of day, the action began.

Sir Walter Raleigh, at the head of the Engliſh van, advanced to the attack, and received the fire from Fort St. Philip, the curtain, and ſeventeen gallies; but he anſwered only by a flouriſh of his trumpets, purſuing his courſe with amazing intrepidity, in order to encourage the ſhips that followed him, and reſerve his fire for the body of the enemy. After a long and moſt deſperate engagement, Sir Walter prepared to board the Spaniſh admiral, a ſhip of 1500 tons; but the Spaniards perceiving his intention, ran her on ſhore, and ſet her on fire. Three other galleons followed the example of their admiral, but two of them were ſaved, and brought away by the Engliſh.

During this engagement, the earl of Eſſex, with 500 men, landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Five hundred Spaniards advanced about 400 paces from the city to meet him; but were ſtruck with a panic, retired into the city with the utmoſt precipitation, and were cloſely followed by the Engliſh. Cadiz was now in the utmoſt conſternation; and before any meaſures could be taken for making a proper defence, the Engliſh had forced the gate, and were ſoon in poſſeſſion of the market-place. The garriſon and inhabitants retired to the caſtle and town-houſe, but ſoon offered to capitulate; and it was agreed that their lives ſhould be ſaved on their paying 70,000 ducats. A prodigious quantity of ſilver was found in the place, and ſent immediately on board the Engliſh fleet.

While Eſſex was employed in the reduction of Cadiz, Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent to burn the merchant-ſhips at Port Real. The Spaniards offered to pay two millions of ducats for their ranſom; but Raleigh rejected the offer, ſaying, that he came to deſtroy, and not to ranſom the ſhips of the enemy. The Spaniards, however, ſound means to unload ſome of their ſhips, and ſet fire to others, in order to deprive the Engliſh of their riches. Beſides the merchant-ſhips, two galleons, thirteen men of war, eleven ſhips freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, were taken by the Engliſh. They alſo deſtroyed a prodigious quantity of military and naval ſtores prepared for an intended expedition againſt England; and the whole loſs of the Spaniards was eſtimated at twenty millions of ducats.

The only Engliſhman of note that periſhed in this memorable conqueſt was Sir John Wingfield, who was killed in the city of Cadiz; and the victory was obtained with the loſs only of 200 men. Beſides the great riches loſt by the Spaniards, and the ruin of their trade to the New World for this year, they were obliged to ſubmit to the mortifying reflection of ſeeing one of their principal ſea-ports in the hands of an enemy whom they had hoped to conquer, and whoſe deſtruction they had flattered themſelves they ſhould eaſily accompliſh.

The earl of Eſſex conſidered the great ſucceſs of this enterprize only as a ſtep to farther conqueſts. He inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz, and undertook, with 400 men and three months proviſions, to defend the place againſt all the attempts of the enemy, till ſuccours could arrive from England. But this offer was rejected; nor were his ſchemes for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, aſſaulting the Groyne, or taking St. Andero and St. Sebaſtian, accepted. All the other ſeamen and ſoldiers, ſatisfied with the honour they had acquired, were impatient to return home in order to ſecure their plunder. Eſſex complained of their want of ſpirit in this enterprize, and the queen herſelf was not pleaſed at their return without attempting to intercept the India fleet: but the great ſucceſs of the enterprize againſt Cadiz covered all their miſcarriages. Effingham was created earl of Nottingham, a promotion which gave great offence to Eſſex, becauſe it was ſaid, in the preamble to his patent, that this dignity was conferred upon him for his good ſervices in taking Cadiz, a merit which Eſſex inſiſted belonged principally to himſelf.

Towards the latter end of this year died that brave and experienced ſea-officer Sir Francis Drake; whoſe death was a public calamity to his country, as he was one of the beſt ſeamen England ever produced. His courage was unqueſtionable, and he had been ſucceſsful in moſt of his expeditions. He had for ſome years ſerved in parliament as a burgeſs for Plymouth, and the houſe, on many occaſions, received great lights from his information. As he had riſen from the loweſt ſphere in the navy to its higheſt honours, he had clear and diſtinct notions of its moſt minute articles.

A. D. 1597. Philip was ſo enraged at the loſſes he had ſuſtained by the taking of Cadiz, and the deſtruction of his navy, that he reſolved to make another effort for the conqueſt of England. Accordingly, in beginning of the ſpring, he aſſembled a formidable fleet, at a time when Elizabeth thought him abſolutely diſabled from executing any ſcheme of revenge. His fleet rendezvouſed at Ferrol, and having taken on board the land forces deſtined for the expedition, ſteered directly for England; but before they reached the channel, a violent ſtorm diſperſed the fleet, and their ſcheme was for the preſent rendered abortive.

In revenge for this attempt Elizabeth determined to attack Tercera, the principal iſland of the Azores, and, if poſſible, intercept the Spaniſh flota, in their return from the Weſt-Indies. A large armament, conſiſting of 122 ſhips, was accordingly fitted out with the utmoſt expedition, and ſix thouſand land forces were embarked. The command of the whole expedition was given to Eſſex, together with one of the diviſions of the fleet; the ſecond diviſion was commanded by lord Thomas Howard, and the third by Sir Walter Raleigh: lord Montjoy was appointed lieutenant-general under Eſſex: and Sir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance.

The fleet ſailed on the 9th of July, and its deſtination was firſt againſt Ferrol and the Groyne, in order, if poſſible, to ſurprize the Spaniſh fleet in thoſe harbours; after which they were to make an attack on the Azores. But contrary winds, ſtorms, and a fatal quarrel between the earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh, broke theſe meaſures, and the fleet returned to England about the end of October, without having performed any memorable action.

A. D. 1598. In the beginning of this year Elizabeth received certain advice that Henry of France and Philip of Spain, equally tired out with a bloody and expenſive war between them, were deſirous of peace, and that a private negotiation was actually on foot for that purpoſe. The ſame intelligence reached the ſtates-general, who, as well as Elizabeth, was greatly alarmed at this deſign, and each immediately diſpatched an ambaſſador to oppoſe the pacific ſentiments of the French monarch. Henry ſhewed them at once the ſolidity of his reaſons and the rectitude of his views; and as Philip would not treat with the Hollanders upon the condition of acknowledging them a free people, nor Elizabeth negotiate without their concurrence, he concluded, at Vervins, a ſeperate peace; whereby he recovered poſſeſſion of all the places ſeized by Spain during the courſe of the civil wars, and procured himſelf leiſure to attend the domeſtic ſettlement of his kingdom.

Some of the chiefs of the Engliſh miniſtry, particularly lord Burleigh, who beſt merited the queen's confidence, adviſed her to embrace pacific meaſures; but all his reaſons were urged in vain. That ſpirited princeſs, at other times ſo attentive to the prevention, now liſtened not to the ears of adverſe fortune. She no longer dreaded the attempts of the Spaniards; the armada's of Philip had loſt their terror. Animated with the hopes of ſharing in the riches of America, and deeply intereſted in the new republic, ſhe preferred an honourable war to the advantage of a peace, which muſt have entailed miſery and ſlavery upon Holland. The earl of Eſſex encouraged her in theſe ſentiments. He repreſented to her, that the defence of the Hollanders was the original cauſe of the war; and that it was at once unſafe and diſhonourable to abandon the cauſe ſhe had undertaken to defend, till ſhe had placed them in a ſtate of greater ſecurity, and procured them that liberty for which they had ſo long and ſo nobly contended.

The arguments of Eſſex, whoſe perſon was very agreeable to the queen, prevailed: the favourite ſeemed daily to gain the aſcendant over the miniſter. That nobleman was no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his underſtanding than by his birth and figure. He was bold, generous, ſincere, a firm friend, active, and paſſionately fond of glory; but carried away by his paſſions, and incapable of ſubmitting to the rein of prudence. Theſe paſſions at laſt proved his deſtruction. The Hollanders conſidered Elizabeth as their guardian angel, and readily ſubmitted to any terms ſhe pleaſed to require. The debt they owed the queen was now fixed at eight hundred thouſand pounds; of which ſum they agreed to pay thirty thouſand pounds a year during the continuance of the war, and theſe payments were to be continued till they had paid four hundred thouſand pounds. They alſo agreed to pay the garriſons of the cautionary towns while England continued the war with Spain; and that if Philip ſhould attempt an invaſion of England, to aſſiſt the queen with a body of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe.

The ratification of this treaty took place on the 8th of Auguſt; a ſhort time after which Elizabeth found herſelf delivered from her greateſt fears by the death of Philip II. king of Spain, her moſt powerful enemy, who, at the age of ſeventy-two, and the forty-third of his reign, died a moſt dreadful death, being devoured by lice, which ſwarmed from innumerable ulcers in all parts of his body.

The ſatisfaction of Elizabeth at this event was greatly leſſened by the loſs of lord Burleigh, her zealous and faithful counſellor. That truly great man had long and earneſtly requeſted his miſtreſs to grant him ſome moments of interval between buſineſs and the grave; but he aſked in vain. He continued immerſed in all the fatigues of office, till death, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, gave him that repoſe which was denied him by Elizabeth. Lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many miniſters have lived with leſs envy, none ever died with greater reputation. He was chiefly diſtinguiſhed for ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application to buſineſs; he had been regarded as the chief miniſter near forty years, and his death, by a rare inſtance of fortune, was equally regretted by his ſovereign and the people.

The credit of Eſſex would now have been firmly eſtabliſhed, had it not been for his own imprudence; but the lofty ſpirit of that nobleman could ill ſubmit to the implicit deference which Elizabeth's temper required, and which ſhe had ever been accuſtomed to receive from all her ſubjects. Diſputing, one day, on ſome affair with the queen, he carried matters ſo high, as to turn his back upon her with an air of contempt. Elizabeth's anger, which was naturally prompt and violent, roſe on this provocation, and ſhe inſtantly gave him a box on the ear. The paſſion of Eſſex was too violent to be reſtrained. He laid his hand upon his ſword, and ſwore that he would not have taken ſo groſs an affront from her father Henry himſelf. The admiral and vice-chamberlain interpoſed between the ſovereign and the ſubject, and prevented any farther conſequences at that time; but Eſſex left the court, with a ſeeming reſolution never more to return. His friend Egerton, the chancellor, exhorted him to repair his indiſcretion by proper acknowledgments, to confeſs his faults, and conſider his duty and his fortune. He conjured him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which muſt enſue from his ſupporting a conteſt with his ſovereign, and deſerting the ſervice of his country. Eſſex anſwered, in a letter full of reſentment, and which breathed all the violence of his haughty ſoul. He was even ſo imprudent as to ſhew this letter to his friends, who, with equal imprudence, diſperſed copies of it. But, notwithſtanding this additional affront, the queen's partiality for him was ſo prevalent, that ſhe reinſtated him in all his former poſts; and her kindneſs to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from the ſhort interruption of anger and reſentment.

A. D. 1599. Eſſex was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in the queen's favour, than he abuſed it. The troubles that now ſubſiſted in Ireland opened a new ſcene for his ambition, and he raſhly engaged in an undertaking which terminated in crimes and misfortunes.

Hugh O'Neill, whom the queen had created earl of Tyrone, and whoſe treachery was equal to his ferocious valour, excited a general rebellion in that kingdom; and having received aſſiſtance from the king of Spain, gained very conſiderable advantages. He had already aſſumed the character of the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Iriſh liberty. It was therefore determined to proſecute the war with vigour, and ſubdue the rebels by extraordinary efforts. The queen caſt her eyes on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man, who, though hitherto leſs accuſtomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed with talents that would ſufficiently atone for his want of experience. Jealous of every occaſion that offered for diſtinguiſhing himſelf, Eſſex repreſented, that this expedition required a man of birth, experience and reputation, much ſuperior to thoſe of Mountjoy, and at laſt procured the appointment for himſelf. Had he liſtened to the advice of his enemies, he could not have engaged in a more fatal undertaking. But Eſſex was incapable of caution; he imagined that every difficulty would give way before him; and that his preſence, at the head of a numerous army, would be ſufficient to huſh the ferocious Iriſh into peace. The queen's preparations were equal to the tenderneſs ſhe cheriſhed for her favourite, and her deſire of ſubduing the flagitious rebels. She raiſed an army of twenty thouſand men, a force conſidered as abundantly ſufficient for finiſhing the war in a ſingle campaign. Eſſex was created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and furniſhed with a commiſſion more ample than any that had hitherto been granted. He was empowered either to continue or finiſh the war; to pardon the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; an authority never granted to any of his predeceſſors.

Soon after the commiſſion was ſigned, Eſſex ſet out for his new government, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an affection to his perſon, had attached themſelves to his fortunes; and attended by the acclamations of the populace, by whom he was greatly beloved. The firſt act of his authority in Ireland was an indiſcretion, though of the generous kind. He appointed his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe, though the queen had enjoined him not to employ that nobleman, and even repeated orders were hardly ſufficient to induce him to revoke the commiſſion. The reſt of his conduct was conformable to this beginning. Inſtead of leading his powerful army into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, and putting an end to the rebellion, by reducing the chief, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the Iriſh council to march into Munſter, ſituated at the other extremity of the kingdom. He indeed reduced the rebels to ſubmiſſion, but he loſt a very conſiderable part of his army in the attempt; and had no ſooner left the country, than they again revolted.

By this time the ſeaſon was conſiderably advanced, his army ſickly, and greatly reduced in their numbers;

bers; ſo that he was obliged to requeſt a reinforcement of two thouſand men, in order to enable him to march againſt Tyrone. The troops were immediately ſent by Elizabeth, and Eſſex at laſt advanced into Ulſter againſt the chief of the rebels. Tyrone, though at the head of an army greatly ſuperior in numbers to that of the Engliſh, wiſely avoided a deciſive action, and propoſed a conference with Eſſex, in order, as he pretended, to put a ſtop to the flames of civil diſcord, which had ſo long waſted Ireland. The offer was accepted, and the two generals met without any of their attendants. Tyrone behaved, during the conference, with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, and a ceſſation of arms was concluded till the firſt of May. By this treaty the expenſive expedition of Eſſex was rendered abortive, and affairs continued on the ſame footing as before.

As ſoon as Elizabeth was informed of the earl's conduct, ſhe wrote him a very ſevere letter, expreſſing the higheſt diſſatisfaction, and commanding him to continue in Ireland till farther orders. This ſufficiently alarmed the haughty Eſſex. Perſuaded that if he continued any longer at a diſtance from the court, he ſhould loſe all his influence with the queen, while his enemies enjoyed the malignant ſatisfaction of triumphing in his fall, he determined to diſobey the orders of Elizabeth. He accordingly left Ireland, and arrived at London before any one was the leaſt apprized of his intentions. He immediately repaired to court, and preſented himſelf before the queen, covered with duſt and ſweat. Whether Elizabeth's tenderneſs awaked at the ſight of her favourite, or whether ſurprize prevented her from attending to proprieties, ſhe gave him a very kind and flattering reception; and, on his departure, he was heard to thank God, that though he had met with many troubles and ſtorms abroad, he had found at home a ſweet and pleaſing calm.

This placid interval, however, was deceitful. Like the momentary ceſſations in a ſtorm, the tempeſt returned with all its force. Eſſex ſoon learned how much his preſumption and his faults had weakened his influence over Elizabeth's heart, which was leſs tender than haughty. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined before the privy council. His anſwers were calm and ſubmiſſive, but not ſufficient to ſatisfy Elizabeth: ſhe committed him to the cuſtody of the lord keeper; and none of his friends, not even his counteſs, were permitted to viſit him.

In the mean time, the earl of Tyrone, meeting with no oppoſition in his progreſs, reduced the province of Ulſter to his obedience; and being encouraged by a bull ſent from pope Clement VII. granting him and his adherents the ſame indulgencies as thoſe who fought againſt the Turks in the recovery of the Holy Land, he flattered himſelf with being ſoon maſter of the whole kingdom. He was alſo promiſed a ſupply of men and money from Spain; and having received a conſecrated plume from the pope, he called himſelf the champion of the catholic religion.

Elizabeth, alarmed at the progreſs of the rebels in Ireland, ſent the lord Mountjoy into that kingdom. The whole iſland, at his arrival, was in a very deſperate ſituation; but being a man of capacity and vigour, he was not diſcouraged. He advanced immediately into Ulſter againſt Tyrone, and, ſoon penetrated into the heart of that country, the ſeat of the rebels. He drove them from the open fields, and obliged them to take refuge in their bogs and foreſts. Sir George Carew had equal ſucceſs in Munſter, and the queen's authority was once more eſtabliſhed in Ireland.

A. D. 1600. The ſucceſs of Mountjoy rendered the conduct of Eſſex leſs excuſable at court, though his popularity increaſed with his misfortunes. He had now been confined ſix months in the houſe of the lord-keeper, on which account ſuch cabals were raiſed by his friends and domeſtics, that the miniſtry were accuſed of malice, and the queen herſelf of injuſtice. Alarmed at the prejudices of the people, Elizabeth determined to bring Eſſex to an open trial before the privy council. Coke, the attorney general, opened the cauſe againſt him, and treated him with the cruelty and inſolence which that great lawyer uſually exerciſed on the unfortunate. Eſſex made no defence; he declared he would never have any conteſt with his ſovereign, and that he ſhould readily ſubmit to any judgment they might think proper to pronounce againſt him. The chancellor's ſentence, on this occaſion, is remarkable. "If the earl of Eſſex (ſaid he) had been tried in the ſtar-chamber, my ſentence muſt have been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual impriſonment in the Tower; but ſince we are now in another place, and in a courſe of favour, my cenſure is, that the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a counſellor, nor that of earl marſhal of England, nor of maſter of the ordnance; and to return to his own houſe, there to continue a priſoner till it ſhall pleaſe her majeſty to releaſe this, and all the reſt of his ſentence."

The celebrated Sir Francis Bacon was ordered by the queen to draw up a narrative of the whole proceedings, in order to ſatisfy the nation that ſhe had acted with the utmoſt lenity. Bacon, who was firmly attached to Eſſex, gave the whole tranſaction a very favourable turn for his patron: he painted, in the moſt elaborate expreſſions, the dutiful ſubmiſſion made by that nobleman before the council. The queen, when Bacon read the paſſage to her, could not forbear ſmiling; and obſerved, that old love could not eaſily be forgotten.

Eſſex received his chaſtiſement with ſo much humility, that the queen, perſuaded that it was ſincere, gave him proofs that ſhe had not entirely withdrawn her countenance from him. She gave orders that his ſentence ſhould not be recorded, and reſtored him to his full liberty; but at the ſame time adviſed him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and ordered him not to appear at court. Eſſex immediately prepared for his departure into the country; but before he ſet out, he wrote a letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kiſſed her majeſty's hand and the rod with which ſhe had corrected him; but that he never could recover his uſual chearfulneſs till ſhe deigned to admit him to that preſence which had ever been the chief ſource of his happineſs and enjoyment; and that, in the mean time, he would retire into a country ſolitude, and labour aſſiduouſly to atone for his former offences.

Pleaſed with theſe ſentiments, the queen replied, that ſhe wiſhed his actions might be conformable to his expreſſions; but as he had ſo long abuſed her patience, ſhe would take ſome time to try his ſincerity. She added, "That if the furnace of affliction produced ſuch good effects, ſhe ſhould ever after have the better opinion of her chemiſtry."

Happy had it been for Eſſex could he have conformed to that ſubmiſſion he knew ſo well how to deſcribe; but his reſtleſs paſſions were too powerful to be guided by the reins of prudence. Though bleſſed with the ſociety of an amiable and ſenſible wife, with whom he peruſed the writings of the antients, ſo capable of healing the diſeaſes of the mind by leſſons equally ſolid and agreeable, he could not eſcape the illuſions of ambition; he cheriſhed a paſſion that preyed upon his repoſe. Elizabeth reflected not, that this haughty ſpirit, when driven to extremities, was capable of trampling under foot every ſpecies of duty, as well as the laws of his country. By puſhing her precautions too far, ſhe inflamed his reſentment. He loſt all hopes of her favour, forgot her former kindneſſes, and flew to revenge. He imprudently followed the intereſted counſels of ſome needy friends who lived upon his bounty, and determined to have recourſe to violent meaſures. To increaſe the number of his partizans, he paid his court to the catholics, and ſecretly ſolicited the king of Scotland's aſſiſtance. He acquainted him, "that whatſoever appearances the Engliſh court affected, a reſolution was formed to place the Infanta of Spain on the throne of England; that to facilitate this deſign, all places of power, all poſts of importance, were in the hands of thoſe who were ſworn enemies to the Stuart family; the lord high-admiral had the command of the navy and army; Buckhurſt was at the head of the treaſury; Cobham was warden of the cinque ports; Cecil, lord lieutenant of the north; Raleigh governor of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; and Carew preſident of Munſter; places very favourable for landing the Infanta." He added, "the queen's underſtanding as ſo greatly impaired, that ſhe was incapable of cting for herſelf, and was entirely guided by her iniſters; that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary or him to act openly againſt this conſpiracy, by ſend- ng ambaſſadors immediately to the Engliſh court, o demand a public declaration of his title to the ucceſſion, and the removal of his enemies, all crea- ures and penſioners of Spain, from the court and ouncil."

But Eſſex placed his chief dependence for ſupport n the puritans, whoſe manners he now entirely dopted. The moſt celebrated preachers of that ſect ſorted to his houſe, which now became a kind of lpit, where the fervours of fanaticiſm conſtantly ſcharged themſelves. The genius of the age was ſo tirely devoted to theſe rhapſodies, that the language the reformation had more attractions for the people an pleaſure itſelf: nothing more effectually ingra- ted an ambitious leader with the public than theſe ligious entertainments. The ambitious Eſſex ſpared t the queen in his diſcourſes; he repreſented her as old woman, whoſe temper was as crooked as her rſon. Elizabeth was informed of theſe liberties, ich highly incenſed her againſt him. He could t have attacked her in a more tender part. She s always fond of flattery, and loved to be complinted on her beauty; nor could either her own good ſe, or old age itſelf, cure her of this prepoſterous rmity.

A. D. 1601. Eſſex had now formed a ſelect coun- of mal-contents, conſiſting of the earl of South- pton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Chriſtopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and John leton, of Frakel. The reſt of his friends, accord- to a liſt he produced at Drury-Houſe, the uſual ce of their meeting, conſiſted of one hundred and nty of the firſt noblemen and gentlemen in the gdom. Here all their plans were laid, and all r reſolutions formed. Among other criminal pro- s debated in this aſſembly, was that of the moſt per method of taking up arms; and it was at laſt eed, that the firſt attack ſhould be made upon the ce; that Sir Chriſtopher Blount, at the head of a ice detachment, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the gates; Davis ſhould ſeize the hall; Danvers the guard preſence-chamber; and that Eſſex, attended by lect number of his partizans, ſhould ruſh in from Meuſe, oblige the queen to remove his enemies, mble a parliament, and ſettle a new plan of go- nment.

lizabeth was informed of all theſe reſolutions, took the neceſſary precautions to render them abortive. Eſſex never doubted but the citizens of London, by whom he was greatly beloved, would take up arms at the firſt ſignal. He was, however, miſtaken. The court had taken meaſures to prevent it; and when he appeared in the city, accompanied with about two hundred men, he found that his ſeditious exhortations had no effect. They gazed at him as he paſſed along the ſtreets, but none took up arms in his defence. Diſappointed of aſſiſtance, he returned to his own houſe, which was ſoon ſurrounded by a detachment of the guards. He at firſt determined to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and periſh like a ſoldier with the ſword in his hand, rather than by the axe of a baſe executioner. But he ſoon after abandoned this reſolution; and, notwithſtanding all his bravery, ſubmitted at diſcretion. He and the earl of Southampton were immediately conveyed acroſs the water to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, from whence they were the next day ſent to the Tower; and the friends of Eſſex were confined in different priſons.

The queen, who had behaved on this occaſion with the greateſt tranquillity and preſence of mind, gave immediate orders for the trial of the moſt conſiderable of the priſoners. On the 19th of February the earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, the lord-treaſurer Buckhurſt acting as lord high-ſteward. The priſoners, among other articles, were charged with conſpiring to ſurprize the queen in her palace; inciting the citizens of London to ſedition and rebellion; aſſaulting her majeſty's forces in the ſtreets, and holding out Eſſex houſe againſt Elizabeth. The guilt of the priſoner was too glaring to admit of any doubt; and even Eſſex's friends were aſtoniſhed when he inſiſted on his innocence, and ſtill more ſo, when, without the leaſt appearance of reaſon, he accuſed ſecretary Cecil of being a partizan with him in his rebellious attempts; which accuſation, on being confronted with Cecil, he could not maintain. His whole defence being as trifling as this charge, the peers found him and Southampton guilty of treaſon.

When ſentence of death was pronounced, the behaviour of Eſſex was manly and decent; he profeſſed a contempt for his life, but not for his reputation. He ſaid he ſhould be ſorry if he was repreſented to the queen as a perſon who deſpiſed her clemency, though he believed he could never purchaſe it at the expence of any mean ſubmiſſion. "If her majeſty," added he, "had ſo pleaſed, this body of mine might have "done her better ſervice, but I am happy it can ſerve "her any way." The behaviour of Southampton was more modeſt and ſubmiſſive, he intreated the good offices of the peers in ſo mild and becoming a manner, as excited pity in every breaſt.

For ſome days Eſſex maintained his pride, but at length it was ſubdued by the principles of religion. His ſpiritual directors perſuaded him, that he never could obtain the pardon of heaven, unleſs he made a full confeſſion of his diſloyalty. Convinced of this, he gave in to the council an account of all his deſigns; together with the particulars of his friendſhips and correſpondences in writing; upon which Sir Henry Nevil, Elizabeth's reſident in France, was ſent for home, and impriſoned, as being privy to his treaſons; though it appears that that gentleman had never aſſented to the propoſals made him, and was no farther criminal than in not revealing the earl's treaſon; an office to which a man of honour has always the greateſt repugnance. Lord Mountjoy was likewiſe accuſed by the earl, but the greatneſs of his ſervices in Ireland, and perhaps the fear of rendering him deſperate, prevailed with Elizabeth to overlook the accuſation, and continue him in his government.

In every great example which Elizabeth made during her reign, ſhe always appeared full of reluctance and heſitation. But what, in all probability, proceeded from art in preceding caſes was now owing to a more ſincere motive; for the preſent ſituation of Eſſex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in the moſt real agitation and irreſolution. She felt a perpetual combat between reſentment and inclination, pride and compaſſion. She ſigned the warrant for his execution, then countermanded it; ſhe again reſolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderneſs. But what chiefly hardened her heart againſt him was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in never making application to her for mercy and forgiveneſs: for after his return from Cadiz, being one day alone with her, he regretted that the neceſſity of her ſervice required him to be ſo often abſent from her, which expoſed him to all thoſe ill offices of his enemies, more aſſiduous in their attendance, employed againſt him. Elizabeth, affected by this tender jealouſy, made him the preſent of a ring, which ſhe deſired him to keep as a pledge of her affection, and aſſured him in whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately upon the ſight of it, recollect her former tenderneſs, would once more ſee him, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. This gift Eſſex preſerved amidſt all his misfortunes, and after his condemnation reſolved to try what effect it would have on the queen. He committed the care of it to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to preſent it to Elizabeth. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, who was the mortal enemy of Eſſex, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, imputed the neglect of it to his invincible obſtinacy. She, therefore, after much delay, and many internal combats, was urged by reſentment and policy to ſign the warrant for his execution.

The unfortunate Eſſex ſuffered his ſentence on the 25th of February, in the court-yard of the Tower, which was the place he had himſelf requeſted. He was attended by Aſhton, a diſſenting miniſter, and two divines of the church of England. By Elizabeth's particular order ſeveral noblemen were preſent on the ſcaffold at the execution, with ſome of the aldermen of London, and ſeveral other gentlemen belonging to the court. Among the reſt was Sir Walter Raleigh, the avowed enemy of Eſſex: but his friends telling him how invidious ſuch behaviour muſt appear, they prevailed on him to leave the ſcaffold, from whence he retired to a window, where he ſaw the head of Eſſex ſtruck off. The behaviour of the earl in his laſt moments was full of penitence and contrition. He betrayed no ſigns of fear, and acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence.

Thus fell Robert Devereux, earl of Eſſex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He was deſcended from a royal lineage on the female ſide, and endowed with ſuperior talents and heroic qualities. He was generous, liberal, and humane, a patron of learning, in which he himſelf held a conſiderable rank, a warm friend and an open enemy. His foibles were vanity, ambition, and an impetuoſity of temper which he could not reſtrain. He ruined himſelf for want of knowing how to enjoy good fortune with moderation. The people, by whom he was too much beloved, were irritated at his death; and the queen, who was accuſed of cruelty, no longer heard the uſual acclamations when ſhe appeared in public.

Several of Eſſex's aſſociates were afterwards executed: Meyrick and Cuff, two of the principals, were hanged at Tyburn on the 15th of March. Sir Chriſtopher Blount and Sir Charles Danvers were beheaded on Tower-hill; Litleton, Orel, and Sir Edward Baintown were tried and condemned, but the former died in priſon, and the others were pardoned. The earl of Southampton's life was preſerved with great difficulty; but he was kept a priſoner in the Tower till the death of the queen, when he was releaſed by order of James I.

A. D. 1602. The deſigns of the Spaniards for diſturbing the peace of Elizabeth were far from terminating with the death of Philip II. The ſame councils ſtill continued, and the ſame meaſures were zealouſly purſued. The preparations for an expedition againſt Ireland had been for ſome time finiſhed, but ſuſpended on account of the troubles that broke out in Spain. Theſe having now ſubſided, Don John d'Aquila was ſent at the head of a body of troops into that kingdom, and made religion a pretence for the enterprizes of ambition and rebellion. He aſſumed the title of "General of the Holy war, for the preſervation of the faith in Ireland." Care had been taken to authorize theſe meaſures by bulls from Rome: and d'Aquila endeavoured to perſuade the people, that a queen deprived of her authority by the pope, had no longer any right to the crown; that her ſubjects, abſolved from their oaths of allegiance by the holy father, ought to take up arms againſt her, and drive her from a throne of which ſhe ought to be conſidered as an uſurper. He added, that the ſole intention of his coming was to aſſiſt them in that religious undertaking, and to deliver them from the dominion of the Devil.

Mountjoy ſaw the gathering ſtorm, and exerted all his abilities to break its force. The Iriſh ſhewed every where ſigns of a general inſurrection, and the utmoſt vigour was neceſſary to prevent it. He immediately laid ſiege to Kinſale, which the Spaniard had taken immediately after their landing; but h had hardly begun his operations before he received intelligence, that another body of two thouſand Spaniards, under the command of Alphonſo Ocampo were landed, and had taken poſſeſſion of Baltimor and Berehaven. He found himſelf therefore obliged to detach Sir George Carew to oppoſe the progreſ of the enemy. Tyrone immediately haſtened to th relief of Kinſale; but Mountjoy having receive information of his deſign, advanced to meet him a the head of part of his army, totally defeated the re bels, and took ſeveral of them priſoners. Tyron himſelf eſcaped into Ulſter, but was utterly incapabl of giving the Engliſh any farther diſturbance. Th Spaniſh general now perceived that all reſiſtanc would be in vain, and immediately offered to ſu render all places held by the Spaniards in Irelan and evacuate the kingdom. The conditions we accepted, and the Spaniards embarked for their ow country. This defeat ſtruck the rebels with terro They ſaw the foreign forces on whom they ſo great depended, incapable of giving them any ſuppor and deſpaired of ever being able to make head agai Engliſh.

Elizabeth was ſo exaſperated at the Spaniards f the difficulties in which they had involved her b fomenting the rebellion in Ireland, that ſhe dete mined to ſeek ample revenge. She accordingly o dered a ſquadron of nine ſhips to be immediately f ted out under the command of Sir Richard Leveſ and Sir Richard Monſon, with orders to ſail on expedition to the coaſt of Spain. This fleet l England early in the ſpring, and ſoon after part the ſquadron fell in with the galleons loaded w treaſure; but were not ſtrong enough to attack th with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The other diviſion a met with a fleet of very rich ſhips, and was, for t ſame reaſon, obliged to let them purſue their cou unmoleſt unmoleſted. Theſe diſappointments induced the two admirals to join the the little ſquadrons, and purſue the deſign of the expedition in company. For ſome time they met with no ſhips of the enemy, and it was determined, in order to prevent the expedition from being entirely fruitleſs, to attack the harbour of Coimbra in Portugal, where they were informed a rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was defended by a caſtle mounted with heavy pieces of cannon; eleven gallies were moored near the entrance, and the militia of the country, amounting to near twenty thouſand men, appeared on the ſhore. But all theſe indications of a powerful oppoſition were not ſufficient to intimidate the Engliſh. They broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, burnt, and put to flight the gallies, and made themſelves maſters of the carrack. With this prize they returned to England, where her loading was valued at near a million of ducats; a very ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards, and a ſtill more conſiderable ſupply to Elizabeth.

In the mean time the lord Mountjoy improved ſo well his late victory in Ireland, that Tyrone and his friends were ſoon reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs; and many of them, after concealing themſelves in woods and moraſſes, where they lived rather like beaſts than men, thought proper to abandon their retreats, and ſubmit to the mercy of the Engliſh government. They were received with kindneſs, and the terms impoſed upon them were ſo mild and generous, that Tyrone himſelf, ſeeing all hopes either of ſucceeding, or eſcaping to the continent, were vaniſhed, applied, in the moſt abject manner, both to the queen herſelf and the governor, for pardon. The queen was long reſolved not to ſhew the leaſt favour to that ferocious and perfidious rebel, but being continually importuned by her council, who repreſented the prodigious expence ſhe had been at, in maintaining an army in Ireland to purſue the rebels, and that by ſhewing clemency to the great leader in every inſurrection, ſhe would infallibly reſtore tranquillity to that diſtreſſed kingdom, and introduce a proper legiſlation among the people, ſhe was at laſt prevailed upon to recede from her reſolution. She ſigned his pardon, and ſent it to Mountjoy; ſacrificing her reſentment to the peace of her ſubjects, who had ſo long felt all the dreadful effects of civil diſcord.

But the terms to which the lord-deputy was reſtrained were thought ſo ſevere by the council, that they apprehended Tyrone would never ſubmit to them. Had that furious leader perceived even the ſmalleſt proſpect of ſupporting himſelf againſt the Engliſh, there is not the leaſt doubt but he would have rejected the conditions with diſdain; but he was deprived of every reſource, and enjoyed only the wretched alternative of accepting the queen's pardon on her own terms, or periſh with hunger. He made no heſitation in chuſing the former, and accordingly repaired to the lord-deputy's ſeat at Malleſont, where he preſented himſelf before him on his knees, and in that ſubmiſſive poſture received his pardon. O'Rourk, another active chief in the late inſurrections, ſurrendered about a month after Tyrone; and thus that dreadful rebellion which had raged in Ireland with the utmoſt violence during eight years, and coſt the queen near four hundred thouſand pounds annually, was entirely ſuppreſſed; the whole kingdom was reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection, and the people taſted the pleaſures attendant on tranquillity.

A. D. 1603. But Elizabeth did not long enjoy the ſatisfaction of ſeeing this conſiderable part of her dominions in a ſtate of peace. An incident now happened that not only rendered her inſenſible to every degree of pleaſure, but in a very ſhort time deprived her of her exiſtence. The counteſs of Nottingham had been for ſome time afflicted with a violent diſtemper, and finding her life was drawing towards a period, ſhe was ſeized with remorſe for her cruelty to Eſſex in not delivering the ring to the queen according to his earneſt requeſt. She petitioned therefore, and at laſt obtained a viſit from Elizabeth, when ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed the fatal ſecret. Aſtoniſhed with this deteſtable inſtance of treachery, the queen burſt into the moſt violent paſſion of rage: ſhe ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed, ſaying, "that God might pardon her, but ſhe "never could;" and breaking from her, immediately retired to her palace at Richmond.

From this moment Elizabeth gave herſelf up to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy: her pride would not ſuffer her to eaſe the anguiſh of her breaſt, by diſcloſing the real cauſe of her grief. Reaſons, ſtratagems, and prayers were in vain employed to perſuade her to have recourſe to medicines for relief; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they prevailed with her to take the food that was neceſſary for the ſupport of life. She ſeemed determined to baniſh ſleep from her eyes; nor could ſhe be prevailed upon to retire to her bed; but ſpent her tedious nights in a continued ſilence, upon cuſhions piled up in her room. But though ſilent, ſhe was not inſenſible, and perceived herſelf abandoned by many, whom her munificence had raiſed from the greateſt obſcurity.

It was now ſufficiently viſible that Elizabeth's end was near approaching; and ſeveral ſerious deliberations were held in the council with regard to the ſucceſſion. For though all the members were firmly attached to James, yet they could not tell what the ſecret intrigues of the popiſh and puritan factions might produce, and therefore reaſonably thought, that Elizabeth's own declaration in favour of James would greatly ſtrengthen his title. The lord high-admiral declared, that when ſhe was firſt ſeized with her diſorder, ſhe ſaid to him in private, "My throne has "always been filled by a ſucceſſion of princes, and "ought only to go to my next heir." But as this was not conſidered ſufficiently explicit, it was thought proper that the lord keeper, the lord admiral, and ſecretary Cecil, ſhould, in the name of the council, intreat her to ſignify her final intention with regard to this ſubject. They found her almoſt ſpeechleſs, but ſhe had ſtrength ſufficient to repeat the ſubſtance of her former declaration to the lord admiral, "that ſhe "had filled a royal throne, and deſired to have a "royal ſucceſſor." Cecil thought that this declaration was not ſufficiently explicit; and urged her for a further explanation. "I deſire (ſaid ſhe) that a "king ſhould ſucceed me, and who ſhould that be, "but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scotland."

Though there was no great danger of any oppoſition being made to the Scottiſh ſucceſſion, the council thought proper to take every precaution for ſecuring the peace and ſafety of the kingdom: great numbers of idle and ſuſpected perſons, who ſwarmed in the metropolis and the adjacent villages, were ſeized and ſent to Holland, for the Dutch ſervice. The fleet which lay ready equipped, was ordered to guard the mouth of the Thames; and all the ſea ports were ſhut throughout the kingdom. It was alſo reſolved to ſummon all the peers to town, and if any commotion ſhould happen on the queen's death, which was now hourly expected, to make the earl of Northumberland general of the forces.

In the mean time the queen's ſituation was truly deplorable: ſhe had ſat dreſſed and penſive ten ſucceſſive days and nights, without having an hour's reſt during the whole time. On the 21ſt of March ſhe was put into bed by force, and, though ſhe then ſeemed to be better, ſhe lay on her ſide without ſpeaking to, or taking the leaſt notice of, any one about her; only ſhe cauſed ſome meditations to be read to her, particularly thoſe of M. du Pleſſis. The archbiſhop of Canterbury attending her on this occaſion, ſhe heard his exhortations, and joined him in prayer, with great humility and devotion. On the 23d of the ſame month ſhe was ſpeechleſs all the day; and having in the night got a continued ſleep of five hours, waked only to die, in the calmeſt manner and almoſt inſenſibly, about two o'clock the next morning, in the 70th year of her age, and the 45th of her reign.

Her corpſe, without being opened or embalmed, was removed, on the 28th of March, from Richmond to Whitehall; but as Elizabeth had given orders that it ſhould be neither opened or viewed after her deceaſe, no perſon was permitted to ſee it. It is conjectured by ſome that her reaſon for leaving this injunction was, that the world might not be ſatisfied with reſpect to her virginity; while others are of opinion that ſhe had about her perſon ſome imperfections that rendered her very unfit for marriage; and which was the cauſe of her being ſo unwilling to have her body expoſed after her deceaſe. She was interred on the 28th of April, in the chapel of Henry VII. with great magnificence, king James having given orders that no expence ſhould be ſpared on the occaſion.

Elizabeth mounted the throne when it was tottering under the misfortunes of an ill-conducted war, and its pillars were weakened by ſuperſtition and cruelty; it had been rifled of its ornaments by impious hands, and all its glories were blaſted by the cankering breath of religious fury. How artfully, how graceſelly, how nobly ſhe recovered its ſtrength, repaired its beauty, and retrieved its honours, have been ſufficiently diſplayed in the preceding pages. Steadineſs was the characteriſtic of her reign; œconomy the great ſecret of her government; and the art in dividing her enemies among themſelves, the inſtrument of her ſucceſs.

Few great perſonages have been more expoſed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends, than Elizabeth; though there were ſcarce any whoſe reputation has been more certainly and more unanimouſly determined by the joint conſent of poſterity. Her vigilance, her conſtancy, her magnanimity, her peneration, and addreſs, are allowed to merit the higheſt praiſes; nor do they appear to have been ſurpaſſed by any perſon that ever filled a throne. By the aſſiſtance ſhe gave to France, ſhe diſappointed the ambitious ſchemes of her mortal enemies the Guiſes: by her ſupporting the Scottiſh reformers, ſhe ruined her formidable rival the queen of Scots; and by protecting the revolters in the Netherlands, ſhe gave a fatal blow to the power of Spain, whoſe throne was then filled by the moſt powerful and moſt ambitious monarch in Europe. Her credit in Germany balanced the influence of Charles, and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant intereſt. The Turks, the Poles, the Swedes, and many other princes and ſtates appealed to her throne as to the grand tribunal of juſtice here below, nor did they believe her mortal, till death convinced them of the fatal truth. She ſeemed to have ſnatched the diſtaff from the hand of deſtiny, in order to abridge or prolong, at her pleaſure, the thread that formed the fate of empires.

But we muſt at the ſame time acknowledge, that Elizabeth was too rigorous, and too imperious towards her dependents; too regardleſs of the conſtitution, and too little concerned for the liberties and privileges of her ſubjects. Her prerogative ſwallowed up every thing that came in competition with it; and ſhe thought her people were entitled to no greater liberty than had been enjoyed by their anceſtors.

With reſpect to the perſon of Elizabeth, ſhe is deſcribed by thoſe who knew her to have been handſome, well made, ſtrong limbed, and rather tall than middle ſized; her forehead high and round, her eyes brown and lively, her complexion fair, her hair of a lightiſh yellow, her fingers long and taper, her voice clear and ſhrill: ſhe had a fine ſet of teeth, and her outward form was much ſet off by an air that was exceeding agreeable.

She was fond of being thought learned and ſpoke with great fluency the Greek, Latin, Italian and French languages, underſtood the Spaniſh, and tranſlated ſeveral pieces from the antient writers with judgment and fidelity. Nor muſt it be forgotten, that by her influence genuine literature was revived and improved. She was, indeed, more penetrating to diſcover, than ready to reward merit; but ſhe entruſted the care of the latter to perſons who diſcharged it nobly.

Elizabeth's predominant paſſions were, jealouſy and avarice, the former of which hurried her, in ſome caſes, into acts of tyrannic cruelty. Her vanity appeared in her love of flattery, which ſhe greedily ſwallowed, even when it was fulſome and abſurd; and in the variety and richneſs of her apparel, which ſhe continued to wear long after her declining years ſeemed to require a more decent garb, and a much graver deportment. In a word, the private character of Elizabeth is certainly, in ſome reſpects, very exceptionable; but at the ſame time it muſt be acknowledged by the impartial, that the princely qualities with which ſhe was poſſeſſed render her the object of undiſputed applauſe.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened, during the reign of Elizabeth, were as follow:

In her third year (1561) on the 15th of June, the ſpire of St. Paul's Cathedral was totally deſtroyed by fire, which aroſe from the careleſsneſs of a plumber, who left a pan of coals in the ſteeple when he went to dinner.

In 1563 an order was iſſued by her majeſty for aſcertaining the number of Scotchmen in London, when it appeared that only 58 could be found throughout the whole metropolis.—This year alſo gave riſe to the manufacturing of knives in England, which was executed by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London. Before this time they were imported from Germany; but the art was ſoon improved by the Engliſh, and large quantities were ſhortly after exported to different parts of the world.

In 1565 Tobacco was firſt brought into England by Sir John Hawkins.

The year 1569 furniſhes us with the firſt inſtance o a lottery in England. It began drawing at the weſtern door of St Paul's cathedral on the 11th o January, and continued day and night till the 6th o May following.

In 1571 a remarkable circumſtance happened i the county of Hereford. On Saturday evening February 17th, Marcley-hill, near the city of Hereford, was moved from its ſituation. It continued i motion till the Monday following, carrying along wit it the trees, hedges, and cattle on its ſurface. I its way it threw down a chapel, and at length forme a hill twelve fathom high where it ſettled, and left chaſm in its original ſituation thirty feet long an forty feet deep.

In 1583 a ſimilar prodigy happened at Blackmoor: a field of three acres, with the trees and fence moved from its ſituation, paſſed over anothe fiel and ſettled in the highway to Hearn.

In 1586 potatoes were firſt brought to England from America by Sir Francis Drake; but not cultivated in the kingdom till the beginning of the following century.

In 1589 William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college Cambridge, invented an engine, or ſteel-loom called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of ſtockings. This was not above twenty years after the Engliſh had been taught the art of knitting them with wires or needles, by the Spaniards. Mr. Lee's invention has been of great advantage to the ſtocking manufacture, by enabling the Engliſh to export great quantities of all kinds to foreign countries.

In the following year mills were firſt erected in England, by Godfrey Box of Liege, for cutting iron into bars for the uſe of the Smiths.

In 1594 the plague raged with great violence in London and it ſuburbs. The number of people who died of this dreadful diſeaſe amounted to 17,890.

In 1597 watches were firſt brought into England from Germany.

The year 1599 gave riſe to that uſeful inſtrument the teleſcope, which was diſcovered by one Janſſen, a ſpectacle maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand. He knew not, however, the theory on which the inſtrument depended, and therefore never made them of any conſiderable length: eighteen inches was the utmoſt extent of his inſtruments. Galileo, aſtronomer to the grand duke of Tuſcany, was the artiſt that perfected the diſcovery, and rendered it of the greateſt ſervice in aſtronomical obſervations; and hence the teleſcope has acquired the name of Galileo's tube.

In the commencement of this century learning began to revive throughout Europe, when the Engliſh ſovereigns and nobility took a diſtinguiſhed part in giving it the utmoſt encouragement. Henry VIII. was conſidered as one of the moſt learned perſons of his time. Queen Catherine Parr tranſlated a very uſeful treatiſe into Engliſh in the beginning of the reign of Edward the VI. Lady Jane Gray, conſidering her age, her ſex, and her ſtation, may be conſidered as a prodigy of learning. She was familiarly acquainted with the writings of the antients, and catched their noble ſentiments at a very early age. Elizabeth wrote and tranſlated ſeveral books, and was familiarly acquainted both with the Greek and Latin languages. But cardinal Wolſey may be conſidered as the father of revived learning in England. Wolſey had a ſoul exquiſitely ſuſceptible of the glory ariſing from a patronage that gives a ſurer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The fame of Leo X. who reſtored the arts in Italy, excited his emulation; he was deſirous of diſſeminating the ſeeds of literature in his native country. The learning of the Engliſh was then uſeleſs and heavy; they were totally ſtrangers to taſte. Wolſey ſaw this, and had the virtue to attempt the improvement of the one, and the introduction of the other. He was himſelf well acquainted with many branches of learning, as well as maſter of all the qualities of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. But it was not enough for Wolſey to confine his love of learning, and the muſes to his own example and munificence, without planting thoſe ſeminaries which, in ſucceeding ages, were productive of many of the nobleſt fruits of ſtudy. He ſearched for men of genius and letters, as the lord of the ſoil does for a mine of treaſure. His houſe, like Cicero's Tuſculaneum, was the retreat of the learned. Whenever he found a foreigner celebrated for his literary acquiſitions, he ſettled on him a handſome ſalary, and invited him to England. He intended to procure copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for his college at Oxford; which, if finiſhed according to his plan, would have been the nobleſt foundation in the world.

The other perſonages who moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their learning, during this period, were as follow:

John Collet dean of St. Paul's, of whom no higher teſtimony need be given of his merit, than his intimacy with Eraſmus. There was a remarkable ſimilitude of manners, of ſtudies, and of ſentiments in religion, between theſe illuſtrious men, who ventured to withdraw the veil of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and expoſe them, in their genuine colours, to the eyes of the world; and to prepare the minds of the Engliſh for that reformation in religion, and the reſtoration of learning, which ſoon after followed. Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and Latimer, were the firſt that revived the literature of the antients in England. He founded St. Paul's ſchool, and died 1519.

Archbiſhop Wareham ſhone as a divine, a lawyer, and a ſtateſman; but was at laſt ſupplanted in the king's favour by Wolſey. Eraſmus makes honourable mention of this prelate, whom he eſteemed a perfect model of the epiſcopal character. He died on the 23d of Auguſt, 1532.

Sir Thomas More was a great maſter of the elegant learning of the antients. His Utopia, a kind of political romance, which gained him the higheſt reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an iſland ſuppoſed to be newly diſcovered in America. He was beheaded, for denying the king's ſupremacy, on the ſixth of July, 1535.

Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, and Roger Aſcham, tutor to queen Elizabeth, were the politeſt ſcholars of their time in the univerſity of Cambridge. Among other uſeful attempts for the improvement of learning, they introduced the true pronunciation of the Greek in that ſeat of the muſes.

William Tindale, canon of Chriſt-church, Oxford, and deſervedly ſtiled the Engliſh apoſtle, was the firſt that tranſlated the New Teſtament into Engliſh from the Greek. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through with the whole: but his attempt provoked the catholic clergy, and he was burnt for hereſy at Wilford, near Bruſſels, in 1536.

Henry Howard, earl of Surry, was one of the greateſt ornaments in the court of Henry VIII. He was famous for the tenderneſs and elegance of his poetry, in which he excelled all the writers of his time. His great merit excited the jealouſy of Henry; and, after the formality of a trial, he was condemned and executed for high treaſon on the nineteenth of January, 1547.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was one of the moſt learned perſons of his age, and has been juſtly eſteemed one of the chief ornaments of our church and nation. He was in high eſteem with Henry VIII. for his learning, his ſincerity, his prudence, and his moderation. But he fell a ſacrifice to the bigotted fury of queen Mary, on the 21ſt of March, 1556.

Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, was a polite ſcholar, and one of the moſt perfect characters of his age. The celebrated Eraſmus, one of whoſe excellences conſiſted in doing juſtice to the merit of his friends, tells us, that he was comparable to any of the antients.

Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the court of Elizabeth. He was the ornament of the univerſity, and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle, at a tournament, in a private converſation among his friends, or in a public character as an ambaſſador. His talents were equally adapted to proſe or verſe, to original compoſition or tranſlation. His Arcadia was not only admired for its novelty, but continued to be read longer than ſuch compoſitions generally are, and has paſſed through many editions. He died the 16th of October, 1586.

John Gerrade, a ſurgeon of London, was the greateſt Engliſh botaniſt of that age. He publiſhed his Herbal in 1597, which has, ever ſince its firſt appearance, been conſidered as a very uſeful work.

Edmund Spencer, the celebrated author of the "Fairy Queen," was the father of the Engliſh heroic poem, and of true paſtoral poetry in this iſland. He ſtands diſtinguiſhed from almoſt all other poets, by that faculty by which a poet is diſtinguiſhed from other writers, namely, invention; and excelled all his cotemporaries in harmonious verſification. The ſtanza of Spencer, and the old words which conſtantly occur, contribute to give that great poet an air of peculiarity; and hence all the imitations of him reſemble the original. But Parnaſſus proved a very barren ſoil to Spencer. Elizabeth was far from having a juſt ſenſe of his merit. After the death of Sir Philip Sidney he languiſhed without a patron, and died in want of bread, in 1599.

Richard Hooker, ſome time maſter of the Temple, and afterwards rector of Biſhop's Bourn, in Kent, was one of the moſt celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "Eccleſiaſtical Polity," which is a defence of the government of the Engliſh church againſt the cavils of the diſſenters, is written with a claſſic ſimplicity, and eſteemed one of the completeſt works, both for ſtyle and argument, that ever appeared in the Engliſh language. Queen Elizabeth uſed to call him "The judicious Hooker", an epithet by which he is ſtill diſtinguiſhed. He died on the ſecond of November, 1600.

Sir Thomas Bodley deſerves to be mentioned here, as a man of letters; but much more for the ample proviſion he has made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford, and in which he ſtands unrivalled. In 1599, he opened his library, a mauſoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themſelves endure. He died the twenty-eighth of January, 1612.

Beſides the writers already mentioned, many others flouriſhed during this period. John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancaſhire, tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh, with notes. Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins tranſlated ſeveral of the pſalms into Engliſh metre, which are ſtill ſung in moſt of the churches.

Elizabeth's reign produced a number of excellent poets; particularly Spencer already mentioned, Sidney, Donne, Johnſon, Shakeſpeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher. Fairfax tranſlated Taſſo with great eaſe and elegance; and Harrington tranſlated Arioſto with tolerable accuracy. Bacon acquired immortal renown by his philoſophical writings; and Camden excelled as an antiquary and hiſtorian.

BOOK XI.

From the Acceſſion of James I. *to the Death of* Charles I.

SECTION I.

JAMES I.

THE direct line of the royal family being extinct by the death of Elizabeth, the ſucceſſion was peaceably admitted to be in James VI. of Scotland, as great grandſon of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. Accordingly, as ſoon as the queen's death was notified, that monarch was proclaimed king of England by the name of James I.

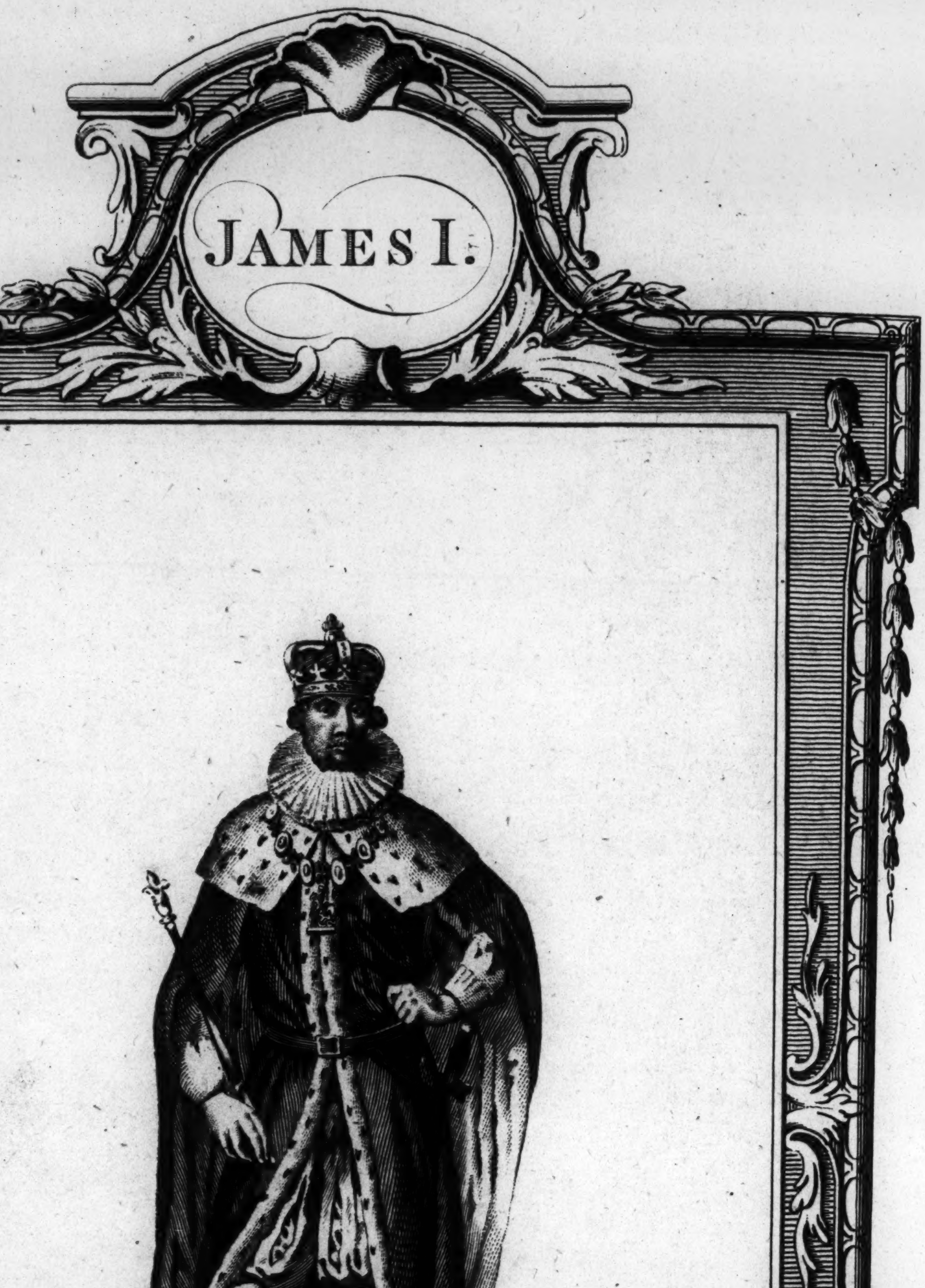
Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to inform James of his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, and to haſten his journey to London. The whole nation appeared greatly intereſted in favour of their new monarch. On his arrival he was received in the capital with the greateſt rejoicings, and was crowned at Weſtminſter on the 25th of July, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

James began his reign with laviſhing a profuſion of titles on his courtiers; no leſs than 239 perſons received the honour of knighthood within ſix weeks after his acceſſion. Theſe honours were chiefly conferred on the Scots, which gave great offence to the Engliſh, and might have produced national quarrels, had not James prudently reſolved to employ only Engliſhmen in the adminiſtration.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed among the king's miniſters was ſecretary Cecil, created ſucceſſively lord Effingdon, viſcount Cranborne, and earl of Saliſbury. This nobleman was the ſon of the famous Burleigh whoſe name, it was natural to ſuppoſe, muſt be odiou to James, as the declared enemy of his mother, an the chief cauſe of her tragical cataſtrophe; but Cec had taken care to make his peace with James befor the death of Elizabeth. Skilled in the arts of cun ning and duplicity, he had, for ſome time before th queen's deceaſe, kept up a correſpondence wit James, and informed him of every thing tranſacte in the Engliſh council that regarded his intereſt. S Walter Raleigh, lord Gray, and lord Cobham, wh had not taken the wiſe precautions of Cecil, and ha been at the head of the faction that brought the ea of Eſſex to the ſcaffold, immediately felt the effe of James's prejudice, by being all diſmiſſed fro their reſpective employments.

No ſooner did James aſcend the Engliſh thro than all the ſovereigns of Europe were filled with t moſt anxious expectations: they beheld in him t ſon of a princeſs who died a martyr to the cauſe popery, and who had ſuffered a long ſeries of troub in a kingdom whither ſhe had fled for protectio The hopes of the catholics and the fears of the pr teſtants were equally excited on this occaſion; a ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes and ſtates Chriſtendom ſoon appeared at the Engliſh court, ord

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


JAMES I.
Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.

order to compliment the King on his new acquired dignity, and to conclude with him new alliances.

Henry IV. of France could not reflect without concern, that James, in one part of his life, had entered into negotiations with Spain, and thought he had every thing to dread from ſuch an union, eſpecially if James, whoſe real diſpoſition was as yet unknown, ſhould diſcover an enterprizing genius. The marquis of Roſny, afterwards the famous duke of Sully, a miniſter worthy of Henry IV. was charged with the affairs of France in the Engliſh court. That able ſtateſman propoſed a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, in order to invade the territories of the houſe of Auſtria on every ſide, and humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family. But the genius of the Engliſh monarch was little adapted to ſuch vaſt enterprizes; the love of peace was his ruling paſſion, and Roſny found James to be maſter of ſo much art and diſſimulation, that his addreſs was inſufficient to diſcover the real intentions of the Engliſh monarch. He refuſed to make any declaration but in general terms, of his ſincere deſire of living in friendſhip with France. A ſolemn conference was, however, at laſt held, and it was agreed that the Dutch ſhould have the liberty of levying forces both in France and England; that the two monarchs ſhould ſupply that republic with the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France, but that one third of it ſhould be deducted to diſcharge a debt due from that monarch to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either the territories of France or England, the contracting princes ſhould aſſiſt each other, Henry with a force of ten thouſand, and James with that of ſix thouſand men.

Soon after the ſigning of this treaty, the tranquillity of England was greatly interrupted by a conſpiracy ſaid to have been formed in the kingdom againſt the government. The deſign was to place Arabella Stuart a near relation of James, and deſcended equally with him from Henry VII. on the Engliſh throne. She had been long a ſtate priſoner in the Tower, and poſſibly never knew that the leaſt deſign was formed for her liberty. Indeed the whole conſpiracy is ſtill a myſtery; time itſelf has afforded no clue that will help us to unravel it. But however that be, Sir Walter Raleigh, with his friends the lords Cobham and Gray, Sir Griffith Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Sir George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookſby, and Anthony Cappely, with two prieſts, Watſon and Clarke, were ſent to priſon. The trial of theſe conſpirators, if indeed any conſpiracy ever exiſted, was imperfect and confuſed; no ſigns of guilt appeared; no regular plot had been formed. A few paſſionate words, flowing from the diſappointed ambition of the diſmiſſed courtiers, compoſed, perhaps, their whole crime. Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated lawyer, who managed the proſecution on the part of the crown, uſed the moſt violent and opprobrious terms on this occaſion. He called Raleigh a traitor, a monſter, a viper, a ſpider of hell; terms that ſufficiently point out the manners of the age, and will for ever throw a ſtain on the character of that famous pleader. Raleigh, however, defended himſelf with ſurpriſing temper, eloquence, and courage; but, notwithſtanding the force of his arguments, he was found guilty by his jury, contrary to all law and the principles of equity. The two prieſts were executed; Cobham, Gray and Markham were pardoned on the morning of their execution, but not before they had laid their heads on the block, and were prepared to receive the fatal ſtroke. Raleigh alſo was reprieved, but not pardoned, and he continued many years after in confinement.

A. D. 1604. James now turned his thoughts towards theological diſputation, of which he was not only very fond, but capable of acquitting himſelf with diſtinguiſhed eclat. The ſeverities of Elizabeth had reſtrained the partizans of the Romiſh church; but the fanaticiſm of the puritans was not to be ſubdued. Theſe fiery diſciplinarians had flattered themſelves with receiving protection from a prince who had been trained up by their own ſect in Scotland. But James was too well acquainted with their independent principles, was too jealous of his new authority, and too much a friend to pleaſure, to ſhew them any favour in a country where they were not the predominant party. He, however, ordered a conference to be held at Hampton-court, between a certain number of biſhops and puritanical miniſters, and engaged to attend himſelf as moderator.

The conference was accordingly held at the place appointed on the 14th of January. In the courſe of the debates, James ſhewed uncommon talents of diſputation; and it may be ſaid with juſtice that his talents would have been great, had he governed a college inſtead of a kingdom. His eloquence, like a powerful charm, diſſipated every phantom of doubt, which either he himſelf, or the other diſputants, had raiſed; the non-conformiſts were ſilenced; and the king aſſigned the victory to the prelates. He even threatened the diſſenters to uſe more formidable arguments if they did not conform, and cloſed the conference with this grave aphoriſm: "no biſhop, no king."

Soon after this conference James opened the parliament, whoſe meeting had been deferred on account of the plague, which raged with ſuch violence in London, that 30,000 perſons died of it within the ſpace of twelve months. The ſpeech his majeſty delivered to the members on opening the ſeſſion ſufficiently diſplayed his character, and proved him to have more knowledge and greater parts, than prudence, or any juſt ſenſe of decorum or propriety. The ſtile and manner of it were excellent, but it was deſtitute of that majeſtic reſerve which ſhould always be obſerved by a king in his addreſſes to the great council of the nation. The general propoſitions, however, were juſt, and the following paſſages demand the applauſe of every lover of Engliſh liberty: "When I have done all that I can do for you, I do nothing but what I am bound to do, and am accountable to God ſhould I do the contrary; for I acknowledge that the moſt eſſential difference between a lawful king and an uſurping tyrant, conſiſts in this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant thinks that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his deſires and unreaſonable appetites; the righteous and juſt king, on the contrary, acknowledges, that he himſelf is only ordained for promoting the wealth and proſperity of his people; and that his greateſt and principal happineſs muſt conſiſt in their proſperity. If you are rich, I cannot be poor; if you are happy I cannot be unfortunate: and I proteſt that your welfare ſhall be the conſtant object of my ſtudy and attention. That I am a ſervant is moſt true; and that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, conſidering them in number and in different ranks; ſo, if we will take the people as one body and maſs, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, ſo muſt a righteous king acknowledge himſelf to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him: For though a king and people are relative, yet can he be no king if he is deſtitute of ſubjects; but there are many people in the world, that are without a king. I ſhall therefore never be aſhamed to confeſs it my principal honour to be the great ſervant of the commonwealth, and ever think the proſperity thereof to be my greateſt felicity." The remainder of this ſpeech was calculated to effect an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and in the concluſion of it he dropped ſome ſevere expreſſions againſt the puritans, which rendered that ſect and their friends very diffident of his intentions during the ſubſequent part of his reign.

No material buſineſs was done during this ſeſſions; but ſoon after the prorogation of the parliament, a peace with Spain was finally concluded. This treaty contained ſome articles not at all favourable to the ſtates of the United Provinces; but as they were never executed, nor any complaints made on that head by the Spaniards, it is natural to imagine, that, by ſome ſecret agreement between the contracting parties, they were never intended for any thing more than mere form. About the time this treaty was concluded, the town of Oſtend capitulated, after a three years ſiege. The Spaniards found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins to recompenſe them for the vaſt ſums of money, and the incredible number of lives they had loſt in making the conqueſt. James gave himſelf no concern about the loſs of this fortreſs, reſolving to improve his preſent connection with Spain. He accordingly diſpatched the earl of Nottingham, lord high admiral, with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to that court, attended by a numerous and magnificent retinue. The Spaniards were extremely ſurprized on their arrival, when they beheld the blooming countenances, and graceful appearance of the Engliſh, whom their bigotry, inflamed by their prieſts, had repreſented as the moſt infernal demons.

A. D. 1605. We come now to a period that furniſhes us with an event not to be paralleled in hiſtory; namely, the Gun-powder plot, which affords a ſtriking inſtance of the depravity of the human mind, when blinded by religious prejudices. The catholics, perſuaded at firſt that the ſon of Mary Stuart would mitigate the ſeverity of the laws in their favour, were enraged to find themſelves treated with the ſame rigour: they forgot the real duties of religion to indulge the principles of a blind and headſtrong zeal.

Cateſby, a gentleman deſcended from an antient family, of good parts, and maſter of a conſiderable eſtate, had formed a plan for overturning the Engliſh government; and in order to carry the deſign into execution, had made ſeveral journies to the court of Philip, in order to procure an army of Spaniards to land in England: but the late peace having rendered his plan of an invaſion abortive, he formed a moſt extraordinary method of revenge; and declared his intention to Piercy, a deſcendant from the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland. The hardſhips under which the catholics laboured was often the ſubject of their converſation; and Piercy, in a fit of enthuſiaſtic zeal, hinted a deſign of aſſaſſinating the king. Cateſby anſwered, "That the attempt, if ſucceſsful, could not poſſibly remove the evil; that a more general revenge was neceſſary, in order to reſtore the catholic religion in England. The whole royal family, the nobility, and the parliament, are (ſaid he) equally infected with the ſame hereſy, and muſt all be deſtroyed, before a catholic prince can be placed upon the throne, and religion reſtored to its antient purity. Nor is this undertaking either impoſſible or difficult. They will aſſemble on the firſt meeting of the parliament, and afford us an opportunity of a ſure and ample vengeance. A mine may eaſily be run under the parliament-houſe; and a few barrels of powder, properly placed, will bury all our enemies in one common ruin." Piercy was highly pleaſed with the contrivance of Cateſby; and it was agreed between them to communicate the deſign to a few of their friends, and, among the reſt, to Thomas Winter, who was immediately diſpatched to Flanders in ſearch of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal for the catholic religion, and courage to execute any deſperate enterprize, they were well acquainted.

Fawkes was ſoon found, and immediately entered into the conſpiracy with all the ardour of bigotted enthuſiaſm. A houſe was hired in Piercy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to aſſemble; and it was agreed to carry a mine from the cellar under the room in which the parliamet met; and the very moment when the king was delivering his ſpeech to both houſes, to ſet fire to the magazine, and deſtroy the whole aſſembly by one dreadful blaſt: thus making the very ſpot, where the edicts for proſcribing the catholic religion had received their ſanction, the ſcene of this dreadful cataſtrophe.

Theſe conſultations were held in the month of December of the preceding year; and it being expected that the parliament would meet in February, the work was immediately begun, and carried on with aſtoniſhing perſeverance. They never deſiſted from their labour, relieving one another by turns; and that no alarm might be given to the neighbourhood, they entered Piercy's houſe by night, and carried with them proviſions ſufficient to ſupport them till the mine was compleated. They had alſo provided themſelves with fire arms and ammunition, fully determined, in caſe of being diſcovered, to periſh rather than be taken.

When they had penetrated a conſiderable way into the wall which divided the cellar of Piercy's houſ from that under the Houſe of Lords, they were greatly terrified at hearing a noiſe, which they knew not how to account for, as it ſeemed to proceed from the other ſide of the wall. A diſcovery was now greatly feared, and the conſpirators prepared to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but, upon inquiry, it was found, that the place from whence th noiſe proceeded was a large vault under the houſ of lords, filled with coals, which were now ſelling off and that the vault was to be let to the higheſt bidder. This opportunity was not to be neglected; Piercy immediately hired the place, depoſited in it thirty-fi barrels of powder, and covered the whole with faggots. Every thing was now ready for the dreadfu blaſt; but the parliament being prorogued to the fift of November, the conſpirators had more time to finiſ their diabolical undertaking. More faggots wer carried into the vault, and the door boldly throw open, as if it contained nothing dangerous, or th ought to be concealed.

The great ſucceſs the conſpirators had hitherto me with in their infernal undertaking rendered them con fident of ſucceſs; and they began to deliberate on th beſt method of executing the remaining part of thei project. The duke of York, whoſe tender age woul not ſuffer him to be preſent at the opening of th parliament, muſt be ſecured, as well as his ſiſter th princeſs Elizabeth, then at lord Harrington's hou in Warwickſhire. Piercy undertook to ſecure o aſſaſſinate the duke; and Sir Everard Digby, Rook wood, and Grant, who were now let into the ſecr of the conſpiracy, engaged to aſſemble their friend under pretence of a hunting-match, ſeize that pri ceſs, and immediately declare her queen. Som propoſed to apply immediately to foreign courts f aſſiſtance; but this was thought too dangerous; a it was reſolved to make no application of that kin till the plot had taken effect.

The conſpirators waited impatiently for the day th was to involve all their enemies in deſtruction; a they had now the proſpect of its near approac The dreadful ſecret, though commmunicated above twenty perſons, had been religiouſly kept f almoſt a year and a half. No remorſe, no pit no fear of puniſhment, no hope of reward had yet induced any ſingle conſpirator either to aband the enterprize or diſcover the horrid ſecret. R ligio ligious bigotry had extinguiſhed every other motive in their breaſts, and it was an indiſcretion at laſt, proceeding from theſe very enthuſiaſtic perjudices, that ſaved the nation from inevitable deſtruction.

About ten days before the meeting of the parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic peer, ſon to lord Morley, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his ſervant by a perſon unknown:

“ My Lord,

“ Out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care for your preſervation; therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parliament, for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time: and think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt this letter; and I hope God will give you grace to make good uſe of it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you.”

Monteagle was for ſome time at a loſs what judgement to form of this letter, and unreſolved in what manner to proceed. It had been delivered to his ſervant by an unknown hand, and ſeemed to contain ſome myſtery which it was not eaſy to explain. Had his own ſafety alone been concerned, in all probability he would have ſlighted the notice, as he was inclined to think it was nothing more than an attempt of his enemies to prevent his attendance in parliament; but fearing leſt the king's life might be in danger, he carried it directly to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. The miniſter was alſo inclined to treat it with neglect: but as the words ſeemed to convey an ambiguous meaning, he determined to lay it before his majeſty. The king was of a different opinion: he conjectured, from the ſerious and earneſt ſtile of the letter, that ſomething very dangerous and important was intended; and that the effect, which was repreſented to be at once both ſudden and terrible, ſeemed to denote ſome contrivance by gun-powder. He was, however, of opinion, that either nothing ſhould be done, or enough to prevent the danger; and that therefore the ſearch ſhould be deferred till the day before the meeting of the parliament, when the vaults under the parliament-houſe ſhould be carefully inſpected.

Accordingly, on the fourth of November, the lord chamberlain, who was obliged by his office to ſee every thing in readineſs for his majeſty's coming, viſited all the places about the parliament-houſe. He ſlightly inſpected the cellar, in one of the corners of which ſtood Fawkes, who paſſed for Piercy's ſervant. The lord chamberlain was ſtruck with the appearance of the man, in whoſe countenance all the marks of ferocious courage were conſpicuouſly painted. Piercy was known to be a very rigid papiſt, and to reſide very little in town: the large quantity of fuel was, therefore, conſidered as ſomething extraordinary, and it was thought neceſſary to make a more particular inſpection of the cellar; but, at the ſame time it was reſolved, that this ſearch ſhould be made in ſuch a manner as ſhould render it effectual, without giving the leaſt alarm.

Theſe reſolutions being taken, Sir Thomas Knevet, a juſtice of the peace, with proper attendants, was ſent about midnight to examine the cellar, under pretence of ſearching for ſtolen goods. Fawkes had juſt finiſhed all his preparations, and was coming out of the cellar when Knevet arrived. The daring conſpirator was immediately ſeized; and, after removing the billets, the barrels of powder were diſcovered. Fawkes had a dark lantern in his hand; and the matches, with every thing neceſſary for ſetting fire to the powder, were found in his pockets. The guilt of this determined conſpirator was now ſufficiently apparent; and knowing that all denial would be in vain, he avowed the deſign, and that it would have been executed on the morrow; at the ſame time, expreſſing the utmoſt regret that he had loſt the opportunity of ſetting fire to the powder, and of ſoftening his own death with the pleaſure of periſhing with his enemies. He expreſſed the ſame intrepid boldneſs when examined before the council. This obſtinacy continued two or three days; but being cloſely confined in the Tower, and the rack placed before him, his courage at laſt forſook him, and he not only made a full diſcovery of the whole plot, but related the name of every perſon concerned in it.

The principal part of the conſpirators at this time reſided in town; and though they knew that the letter to Monteagle had alarmed the miniſtry, and even that a ſearch was intended to be made by the lord chamberlain, yet they never abandoned their hopes of ſucceſs till they heard that Fawkes was taken. It was then, indeed, too evident that the whole plot was diſcovered; and they fled immediately into Warwickſhire, where Sir Everard Digby, perſuaded that the attempt had ſucceeded, was already in arms to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth, who had prevented their deſign by taking refuge in Coventry. The whole country was now alarmed; and Sir Richard Walſh, high conſtable of Worceſterſhire, aſſiſted by a great number of the inhabitants, ſurrounded the conſpirators in Holbeach, the ſeat of Sir Stephen Littleton. Their number, including all their attendants did not exceed eighty; but notwithſtanding their inferiority, they prepared for a vigorous defence, determined either to periſh or eſcape. But misfortune ſtill purſued them. They had put ſome moiſt powder before a fire to dry, and a ſpark from the coals ſetting it on fire, ſome of them were ſo burned, that they were ſcarce able to handle their weapons. Their caſe was deſperate, and no means of eſcape appearing, unleſs by forcing their way through the aſſailants, they made a deſperate ſally for that purpoſe. Cateſby (who firſt propoſed the manner of the plot) and Piercy, were both killed. Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood and Bates, were taken priſoners and brought to London, where the former made an ample confeſſion of the whole conſpiracy. Several others were confined in the country; and ſome few, making their eſcape, fled to the continent.

In conſequence of this aſtoniſhing diſcovery, the meeting of the parliament was poſtponed to the 9th of November, when the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to reſtrain the fury of the Engliſh againſt the catholics. He obſerved, that it would be highly unjuſt, it would be criminal, to involve the whole body of catholics in the guilt of a few; that it could not be ſuppoſed they were all diſpoſed to engage in committing ſuch horrid barbarities; that all men, who embraced the tenets of the Roman church, ſhould not be conſidered as ſupporters of the pope's power of dethroning kings, or ſanctifying aſſaſſination; for though the wrath of heaven is denounced againſt crimes, yet innocent error may obtain favour. “ For my own part, added he, conſpiracy, however attrocious, ſhall never alter my plan of government: while I puniſh guilt with one hand, I will ſupport and protect innocence with the other.”

A. D. 1606. The parliament granted the king a very conſiderable ſupply; and after having paſſed ſeveral acts of a public nature, directed their attention to the late horrid conſpiracy.On the 27th of January eight of the conſpirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Edward Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the reſt had previouſly confeſſed their guilt. Digby was executed on the 30th of the ſame month, with Robert Winter, Grant and Bates, at the weſt end of St. Paul's Church-yard: and Thomas Winter, Keys, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace-yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, and being found guilty received ſentence of death; but he was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confeſſing his own guilt and the iniquity of the enterprize, he exhorted all Roman catholics to abſtain from the like treaſonable practices. Sir Stephen Littleton, and ſeveral others, were tried in the country, all of whom being found guilty, were hanged.

The earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000l. under pretence of his having been acquainted with the conſpiracy, though the only grounds of ſuſpicion were, his having admitted Piercy, his kinſman, into the number of gentlemen penſioners, without tendering him the oath of ſupremacy. The lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholic noblemen, were alſo tried in the ſtar-chamber, and fined, the former in ten thouſand, and the latter in four thouſand pounds. The lord Monteagle had a grant of 200l. a year in land, and a penſion of 500l. a year for life, as a reward for diſcovering the letter which occaſioned the whole conſpiracy to be rendered abortive. And the anniverſary of this providential eſcape was ordered to be for ever commemorated.

While the parliament were cloſely engaged in the buſineſs of the nation, and the paſſions of the people were warmed by the recent guilt of the conſpirators in the Gunpowder-plot, a report was ſuddenly ſpread, that James and his principal favourites were aſſaſſinated at Oking, about twenty miles weſt of London. The account was very circumſtantial; James was ſaid to have been ſtabbed with a poiſoned knife, and that the murderers were compoſed of Engliſh Jeſuits, Scots in diſguiſe, Frenchmen and Spaniards. The court and city gates were inſtantly ſhut; the guards at both were doubled; the citizens were put under arms; and Sir William Wade, lieutenant of the Tower, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preventing a ſurprize, and ſtanding a ſiege. The parliament was ſitting when the report arrived, and all buſineſs was immediately ſuſpended. Sir Maurice Berkley and two other perſons were diſpatched to know the truth, while terror and confuſion ſeemed to have ſeized every order and rank of men. A ſmall ſpace of time was, however, ſufficient to remove this univerſal conſternation. In about two hours the report became doubtful, and in three a proclamation was publiſhed by the privy-council, informing the people that no unfortunate event had happened. James himſelf reached London about two in the afternoon, and was met at Hyde-park by the whole houſe of commons, with the ſpeaker at their head; intimation of which being ſoon circulated throughout the metropolis, all fears ſubſided, and the people expreſſed the higheſt ſatiſfaction at the ſafety of their ſovereign.

A. D. 1607. In the beginning of this year the tranquillity of the nation was interrupted by an inſurrection which happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, occaſioned by large tracts of land being incloſed, whereby the people were deprived of their right of commonage. A body, conſiſting of three or four thouſand men, roved about the country, demoliſhing incloſures, and laying open the lands that had been taken from them. They were headed by one John Reynolds, a perſon of very low condition, but who had acquired great authority among the multitude. Several proclamations were publiſhed, and the ſheriffs raiſed the poſſe of their reſpective counties againſt them, but carefully avoided a general engagement. At laſt James publiſhed a conciliating proclamation, expreſſing his unwillingneſs to proceed againſt them by martial law, and promiſing them mercy, and redreſs of their grievances. This produced the deſired effect: the people laid down their arms, and peaceably returned to their habitations.

The only material circumſtance that happened in the following year, 1608, was the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, lord high-treaſurer. He was ſucceeded by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a nobleman of great talents, and every way qualified for diſcharging the duties of ſo important an office.

A. D. 1609. In the beginning of this year was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that memorable war, which had, for near half a century, been carried on with the utmoſt fury, between Spain and the ſtates of the United Provinces. Every ſtratagem had been tried, and every force exerted to annihilate a people who had made ſuch uncommon efforts in defence of their independence. At laſt the haughty Spaniard, finding the commerce of his kingdom entirely ruined, and his provinces expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the maritime forces of the ſtates, conſented to acknowledge as a free people, thoſe whom he had ſo long treated as rebellious ſubjects, and ſolemnly to relinquiſh all pretenſions to ſovereignty over them. This event was at once mortifying and diſſatisfactory to James, who always conſidered the Hollanders as rebels. It was his avowed maxim, in all debates concerning his prerogative, that ſubjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their princes on any account whatever. He therefore conſidered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the ſovereign authority of kings.

A. D. 1610. By this time, the immoderate expences of the court had nearly emptied the exchequer, and the king was obliged to ſummon a parliament in order to obtain the neceſſary ſupplies. Œconomy, indeed, was not one of James's virtues: he was laviſh of his treaſures to his rapacious courtiers, and always in want, becauſe he wanted ſufficient fortitude to reſtrain, within proper bounds, his paſſion for conferring favours. The taſk of procuring a ſupply to his majeſty was undertaken by the earl of Saliſbury, who, in order to conciliate the affections of the commons, aſſured them that the king was reſolved to redreſs all their grievances, and then proceeded to explain the cauſes which obliged his majeſty to have recourſe to his parliament for a ſupply. He enumerated the debts of the late queen, which the king had diſcharged; the maintaing an army of nineteen thouſand men in Ireland; the great ſums he had expended in his own journey, and that of his houſhold, from Edinburgh to London; in ſupporting three courts, for himſelf, the queen, and the prince of Wales; in ſending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependents. He repreſented to them, that Elizabeth, though a ſingle woman, had received very large ſupplies during the latter part of her life, which alone was expenſive to her; and that ſhe had, notwithſtanding, alienated a great part of the crown lands, an expedient, which, though it ſupplied the preſent neceſſities, multiplied thoſe of her ſucceſſor.

Theſe, and ſeveral other reaſons, were urged b the treaſurer, to obtain a large ſupply from the pa liament; but they were urged in vain; the common determine determined to avail themſelves of the king's poverty in order to keep him in dependence. They complained loudly of the king's prodigality, and exceſſive profuſion towards his own countrymen: while others affirmed that his real intention was to ſap the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpations, and, at laſt, to bury the liberties of Engliſhmen in the gulph of prerogative. But being unwilling to ſhock the king with an abſolute denial, they voted him one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to above a ſixth part of the ſum required. Thus James received the mortification of having diſcovered all his wants, and of begging aſſiſtance from his ſubjects, in vain; at which he was ſo irritated, that he immediately diſſolved the parliament.

We cannot cloſe the tranſactions of this year without taking notice of a memorable and melancholy event that happened on the continent, and which greatly alarmed the Engliſh. The eyes of all Europe had been for ſome time fixed on Henry IV. of France, who, by his experience and good ſenſe, was become one of the greateſt politicians, and moſt able generals, of the age. That prince ſaw, that while the Houſe of Auſtria was always ready to embrace every opportunity of aggrandizing itſelf, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble plan for humbling that ambitious family. But all his great deſigns were blaſted in a moment by the poniard of the fanatical Ravaillac. That infamous miſcreant had for ſome time followed the king in his incurſions, in queſt of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpoſe. He intended to have ſtabbed him in the morning at the Feuillans, where he went to hear maſs; but was prevented by the interpoſition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner, of the ſame day, the king appeared extremely uneaſy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to ſay, "My God! what is this that will not ſuffer me to be at quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach with the duke d'Epernon, and ſeveral other noblemen. In paſſing through the ſtreet de la Roquelaer, which is very narrow, a ſtop was made by two loaded carts: the king had ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations that were making for the queen's entry; all the pages were gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the ſtreet, while the other ſtept behind to tie his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpoſe. He mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long knife, ſharp on both ſides, ſtruck the king over the ſhoulder of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The aſſaſſin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, ſo that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not perceived by any perſon while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; ſo that had he thrown the knife under the coach, he might have eſcaped unnoticed: but he ſtood upon the wheel fixed like a ſtatue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called aloud, "Save him on your life!" On his examination he boldly confeſſed he perpetrated the murder, becauſe the king would not take up arms againſt the Hugonots, and that making war againſt the pope was nothing leſs than making war againſt God; becauſe the pope was God, and God was the pope." The fanatical villain ſoon after ſuffered for his treachery, being put to death in the moſt horrid manner. The principles on which this regicide had been committed gave James great uneaſineſs; and as the Jeſuits were univerſally believed to have been the authors of it, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove from his perſon men who held ſo deteſtable a doctrine. A proclamation was accordingly iſſued, commanding all Jeſuits and prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion to depart the kingdom immediately, and all recuſants not to come within ten miles of the court. At the ſame time time the juſtices of the peace in every county were ordered to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to all catholics.

A. D. 1611. Though the timidity and haughtineſs of James made him, during the greater part of his reign, inattentive to foreign affairs, there happened about this time an event of ſuch great conſequence as to rouſe him from his lethargy, and ſummon up all his zeal and abilities. The famous preacher Arminius, of Amſterdam, had been choſen profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, and was accuſed by the Calviniſts with teaching abſurd doctrines concerning free-will and predeſtination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained maſters of the field of diſputation, and his chair was now filled by Vorſtius, who had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in defence of the Arminian principles. James oppoſed the doctrine of Arminius, and conſidered Vorſtius as a dangerous rival in ſcholaſtic reputation. The royal diſputant, therefore, attacked the profeſſor with all the rage of arrogance and preſumption. Fearful of the conſequences that might enſue from this ſcholaſtic warfare, the ſtates thought proper to deprive Vorſtius of the chair he had filled with ſo much reputation. The king was appeaſed by this mark of condeſcenſion in the ſtates, though he very charitably hinted to them, "That as to the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left it entirely to their own chriſtian wiſdom; but ſurely never heretic better deſerved the flames." The ſtates, however, had too much ſenſe and humanity to underſtand his majeſty's meaning; and they even procured a chair for the ejected profeſſor in another univerſity.

Although theſe theological diſputes had greatly engaged the attention of James, yet he did not forget a project he had formed in favour of humanity, and which did him more real honour than all his ſcholaſtic divinity. This was the civilizing of the Iriſh, and making them acquainted with the happineſs that attends a well-regulated ſociety. During the ſpace of four hundred and forty years that Ireland had been ſubjected to England, the inhabitants of that iſland retained their antient manners, which had no other tendency than that of keeping the people for ever in a ſtate of barbariſm and diſorder. Involved in ſtupid ignorance, they were a wretched prey to the tyranny of their conquerors. The cuſtom of the Iriſh, like that of other barbarians who formerly over-ran Europe, was to puniſh the greateſt crimes by fines only. Murder itſelf was atoned for in this manner; and every perſon, according to his rank, had a certain rate or value affixed to him: this rate was called his Eric. When Fermanagh was formed into a county, the viceroy of Ireland told Maguire, that he ſhould ſend him a ſheriff or provoſt. "Your ſheriff (ſaid the Iriſhman) ſhall be well received; but tell me before-hand his eric, that if my people kill him, I may be able to levy the money upon the county." James aboliſhed this, and many other barbarous cuſtoms, ſecured and determined their property, defended the people from the oppreſſions of the nobility, puniſhed all crimes with ſeverity, introduced agriculture into that fruitful but uncultivated country, maintained a ſufficient number of troops to keep good order among the people, aboliſhed their prejudices, and enlightened their underſtandings with the rays of learning. In a word, after proceeding regularly, during the courſe of a few years, he came, at length, to govern, by juſtice and the laws, a people who appeared incapable of acknowledging them. He frequently very conſiderable ſupply; and after having paſſed ſeveral acts of a public nature, directed their attention to the late horrid conſpiracy. On the 27th of January eight of the conſpirators were tried and convicted; among whom was Sir Edward Digby, the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the reſt had previouſly confeſſed their guilt. Digby was executed on the 30th of the ſame month, with Robert Winter, Grant and Bates, at the weſt end of St. Paul's Church-yard: and Thomas Winter, Keys, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed the following day in Old Palace-yard.

Garnet was tried on the 28th of March, and being found guilty received ſentence of death; but he was not executed till the 3d of May, when, confeſſing his own guilt and the iniquity of the enterprize, he exhorted all Roman catholics to abſtain from the like treaſonable practices. Sir Stephen Littleton, and ſeveral others, were tried in the country, all of whom being found guilty, were hanged.

The earl of Northumberland was fined 30,000l. under pretence of his having been acquainted with the conſpiracy, though the only grounds of ſuſpicion were, his having admitted Piercy, his kinſman, into the number of gentlemen penſioners, without tendering him the oath of ſupremacy. The lords Mordaunt and Sturton, two catholic noblemen, were alſo tried in the ſtar-chamber, and fined, the former in ten thouſand, and the latter in four thouſand pounds. The lord Monteagle had a grant of 200l. a year in land, and a penſion of 500l. a year for life, as a reward for diſcovering the letter which occaſioned the whole conſpiracy to be rendered abortive. And the anniverſary of this providential eſcape was ordered to be for ever commemorated.

While the parliament were cloſely engaged in the buſineſs of the nation, and the paſſions of the people were warmed by the recent guilt of the conſpirators in the Gunpowder-plot, a report was ſuddenly ſpread, that James and his principal favourites were aſſaſſinated at Oking, about twenty miles weſt of London. The account was very circumſtantial; James was ſaid to have been ſtabbed with a poiſoned knife, and that the murderers were compoſed of Engliſh Jeſuits, Scots in diſguiſe, Frenchmen and Spaniards. The court and city gates were inſtantly ſhut; the guards at both were doubled; the citizens were put under arms; and Sir William Wade, lieutenant of the Tower, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preventing a ſurprize, and ſtanding a ſiege. The parliament was ſitting when the report arrived, and all buſineſs was immediately ſuſpended. Sir Maurice Berkley and two other perſons were diſpatched to know the truth, while terror and confuſion ſeemed to have ſeized every order and rank of men. A ſmall ſpace of time was, however, ſufficient to remove this univerſal conſternation. In about two hours the report became doubtful, and in three a proclamation was publiſhed by the privy-council, informing the people that no unfortunate event had happened. James himſelf reached London about two in the afternoon, and was met at Hyde-park by the whole houſe of commons, with the ſpeaker at their head; intimation of which being ſoon circulated throughout the metropolis, all fears ſubſided, and the people expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the ſafety of their ſovereign.

A. D. 1607. In the beginning of this year the tranquillity of the nation was interrupted by an inſurrection which happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, occaſioned by large tracts of land being incloſed, whereby the people were deprived of their right of commonage. A body, conſiſting of three or four thouſand men, roved about the country, demoliſhing incloſures, and laying open the lands that had been taken from them. They were headed by one John Reynolds, a perſon of very low condition, but who had acquired great authority among the multitude. Several proclamations were publiſhed, and the ſheriffs raiſed the poſſe of their reſpective counties againſt them, but carefully avoided a general engagement. At laſt James publiſhed a conciliating proclamation, expreſſing his unwillingneſs to proceed againſt them by martial law, and promiſing them mercy, and redreſs of their grievances. This produced the deſired effect: the people laid down their arms, and peaceably returned to their habitations.

The only material circumſtance that happened in the following year, 1608, was the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, lord high-treaſurer. He was ſucceeded by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a nobleman of great talents, and every way qualified for diſcharging the duties of ſo important an office.

A. D. 1609. In the beginning of this year was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, that memorable war, which had, for near half a century, been carried on with the utmoſt fury, between Spain and the ſtates of the United Provinces. Every ſtratagem had been tried, and every force exerted to annihilate a people who had made ſuch uncommon efforts in defence of their independence. At laſt the haughty Spaniard, finding the commerce of his kingdom entirely ruined, and his provinces expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the maritime forces of the ſtates, conſented to acknowledge as a free people, thoſe whom he had ſo long treated as rebellious ſubjects, and ſolemnly to relinquiſh all pretenſions to ſovereignty over them. This event was at once mortifying and diſſatisfactory to James, who always conſidered the Hollanders as rebels. It was his avowed maxim, in all debates concerning his prerogative, that ſubjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their princes on any account whatever. He therefore conſidered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the ſovereign authority of kings.

A. D. 1610. By this time, the immoderate expences of the court had nearly emptied the exchequer, and the king was obliged to ſummon a parliament in order to obtain the neceſſary ſupplies. Œconomy, indeed, was not one of James's virtues: he was laviſh of his treaſures to his rapacious courtiers, and always in want, becauſe he wanted ſufficient fortitude to reſtrain, within proper bounds, his paſſion for conferring favours. The taſk of procuring a ſupply to his majeſty was undertaken by the earl of Saliſbury, who, in order to conciliate the affections of the commons, aſſured them that the king was reſolved to redreſs all their grievances, and then proceeded to explain the cauſes which obliged his majeſty to have recourſe to his parliament for a ſupply. He enumerated the debts of the late queen, which the king had diſcharged; the maintaing an army of nineteen thouſand men in Ireland; the great ſums he had expended in his own journey, and that of his houſhold, from Edinburgh to London; in ſupporting three courts, for himſelf, the queen, and the prince of Wales; in ſending envoys to different courts on the continent; and in liberalities to his officers and dependents. He repreſented to them, that Elizabeth, though a ſingle woman, had received very large ſupplies during the latter part of her life, which alone was expenſive to her; and that ſhe had, notwithſtanding, alienated a great part of the crown lands, an expedient, which, though it ſupplied the preſent neceſſities, multiplied thoſe of her ſucceſſor.

Theſe, and ſeveral other reaſons, were urged by the treaſurer, to obtain a large ſupply from the parliament; but they were urged in vain; the commons determined to avail themſelves of the king's poverty in order to keep him in dependence. They complained loudly of the king's prodigality, and exceſſive profuſion towards his own countrymen: while others affirmed that his real intention was to ſap the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpations, and, at laſt, to bury the liberties of Engliſhmen in the gulph of prerogative. But being unwilling to ſhock the king with an abſolute denial, they voted him one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to above a ſixth part of the ſum required. Thus James received the mortification of having diſcovered all his wants, and of begging aſſiſtance from his ſubjects, in vain; at which he was ſo irritated, that he immediately diſſolved the parliament.

We cannot cloſe the tranſactions of this year without taking notice of a memorable and melancholy event that happened on the continent, and which greatly alarmed the Engliſh. The eyes of all Europe had been for ſome time fixed on Henry IV. of France, who, by his experience and good ſenſe, was become one of the greateſt politicians, and moſt able generals, of the age. That prince ſaw, that while the Houſe of Auſtria was always ready to embrace every opportunity of aggrandizing itſelf, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble plan for humbling that ambitious family. But all his great deſigns were blaſted in a moment by the poniard of the fanatical Ravaillac. That infamous miſcreant had for ſome time followed the king in his incurſions, in queſt of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpoſe. He intended to have ſtabbed him in the morning at the Feuillans, where he went to hear maſs; but was prevented by the interpoſition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner, of the ſame day, the king appeared extremely uneaſy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to ſay, "My God! what is this that will not ſuffer me to be at quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach with the duke d'Epernon, and ſeveral other noblemen. In paſſing through the ſtreet de la Roquelaer, which is very narrow, a ſtop was made by two loaded carts: the king had ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations that were making for the queen's entry; all the pages were gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the ſtreet, while the other ſtept behind to tie his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpoſe. He mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long knife, ſharp on both ſides, ſtruck the king over the ſhoulder of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The aſſaſſin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, ſo that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not perceived by any perſon while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; ſo that had he thrown the knife under the coach, he might have eſcaped unnoticed: but he ſtood upon the wheel fixed like a ſtatue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called aloud, "Save him on your life!" On his examination he boldly confeſſed he perpetrated the murder, becauſe the king would not take up arms againſt the Hugonots, and that making war againſt the pope was nothing leſs than making war againſt God; becauſe the pope was God, and God was the pope." The fanatical villain ſoon after ſuffered for his treachery, being put to death in the moſt horrid manner.

The principles on which this regicide had been committed gave James great uneaſineſs; and as the Jeſuits were univerſally believed to have been the authors of it, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove from his perſon men who held ſo deteſtable a doctrine. A proclamation was accordingly iſſued, commanding all Jeſuits and prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion to depart the kingdom immediately, and all recuſants not to come within ten miles of the court. At the ſame time time the juſtices of the peace in every county were ordered to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to all catholics.

A. D. 1611. Though the timidity and haughtineſs of James made him, during the greater part of his reign, inattentive to foreign affairs, there happened about this time an event of ſuch great conſequence as to rouſe him from his lethargy, and ſummon up all his zeal and abilities. The famous preacher Arminius, of Amſterdam, had been choſen profeſſor of divinity at Leyden, and was accuſed by the Calviniſts with teaching abſurd doctrines concerning free-will and predeſtination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained maſters of the field of diſputation, and his chair was now filled by Vorſtius, who had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in defence of the Arminian principles. James oppoſed the doctrine of Arminius, and conſidered Vorſtius as a dangerous rival in ſcholaſtic reputation. The royal diſputant, therefore, attacked the profeſſor with all the rage of arrogance and preſumption. Fearful of the conſequences that might enſue from this ſcholaſtic warfare, the ſtates thought proper to deprive Vorſtius of the chair he had filled with ſo much reputation. The king was appeaſed by this mark of condeſcenſion in the ſtates, though he very charitably hinted to them, "That as to the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left it entirely to their own chriſtian wiſdom; but ſurely never heretic better deſerved the flames." The ſtates, however, had too much ſenſe and humanity to underſtand his majeſty's meaning; and they even procured a chair for the ejected profeſſor in another univerſity.

Although theſe theological diſputes had greatly engaged the attention of James, yet he did not forget a project he had formed in favour of humanity, and which did him more real honour than all his ſcholaſtic divinity. This was the civilizing of the Iriſh, and making them acquainted with the happineſs that attends a well-regulated ſociety. During the ſpace of four hundred and forty years that Ireland had been ſubjected to England, the inhabitants of that iſland retained their antient manners, which had no other tendency than that of keeping the people for ever in a ſtate of barbariſm and diſorder. Involved in ſtupid ignorance, they were a wretched prey to the tyranny of their conquerors. The cuſtom of the Iriſh, like that of other barbarians who formerly over-ran Europe, was to puniſh the greateſt crimes by fines only. Murder itſelf was atoned for in this manner; and every perſon, according to his rank, had a certain rate or value affixed to him: this rate was called his Eric. When Fermanagh was formed into a county, the viceroy of Ireland told Maguire, that he ſhould ſend him a ſheriff or provoſt. "Your ſheriff (ſaid the Iriſhman) ſhall be well received; but tell me before-hand his eric, that if my people kill him, I may be able to levy the money upon the county." James aboliſhed this, and many other barbarous cuſtoms, ſecured and determined their property, defended the people from the oppreſſions of the nobility, puniſhed all crimes with ſeverity, introduced agriculture into that fruitful but uncultivated country, maintained a ſufficient number of troops to keep good order among the people, aboliſhed their prejudices, and enlightened their underſtandings with the rays of learning. In a word, after proceeding regularly, during the courſe of a few years, he came, at length, to govern, by juſtice and the laws, a people who appeared incapable of acknowledging them. He frequently boaſted of the management of Ireland as his maſter-piece; and it will appear, upon the neceſſary inquiry, that his vanity in this particular was not altogether without foundation.

A. D. 1612. The nation this year ſuſtained a very ſenſible loſs in the death of Henry, prince of Wales, who paid the debt of nature on the 6th of November, in the 17th year of his age. He was a youth of very promiſing talents, and of an amiable character. He ſpent his time in ſtudies becoming a prince, and exerciſed himſelf in the moſt manly diverſions. He poſſeſſed the advantage of a fine perſon, and there was a martial turn in his diſpoſition which could not fail of being very agreeable to a warlike people. His death diffuſed an univerſal grief throughout the nation, and his tomb was watered with the tears of the people.

Nor was this the only loſs that James ſuſtained in the courſe of this year: his principal counſellor, the earl of Saliſbury, died on the 14th of May. His death was a great misfortune to James, who was thereby deprived of a very able miniſter, and one perfectly acquainted with the conſtitution and genius of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1613. A treaty of marriage having been concluded between the princeſs Elizabeth, and the Elector Palatine, the ceremony was performed on the 14th of February, and the nuptials were celebrated with the greateſt rejoicings. No expence was ſpared to render the entertainments on this occaſion as magnificent as poſſible. The nation was greatly pleaſed with this match, as it promiſed the greateſt advantages to the proteſtant intereſt in Europe. But theſe hopes were, in the end, rendered abortive, and the marriage proved a ſource of diſcontent between James and his parliament.

We come now to the introduction of thoſe circumſtances which proved fatal to that great and diſtinguiſhed perſonage, Sir Thomas Overbury, who fell a victim to the malevolent diſpoſition of an impious woman. During the whole time that James reigned in Scotland, he was ſeldom without a favourite; and both the Engliſh and the Scots had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, laboured inceſſantly to ſupply this defect; but all their attempts were rendered abortive. At length, the lord Hay introduced Robert Carre, a Scottiſh gentleman deſcended from an antient family, and who had formerly been a page of honour to the king in Scotland. Hay, without mentioning him at court, aſſigned him the office, at a match at tilting, of preſenting to the king his buckler and device; and hoped he would attract the attention of that monarch. An accident, however, happened which ſeemed at firſt to deſtroy all the hopes of his patron. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, his unruly horſe flung him, and broke his leg in the king's preſence. James approached him with pity and concern, ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and carefully attended. Carre was about twenty years of age, of an eaſy air and graceful demeanor, extremely ambitious, and profoundly ignorant. After the tilting match was over, James paid him a viſit in his chamber, and returned frequently to ſee him during his confinement. The innocence and ſimplicity of the youth finiſhed the conqueſt began by his external graces and accompliſhments. Other princes have been fond of chuſing their favourites from among the lower ranks of their ſubjects, and have repoſed in them the utmoſt confidence, becauſe they received from their bounty every honour and acquiſition. James was deſirous that his favourite might derive from him all his ſenſe, experience, and knowledge. Highly conceited of his own wiſdom, he pleaſed himſelf that this raw youth, by his leſſons and inſtructions, would ſoon be equal to his wiſeſt miniſter; and be initiated into all the profound ſecrets of government, on which he ſet ſo high a value. He ſoon diſcovered an unlimited fondneſs for his minion, beyond even that he bore towards his own children. Not content with knighting this favourite, he created him viſcount Rocheſter, honored him with the garter, and brought him into the privy council.

Rocheſter had the good fortune to meet with a judicious and ſincere confident in Sir Thomas Overbury, who, building all his hopes of preferment on the young favourite, endeavoured to diſtil into him the principles of prudence and diſcretion. By zealouſly endeavouring to ſerve every body, Carre was taught to abate the envy which might otherwiſe attend his ſudden elevation: by ſhewing a preference to the Engliſh, he learned to eſcape the prejudices that had for ſome time prevailed againſt his country: and while he was contented to be ruled by Overbury's friendly counſel, he enjoyed, what is exceedingly rare, the higheſt favour of the prince without being hated by the people.

This pleaſing proſpect, however, was but of ſhort permanence to Overbury; for Rocheſter ſoon after contracting an amour with the counteſs of Eſſex, he ſacrificed at once his friend and his fortune to that unlawful paſſion. This lady had been married when only thirteen years of age to the earl of Eſſex, then only fourteen; but it was thought neceſſary for the young earl to travel for ſome years before the marriage was conſummated. At his return he was charmed with the beauty of his young counteſs; but aſtoniſhed to find that ſhe would on no account conſent to any farther familiarities. After reiterated refuſals, the earl gave over all thoughts of the happineſs he had ſo long flattered himſelf with enjoying, and left the counteſs to purſue her own inclinations.

Rocheſter had paid his addreſſes to the counteſs before the arrival of Eſſex; and this attachment was the true cauſe for her behaving in ſo ſtrange a manner to the earl. She imagined, that while ſhe refuſed the embraces of Eſſex, ſhe could never be conſidered as his wife, and that a divorce might be eaſily obtained, which would entirely remove the difficulty attending her marriage with her beloved Rocheſter. A divorce was accordingly obtained: but Rocheſter could not think of concluding an engagement of ſo much conſequence to his future happineſs, without conſulting his friend Overbury.

He accordingly informed him of his intended marriage with the counteſs of Eſſex, and begged his advice. Aſtoniſhed at this declaration, Overbury did all in his power to diſſuade him from ſo dangerous a connection. He repreſented to him how ſhameful it would appear to take to his own bed a profligate woman, who was already married to a young nobleman of the firſt rank; and to ſuch lengths did the warmth of his honeſt exhortations carry him, that he threatned Rocheſter with the loſs of his correſpondence and friendſhip, if he could ſo far forget his honor and intereſt, as to proſecute his intended marriage with a woman of ſuch abandoned principles.

Rocheſter had the weakneſs to impart this converſation to the counteſs, who inſtantly vowed the ſevereſt revenge againſt the bold arraigner of her honor and conduct. The favourite himſelf was alſo ſo infatuated by her charms, that he joined with her in reſolving the ruin of Overbury. To effect this he immediately repair to court; and after extolling, in the higheſt manner, the great abilities of Overbury, inſinuated, that he was lately grown ſo inſupportably inſolent, that he could wiſh he was removed, by ſome honourable employment, to a greater diſtance from the ſeat of power. Far from ſuſpecting the cauſe of the favourite's application, James appointed Overbury

bury his ambaſſador to a foreign court. On receiving notice of the honor conferred upon him, he conſulted with Rocheſter how he ought to proceed, as he conſidered his appointment as nothing more than an honorable baniſhment. The inſidious favourite, under pretence of not being able to ſupport his abſence, perſuaded him to reject the offer. Overbury followed his advice; but the favourite repairing immediately to court, repreſented the refuſal of Overbury as the higheſt inſolence: and James, who could not bear the ſlighteſt contempt of his authority, iſſued a warrant for committing him to the Tower.

Overbury being thus removed, Rocheſter not only obtained the king's conſent to marry the counteſs, but his majeſty alſo, previous to the performance of the ceremony, created him earl of Somerſet; which was done as a compliment to the counteſs, that her ſecond huſband might not be inferior in dignity to her firſt. The nuptials were ſolemnized in the moſt magnificent manner; and nothing was now wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be ſatisfied. She uſed every art to effect her bloody purpoſe; and at laſt prevailed, both on her huſband, and the earl of Northampton her uncle, to engage in the atrocious deſign of taking him off by poiſon. Several attempts were accordingly made for that purpoſe, but the ſtrength of Overbury's conſtitution as often rendered them abortive. At laſt nature gave way to repeated attacks, and he died in the Tower on the ſixteenth of September, by a poiſoned clyſter. He was buried with the utmoſt diſpatch and ſecrecy; and though this precipitate interment cauſed a ſtrong ſuſpicion in the public, the horrid action was not diſcovered till ſome years after.---It is proper to obſerve, that James was intirely ignorant of the whole affair; and that he was ſtruck with horror when he found that unknowingly, he been made the promoter of ſuch a deteſtable ſcene of barbarity.

A. D. 1614. The earl of Somerſet, deprived of the advantage of Overbury's counſel, found himſelf greatly embarraſſed in the management of public affairs. His ſmall experience rendered every thing difficult; he became odious to the court; and though the king's partiality continued, his inſolence and weakneſs gave his enemies ſo many advantages, that it was evident he muſt ſoon be removed. The queen herſelf was inſulted by the favourite minion, and joined the party formed againſt him. After many conſultations on the beſt method of effecting the ruin of Somerſet, it was agreed to give the king a new favourite. The ſcheme ſucceeded; and George Villiers, a young man remarkable for his beauty and effeminacy, was the perſon choſen for this purpoſe.

James firſt beheld this gaudy object at a comedy acted at Cambridge, where he was conſpicuouſly placed, and immediately engaged the attention of the ing. Villiers was conducted to court, and ſoon eakened the influence of the favourite. He was mmediately knighted, and made a gentleman of the ed-chamber, with a penſion of a thouſand pounds per nnum.

Somerſet ſaw his fall was approaching, and exerted ll his influence to avert it. But his efforts were in ain: the diſcovery of Overbury's murder reduced im to the level from which he had been raiſed by the and of folly. The apothecary's boy, who had been mployed in adminiſtering the poiſoned clyſter, reealed the whole ſecret to Winwood, ſecretary of ate. The evidence of the boy was confirmed by e information of the counteſs of Shrewſbury, then priſoner in the Tower. That lady had found means inſinuate herſelf into the confidence of Sir Jarvaiſe lwis, lieutenant of the Tower; and being of an intriguing diſpoſition, ſhe drew the ſecret from him. James was ſoon informed of the atrocious deed; and the lieutenant being queſtioned, could not help betraying, by his countenance, the guilt that rankled at his heart. He confeſſed all he knew, and it was now determined to proſecute all the actors in this deteſtable tragedy. Accordingly Weſton, who had given Overbury the poiſon in tarts and jellies, and at laſt in a clyſter; Mrs. Turner, chief confident of the counteſs of Somerſet; Franklin the apothecary, who had prepared the poiſon; and Sir Jarvaiſe Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, were ordered to be apprehended. All theſe, together with Somerſet and his counteſs, were convicted of the atrocious fact, on the fulleſt evidence. Somerſet and his counteſs only were pardoned; the reſt ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crimes. After ſome years impriſonment, James ſet them at liberty, and conferred on them a ſmall penſion, on which they lived retired in the country, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity.

A. D. 1615. After the fall of Somerſet, the fortune of Villiers advanced with amazing rapidity. He was created duke of Buckingham, lord high-admiral of England, conſtable of Windſor, and, in a few years, loaded with thoſe honors and favours that might have rewarded the merit of many illuſtrious men. His family alſo was advanced to opulence. But this ſtrange and unworthy profuſion increaſed the king's neceſſities, and obliged him to raiſe money by very obnoxious means. He reſtored to the Dutch the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammakins, for three hundred thouſand pounds. Theſe places had been put into the hands of Elizabeth by the ſtates of the United Provinces, as ſecurities for the ſum of eight hundred and eighteen thouſand four hundred and eight pounds, which that princeſs had advanced during the war with Spain. The neceſſities of James obliged him to accept the ſmall ſum above-mentioned, and the places were accordingly delivered up on the fourteenth of June.

This money was ſoon expended, but in what manner no one could gueſs: none of the king's debts were paid; the navy was not repaired, nor had any money been ſent to the army in Ireland, though their want formed the chief pretence for treating with the ſtates. At length it was diſcovered, that the lord treaſurer Suffolk had converted the greater part of the money received from Holland to his own uſe. As he was father-in-law to Somerſet, and conſequently no friend to Villiers the favourite, this opportunity to ruin him was readily embraced. The lord-treaſurer was accuſed, in the ſtar-chamber, of ſeveral miſdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly with having ſecreted large ſums received from the Dutch. Sir Edward Coke, who carried on the proſecution againſt him for the crown, aggravated his miſdemeanors, his extortions, his miſmanagement of the king's treaſure, his boldneſs in applying it to his own uſe, and the corruptions and artifices of his deputy Bingley, to abuſe the confidence of ſuch as had any buſineſs with his maſter. He produced ſeveral precedents of treaſurers who had been puniſhed for much ſlighter crimes than thoſe of the earl of Suffolk, and diſplayed the dangerous conſequences that muſt reſult from the corrupt adminiſtration of the public money.

Had Suffolk thrown himſelf upon the mercy of the king he would have been acquitted; but he endeavoured to invalidate the evidence brought againſt him, and juſtify his conduct againſt the malignant accuſations of his enemies. He failed in the attempt; and his judges pronounced him guilty. He was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and condemned to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure. Nor did his deputy Bingley eſcape: he was ſeverely reprimanded, and fined two thouſand pounds.

A. D. 1617. This year was rendered remarkable for the laſt expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, which produced great murmurs againſt the Engliſh government, and ended in the death of that valiant ſeaman. During his impriſonment of thirteen years in the Tower, he had applied himſelf cloſely to ſtudy, and acquired ſo great a reputation for learning, that all his faults were forgotten; and he was as much lamented as he had been before hated by the people. By the application of various friends James ſet him at liberty, but at the ſame time abſolutely refuſed to grant him a pardon.

Sir Walter's eſtate being all forfeited he was greatly embarraſſed, and determined to ſeek his fortune in a ſtrange country. He had formerly traverſed the ſeas of America, and knew all the coaſts, eſpecially that of Guiana, where he imagined there was a rich mine, of which he found means to inform the king, and at the ſame time told his majeſty that he hoped to obtain immenſe quantities of gold from it, if he would grant him a private commiſſion. The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniards, it could not be ſeized without breaking the peace with Spain. But the king, tempted by the golden hopes inſpired by Raleigh, not only granted him a commiſſion, but ſupplied him with ſhips and money for undertaking ſo capital an enterprize.

When his fleet, which conſiſted of twelve ſhips, was ready, he ſailed from Plymouth, and ſteered directly for Guiana in America. On his arrival he found the Spaniards had formed a ſettlement on the river Oronoko, built a ſmall town called St. Thomas, and were working ſome gold mines of ſome value in the neighbourhood.

Raleigh entered the mouth of the river with his whole fleet, but did not think it prudent to purſue his deſign againſt the rapid current of the river with his largeſt ſhips. He therefore detached five of his ſmalleſt veſſels under the command of his ſon and captain Keymis, who was ſaid to have diſcovered the mine in queſtion, during his former voyage with Sir Walter to that country, with orders to ſail up the Oronoko, as far as poſſible, in order to find the mountain in the bowels of which the mine was ſituated. But not being able to purſue their courſe, they landed near St. Thomas, where they fired upon the Spaniards. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "that this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and advancing upon the Spaniards, received a ſhot of which he immediately expired. Keymis and his companions were not diſmayed, they carried on the attack with the utmoſt vigour, and ſoon made themſelves maſters of the place. They found not, however, the riches they expected: the Spaniards were poor, and the produce of the mines inconſiderable. Keymis was now requeſted to lead them to the mine he had before diſcovered, but abſolutely refuſed; and the Engliſh, after burning the town, returned to the reſt of the fleet at the mouth of the river. Raleigh, finding himſelf diſappointed in the promiſes of Keymis, threatened him with the king's diſpleaſure, which that officer prevented by retiring to his cabbin, and putting an end to his own life.

Raleigh's companions now ſuſpected that they had been deceived by their leader; that he had never any aſſurance of there being any ſuch mine he pretended to be in ſearch of; that he had always intended to plunder St. Thomas; and, after encouraging his ſoldiers with the ſpoil of that place, to have proceeded to invade the other Spaniſh ſettlements; hoping by ſuch daring enterprizes to repair the ruins of his ſhattered fortune, and flattering himſelf with being able to purchaſe with his wealth the pardon he had before ſolicited in vain. They therefore abſolutely refuſed to make any farther attempts on the Spaniſh ſettlements, and obliged him to return to Plymouth, where he was arreſted by his majeſty's order, and ſent a priſoner to the Tower of London.

During the abſence of Raleigh, the Spaniſh ambaſſador had made loud complaints at the court of London, of the depredations committed by the Engliſh under that intrepid commander; and the king, in order to appeaſe him, declared that Raleigh had no orders to act in an hoſtile manner againſt his countrymen. As Raleigh returned without the gold he had promiſed his majeſty, his affairs were now rendered deſperate; but as he could not be tried for his actions during the late expedition, for which he had a commiſſion in form, it was determined he ſhould loſe his head by virtue of the ſentence pronounced upon him fourteen years before. Accordingly the king, to ſilence the clamours of the court of Spain, ſigned the warrant for his execution.

Raleigh now plainly perceived his fate to be inevitable, and therefore collected all his courage to act the laſt ſcene of his life with bravery and reſolution. When he aſcended the ſcaffold, he took up the ax by which he was to be beheaded, and feeling the edge of it, ſaid, "It is a ſharp remedy, but a ſure one for all "ills." His ſpeech to the people was calm, manly, and eloquent; and he endeavoured to revenge himſelf, and load his enemies with the public hatred. As ſoon as he had finiſhed his harangue, he laid his head upon the block, with the utmoſt indifference, and received the fatal blow.

His death was regretted by the whole body of the nobility; and the Engliſh patriots beheld the fate of Raleigh with ſilent indignation. The public clamour againſt the puſillanimous adminiſtration of James was, by this event, greatly increaſed. It was thought an inſtance of cruelty and injuſtice to execute a ſentence, which had been ſo long ſuſpended, and tacitly pardoned, by conferring on him a new truſt and commiſſion; eſpecially as he was then the only man in England who enjoyed a high reputation for valour and military experience.

Never did the notions of liberty more ſtrongly prevail in Europe than at this period; even Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, were as jealous of their rights as the Engliſh themſelves. The ſpirit of independence had taken root in Germany ever ſince the reign of Charles V. The example of the inhabitants of the United Provinces was always preſent with theſe people, who pretended to the ſame privileges, and thought themſelves in a better condition to demand them, than even the Hollanders themſelves. The emperor Matthias having procured his couſin Ferdinand of Auſtria to be elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and obliged the other archdukes to yield him up Auſtria the inhabitants of theſe three ſtates joined in complaining, that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to their privileges; religion alſo made a part of the grievance of the Bohemians, who, inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic zeal, ſoon became furious.

In the midſt of theſe confuſions Matthias paid the debt of nature, and Ferdinand of Auſtria was placed on the imperial throne. This new dignity, however, made no impreſſion upon the proteſtants of Bohemia, whoſe power was now conſiderable. They inſiſted on having liberty to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; upon which the council of ſtate iſſued a declaration againſt the proteſtants, peremptorily refuſing to grant their requeſt. Exaſperated at this denial, they repaired to the palace, and threw three of the emperor's officers out of the window. This outrage expoſed them to the fury of Ferdinand. They knew they had nothing to expect

fro

from his clemency, and therefore determined either to ſucceed in an attempt to recover their liberties, or periſh in the glorious cauſe. They conſidered themſelves as entitled to depoſe a king they had not elected, and actually made a tender of their crown to the Elector Palatine, ſon-in-law to the king of England. Frederick accepted the offer, and was readily elected king of Bohemia. James complained of this proceeding in the electors as diſloyal, imprudent and diſhonorable. He could by no means approve of the maxims of elective governments, and was perſuaded that Ferdinand, by a kind of preſcriptive right, had acquired a lawful title to Bohemia. He accuſed his ſon-in-law of forcing him either to deſert his cauſe, or break off his negotiation with Spain. He alſo complained of his duplicity, in having deſired his advice with regard to his accepting the crown of Bohemia, and actually received it before the meſſenger could arrive at London. The popularity of Frederick's cauſe was, notwithſtanding theſe reproaches, ſo great in England, that James found himſelf under a kind of neceſſity of doing ſomething in his favour. He could not, however, be prevailed upon to give his his ſon-in-law the title of king of Bohemia; and iſſued orders, forbidding the clergy to pray for him in the churches under that appellation.

A. D. 1619. In the beginning of this year James ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in the death of his queen, who paid the debt of nature on the firſt of March, in the 46th year of her age. The character of this princeſs has been variouſly drawn by different writers. Some repreſent her as a vicious lewd woman: but this, on the ſtricteſt enquiry, appears to be nothing more than the effects of calumny: others more juſtly affirming, that ſhe was poſſeſſed of many virtues, and no ſmall ſhare of underſtanding.

About the ſame time the earl of Northumberland, who had been confined in the Tower ever ſince the gunpowder plot, obtained his liberty through the interceſſion of lord Hay, who, luckily for him, had married one of his daughters.

The affairs in Germany began now to wear a very ſerious aſpect. The new emperor Ferdinand II. who poſſeſſed greater abilities than generally fall to the ſhare of the Auſtrian princes, prepared himſelf, with great diligence, for the recovery of his authority. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, who adhered to the catholic religion, he attached to his intereſt a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates; all the catholic princes of the empire declared in his favour; even the Elector of Saxony, the moſt powerful among the proteſtants, and the king of Poland, eſpouſed his cauſe. The Spaniſh monarch, who conſidered his own intereſt as inſeparably connected with the younger branch of his family, ſent him powerful ſuccours from Italy, and from the Low Countries, and alſo furniſhed large ſums of money for the ſupport of Ferdinand and the catholic religion.

The Bohemians, alarmed at theſe powerful preparations, took every precaution in their power for defending themſelves againſt the ſtorm which threatened to deſtroy both their liberties and religion. They applied to all the neighbouring princes and ſtates for aſſiſtance, and repreſented their cauſe as the cauſe of the goſpel, which they aſſerted muſt either ſtand or fall as they or the emperor proved victorious.

A. D. 1620. Ferdinand having collected a powerful army, under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count de Bucquoy, marched againſt Frederick in Bohemia. At the ſame time Spinola aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand veterans in the Low Countries; and when Edmonds, James's reſident at Bruſſels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of thoſe large preparations, he was told, that Spinola had received his orders immediately from Madrid, and that the king of Spain alone knew the purpoſe for which the forces were intended. In the mean time, the Elector Palatine was put under the ban of the empire, and the execution of it committed to the elector of Saxony, who immediately entered and ſubdued Luſatia.

The war now raged with great fury in the bowels of Germany; and James, unable any longer to reſiſt the ſolicitations of his ſubjects, who offered to advance very large ſums to ſupport the right of the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, gave leave for Sir Horace Vere to command a ſmall body of forces for the preſervation of the Palatinate. This little army conſiſted of two thouſand two hundred men, compoſed chiefly of volunteers, and headed by the intrepid earls of Oxford and Eſſex: the company of the latter conſiſted of three hundred gentlemen, fifty of whom he paid out of his own pocket; and a kind of promiſe was extorted from James, that he would ſuffer two more regiments to be ſent after them. Theſe brave volunteers were landed in Holland, paſſed the Rhine below Weſel, and were eſcorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Naſſau. On the firſt of October they joined the Palatine army, commanded by the Margrave of Anſpach. They arrived, however, only time enough to be the melancholy witneſſes of the deſtruction of that cauſe they came to ſupport. The duke of Bavaria having joined the imperial general in Bohemia, advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which the Elector Palatine was poſted. For ſome days the two armies faced each other; but on the eighteenth of November a battle was fought, which decided the fate of the Bohemian crown. The Elector Palatine was totally defeated, and fled, with his wife and family, to Holland. The inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialiſts; and the unfortunate Frederick ſaw himſelf abandoned by all his friends and allies, except count Mansfeldt, who ſtill preſerved his fidelity.

The complaints of the people againſt the timid and puſillanimous conduct of James were now both loud and alarming. It was ſaid publicly, that he had not only deprived the elector of that aſſiſtance which the Engliſh were both willing and able to afford him, but had alſo deterred other princes from eſpouſing his quarrel.

It cannot be ſuppoſed that James was unwilling to preſerve the Palatinate; but he was ſo much infatuated by the perſuaſions of Gondomar the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he believed the moſt effectual expedient for that purpoſe would be the marriage of his ſon with the Infanta of Spain; and that the treaty (which was at this time negotiating for that purpoſe) would infallibly miſcarry if he took any vigorous meaſures in favour of the elector. Beſides, his averſion to war was inſuperable: he never dreamed that his peaceable diſpoſition tended only to expoſe him to contempt: he conſidered not that the Spaniſh match itſelf would be attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his art of negotiation could never be able to remove, much leſs that this alliance could ſafely be depended upon as the means of procuring the great advantages he expected from it.

A. D. 1621. James, however, affected to purſue vigorous meaſures, hoping, by thoſe means, to receive ample ſubſidies from the parliament, which met on the 21ſt of January. He opened the ſeſſion with a long ſpeech addreſſed to both houſes, in which he expatiated on his own merit and neceſſities; and demanded ſupplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his ſon, ſhould his endeavours to procure a reaſonable pacification be rendered abortive.

The commons, extremely incenſed againſt the ambitious proceedings of the houſe of Auſtria, immediately granted the king two ſubſidies, with which James was ſatisfied for the preſent. This affair being diſcuſſed, the commons received petitions againſt the increaſe of popiſh recuſants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licenſing taverns and public houſes; and granted to Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Francis Michel an excluſive patent for the ſale of gold and ſilver lace. By virtue of this privilege, they had been guilty of ſuch ſcandalous frauds and extortion, that upon complaint being made to the upper houſe, they were ordered to be committed to priſon. Mompeſſon, however, found means to eſcape; but he was degraded from the honor of knighthood, and his eſtate confiſcated. His companion in iniquity was ſentenced to do public penance in the ſtreet, ſitting on horſeback with his face towards the tail, to pay a fine of a thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned for life.

The ſevere proceedings of the parliament againſt theſe delinquents greatly alarmed James. and he began to fear for his favourite Buckingham, who had been the principal author of theſe monopolies. He therefore went to the houſe of peers, and ſoothed the parliament with the moſt affectionate expreſſions, aſſuring them, that if he had known of theſe grievances, he would have puniſhed the authors himſelf with the utmoſt ſeverity. But at the ſame time cautioned them againſt liſtening to thoſe who ſhould accuſe the innocent as well as the guilty. The houſe underſtood his meaning, and ſtopped the inquiry with regard to the ſource of theſe enormities.

A few days after the commons impeached lord chancellor Bacon, lately created baron of Verulam, and viſcount of St. Alban's. In conſequence of this James again repaired to the houſe, and, in a ſpeech, repreſented the neceſſity of puniſhing corrupt judges; and ſolicited farther ſubſidies, as the ſupplies granted by the commons were already expended in ſubſiſting the Elector Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He obſerved, that large ſums would be neceſſary for defraying the expence of ſending extraordinary ambaſſadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as in maintaining an army to act with vigour, if the negotiations proved abortive, and concluded with proteſting, that he would not diſſolve the parliament till all the affairs then under conſideration ſhould be fully determined.

The articles ſent up to the peers by the commons, againſt the lord-chancellor, were now read and examined. Conſcious of his guilt, Bacon imprecated the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confeſſion, to avoid the ſhame of a public enquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and inſiſted on a full confeſſion of all his corrupt practices. He accordingly acknowledged twenty-eight articles, and was ſo very particular in his confeſſion, that he mentioned a dozen gold buttons which his ſervants had taken as a gift from a ſuiter in chancery. Upon making this confeſſion he was condemned to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower during the king's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of holding any office, place or employment, and to be excluded from ever ſitting in parliament.

Bacon was a nobleman univerſally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and no leſs beloved for his courteous and affable behaviour. But his want of œconomy, and his indulgence to his ſervants, had involved him in debt; and in order to ſupply his neceſſities he had been tempted to take bribes from ſuiters in chancery. It is, however, affirmed, that notwithſtanding this enormous abuſe, he always maintained, in the ſeat of juſtice, the inflexible integrity of a judge, and that his decrees were ſo juſt and equitable, that they were never queſtioned nor reverſed. He ſurvived five years the dreadful ſentence pronounced againſt him in the houſe of lords; and being ſoon after releaſed from the Tower, his genius, which was yet unbroken, ſhone out with amazing luſtre in literary productions, which, notwithſtanding all his failings, have juſtly placed him among the ornaments of the Engliſh nation. Conſcious of the great merit of Bacon, the king remitted the fine, ſettled on him a penſion of 18,00l. a year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of age and misfortunes. Experience had taught Bacon the vanity of human greatneſs, and he now acknowledged that the pleaſures reſulting from ſtudy and retirement, were far ſuperior to thoſe acquired by the higheſt poſts in government.

In the mean time the commons indefatigably purſued their laudable deſign of removing all grievances complained of by the people; and diſcuſſed every complaint laid before them with the utmoſt freedom, though many of them ſenſibly affected the king or his miniſters. Some parts of the king's prerogative were attacked; and his authority, in many reſpects, warmly diſputed.

James, alarmed at theſe proceedings, ſent a very ſharp meſſage to the ſpeaker; in which he obſerved, that though he was ready to correct the abuſes of his power, he would never ſubmit to have that power itſelf queſtioned and denied. But this producing no effect upon the conduct of the commons, he prorogued the parliament.

This parliament is remarkable for being the Æra when the parties of court and country (afterwards known by the name of Tories and Whigs) were firſt regularly formed. All thoſe who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, adhered to the former: while the puritans and the patriots adhered firmly to the latter. The ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, bold, daring, and uncontrouled, ſtrongly diſpoſed the minds of the puritans to adopt republican tenets; and inclined them to arrogate in their affairs and conduct the ſame liberty which they aſſumed in the diſcuſſion of religious tenets. And as the court, in order to diſcourage all parliamentary oppoſition, affixed the name of puritans to its antagoniſts, that rigid ſect readily adopted this diſtinction, which was ſo favourable to their cauſe by connecting it with that of the patriots and country party.

Though James, during the receſs of parliament had revoked ſeveral of his oppreſſive patents, and removed other grievances; yet when the commons reaſſembled on the 20th of November, they were fa from entertaining any favourable idea of their ſovereign. A few days after their meeting they drew u a ſpirited remonſtrance to his majeſty, in which the repreſented, "That the power of the houſe o Auſtria threatened the liberties of Europe; that th progreſs of the catholic religion in England occaſioned the moſt alarming apprehenſions, leſt it ſhoul once more gain the aſcendant in the kingdom; tha the king's lenity towards the profeſſors of that religion had increaſed their arrogance and preſumption that the uncontrouled conqueſts made by the Auſtria family had raiſed the expectations of the Engliſh papiſts; while the expectation of the Spaniſh match inſpired them with the moſt ſanguine hopes of procuring, if not a final eſtabliſhment, at leaſt an entire toleration of their religion." They then proceede humbly to offer to his majeſty the following remedi againſt theſe growing evils: "That he ſhould immediately undertake the defence of the Palatinate b force of arms; that he ſhould declare war again

Spain, whoſe arms and riches formed the chief bulwark of the catholic religion in Europe; that he ſhould engage in no negotiations for the marriage of his ſon, but with a proteſtant princeſs; that the children of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations to which the catholics were ſubject by the law, ſhould be exacted with the utmoſt rigour."

James was at Newmarket when he received intelligence of this unprecedented remonſtrance, at which he was ſo exaſperated that he immediately wrote a very ſevere letter to the ſpeaker, wherein he ſharply rebuked the houſe for debating openly on matters far above their reach and capacity, and ſtrictly forbad them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government or deep matters of ſtate; and eſpecially not to touch on his ſon's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any of his friends and confederates.

The commons were far from being intimidated at the king's letter. They knew their own ſtrength too well to be frightened at James's menaces. Inſtead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever on the national grievances, and the dangerous ſtate of the reformed religion both at home and abroad. They formed a new remonſtrance, drawn up indeed in very reſpectful terms, but not leſs bold and ſpirited than the former. After reminding him of the chearfulneſs with which they undertook to aſſiſt him in the defence of the Palatinate, they obſerved, "That their zeal for the proteſtant religion, and the intereſt of his majeſty's family, had induced them to repreſent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for thoſe evils: that by his letter to the ſpeaker, he ſeemed determined to deprive them of the parliamentary liberty to ſpeak freely in the houſe, and alſo of the juriſdiction which the houſe exerciſed over its own members; they therefore begged he would not violate a privelege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their anceſtors; a right which he himſelf had confirmed in his ſpeeches to the parliament, and without which it would be impoſſible to diſcuſs and determine the affairs that might fall under their cognizance."

This reſolute and determined remonſtrance lighted every ſpark of regal pride in the breaſt of James. His anſwer was ſhort, peremptory, and ſuitable to that ſpirit of kingly power which filled his breaſt. After explaining his intentions with regard to the prerogative in very clear and explicit terms, he concluded his reply with regard to the rights and privileges of parliament in the following manner: "And although we cannot allow the ſtyle, calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wiſhed you had ſaid, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us (for moſt of them grew by precedents, which rather ſhew toleration than inheritance:) yet we are pleaſed to give our royal aſſurance, that, as long as you continue yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges as any of our anceſtors were, nay, as to preſerve our royal prerogative; ſo as your houſe ſhall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any juſt king, to retrench them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative and the flowers of his crown. But of this we hope there will never be cauſe given."

This anſwer, which was dated at Newmarket the 11th of December, greatly alarmed the commons. They ſaw their title to every privilege, if not plainly denied, yet conſidered at leaſt as very precarious. He plainly told them it might be forfeited by abuſe, and they had already abuſed it. They therefore reſolved to grant no ſupply till they received ſatisfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and drew up the following proteſtation, which is ſo very remarkable, that it will be neceſſary to give it at full length. "The commons now aſſembled in parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto, concerning ſundry liberties, franchiſes, and privileges of parliament, among others here mentioned, do make the following proteſtation: That the liberties, franchiſes, and juriſdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, ſtate, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redreſs of miſchiefs and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper ſubjects and matter of council and debate in parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every member of the houſe of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of ſpeech to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of theſe matters, in ſuch order as in their judgment ſhall ſeem fitteſt, and that every member of the ſaid houſe hath like freedom from all impeachment, impriſonment, and moleſtation (other than by cenſure of the houſe itſelf) for or concerning any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliamentary buſineſs. And that if any of the members be complained of and queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in parliament, the ſame is to be ſhewn to the king by the advice and aſſent of all the commons aſſembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, James haſtened to town from Newmarket with a determined reſolution to exert his authority, and convince the commons that they had proceeded too far in aſſerting their liberties. On his arrival, he ſent immediately for the journal-book of the commons, and, before the council, tore out the above proteſtation, which he conſidered as an inſult on his prerogative. At the ſame time he declared it abſolutely null and void, becauſe it was voted tumultuouſly at a late hour, and in a very thin houſe; and becauſe it was expreſſed in ſuch general and ambiguous terms, as might be conſidered as a ſufficient foundation for the moſt enormous crimes, and extended to the moſt unwarrantable uſurpations on the prerogative of the crown. A few days after he diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, and immediately wreaked his vengeance on thoſe members of the houſe of commons who had been moſt active in taking ſuch liberties with his power and adminiſtration. He committed ſeveral of them to priſon: others were ſent to Ireland under pretence of executing ſome commiſſion in that country; and the earls of Southampton and Oxford were committed to the Tower.

In the mean time the king of Bohemia, finding all his father-in-law's pacific endeavours prove abortive, determined to make one final effort for recovering his dominions. Accordingly he levied a powerful army under three commanders, Chriſtian duke of Brunſwick, the prince of Baden Dourlack, and count Mansfeldt: but the ſame ill ſucceſs ſtill attended the unfortunate Frederick: the two former generals were defeated by count Tilly at the head of the Imperaliſts. This misfortune did not, however, intimidate Mansfeldt; he continued the war with great perſeverance, though ill ſupplied with money by the palatine, and king of England. At laſt the unfortunate Frederick determined to give over his fruitleſs efforts: he retired to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome gueſt with his uncle the duke of Brunſwick. Count Mansfeldt was diſmiſſed the ſervice, and retired with his army into the Low-countries, where the ſtates received him into their pay.

James now gave up all thoughts of recovering the palatinate from the emperor. But he ſtill flattered himſelf that if he could accompliſh his ſon's marriage with the infanta of Spain, he ſhould be able to maintain, by the aſſiſtance of that court, the territories of his ſon-in-law, and re-inſtate him in his former dignity. Ferdinand, however, determined to prevent him from executing his project. He aſſembled a diet at Ratiſbon, in which he declared, "that the elector palatine, having been guilty of high-treaſon, his eſtates, goods and dignities were forfeited; but being unwilling to diminiſh the number of electors, he ordered that Maximilian of Bavaria ſhould be inveſted with the electorate palatine."

A. D. 1622. The eyes of the Engliſh were now turned towards Spain, where Digby, earl of Briſtol, had the ſole management of the negotiation for the marriage. Briſtol was a nobleman of great abilites, and had formerly diſapproved of entering into any engagements with Spain; but appeared now ſo convinced of the ſincerity of that court, that he wrote a letter to James, congratulating him on the entire accompliſhment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he repreſented as extremely amiable, would ſoon, he ſaid, be conducted into England, and bring with her an immenſe fortune of two millions, a ſum four times greater than was ever given with any other princeſs. The truth is, that the court of Spain had hitherto carried on the negotiation merely to amuſe the Engliſh monarch; but perceiving that James was determined, on any terms, to complete the alliance. it was thought that ſo favourable an opportunity of reſtoring the catholic faith in England ſhould not be neglected, as it ſeemed more than probable it might eaſily be effected by means of the infanta, and her numerous train of domeſtics and dependents, who were to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion. From theſe expectations, the behaviour of the Spaniſh court was now entirely changed, and appeared as eager to conclude the negotiation. as before to find excuſes for deferring it. The only difficulty conſiſted in extorting from the Engliſh monarch ſuch conceſſions as might contribute to complete the favourite deſign, and which the impatience of James gave the greateſt reaſon to expect.

Digby, during his reſidence in Spain, had been principally employed in ſettling the preliminaries of the marriage. At length the court of Spain made their final demands with regard to that particular, and the earl ſent them immediately to his maſter. James made ſome difficulty of agreeing to theſe articles; but his deſire of completing the marriage at laſt got the better of his prudence: he ſigned the articles, and ſent them back to Spain. Among all the conceſſions favourable to the catholics, none gave greater diſguſt to the Engliſh than that in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the Infanta ſhould be educated by their mother till they were ten years of age; a condition which could only be ſtipulated with a view of implanting in their tender minds the ſtrongeſt prejudices in favour of the Romiſh religion; and though ſo early an age might ſeem little ſuſceptible of any laſting impreſſions, yet the ſame motive which prompted the Spaniſh monarch to inſert it, ſhould have induced the king of England to reject it. Beſides the public treaty, there were ſeveral private articles, by which both the king and prince of Wales engaged to ſuſpend the penal laws againſt the catholics, to obtain a repeal of them from the parliament, and to tolerate the exerciſe of the popiſh religion in private houſes.

Every previous ſtep being thus adjuſted, nothing was wanting to conclude the marriage but the pope's diſpenſation, which was conſidered merely as a matter of formality. Elated by this ſucceſs, James triumphed in his pacific councils, and conſoled himſelf for the contempt with which he had been treated in every court of Europe for viewing, without concern, the deplorable ſtate of the palatine. He boaſted, that by his own diſtinguiſhed wiſdom and ſagacity, he had procured advantages far ſuperior than thoſe he could have acquired by the moſt powerful armies. But all his flattering ideas of greatneſs were deſtroyed by a man, whom he had raiſed from a private ſtation to be the curſe of himſelf, his family and his people.

A. D. 1623. Ever ſince the fall of Somerſet the duke of Buckingham had ruled unrivalled in the council, and was now as much in favour with the prince of Wales as with the king: both implicitly followed his councils and adopted his opinions; while that artful favourite employed all his power to ſerve the purpoſes of his own unbounded ambition. He had been all along envious of the great credit obtained by Briſtol in the Spaniſh negotiation, and was determined to ſupplant him, or, at leaſt, to ſhare in the honour of concluding a treaty ſo agreeable to the king. He perſuaded the prince to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in perſon, in order to bring home his miſtreſs the Infanta. He repreſented to him, that the romantic nature of the adventure could not fail of attracting the admiration and affection of that monarch and his ſubjects, and of introducing him to the princeſs under the character of a fond lover, rather than of a ſtately huſband; that the negotiation with regard to the Palatinate, which had hitherto languiſhed in the hands of miniſters, would quickly be terminated by ſo illuſtrious an agent, ſeconded by the mediation and intreaties of the grateful Infanta: that the Spaniſh generoſity, excited by ſo uncommon an inſtance of truſt and confidence, would undoubtedly make conceſſions far beyond what could be expected from the moſt political conſiderations.

Charles, inflamed with theſe generous and romantic ideas, embraced the propoſal with rapture, and it was agreed to make application to the king for leave to carry the deſign into execution immediately. They choſe the moment when James was in the moſt kind and jovial humour; and by importunities, rather than the force of their reaſons, they extorted from him a haſty and unguarded conſent.

But the prince and Buckingham had hardly left the king, before he repented of his weakneſs: every difficulty occurred with a peculiar force, and the danger to which the prince's perſon muſt be expoſed affected him in a very ſenſible manner. He reflected, that however pardonable this romantic expedition might be conſidered in youth, it muſt reflect diſgrace on mature age: that if the profeſſions of the Spaniſh monarch were ſincere, a few months only muſt finiſh the negotiation, and bring the Infanta to England, without expoſing his only ſon, the heir of his crown, the prop of his age, to ſo dangerous an undertaking.

Agitated by theſe reflections, James determined t recal his promiſe, and prevent, by a timely oppoſition an undertaking which, if unfortunate, muſt rende him at once both infamous to his people, and ridiculous to all poſterity. Accordingly, when the princ and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, Jame informed them of the reaſons which had prevaile upon him to change his reſolution, and begged the would bury all thoughts of ſo ridiculous an adventu in the pit of forgetfulneſs. The prince was great

affecte

affected at this diſappointment, but anſwered only with tears. Buckingham aſſumed the air of authority, and told the king, that this retraction of his promiſe, ſo ſoon after it was given, muſt render all his declarations for ever after ſuſpected; that the word of a king ought to be ſacred, and never broken but by the moſt powerful reaſons, or abſolute neceſſity.

James, who was unable to make an effectual oppoſition to the deſigns of the prince and favourite, renewed his conſent, proper directions were given for the journey, and the prince, with Buckingham, and their two attendants, Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with Sir Richard Graham, maſter of the horſe to Buckingham, paſſed, diſguiſed and undiſcovered, through France. They even ventured to appear in a court ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, then in the bloom of youth and beauty.

They reached Madrid on the 6th of March, eleven days after their departure from England. Their unexpected appearance ſurprized every body in that capital. As ſoon as Philip was informed of their arrival he immediately paid Charles a viſit; made him the warmeſt proteſtations of friendſhip; ſhewed him every reſpect in the power of majeſty to beſtow; and preſented him with a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might have free acceſs to him at all hours. He gave him the upper hand on all occaſions, except in the apartments aſſigned for his reſidence. The ſame pomp and ceremonies were uſed, when Charles firſt viſited the palace, as were common at the coronation of the kings of Spain; and the council received public orders to obey him as the king himſelf. Every kind of rejoicing was uſed throughout the kingdom; and all the priſons were thrown open, that even thoſe who before languiſhed in confinement might ſhare in the general joy. The Infanta, however, was only permitted to ſee her lover in public, the Spaniſh ideas of decency being ſo ſtrict as not to admit of any farther intercourſe till the arrival of the diſpenſation.

In the mean time pope Gregory XV. who had granted the diſpenſation, died, and Urban VIII. was placed in the pontifical chair. This event induced the nuncio not to deliver the diſpenſation till it could receive the ſanction of Urban; who, hoping that ſome expedient might be diſcovered, during the prince's reſidence in Spain, to effect his converſion to the catholic faith, delayed the diſpenſation.

This gave great uneaſineſs both to James and his ſon; which being perceived by Philip, he took the utmoſt pains to diſſipate every apprehenſion, and endeavoured to prevail on the prince to wait till the diſpenſation could be procured from the court of Rome. Charles, however, tired with expectation, applied to Philip for leave to return home, which that monarch readily granting the prince, after having ſworn to the obſervance of all the articles in the marriage treaty, ſet out, attended by a numerous train of the Spaniſh nobility, for St. Andero, where he embarked on board a veſſel ſent by his father to convey him to England.

No prince, perhaps, ever more engaged the affections of the Spaniards than Charles. His character, compoſed of decency, reſerve, modeſty, and ſobriety, rendered him univerſally reſpected among all ranks of people. They were in love with his unparalleled confidence, and the romantic gallantry he had practiced towards their princeſs. At the ſame time, his advantageous figure, and the blooming graces of youth that adorned his countenance, endeared him to the court of Madrid, and made deep impreſſions on the heart of the Infanta. Had the character of Buckingham been equal to that of the prince, every thing had ſucceeded according to their wiſhes; but that nobleman was as much deſpiſed and hated as the prince was eſteemed and beloved. His diſſolute pleaſures, his ſallies of paſſion, his arrogant, impetuous temper, rendered him the object of the Spaniards averſion, and he was, in general, treated with contempt.

Buckingham, conſcious of the affronts he had given to the court of Spain, and fearful of the influence of the Infanta when ſhe arrived in England, determined to employ all his credit to prevent the marriage from being concluded. But it ſeemed a difficult taſk to prevail on the prince to treat a court, where he had received the moſt diſtinguiſhed favours, with ingratitude; and, if poſſible, ſtill more difficult to induce James to break off a treaty, the accompliſhment of which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, and which he had now ſo nearly brought to a ſucceſsful and happy iſſue.

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe obſtacles, Buckingham had ſo far got the aſcendancy over James and his ſon, that peremptory orders were ſent to the earl of Briſtol for breaking off all negotiations. Theſe orders arrived juſt at the time when that miniſter had, to all appearance, accommodated every difference between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were on the point of delivering up the Infanta.

A. D. 1624. Philip was far from being ſurprized at this ſudden change of ſentiments in the Britiſh court: he was no ſtranger to the diſguſt of Buckingham; and believing him a man capable of ſacrificing to his own ungovernable paſſions the deareſt intereſts of his king and country, he ſuſpected his unbounded ambition would be employed to foment a quarrel between the two nations.

The pope's diſpenſation had reached Spain ſoon after the departure of Charles and Buckingham; and the Infanta immediately aſſumed the title of princeſs of Wales. Philip was therefore very unwilling to break off the treaty, eſpecially as he foreſaw that a rupture between the two crowns would be the inevitable conſequence; and he determined that nothing on his part ſhould be wanting to complete the marriage, and maintain the harmony that now ſubſiſted between Spain and England. He accordingly ſent a written promiſe to the earl of Briſtol, engaging to procure the reſtoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty or force of arms. But when he found that this conceſſion was diſregarded, he ordered the Infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language, which ſhe had been very aſſiduous in learning. At the ſame time, perſuaded that the court of England would not ſtop at the violation of the marriage treaty, he ordered the neceſſary preparations to be made in every part of his dominions, for carrying on a war with that kingdom.

As ſoon as the people of England were informed that the treaty of Spain was at an end, they celebrated the rupture with bonfires, and other public demonſtrations of joy. Buckingham, by giving a partial, and, in many inſtances, a falſe account of the negotiation, eaſily inflamed thoſe minds which were already prejudiced againſt Spain. Eulogiums were poured upon him as one of the beſt of ſubjects; and he acquired the epithet of Deliverer of his Country.

James, who wanted firmneſs of mind to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the nation, was ſwept away with the torrent, and obliged, contrary to his natural principles, to follow thoſe violent reſolutions that led inevitably to war. He aſſembled a parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies. In his ſpeech to the two houſes, he dropped ſome hints of the cauſes of complaint he had againſt Spain; and graciouſly condeſcended to aſk their advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of ſo important an affair as the marriage of his ſon. The commons promiſed to aſſiſt him in revenging the affront put upon him by Spain: for Buckingham, by laying before a committee of both houſes a long and partial account, which he pretended was a true and complete narrative of all the ſteps taken in the Spaniſh negotiation, had intirely gained the confidence of that aſſembly. It contained ſo many contradictory circumſtances, that they were ſufficient to open the eyes of every reaſonable man, notwithſtanding the artful veil which was thrown over the whole proceedings. But the narrative concurred ſo well with the paſſions and prejudices of the parliament, that no ſcruple was made of immediately adopting it as a truth that could not be diſputed. Charmed with having at laſt the opportunity, ſo long and ſo ardently deſired, of going to war with papiſts, they thought not of future conſequences, but immediately adviſed the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage, as that for the reſtitution of the Palatinate.

The parliament, having thus given their voice for a war, preſented a petition to the king, that he would cauſe the laws againſt Romiſh prieſts and jeſuits to be ſtrictly executed: that he would iſſue orders for ſeizing the arms of popiſh recuſants, and obliging them to retire from the capital; that he would revoke all licences granted to ſuch recuſants, and put a ſtop to the great concourſe of people who reſorted to hear maſs in the chapels of ambaſſadors; that he ſhould deprive all the papiſts of the poſts they enjoyed under the government, and not relax the laws made againſt popiſh recuſants on any account whatever.

James returned a very gracious and condeſcending anſwer; but declared himſelf an enemy to all perſecution on account of religion, from a thorough conviction that it always injured the cauſe it was intended to promote; according to the received maxim, "That the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed of the church." At the ſame time, he condemned an intire indulgence to the catholics; and ſtrongly hinted, that a middle courſe ought to be choſen, as the moſt political, and at the ſame time the moſt humane.

It being now determined to purſue hoſtile meaſures, the king repaired to the parliament houſe, where he declared, in a ſpeech to that aſſembly, his reſolution of humbling the pride of Spain, provided they would engage to ſupport him. He began his harangue with lamenting his misfortune, in being obliged, in his old age, to exchange the bleſſings of peace for the inevitable calamities attendant on war. He repreſented to them the prodigious expence requiſite for maintaining military armaments; and demanded a vote of ſix ſubſidies and twelve fifteenths, as a proper ſtock before war was declared againſt Spain. He mentioned the large debts he had contracted, principally to ſupport the Elector Palatine and his family; but declared, he inſiſted not on any ſupply for himſelf; the honor and ſecurity of the kingdom was all he was deſirous of ſupporting. He even ſo far forgot his prerogative, which he had hitherto ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported, that he made a dangerous and unexpected conceſſion, that the ſums granted ſhould be veſted in a committee of parliament, and be iſſued by them without being intruſted to his management.

Nothing could be more agreeable to the commons; they readily accepted the offer, but voted much leſs than was demanded; three ſubſidies and three fifteenths were thought a ſufficient ſum for the preſent occaſions of the ſtate; nor did they take the leaſt notice of that part of his ſpeech which regarded his own neceſſities, though he had made a conceſſion much greater than they could have expected.

Though the commons were ſo parſimonious in their ſupplies, they took advantage of the preſent agreement between the king and the parliament, to make freſh attacks upon the prerogative. James had aboliſhed all the monopolies ſo loudly and ſo juſtly complained of; but this did not ſatisfy the commons; they paſſed an act, by which it was declared, that all monopolies were contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. By the ſame ſtatute it was enacted, that every man enjoyed an entire freedom with regard to his own actions, provided he did nothing detrimental to any perſon; and that no other authority but that of the laws ſhould ſtop this unlimited right; a principle which ſerved as a baſis for the civil liberties of England.

Buckingham, who was become the profeſſed enemy of the earl of Briſtol, had, ſince his arrival from Spain, threw out many ſcandalous reflections againſt that nobleman both before the council and the parliament. Orders were now ſent to the earl to leave the court of Madrid; on the receipt of which he applied for an audience, that he might properly diſcharge the ceremonial of his departure. Philip expreſſed the higheſt regret that Briſtol's ſervices ſhould meet with ſo unworthy a reward; and that his enemies ſhould have ſo far prevailed, as to infuſe prejudices into his maſter and his country againſt a miniſter who had ſo faithfully performed his duty to both. He endeavoured to prevail upon him to engage in his ſervice, promiſing to beſtow upon him every advantage of rank and fortune he himſelf could deſire. But Briſtol, though he expreſſed the utmoſt gratitude for this generous offer, refuſed every thing, and determined to return immediately to his own country, not doubting but the torch of truth would ſoon expoſe the falſhoods of his enemies in their genuine colours. Philip could not even prevail upon him to accept of ten thouſand ducats, though his circumſtances rendered ſuch a preſent neceſſary. The monarch uſed every intreaty in his power to prevail, and aſſured him that neither James, nor any one elſe, ſhould ever know he had received it. "There is one (anſwered the virtuous miniſter) who will be privy to the whole tranſaction; it is the earl of Briſtol, and he will certainly reveal it to the king of England."

The parliament being prorogued on the 29th of May, it was thought neceſſary to make ſome preparations for oppoſing the warlike armament fitting out by the court of Spain, and alſo to aſſiſt the count Palatine. Eight citizens of London were appointed as treaſurers for the money raiſed by parliament, and theſe were aſſiſted by ten other perſons from his majeſty's council of war. Without a warrant from theſe no money could be iſſued, nor even by their order, on any other account than to defray the expences of the war, as they were accountable to the commons in parliament. It was computed that the ſums granted laſt ſeſſion would be ſufficient to ſend twenty-five thouſand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an Engliſh general. Six thouſand only were, however, raiſed, and ſent into Holland to join the army of the States, commanded by the prince of Orange; while another army, under count Mansfeldt, was to penetrate into the Palatinate.

During theſe tranſactions the earl of Holland, Engliſh ambaſſador at the French court, informed James that Lewis XIII. was inclined to liſten to an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and the princeſs Henrietta Maria. James, pleaſed with the offer, appointed the earl of Carliſle to repair to Paris in order to aſſiſt the earl of Holland in the negotiation. Accordingly, commiſſioners were appointed to treat with the Engliſh ambaſſadors: and the Engliſh monarch was ſo deſirous of terminating this affair, that the marriage articles were ſigned at Paris on the tenth of November, and were nearly the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe which had been before concluded with Spain. For as Lewis required only the ſame conditions which had been granted to the catholic king, James made no ſcruple of complying. And as the prince, while in Spain, had given a verbal promiſe, that the Infanta ſhould be intruſted with the education of her children till they were ten years of age, the ſame article was inſerted in this treaty: and to that condition is generally, and perhaps juſtly aſcribed, the misfortunes that afterwards attended the Stuart family.

In the mean time count Mansfeldt came over to England, where he was received with extraordinary marks of reſpect, and lodged in apartments, fitted up for his reception, in the palace. After ſome conferences, it was agreed, that Mansfeldt, at the head of twelve thouſand men, ſhould carry on the war in the Lower Palatinate. The French miniſtry, during the negotiation for the marriage, made large promiſes, but always couched in general terms, not only of granting the Engliſh a paſſage through France, but alſo of re-inforcing their army with conſiderable bodies of troops during their march to the Palatinate; but on the arrival of the Engliſh, under the command of Mansfeldt, before Calais, they found that no orders had been ſent for their admiſſion. This occaſioned many diſpatches; but the French miniſtry inſiſted that they had entered into no poſitive agreement; and that the granting the count a free paſſage through France was a matter of too much importance to be haſtily admitted. This delay was fatal to the expedition. A peſtilential diſeaſe broke out among the troops, and ſwept away great numbers of them daily; and thoſe that remained were ſo weakened by ſickneſs, and diſcouraged by misfortunes, that it was thought imprudent to lead them into the Palatinate. Such was the ſhameful iſſue of this expedition, which reflected the higheſt diſgrace on the Engliſh miniſtry, who had been weak enough to conſider French profeſſions as ſolemn engagements!

Though James had laid a ſolid foundation for putting an end to the troubles in Ireland, he had not been able entirely to complete his plan. The Spaniards ſtill maintained a conſtant intelligence with the diſaffected papiſts, and kept the Engliſh government in continual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour by James, and obtained the royal protection, on condition of not relapſing into his former rebellious practices, lived, for ſome time, in great ſubmiſſion to the government; but imputing all the marks of favour he had received to nothing more than the effects of fear, he had the boldneſs, ſoon after, to petition the king for a toleration of the catholic religion. This requeſt being refuſed, he joined the earl of Tyrconnel, and other chiefs of the Iriſh papiſts; and a deſperate confederacy was formed for aſſaſſinating the lord deputy and the council, and maſſacreing all the Engliſh in the kingdom of Ireland. This conſpiracy was happily diſcovered by a letter dropped in the council-chamber; and Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and other principal conſpirators, informed of the accident, fled to France, and afterwards to Bruſſels, where the archduke gave them a noble reception, and ſettled on them large penſions by expreſs orders from the court of Spain. Soon after Tyrone undertook to excite another rebellion, and to paſs over, with his friends, into Ireland; but the deſign being diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, the chiefs who had engaged in the conſpiracy were taken and executed.

A. D. 1625. James was now haſtily advancing towards the period of his exiſtence. The habit of his body, like the ſtate of his kingdom, was alarming. He had long addicted himſelf to thoſe pleaſures which he could not taſte, that he might baniſh from his mind the reflections which he could not bear. He had accuſtomed himſelf to the uſe of ſweet wines, and to ride hard, both before and after drinking. This irregular method of living had occaſioned ſeveral ſevere fits of illneſs, which the phyſicians had rather palliated than removed; for James was too impatient in ſickneſs to ſubmit to any troubleſome regimen, in order to obtain a cure. Infirmities therefore increaſed upon him with age, and the diſtracted ſtate of his mind facilitated the illneſs of his body. He was highly provoked at the behaviour of Buckingham; he imputed to his headſtrong paſſions all the misfortunes that now ſurrounded him. He was deſirous of humbling that haughty miniſter, but he wanted power to execute his deſign. Finding that all attempts, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, would be in vain, he compoſed himſelf with a ſullen kind of reſignation, meditating how to take the firſt opportunity of a proper revenge on his perfidious favourite.

Such was the king's ſituation when the marquis of Hamilton, who hated Buckingham, and who was as likely as any man to ſerve James in his diſtreſs, died ſuddenly, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of poiſon. James conſidered the death of that nobleman as a ſure prelude to his own. "If the branches are cut down, (ſaid he) the ſtock cannot long ſtand." From that moment he became penſive and melancholy. He was ſeized, in the beginning of March, with a tertian ague; and when encouraged by his courtiers with the old proverb, that this diſtemper, during that ſeaſon, was health for a king, he replied, "that the proverb was meant of a young king." The counteſs of Buckingham, and ſome other ladies, who had no great opinion of regular phyſicians, but thought that life might be rendered immortal by the ſecrets of empyrics, attended James, whoſe impatience for health drove him into the ſame fatal error. Buckingham had, ſome time before, been cured of a tertian ague by an emetic, a plaiſter and a poſſet-drink, which James now inſiſted ſhould be adminiſtered to himſelf. Buckingham uſed every argument in his power to diſſuade him from taking any thing that was not preſcribed by his phyſicians. But all his reaſonings were in vain: James ſent for the medicines, and they were given him, according to his requeſt. Every ſymptom of his diſeaſe was immediately augmented, and it was ſoon evident that he could not long ſurvive. James was himſelf very ſenſible of his approaching end, and met the king of terrors with amazing fortitude. His preparations for death were extremely fervent, and he was chiefly aſſiſted in his devotions by lord-keeper Williams. When the prince of Wales was admitted to his preſence, to receive his laſt advice, he exhorted him to maintain a tender affection for his wife, but at the ſame time to preſerve a conſtancy in religion, to protect the church of England, and to extend his care to the unhappy family of the Palatine. In his laſt moments he declared that he died in the religion of the church of England, and expired at his favourite ſeat of Theobalds on the 27th of March, in the 59th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign.

The character of James has been variouſly handled by different hiſtorians, moſt of whom appear to have wrote under the influence of favourable prepoſſeſſions or extreme prejudice: ſome repreſent him as the perfect pattern of a good king; others have loaded him with reproaches by aggravating his failings. The reaſon of this diverſity proceeds from the hiſtory of his reign being penned at a time when the animoſity of parties was at a great height; therefore the character of this prince muſt not be formed either on the praiſes of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon the manner of his governing, upon his ſpeeches and actions; and this our readers will be perfectly able to do for themſelves, by recollecting the principal circumſtances of his reign: we ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that nature had delineated on his mind the outlines of many excellent qualities, and ſeveral virtues; but leaving her work unfiniſhed, it was ſhaded by the pencil of vice. His generoſity was blended with profuſion, his learning with pedantry, his pacific diſpoſition with puſillanimity, his wiſdom with cunning, and his friendſhip with boyiſh fondneſs and folly. He was certainly a great diſſembler: this failing accompanied him even in the moſt common tranſactions of life, and made him paſs for a worſe man than he really was; he frequently miſſed a favourite point by his duplicity, which he might have ſecured by openneſs and reſolution. His too great averſion to war, which has from ſome got him the reproach of want of courage, was certainly a defect productive of very happy conſequences to the nation he governed; the people were bleſſed with a moſt profound peace, which no troubles interrupted; they were enriched by an extenſive commerce, which few taxes oppreſſed; and, freed from the care of foreign affairs, they had leiſure to attend to their own concerns, and ſecure their liberties by many excellent and wiſe regulations.

James had ſeven children by his conſort, Anne of Denmark; but only two of them ſurvived him, namely, Charles, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened, during the reign of James, were as follow:

His acceſſion gave riſe to the word *Sacred* being added to the title of *Majeſty*, in the ſtile of the kings of England.

In his firſt year the officer, called "The maſter of the Ceremonies," was firſt appointed at the Engliſh court.

In his ſecond year there happened a remarkable inſtance of the puniſhment of preſſing to death inflicted on thoſe who refuſe pleading to their indictment. Hugh Calverly, of Calverly in Yorkſhire, having murdered two of his children, and ſtabbed his wife in a fit of jealouſy, being arraigned for his crime at York aſſizes, ſtood mute, and was thereupon preſſed to death in the caſtle of that city.

In his third year an act of parliament was paſſed, whereby one ſhilling was levied on every perſon found abſent from church on Sundays.

In his fourth year there was ſo great an inundation in ſome parts of Somerſetſhire and Glouceſterſhire, (owing to the overflowing of the Severn) that the water roſe above the tops of the houſes, inſomuch that there periſhed by this fatal accident no leſs than eighty perſons, and the damage done, upon the whole, was eſtimated at 20,000l.

His ſixth year is remarkable for the firſt planting of mulberry trees in England.

In his ſeventeenth year was invented the art of making tapeſtry in England; the firſt manufactory for which was eſtabliſhed at Mortlake.

In his 20th year a fatal accident happened at the houſe of the French ambaſſador in Black-friars, during the evening Veſpers. Three hundred perſons being aſſembled in an upper room, while a Jeſuit was preaching the floor gave way, and the prieſt, with above an hundred perſons of the congregation, were buried in the ruins, not any of whom were taken out alive.

SECTION II.

CHARLES I.

As ſoon as the death of James was notified, the council immediately iſſued orders for proclaiming Charles, prince of Wales, his only ſurviving ſon, king of England. The ceremony was accordingly performed at the uſual places in London and Weſtminſter; and the new monarch was received by the people with univerſal acclamations.

A few days after Charles's acceſſion he iſſued out writs for calling a new parliament; but he was obliged to poſtpone the opening of the ſeſſion on account of the arrival of the princeſs Henrietta, whom he had eſpouſed by proxy. The nuptial ceremony was performed by cardinal Richlieu, on the firſt of May,* in the church of Notre Dame at Paris; ſoon after which the young queen ſet out on her journey towards England, accompanied by her mother the queen dowager, her brother the duke of Orleans, the duke and ducheſs of Chevreuſe, and a brilliant train of Engli nobility, among whom were the duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Carliſle, Holland and Mon gomery. After ſtaying two days at Amiens, the proceeded to Boulogne, where an Engliſh fleet o twenty-one ſhips had been ſome time waiting to ta her on board. On the thirteenth of June ſhe w met by the king at Dover, and the ſame evening t marriage was conſummated at Canterbury. Thre days after their majeſties made their public entry in London, but the pomp and ceremony uſual on ſu occaſions were almoſt wholly laid aſide, owing to t plague, which at this time raged with great violence the metropolis.

The royal marriage being celebrated, Charles rected his attention to the welfare of his kingdo The parliament, (which had been poſtponed meeti on that account,) aſſembled on the 18th of June, when the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he diſplayed great candour and cordiality. He ſlightly mentioned the occaſion he had for a ſupply, but employed no intrigue to influence the members. He would not even allow the officers of the crown, who had ſeats in the houſe, to mention any particular ſum which might be expected by him. Secure (as he thought) of the affection of the commons, he was reſolved that their bounty ſhould be entirely their own deed; unaſked and unſolicited.

---

* On the 7th of the ſame month were celebrated the funeral obſequies of the late king. The body was carried from Somerſet-houſe (to which place it had been conveyed from Theobalds) to Weſtminſter, where it was interred in St. Peter's church with great pomp and ſolemnity. Charles himſelf performed the o of chief mourner, though contrary to the cuſtom of crow heads; but he rather choſe to curtail his dignity on this occaſio than to be ſeen deficient in filial affection.

The commons affected to be highly pleaſed with his majeſty's ſpeech; and the ſupply was the firſt buſineſs taken into conſideration. But though they knew that all the money granted by the laſt parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments, and that very large anticipations had alſo been made on the revenues of the crown: though they were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a large debt contracted by his father; that the public revenues were hardly ſufficient for ſupporting the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government; and that the preſent war, againſt the whole power of the houſe of Auſtria, had been undertaken by their importunate applications and intreaties; yet they thought proper to grant their young monarch no more than 112,000l.

It is probable that this extraordinary reſolution of the parliament was occaſioned by the libertine principles of the duke of Buckingham, who was now become odious for his vices. The marriage of the king with a catholic princeſs had alſo too much diſpleaſed the puritans to render them indulgent to the court. Independent of theſe motives, the principal members of the lower houſe extended their views to future times. Perſuaded that the power of the crown had been increaſed at the expence of the liberties of the people, their object was to confine it within narrow limits. Their right to grant or refuſe the neceſſary ſupplies was conſidered as an infallible means of gaining the moſt important conceſſions.

Theſe proceedings of the commons greatly diſconcerted the hopes of Charles. He had formed the warmeſt expectations of receiving the moſt convincing proofs of the love of his ſubjects; but found that the ſupplies they granted him were rather a mockery of his wants than a ſerious deſign of ſupporting him in a war which might juſtly be ſtiled their own.

The plague continuing to rage with the moſt dreadful violence in London, Charles adjourned the parliament to Oxford, where he flattered himſelf with receiving farther aſſiſtance from the commons. But the change of place made not the leaſt alteration in their ſentiments. Determined to carry their favourite point with regard to the prerogative, they abſolutely refuſed to make any addition to the ſupply they had voted: even the trifling ſum of 40,000l. was refuſed; though the parliament well knew that a fleet and an army were lying at Portſmouth, in great want of pay and proviſions; and that Buckingham the admiral, and the treaſurer of the navy, had advanced, on their own credit, near 100,000l. for the ſea ſervice. In vain were all the arguments of the courtiers to prevail over the obſtinacy of the commons. Governed by a ſet of men of the moſt uncommon capacity, formed into a regular party and united by fixed aims and projects, it was impoſſible to change them from their purpoſe. They perſevered in their former reſolution, though the honor of their country among the potentates of Europe demanded a more liberal conduct.

Charles, who had imbibed the lofty notions of monarchical power, conſidered the refuſal of the commons as of a criminal and traiterous nature; and when he reflected that the ſupplies aſked were purely to ſupport a war entered into at their particular requeſt, their behaviour appeared cruel and deceitful. A diſcovery, however, was now made, which not only furniſhed the commons with a pretence for their refuſal, but alſo inflamed them againſt the court in general, and the duke of Buckingham in particular.

The late king ſome time before his death, had promiſed to furniſh Lewis, who was deſtitute of a naval force, with one ſhip of war, and ſeven armed veſſels hired from the merchants, which the French monarch pretended were to be employed againſt the Genoeſe, the firm allies of Spain. Charles was now called upon to fulfil the engagement, but the French made no ſecret that the ſhips were to be employed againſt the Hugonots in the ſiege of Rochelle. Vice-admiral Pennington was on the coaſt of France with a ſquadron of men of war, and received an order ſigned by Charles (at the inſtigation of Buckingham) to employ his ſhips in whatever ſervice the French ambaſſador ſhould direct, after filling them with ſoldiers and marines, under the command of the duke of Montmorency. This was no ſooner known, or rather ſuſpected, than the ſhips crews mutinied, and all, except the Vanguard, which Pennington himſelf commanded, ſtood to ſea. The admiral, however, went on ſhore, and offered to go upon any ſervice the French king ſhould order him, but refuſed to receive on board any ſoldiers. This refuſal exaſperated the ambaſſador, and he gave him to underſtand, that he was a priſoner if he did not comply; and at the ſame time informed him, that not more than fifty or ſixty Engliſhmen would be employed in the expedition. It was in vain for Pennington to remonſtrate againſt the cruelty and injuſtice of this proceeding, and to repreſent the uneaſineſs of his ſailors, who would not fail to refuſe obedience to any ſuch commands. The ambaſſador, however, was reſolute; and Pennington thought it prudent to diſſemble his real ſentiments, that he might recover his ſhip. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; but he was no ſooner on board, than he abſolutely refuſed to leave his ſhip. This produced a long negotiation between the ambaſſador and the admiral. Proteſts were taken againſt the latter; and, in the hearing of his own men, he was threatened with the puniſhment of death, as a traitor to his country. But all the menaces of the Frenchmen were in vain; Pennington refuſed his compliance, and received expreſs orders to deliver up his own, and all the merchant ſhips to the French king. This was accordingly done; but not an Engliſhman, one gunner only excepted, was found mean enough to ſerve on board the fleet, under a French commiſſion, and againſt their proteſtant brethren.

No ſooner were theſe tranſactions known in parliament, than the commons ſhewed the ſame attachment with the ſailors for the proteſtant religion. They even carried their zeal to a height that rendered their deliberations at once ridiculous and unjuſt. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, publiſhed a book, which, contrary to the rigid tenets of the puritans, ſaved virtuous catholics, as well as other chriſtians, from eternal torments. It now became evident that thoſe great men, who reaſoned ſo forcibly on the danger of the conſtitution of their country from the increaſing power of the crown, could not reaſon at all on the ſubject of religion. Montague was ordered to be proſecuted, a committee was appointed to conſider of the proceedings againſt him, and the eccleſiaſtic, for having done an important ſervice to the church of England, by exploding the adopted errors of her antagoniſts, was ordered into cuſtody of the ſerjeant, and to give bail of two thouſand pounds for his appearing at the next ſeſſion. It is no wonder that Charles was offended at theſe proceedings, and that he often put them in mind that they had buſineſs of far greater concern to engage their attention. But finding all attempts were in vain, he diſſolved the parliament.

Charles, diſappointed in the expectations he had formed of receiving aſſiſtance from parliament, was obliged to have recourſe to unconſtitutional methods for raiſing money. He iſſued privy-ſeals for borrowing from his ſubjects; but the advantages to be gained by this temporary ſupply were more than balanced by the diſguſt it occaſioned. However, by means of this ſtratagem, he was enabled to fit out a fleet of eighty ſail, on board of which were 10,000 ſoldiers. The command of the fleet was given to Sir Edward Cecil, who had lately been created viſcount Wimbleton; and the earl of Eſſex was appointed vice-admiral.

It was intended that this fleet ſhould have been ſent out early in the ſummer; but from want of money, and other obſtacles, it did not ſail till the end of October. When they arrived off Cape St. Vincent, a council of war was held in order to form a plan for their future operations. The earl of Eſſex gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, and his propoſal being accepted, the whole fleet ſtood towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed, and ſo dreadful to the Spaniards was the remembrance of the Engliſh valour under queen Elizabeth, that their king was ready in perſon to march down at the head of a royal army to the defence of his coaſt.

When the Engliſh reached Cadiz, they found every thing in readineſs to give them a warm reception, and the attack of fort Puntal was given to the earl of Eſſex. He advanced with twenty Engliſh and five Dutch ſhips with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Spaniſh ſhipping, which conſiſted of ſeventeen ſtout ſhips and eight or ten gallies, fearing the fatal conſequence of that fort's being taken, retired to Port Real. The fort, however, made a noble defence; and it was found impracticable to take it on that ſide where the attack was made. Upon this Sir John Burroughs, an old Engliſh officer, landed with his regiment, and driving ſome companies of Spaniſh infantry, who had oppoſed his landing, back to the fort, the Spaniſh governor thought proper to ſurrender. The taking of this fort was, however, of no other conſequence than as it opened a paſſage to Cadiz itſelf, and commanded a large extent of villages and country round; but the raw Engliſh ſoldiers could not reſiſt the temptation of the new Spaniſh wines; they drank to exceſs, and could not be brought to act with that ſpirit and reſolution neceſſary for rendering the expedition ſucceſsful. At the ſame time diſſentions prevailed among the officers, and diſeaſes among the ſoldiers; ſo that any farther ſtay appearing fruitleſs, the troops were reimbarked, and the fleet put to ſea with a reſolution of waiting for the Spaniſh galleons. But the plague breaking out among the ſeamen and ſoldiers, Cecil was obliged to return to England with infected crews, ſickly companies, a broken reputation, diſheartened officers, and national diſhonour.

A. D. 1626. The failure of this expedition greatly diſconcerted Charles, who found himſelf again obliged to have recourſe to parliament. Though his authority was greatly diminiſhed by the ill ſucceſs of his enterprizes, and the imprudence of the Spaniſh war became every day more apparent; though the increaſe of his neceſſities increaſed his dependence, and expoſed him ſtill more to the encroachments of the commons; he was reſolved once more to try that regular and conſtitutional expedient for ſupply. But the ſolemnity of his coronation was firſt to be performed; which was accordingly celebrated with great magnificence on the ſecond of February.

Four days after the king's coronation the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from Sir Thomas Finch, the lord-keeper, who acquainted both houſes, that as his majeſty intended the ſeſſion ſhould be very ſhort, he expected they would make all imaginable diſpatch in granting the ſupplies. But the commons, without paying any regard to the lord-keeper's ſpeech, began an enquiry into the national grievances, at the very point where they had left off the laſt ſeſſion. They, however, in a few days, voted a ſupply of three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, and afterwards added another ſubſidy; but they reſerved the paſſing that vote into a law till the end of the ſeſſion: ſo that if the king refuſed to grant them a ſufficient time to finiſh their inquiry into the national grievances, or refuſed to comply with their demands, he would have little reaſon to expect any parliamentary aſſiſtance.

It ſoon appeared that the whole ſtorm was intended againſt Buckingham, who was univerſally conſidered as the ſource of all the national grievances. His want of temper and prudence, and the uncontrouled aſcendancy which he had acquired over his maſter, rendered him every day ſtill more odious to the people. And during the ſitting of the parliament he ſuſtained two violent attacks; one from the earl of Briſtol, and the other from the houſe of commons.

When the writs were iſſued out for ſummoning a new parliament, Charles, by a ſtretch of prerogative, had ordered that no writ ſhould be ſent to the earl of Briſtol, whom he knew to be the moſt inveterate enemy to his favourite the duke of Buckingham. In conſequence of this the earl of Briſtol preſented a petition to the lords, and intreated they would, if poſſible, prevail on his majeſty to grant him what was his due as a peer of the realm. Upon this his writ was ſent him, but accompanied by a letter from the lord-keeper, forbidding him, in the king's name, to attend the parliament. Briſtol acquainted the lords with this command, and at the ſame time deſired they would adviſe him how to proceed in ſo delicate an affair. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Briſtol took his ſeat. Charles, enraged at ſuch proceedings, ordered his attorney-general to enter an accuſation of high treaſon againſt Briſtol; and in return Briſtol accuſed Buckingham of the ſame crime. From the earl's defence of himſelf, and his accuſation of the duke, the great imprudence of the latter was very evident; but, from thence, not one action could be collected, which, in the eye of the law, deemed him guilty of a crime, much leſs could convict him of high treaſon.

The commons, however, purſued their deſig against Buckingham with the moſt unwearied diligence; and having voted, " that common fame wa a ſufficient ground of accuſation by the commons, proceeded to frame regular articles againſt the mi niſter. They accuſed him of neglecting to guard th ſeas, inſomuch that many merchant ſhips had bee taken by the enemy; of furniſhing ſhips to th French king, in order to ſerve againſt the Hugonots of being concerned in the ſale of honours an offices; of procuring extenſive grants from th crown; of obtaining many titles of honour for hi kindred; of adminiſtering phyſic to the late kin without acquainting his phyſicians. From a caref comparison of the charge and reply, all theſe articl appeared to be at leaſt frivolous, if not falſe. T charge which ſeemed to be worth any notice wa that he had extorted the ſum of ten thouſand poun from the Eaſt-India company, and that he had co fiſcated ſome goods belonging to French merchan on pretence of their being the property of Spani ſubjects. As the impeachment was never fully d termined, it is not eaſy for a deciſive opinion to now formed; but it was at that time acknowledg

th

e duke's anſwers to the reſpectives articles were
nd ſatisfactory.

king having ordered Sir Dudley Diggs, who
roduced the impeachment againſt Buckingham,
r John Elliot, who had alſo been very violent
the duke, to be committed to priſon, the
of Commons declared that they would deſiſt
ll farther buſineſs, till ſatisfaction ſhould be
them for ſuch a violation of their privileges.
excuſe for his proceedings, Charles accuſed
ſoners of having, in their accuſations of the
dropped ſome ſeditious expreſſions in regard
ſelf. But, upon examination, it was found
ſuch expreſſions had ever been uſed; the
ers were therefore diſcharged, and the com-
having, in this attempt received a new inſtance
king's arbitrary diſpoſition, were more averſe
ver to any of his meaſures.

houſe of peers, following the example of the
ons, claimed liberty for the earl of Arundel,
Charles had lately confined in the Tower, on
ce of his having conſented to a marriage be-
lord Maltravers and the ſiſter of the duke of
. After many fruitleſs evaſions, the king was
l to comply with their repeated petitions, and
l was ſet at liberty.

attack which the commons made this ſeſſion,
ſucceeded, muſt have given a ſevere ſtroke to
prerogative. They were preparing a re-
ance againſt the practice of levying tonage and
age without the conſent of parliament. This
and the new duties laid on merchandize by
compoſed near one half of the crown re-
; and by depriving the king of theſe reſources,
ould have reduced him to a ſtate of entire de-
nce on his ſubjects. Charles, hearing of theſe
dings, determined to diſſolve the parliament
iately. When this reſolution was made public,
uſe of peers, whoſe ſubmiſſion to the king en-
hem to ſome authority with him, endeavoured
ploy their good offices between him and the
ons, and prepared a petition, intreating his
y to let the parliament ſit ſome time longer.
harles would not admit them to his preſence,
n the fifteenth of June diſſolved the parlia-

king, not having received any aid from the
nent, was greatly diſtreſſed for want of money:
a war to maintain againſt the houſe of Auſtria,
ſupplying his allies with the promiſed ſuccours,
utting his kingdom in a poſture of defence.
ſe matters could not be effected with the or-
revenues, ſome expedients were thought of
iſing money. A commiſſion was publickly
d to compound with the catholics, and agree
iſpenſation with the penal laws enacted againſt
By this expedient the king at once filled his
, and gratified his inclination of indulging
eligioniſts: but he could not have thought of
ethod which would have been ſo diſagreeable to
oteſtant ſubjects.

order to obtain farther aſſiſtance, Charles ap-
o the citizens of London for a loan of 100,000l.
e better to advance the plan care was taken to
a liſt of ſuch as had freely ſubſcribed, in hopes
eir example would be an inducement to others.
otwithſtanding this the ſubſcription went on very
ſo that the court found themſelves obliged to
violent meaſures. The common people, who
d to throw in their mite to the loan were or-
to ſerve in his majeſty's troops. Perſons of
were ſummoned to appear before the council,
if they made a ſecond refuſal, they were con-
to places at a conſiderable diſtance from their
ations.

At the ſame time the council, in order to fit out a fleet, levied a diſtribution on all the maritime towns in the kingdom; each of which was required, with the aſſiſtance of the adjacent counties, to provide a certain number of armed veſſels. The city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This is the firſt inſtance of ſhip-money in the reign of Charles; a taxation which had been impoſed by Elizabeth, but which, after being carried to much greater lengths by Charles, was productive of the moſt violent diſturbances.

While theſe things were tranſacting, advice was received that the king of Denmark had been totally defeated by the imperial general count Tilly. Money was now wanting more than ever, as it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport a prince ſo nearly related to Charles, by whom he had been chiefly drawn into the war. The council, on this occaſion iſſued a proclamation, importing, that, as the urgency of affairs admitted not the method of parliament, the moſt ſpeedy, equal and convenient way of ſupply was by a general loan from the ſubject, according as every man was aſſeſſed in the laſt ſubſidy. The ſame ſum was required, which each would have paid, had the votes of four ſubſidies been paſſed into a law. But at the ſame time the people were informed that the ſums exacted were not to be called ſubſidies, but loans.

Among other articles iſſued in this proclamation, was the following: "If any perſon or perſons ſhall "refuſe to pay the duties, ſubſidies, or impoſts "aforeſaid, unto our farmers, collectors, or officers, "in manner aforeſaid, then our will and pleaſure is, "and we do farther grant, by theſe preſents, unto "the lords, and others of our privy-council for the "time being, or unto the lord treaſurer of England, "or chancellor of the exchequer, now or for the time "being, full power and authority to commit all and "every ſuch perſon and perſons to priſon, who ſhall "diſobey this our order and declaration, there to "continue until they, and every one of them, ſo "diſobeying, ſhall have conformed and ſubmitted "themſelves unto due obedience."

The commiſſioners appointed to levy theſe loans received articles of ſecret inſtruction; among which was the following remarkable one: "if any man "ſhall refuſe to lend, and ſhall make delays or ex"cuſes, and perſiſt in their obſtinacy, that they ex"amine him upon oath, whether he has been dealt "with to deny or refuſe to lend, or make any excuſe "for not lending? Who has dealt with him, and "what ſpeeches or perſuaſions were uſed for that "purpoſe? And that they alſo charge every ſuch "perſon in his majeſty's name, upon his allegiance, "not to diſcloſe to any one what his anſwer was." It is aſtoniſhing that the king could be prevailed upon to ſuffer ſo impracticable an attempt to be made by his officers. A very little reflection would have been abundantly ſufficient to have convinced him, that the ſecrecy he enjoined was impoſſible; and that ſo violent an inquiſitorial power could not fail of exciting the indignation of his ſubjects.

The conſequence of theſe arbitrary proceedings was what might naturally be expected. The principal leaders in the late parliament, and others who had adopted their ſentiments, refuſed to ſubmit to an impoſition not agreed to by the legiſlature. Moſt of them were thrown into priſon; the goals were filled with illuſtrious offenders. All who petitioned the clemency of the king were releaſed; but five gentlemen, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edward Hambden, not only refuſed to ſolicit the clemency of his majeſty, but boldly demanded their releaſement, not as a favour from the court, but as a right derived from the laws of their country. The queſtion was at laſt ſolemnly argued in the court of King's-bench, when it appeared, beyond contradiction, that the perſonal liberty of the ſubject had been ſecured againſt the arbitrary power of the crown by ſix ſeveral acts of parliament, beſides an article of the great charter itſelf, the moſt ſacred foundation of the laws and conſtitution of England. The judges, however, thought proper to remand the gentlemen to their priſons, though they refuſed to enter a general judgment, that no bail could be granted upon a commitment of the king or council.

Nor was impriſonment the only engine employed by the government to force the people to ſubmit to the arbitrary orders of the court: recourſe was alſo had to religious prejudices: the duty of unlimited obedience was preached from the pulpit. Manwaring, one of his majeſty's chaplains, diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion. Among other curious paſſages in his elaborate diſcourſes, the following are remarkable: "That the king is not bound to obſerve the "laws of the realm, concerning the ſubjects rights "and liberties; but that his royal will and command "in impoſing loans and taxes, without the common "conſent of parliament, is ſufficient to oblige the "conſcience of the ſubject, under pain of eternal "damnation. That thoſe who refuſed to pay this "loan offended againſt the law of God, and the "king's ſupreme authority, and became guilty of "impiety, diſloyalty, and rebellion. That the authority of parliament is not neceſſary for the raiſing "of aids and ſubſidies; and that the ſlow proceedings of ſuch numerous aſſemblies are not fitted for "the ſupply of the ſtate's urgent neceſſities, but "would rather occaſion many impediments to the "juſt deſigns of princes." Sibthorpe was another divine that exerted all his abilities in recommending the ſame ſlaviſh tenets. Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, refuſed to licenſe theſe ſermons. This was conſidered as ſo heinous an offence, that the prelate was ſuſpended from the exerciſe of his office, and confined to one of his country-ſeats. This ſequeſtration and confinement of the firſt peer and prelate of England, were alarming monuments of Buckingham's power over the mind of his maſter. The archbiſhop had always acted with the greateſt moderation, and was conſidered by the public as a ſincere friend to the liberties of his country; but he could never be brought to offer incenſe to the favourite miniſter, and this marked him out as an object of diſgrace.

While the people were thus harraſſed with precautions with regard to the loan, vigorous preparations were making for covering the ſeas with armaments. The duke of Soubiſe, who was at this time in England, received a commiſſion from Charles for employing the ſhips, fitted out by the Hugonots, in his ſervice, and for cruizing againſt the Spaniards. This occaſioned great confuſion in the buſineſs of the Engliſh admiralty, it being difficult to diſtinguiſh between the prizes made by the Engliſh, and thoſe taken by the French proteſtants.

The court of France was at this time in a very bad condition to ſupport a war againſt England; but all the catholics in that kingdom were united, and deſirous of exerting their utmoſt endeavours againſt the enemies of their religion. On the other hand the unpopularity of Buckingham, the high exertion of the prerogative, and the impriſonment of ſome of the worthieſt men in England, rendered the ſinçereſt intention of Charles diſtruſted: little could be expected from the efforts of a nation divided within itſelf.

A. D. 1627. At the inſtigation of Buckingham, Charles was perſuaded to engage in a war with France at a time when he was at a loſs to know how he ſhould continue that already begun with the houſe of Auſtria. In the ſpring of this year a fleet of one hundred ſail, having on board an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of that kingdom; and both intruſted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, though he was wholly unacquainted both with the land and ſea-ſervice.

This fleet ſailed from Portſmouth on the 7th of June, and on the 20th of July appeared before Rochelle. The inhabitants of that city were at this time divided into two factions, one for the French, and the other for the Engliſh. The former endeavoured to perſuade the people, that if the Engliſh were admitted into the town, they would, by their great ſuperiority at ſea, ſeize the government, and keep poſſeſſion of the place in defiance of the whole power of France. The latter, which was headed by the mother and ſiſter of the dukes of Rohan and Soubiſe, oppoſed theſe aſſertions; declaring that the Engliſh were their friends, and were come to ſupport their religious privileges. The French party, however, prevailed, and it was determined not to admit the Engliſh.

Buckingham, who was ſurprized that the gates were not opened, ſent Soubiſe and Sir William Becher aſhore, but it was not without difficulty they were permitted to enter the city. The council was immediately aſſembled, and Soubiſe did every thing in his power to perſuade them of the friendly intentions of the Engliſh monarch, and that he had fitted out this large and expenſive armament purely for their ſervice. The council, however, thought proper to decline the proffered aſſiſtance, under pretence that they could not determine on an affair of ſuch importance without conſulting the whole body of the Hugonots.

Exaſperated at this refuſal, Buckingham determined to make a deſcent on the iſland of Rhe. It had before been agreed between him and Soubiſe that the Engliſh ſhould land on Oleron, a fertile and then defenceleſs iſland, where refreſhments of every kind might be eaſily procured, and the troops in no danger of any attack from the enemy. But the Engliſh general thought proper to alter this plan of operations, and ſtood immediately for the iſland of Rhe, then well garriſoned and fortified. Had the military abilities of Buckingham been equal to his perſonal courage, he might have acquired immortal honor both to himſelf and his country. Thoyras the French general, who commanded in the iſland, no ſooner perceived the Engliſh were preparing to land, than he drew out his forces to oppoſe them; but imagining the firſt debarkation was only a feint to draw his attention to that quarter, while the main body of the Engliſh army was landed at another, he thought imprudent to attack them, till they were followed b greater numbers. Thoyras now perceived his mi take, and marched immediately to give them battle but the Engliſh volunteers jumping aſhore, and performing wonders in their own perſons, ſo animated the ſoldiers, that they preſſed forward with the utmo intrepidity, and put the enemy to flight, though fa ſuperior in numbers.

Soubiſe, who was an excellent ſoldier, adviſe Buckingham to purſue his victory, and immediately a tack the caſtle of St. Martin's. Had this prudent advice been followed, it would probably have been a tended with ſucceſs; but Buckingham pretended th it would be imprudent to march his troops again that fortreſs, till intelligence could be procured of th enemy. By this dilatory method of proceeding fi days were loſt to the Engliſh, and that loſs was irr trievable. He alſo neglected to take fort Prie, whi was then but meanly garriſoned, and being near t ſea would, in caſe of accident, have afforded an e cellent retreat.

At length, however, the duke opened his trenches before St. Martin's, and was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he aſſured the king, by expreſs, he would be maſter of the caſtle in eight days. This occaſioned a ridiculous proclamation to be publiſhed in England, for encouraging people to tranſport themſelves and their families to the iſland of Rhe. But Buckingham was not born to ſhine in a camp: though determined to ſtarve the enemy into a ſurrender, he took ſo little care to guard the ſeas, that the French found means to throw ammunition and proviſions into the place.

It was now ſufficiently evident that the caſtle was not to be taken in ſo eaſy a manner as Buckingham had imagined: he therefore endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of fort Prie; but the garriſon had been reinforced, and the attempt miſcarried. The French had now in the iſland an army, under the command of marſhal Schomberg, ſuperior in numbers to that of the Engliſh; but Buckingham determined to make an attack upon the place, in order to put an end to the ſiege by one deſperate attempt. He had been informed by ſome French deſerters, that there were no more than eight hundred ſoldiers in the caſtle, and that the courtin towards the ſea was but poorly fortified. It was therefore reſolved to ſtorm the courtin without attempting to make any breach in the wall. The army was accordingly divided into two bodies, one of which was to attack the caſtle on the land ſide, and the other on the ſea. The latter was the principal attack, and it was propoſed to mount the courtin with their ſcaling ladders. But the meaſures were ſo improperly taken that there were no hopes of ſucceſs. The French immediately perceived their intention, and ſuffered them to advance to the foot of the courtin, but the Engliſh ſoon found that their ladders were too ſhort for ſcaling the wall. They behaved, however, in both attacks with amazing intrepidity, but were at laſt obliged to retreat with the loſs of five hundred men killed, and fifty taken priſoners.

From this miſcarriage it was ſufficiently evident that any farther attack upon the caſtle would be the height of imprudence; and Buckingham accordingly began his march towards his ſhips, intending to paſs through a hollow way, the only paſſage by which he could retreat. The French army under marſhal Schomberg followed him at a diſtance. Buckingham perceived it, and offered the marſhal battle, which he declined, and the Engliſh continued their march towards the hollow way, their rear, by ſome ſtrange neglect, conſiſting only of the inſignificant guard of eighty horſe. When the Engliſh had advanced a conſiderable diſtance in the hollow way, they were attacked by the French cavalry, who forced the Engliſh rear-guard to break the ranks of their own men, and there being no room for the foremoſt battalions to form, a general rout enſued. But they had no ſooner paſſed the hollow way, than they faced about, and once more offered the marſhal battle, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained. Schomberg was too prudent to venture a general engagement; he retired with his troops, and Buckingham embarked his forces, after loſing near two thirds of his army.

Thus ended an expedition which totally diſcredited Buckingham both as an admiral and a ſoldier; he acquired no praiſe but that vulgar one of courage and perſonal bravery. If he was unpopular before, he was now deteſted by the people; the enemy triumphed in the narrow ſeas, and inſulted the Engliſh their own harbours. The inhabitants of Rochelle, who had declared for the Engliſh, were now in the moſt dreadful ſituation. They were threatened with immediate ſiege from their enraged maſter, and had expended great part of their proviſions in ſubſiſting Buckingham's forces on the iſland of Rhe. The deputies of that city were loud in their complaints; but ſo greatly was Charles infatuated with Buckingham, that all their repreſentations, joined with the general voice of his people, could not prevail upon him to cenſure the conduct of his ambitious favourite.

The miſcarriage of the French expedition produced a general diſcontent throughout the nation, and it appeared ſufficiently evident that ſomething muſt be immediately done to ſilence the clamours of the people. They believed their liberties had been raviſhed from them, and illegal taxes extorted. They ſaw their commerce daily declining, and the military honours, tranſmitted to them by their anceſtors, ſhamefully ſtained by two ill-concerted and unſucceſsful expeditions. They dreaded the calamities of a war carried on againſt two of the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe, and feared for their domeſtic ſafety from the general clamour excited in every part of the nation. Theſe evils were ſolely aſcribed to the obſtinacy of the king in adhering to the counſels of Buckingham, whoſe abilities were far from deſerving ſuch implicit confidence. The only expedient that offered to relieve the government from this embarraſſing ſituation, was that of calling a parliament. It was expected that the miſcarriage of the attempt upon Rhe would be ſeverely cenſured, and the duke's conduct made the ſubject of the cloſeſt ſcrutiny. Sir Robert Cotton therefore adviſed his majeſty, that Buckingham ſhould make a motion in the council for aſſembling the parliament; hoping that by his appearing to favour a meaſure ſo highly agreeable to the people, his former faults would be forgotten, and that inſtead of a tyrant and oppreſſor, he would be conſidered as the deliverer of his country.

A. D. 1628. Buckingham having, at the inſtigation of Sir Robert Cotton, made a motion in the council for the parliament to aſſemble, the ſame was unanimouſly agreed to, and they were ſummoned to meet on the 17th of March. Accordingly on that day his majeſty went to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he very pathetically enumerated the neceſſities of the government, and required the aſſiſtance of his parliament; but concluded with fairly telling the commons, "that if they did not do their duty in contributing to the neceſſities of the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his conſcience, uſe thoſe other means which God had put into his hands, in order to ſave that, which the follies of a few particular men would otherwiſe endanger. Take not this as a threatening, added he, for I ſcorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who, by nature and duty, has more care of your preſervation and proſperity."

As ſoon ſoon as Charles had finiſhed his ſpeech, the lord-keeper, by the king's command, laid before the houſe the ſtate of affairs in Europe, and the motives which induced the king to attempt the reduction of the dangerous power of the houſe of Auſtria, and to interpoſe between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. He obſerved, that the powers which uſed to balance the alarming greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria, were now otherwiſe employed; the Turk in an Aſiatic war, and the Swede in a war with Poland, fermented by Spain; that the king of Denmark was already ſtripped of great part of his dominions, and the houſe of Auſtria on the point of being maſters of all the ſea-coaſts between Dantzick and Embden: that they were arming all the ſhips they could procure in the Baltic ſeas, and endeavouring to engage the Hans Towns in their quarrel, in order to deprive the Engliſh of the Eaſtland trade, and make themſelves maſters of the ſea without ſtriking a blow: that the fleets of France and Spain were preparing in conjunction to ruin our fiſhery, and to render it dangerous for our merchant ſhips to paſs from one part of the kingdom to another: that a large armament was fitting out at Liſbon, in order, as there is the greateſt reaſon to fear, to make a deſcent either in England or Ireland. He then ſtrongly recommended unity, as the only means of diſappointing the intentions of the enemy, and preſſed them in the moſt earneſt manner to aſſiſt the government, as the moſt conſtitutional method of impoſing the neceſſary taxes. "This way "of parliamentary ſupplies, added he, as his majeſty "told you, he hath choſen, not as the only way, "but as the fitteſt; not becauſe he is deſtitute of "others, but becauſe it is the moſt agreeable to the "goodneſs of his own moſt gracious diſpoſition, and "to the deſire and weal of his people. If this be "deferred, neceſſity and the ſword of the enemy "make way to others. Remember his majeſty's "admonition; I ſay, remember it."

Notwithſtanding the members of this parliament were men of the ſame independent ſpirit with their predeceſſors, and poſſeſſed ſuch large eſtates that it was computed their riches ſurpaſſed three times that of the houſe of peers; though they were all inflamed with the love of liberty, and many of them had ſuffered by the violent meaſures of the government; yet they entered upon buſineſs with great temper and decorum. They feared that the king, diſguſted with popular aſſemblies, wanted only a fair pretence, offered by any incident or undutiful behaviour of the members, to govern alone with a deſpotic power; and ſhould that ever happen, no remedy could be hoped for, but from inſurrection and civil war; of which the iſſue would be extremely uncertain, and muſt, at all events, prove infinitely diſtreſſing to the whole nation. Decency of conduct was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the great work of reformation in the government, and to paſs ſome laws which might ſecure the privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the people.

Though the popular leaders had preſcribed a decent conduct to themſelves, they did not propoſe to ſuffer calmly the grievances under which the nation had lately groaned. They knew that the conſtitution of their country was at ſtake, and that every effort muſt be exerted in its defence. The cry of liberty was therefore echoed in the houſe of commons as it had antiently been in the Roman ſenate. "We are "called here by his majeſty, ſaid Sir Francis Seymour, to give him faithful counſel, ſuch as may "conduce to his honour and dignity, and we ought "to do it without flattery. We are ſent here by the "people to deliver them from their grievances, and "we ought to do it without fear. Not to be diſpoſed "to part with life and fortune, when the intereſt of "our king and country required the ſacrifice, were "not to be good ſubjects; but, on the other hand, "to ſuffer our property to be taken from us, inconſiſtently with liberty, our inclination, and the laws "of our country, this were to be ſlaves. While we "oppoſe ſuch encroachments, we tread only in the "ſteps of our great anceſtors, who always preferred "the public to their private intereſt, nay, even to "their very lives. It will be the higheſt injury to "ourſelves, to our poſterity, to our conſciences, if "we forego this claim and pretenſion."

"I read of a cuſtom, ſaid Sir Robert Phillips, "among the old Romans, that, once every year, "they held a ſolemn feſtival, in which their ſlaves "had liberty, without exception, to ſpeak what "they pleaſed, in order to eaſe their afflicted minds; "and, on the concluſion of the feſtival, the ſlaves "ſeverally returned to their former ſervitudes. This "inſtitution may, with ſome diſtinction, well ſet "forth our preſent ſtate and condition. After the "revolution of ſome time, and the grievous ſufferance of many violent oppreſſions, we have now, "at laſt, as thoſe ſlaves, obtained, for a day, ſome "liberty of ſpeech, but ſhall not, I truſt, be hereafter ſlaves. For we are born free. Yet, what "new illegal burthens our eſtates and perſons have "groaned under, my heart yearns to think of, my "tongue faulters to utter."

"The grievances by which we are oppreſſed, I "draw under two heads; acts of power againſt law, "and the judgment of lawyers againſt liberty."

He then mentioned three illegal judgments paſſed within his memory; after which he proceeded as follows:

"I can live, ſaid he, though another, who has "no right, be joined with me; nay, I can live, "though burdened with impoſitions beyond what at "preſent I labour under: but to have my liberty, "which is the ſoul of my life, raviſhed from me; to "have my perſon pent up in a goal, without relief "from law, and to be ſo adjudged,---O! improvident anceſtors! O! unwiſe forefathers! to be ſo "careful in providing for the quiet poſſeſſion of our "lands, and the liberties of parliament; and, at the "ſame time, to neglect our perſonal liberty, and "ſuffer us to lie in priſon during pleaſure, without "redreſs or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk "of liberties? Why trouble ourſelves with diſputes "about a conſtitution, franchiſes, properties of goods, "and the like? What may any man call his own, "if not the liberty of his perſon?"

"The ſame evil, added Sir Thomas Wentworth, "affects the king and the people, and the ſame remedy muſt heal it. We are to defend,---what? "---any new object?---no---our antient, our legitimate, our vital liberties; we muſt confirm the laws "eſtabliſhed by our anceſtors; we muſt put ſuch a "ſeal to them, as no licentious ſpirit ſhall dare to "break".

The whole houſe agreed in theſe noble and generous ſentiments; even the court party themſelves di not pretend to offer any thing but the plea of neceſſity in defence of the late meaſures purſued by th miniſtry, and to which the king had been reduced b the obſtinacy of the two laſt parliaments. No oppoſition was therefore made to a vote againſt arbitrar impriſonments, and forced loans.

But the zeal of the commons to defend their civ and perſonal liberties, did not prevent their attending to the affairs of religion. They preſented a petition to the king againſt recuſants; in anſwer to whic "he recommended them to think of a law again "popery; and aſſured his parliament, that the lenit "hitherto ſhewn to the Engliſh papiſts was only wi "a view to procure ſuitable advantages to Engli "proteſtants in popiſh countries, in which expectatio "he had been deceived; and promiſed, that unle "he ſaw better fruits for the future, he would ex "cute the laws againſt the papiſts to a greater degr "of ſeverity than was craved in their petition."

This anſwer had the deſired effect on the commo Pleaſed with the aſſurances his majeſty gave the they immediately proceeded to the buſineſs of t ſupply. Five ſubſidies were immediately voted him; with which, though much inferior to his wan he declared himſelf well ſatisfied; and aſked ſecreta Cook by how many voices it had been carried? Co told him, "by one;" at which Charles chang countenance: "Sir, added the ſecretary, yo majeſty hath herein the greater cauſe to rejoice, the houſe was ſo unanimous as to make but voice."

The ſupply, however, thus voted was not pa into a law; and the commons determined to emp the interval in providing ſome barrier to their ri and liberties. Forced loans, benevolences, ta with without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, billeting ſoldiers in private houſes, and the impoſition of martial law, were the grievances complained of, and againſt theſe a permanent remedy was to be provided. After ſome debates, a committee was appointed to draw up a ſtate of the national grievances under the title of "The Petition of Right," which they purpoſed to lay before the lords for their concurrence; that having obtained the ſanction of both houſes, it might have the force of an act of parliament as ſoon as it ſhould receive the royal aſſent.

No ſooner was Charles informed of the intentions of the commons, than he employed every expedient to divert them from their purpoſe, and ſent a meſſage by ſecretary Cook, wherein he deſired both the houſes, "clearly to let him know whether they would reſt upon his promiſe in favour of their liberties; which promiſe he had given at ſeveral times, and chiefly by the lord keeper's ſpeech made in his own preſence. If they did rely on it, he aſſured them, it ſhould be really and royally performed." This meſſage, with ſeveral others, the commons received with a ſeeming deference to the king's perſon and an invincible diſtruſt of his promiſes. The peers, who had in a manner ſtood neuter, began to fear the commons would go too far, and therefore recommended to them to conſider of his majeſty's aſſurances, and depend upon them. This occaſioned freſh debates, and many reaſons were urged a-new on both ſides. But Sir Thomas Wentworth put an end to them by ſaying, "that never houſe of parliament, ſo far as regarded themſelves, truſted more than the preſent to the goodneſs of their king: but we are ambitious, (ſaid he) that his majeſty's goodneſs may deſcend to poſterity, and we are accountable for a public truſt. There hath been a public violation of the laws by the king's miniſters; and nothing can ſatisfy the nation but a public reparation. Our deſire to vindicate the ſubjects right by bill, will carry us no farther than what is contained in former laws, with ſome modeſt proviſion for inſtruction, performance, and execution." Theſe ſentiments met with univerſal approbation, and were ſent to Charles by the commons as an anſwer to his meſſage.

The king ſtill deſiring them to depend on his promiſes, Sir Edward Coke ſaid, "was it ever known, that general words were a ſufficient ſatisfaction for particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the king the word of the ſovereign? When grievances are complained of, the parliament is to redreſs them. Did ever the parliament rely on meſſages? They have ever put up petitions of their grievances, and the king has ever anſwered them. The king's meſſage is very gracious; but what is the law of the realm? that is the queſtion. I have no diffidence of his majeſty: but the king muſt ſpeak by record, and in particulars. Did you ever know the king's meſſage come into a bill of ſubſidies? All ſucceeding kings will ſay, "Ye muſt truſt me as ye did my predeceſſor, and ye muſt have the ſame confidence in my meſſages." But meſſages of love never come into a parliament. Let us put up the Petition of Right: not that I diſtruſt the king; but that I cannot give truſt except in a parliamentary way."

The Petition of Right being by this time finiſhed, the commons ſent it up to the lords for their peruſal and concurrence. The lords, ſtill deſirous to abate the over-zeal of the lower houſe, propoſed to ſubjoin the following clauſe to it: "We humbly preſent this petition to your majeſty, not only with a care of preſerving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that ſovereign power with which your majeſty is intruſted for the protection, ſafety, and happineſs of your people."

The commons were by no means ſatisfied with this clauſe, which they aſſerted would leave their liberties in a ſtill more precarious ſituation than at preſent, for which reaſon they abſolutely rejected it; but not without giving the lords ample and ſatisfactory reaſons for ſo doing. All obſtacles being at length removed, the Petition of Right paſſed the commons, and was ſent up to the lords for their approbation, who immediately paſſed the ſame.

This petition, which may be called the ſecond Great Charter of England, is of ſuch importance, and forms ſo eſſential a part of the Engliſh conſtitution, that we ſhall preſerve a copy of it, as agreed to by both houſes of parliament. It is as follows:

"To the King's moſt excellent majeſty,

I. "Humbly ſhew unto our ſovereign lord the king, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, That whereas it is declared and enacted, by a ſtatute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid ſhall be laid or levied by the king, or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and aſſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and by authority of parliament holden in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That, from thenceforth, no perſon ſhould be compelled to make any loans to the king againſt his will, becauſe ſuch loans were againſt reaſon, and the franchiſe of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none ſhould be charged with any charge or impoſition called benevolence, or by ſuch like charge: by which the ſtatutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of this realm, your ſubjects have inherited this freedom, that they ſhould not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not ſet by common conſent in parliament.

II. "Yet, nevertheleſs, of late divers commiſſions directed to ſundry commiſſioners in ſeveral counties, with inſtructions, have iſſued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places aſſembled, and required to lend certain ſums of money unto your majeſty; and many of them, upon their refuſal ſo to do, have had an oath adminiſtered to them not warrantable by the laws and ſtatutes of this realm; and have been conſtrained to become bound to make appearance before your privy-council, and in other places; and others of them have been therefore impriſoned, confined, and ſundry other ways moleſted and diſquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in ſeveral counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commiſſioners for muſters, juſtices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majeſty, or your privy-council, againſt the laws and free cuſtoms of this realm.

III. "And whereas alſo, by the ſtatute called The Great Charter of the Liberties of England, it is declared and enacted, That no freeman may be taken or impriſoned, or be diſſeized of his freehold or liberties, or his free cuſtoms, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner deſtroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. "And in the eight and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, That no man, of what ſtate or condition that he be, ſhould be put out of his lands or tenements, nor taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſherited, nor put to death, without being brought to anſwer by due proceſs of law.

V. "Nevertheleſs, againſt the tenor of the ſaid ſtatutes, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your ſubjects have of late been impriſoned without any cauſe ſhewed; and when, for their deliverance, they were brought before juſtice, by your majeſty's writs of habeas corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court ſhould order, and their keepers commanded to certify the cauſes of their detainer, no cauſe was certified, but that they were detained by your majeſty's ſpecial command, ſignified by the lords of your privy-council; and yet were returned back to ſeveral priſons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make anſwer according to law.

VI. "And whereas of late, great companies of ſoldiers and mariners have been diſperſed in divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, againſt their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houſes, and there to ſuffer them to ſojourn, againſt the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. "And whereas alſo, by authority of parliament, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, That no man ſhould be fore-judged of life or limb againſt the form of the great charter and law of the land: and by the ſaid great charter, and other the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death but by the laws eſtabliſhed in this your realm, either by the cuſtoms of the ſame realm, or by acts of parliament: and whereas no offender, of what kind ſoever, is exempted from the proceedings to be uſed, and puniſhments to be inflicted by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm: nevertheleſs, of late, divers commiſſions, under your majeſty's great ſeal, have iſſued forth, by which certain perſons have been aſſigned and appointed commiſſioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the juſtice of martial law, againſt ſuch ſoldiers and mariners, or other diſſolute perſons joining with them, as ſhould commit any murther, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or miſdemeanor whatſoever, and by ſuch ſummary courſe and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is uſed in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of ſuch offenders, and them to cauſe to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. "By pretext whereof ſome of your majeſty's ſubjects have been, by ſome of the ſaid commiſſioners, put to death, when and where, if, by the laws and ſtatutes of the realm, they had deſerved death, by the ſame laws and ſtatutes alſo they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. "And alſo ſundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming an exemption, have eſcaped the puniſhments due to them by the laws and ſtatutes of this your realm, by reaſon that divers of your officers and miniſters of juſtice have unjuſtly refuſed or forborn to proceed againſt ſuch offenders, according to the ſame laws and ſtatutes, upon pretence that the ſaid offenders were puniſhable only by martial law, and by authority of ſuch commiſſioners as aforeſaid: which commiſſions, and all other of like nature, were wholly and directly contrary to the ſaid laws and ſtatutes of your realm.

X. "They do therefore humbly pray your moſt excellent majeſty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or ſuch like charge, without common conſent, by act of parliament; and that none be called to make anſwer, or take ſuch oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwiſe moleſted or diſquieted concerning the ſame, or for refuſal thereof: and that no freeman, in any ſuch manner as is before-mentioned, be impriſoned or detained: and that your majeſty would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid ſoldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be ſo burthened in time to come: and that the aforeſaid commiſſions, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commiſſions of like nature may iſſue forth, to any perſon or perſons whatſoever, to be executed as aforeſaid, leſt, by colour of them, any of your majeſty's ſubjects be deſtroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchiſe of the land.

XI. "All which they moſt humbly pray of your moſt excellent majeſty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm: and that your majeſty would alſo vouchſafe to declare, That the awards, doings, and proceedings to the prejudice of your people, in any of the premiſes, ſhall not be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example: and that your majeſty would alſo be pleaſed, for the further comfort and ſafety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleaſure, That in the things aforeſaid, all your officers and miniſters ſhall ſerve you according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majeſty, and the proſperity of this kingdom."

Nothing was now wanting but the royal aſſent to give this famous petition the force of a law. On the 2d of June the king went to the houſe of peers, and being ſeated in the chair of ſtate, the petition was read to him; but, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole aſſembly, inſtead of the clear, conciſe, and uſual form by which every bill is confirmed or rejected, Charles returned the following anſwer: "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm; and that the ſtatutes be put in due execution, that his ſubjects may have no cauſe to complain of any wrong or oppreſſions, contrary to the juſt rights and liberties, to the performance whereof he holds himſelf in conſcience as much obliged as of his own prerogative."

This anſwer was far from being ſatisfactory to the parliament; and ſoon after both houſes agreed in preſenting a joint petition to his majeſty, "for a clear and ſatisfactory anſwer to the Petition of Right, in full parliament."

In the mean time the commons commenced a vigorous proſecution againſt Dr. Manwaring, who had preached a ſermon, which, upon enquiry, they found to be printed by ſpecial command from the king. This diſcourſe contained doctrines ſubverſive of all civil liberty. It was therein advanced, "That though property was commonly lodged in the ſubject, yet, whenever any exigency required ſupply, all property was transferred to the king; that the conſent of parliament was not neceſſary for the impoſition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, however irregular, which the prince ſhould make upon his ſubjects." The commons having impeached him before the peers, they pronounced the following ſentence: "That he ſhould be impriſoned during the pleaſure of the houſe, be ſuſpended during three years, be incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical dignity or ſecular office, and that his book ſhould be called in and burnt."

Sir Edward Coke then made a motion in the houſe for impeaching the duke of Buckingham as the author of many of thoſe grievances under which the nation laboured. But Charles reſolved to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, and accordingly ſent a meſſage to the commons acquainting them that he deſigned in a few days to put an end to the ſeſſion, and deſired that they would not enter upon new buſineſs, nor caſt any aſperſions on his government and miniſtry. The commons, enraged at this meſſage, which they looked upon as preſcribing to them their method of proceeding, paid no regard to it; and it was foreſeen, that a violent tempeſt was ready to burſt on the duke. In order to prevent this, the king thought proper to gratify their wiſhes with regard to the petition of

Right. For this purpoſe he came to the houſe of peers on the ſeventh of June, and pronouncing the uſual form of words: "Let it be law as is deſired," gave full ſanction and authority to the petition.

This aſſent was received with loud acclamations in the houſe, and public rejoicings were made throughout the kingdom. The commons immediately paſſed the bill of ſubſidies; but they were far from being ſatisfied by the important conceſſion which Charles had made. Their ill humour had been ſo much heightened by the king's frequent evaſions and delays, that it could not be preſently appeaſed by an aſſent, which he allowed to have been extorted from him. Though they had granted the king this aid, yet they ſtill retained a pledge in their hands, which they imagined, would inſure the ſucceſs of all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully concealed their intention of attacking that branch of the revenue, till the royal aſſent had been given to the Petition of Right, which they juſtly conſidered as of the utmoſt importance. They then openly aſſerted that the levying tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the antient privileges of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right ſo lately granted.

They next reſumed the cenſure of Buckingham's conduct and behaviour, and againſt whom they had conceived a moſt implacable hatred. They drew up a remonſtrance to the king, in which they recapitulated all national grievances and misfortunes, and omitted no circumſtance, which could render the whole adminiſtration deſpicable and odious. In the concluſion of this remonſtrance they aſſerted, "the excluſive power of the ſaid duke, and the abuſe of that power, to be the principal cauſe of all the evils and dangers therein maintained; and therefore they humbly ſubmitted it to his majeſty's wiſdom, whether it can be ſafe for himſelf, or for his kingdom, that ſo great power both by ſea and land, as reſts in him, ſhould be truſted in the hands of any one ſubject whatſoever."

This remonſtrance was preſented to the king on the 17th of June. Charles received it with the utmoſt chagrin, and informed the houſe of commons that he ſhould ſoon put an end to the ſeſſion. Upon which they immediately applied themſelves to the finiſhing of the remonſtrance againſt tonnage and poundage. The king was highly incenſed when he heard of this remonſtrance; and well knowing what the event would be, if compleated by the commons and rejected by him, he reſolved to cut the ſeſſion ſhort before it could be perfected: for this purpoſe on the twenty-ſecond of June, while the remonſtrance was reading in the lower houſe, he came unexpectedly to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the ſeſſion to the twentieth of October.

Charles, being now freed from the embarraſſment of this aſſembly, turned his attention to foreign affairs, in which he was equally unſucceſsful as in thoſe at home. Rochelle had for ſome time been inveſted, and it was apparent, by Richlieu's taking the conduct of the ſiege upon himſelf, that he intended to exterminate the Hugonots, whoſe whole dependence was now upon the Engliſh. Charles was ſincerely deſirous of relieving them; and for that purpoſe diſpatched a fleet under the command of the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to the duke of Buckingham. This armament conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, and about ſixty ſmaller veſſels, moſt of them tranſports, carrying about two thouſand two hundred ſoldiers. As ſoon as the fleet reached Rochelle, Denbigh found means to inform the inhabitants of that city, that he was come to their relief, and deſired they would place lights on as many of the ſteeples as the months for which they had ſtill proviſion; but no ſuch ſignals appearing, it was concluded that they were already in the greateſt want of neceſſaries. The Engliſh admiral found the entrance into the harbour guarded by a great number of French ſhips; and promiſed the Rochellers, that he would, upon the return of the tide, attack the fleet of the enemy. During the night, a battery of nine pieces of cannon was erected at the mouth of the harbour, and played furiouſly on the Engliſh; and before noon the next day, the French ſhips were filled with troops; an army of land forces was drawn up upon the ſhore to oppoſe their landing, and all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for a vigorous defence, in caſe any attack ſhould be made by the Engliſh. Theſe difficulties did not, however, intimidate the Engliſh admiral; he prepared to relieve the place, and to ſink the French ſhips that guarded the paſſage into the harbour; but the wind changing, he was obliged to lay aſide his deſign. Three days after, he attacked the French ſhips on one ſide, while the Rochellers cannonaded their land forces on the other, and brought up four of their largeſt veſſels, which had been purpoſely built to draw as little water as poſſible, in order to paſs the bar; but found the attempt impracticable, not only for want of water, but alſo from the diſpoſitions the French had made to defend the paſſage. A few of the ſmaller ſhips, however, paſſed the bar, but were ſo warmly oppoſed by the French artillery, that they were obliged to return. Upon this miſcarriage, a council of war was held; where ſome of the Engliſh captains were of opinion, that the relief of the place was impracticable, and that the Rochellers had deceived them with regard to the facility of entering the harbour. This opinion was, however, by no means unanimous; for the Engliſh vice-admiral, and one captain Carr, exclaimed againſt the puſillanimity of the reſt; and the few ſmall ſhips in the fleet, belonging to the French proteſtants, offered, by the aſſiſtance of four merchantmen well armed, with three fire ſhips, and a proportial number of land forces, to throw a quantity of proviſions into the town. The earl of Denbigh, however, refuſed the offer, notwithſtanding the Rochellers agreed to pay for all the Engliſh ſhips that might miſcarry in this attempt. But neither this offer, nor the tears and prayers of the deputies of Rochelle, could prevail upon Denbigh. He returned to England, where he was loaded with calumny and diſgrace.

The failure of this expedition tended farther to prejudice the minds of the people againſt the duke of Buckingham. The enemies of that nobleman had induſtriouſly circulated the remonſtrance of the commons againſt him in every part of the kingdom. He perceived his ſituation; and found the wings of royal authority, broad as they were, too narrow to ſhelter him from the dreadful ſtorm raiſed againſt him by the parliament. He plainly ſaw that no efforts of his own, no conceſſions of his maſter, could recover his credit, and that nothing leſs than his blood could ſatisfy his enemies. He therefore threw aſide all other conſiderations, and reſolved, if poſſible, to ſignalize himſelf, and recover the favour of the people, however he might ſtand with the parliament; and well knew, that nothing could ſo readily effect this as his relieving Rochelle. He accordingly cauſed ten ſhips of a particular form, and peculiarly adapted to paſs the bar, to be built with the utmoſt expedition, and made the neceſſary diſpatches for ſailing, to relieve that place, now reduced to the laſt extremity. But a fixed gloom was ſettled on his countenance; he appeared abroad with omens of misfortune in his aſpect; his unſteady motions, his dark expreſſions, his earneſtly recommending his wife and children to Charles, his frequent ſolitary entertainments with his mother, his reflections on the tender ties of nature, and the ſoft endearments of life, which he was juſt going to leave behind him, ſufficiently declared that he feared ſomething of the moſt alarming nature. The fleet being ready to ſail, he repaired to Portſmouth, with a reſolution of relieving Rochelle, or periſhing in the attempt. But before he could ſet out on his expedition he met with that fate from the hand of an aſſaſſin, which, had he lived much longer, he would in all probability have ſuffered from the general reſentment of the nation.

This aſſaſſin was one John Felton, (a man of a good family, but of a gloomy, enthuſiaſtic diſpoſition) who had ſerved in the ſtation of lieutenant under the duke, in his late expedition to Rhe. His captain being killed in the retreat, Felton applied to Buckingham for the company; but being refuſed, he threw up his commiſſion, and retired, diſcontented, from the army. The remonſtrance of the commons rouzed at once both his reſentment and enthuſiaſtic fury: he was now convinced, that it would be a meritorious ſervice in the ſight of heaven to murder Buckingham, whom the parliament had accuſed as the author of all the misfortunes of his country. Filled with theſe ideas, he repaired to Portſmouth, fully determined to put his bloody deſign into immediate execution.

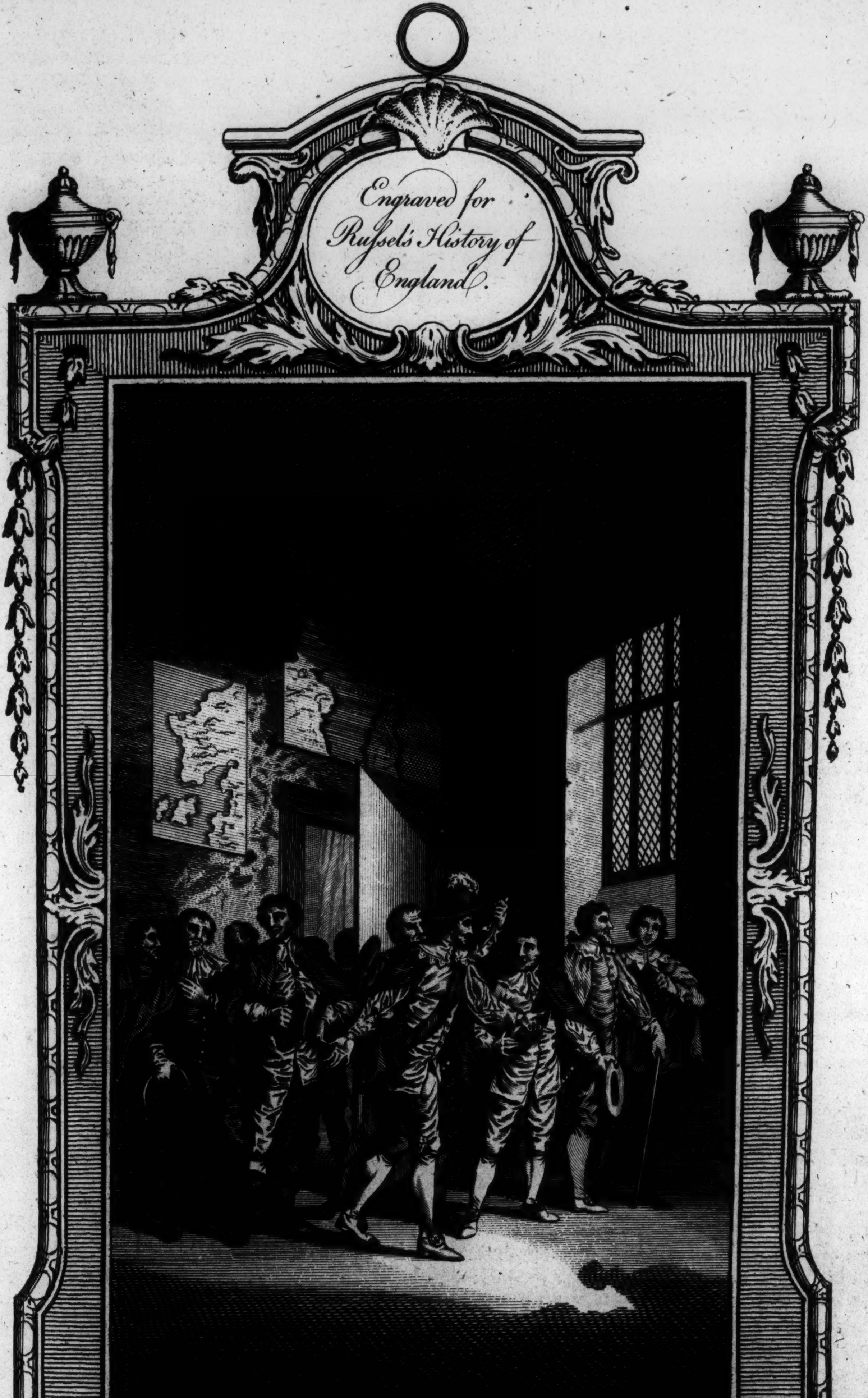
On the 23d of Auguſt Buckingham received ſome advices, informing him, that a ſmall convoy of proviſions had got ſafe into Rochelle. This intelligence he communicated to the duke of Soubiſe, and other French gentlemen in his train, who inſiſted, with great vehemence, that the whole was falſe, and calculated only to retard the ſailing of the fleet. During theſe aſſeverations, the duke drew towards the door; and turning himſelf in the paſſage, to ſpeak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was ſtabbed by an unknown hand, over Sir Thomas's ſhoulder. The knife, with which the wound was given, reached his heart; and, without uttering any other words, than "The villain has killed me," he drew out the knife, and immediately expired.

As no perſon had ſeen the hand that gave the blow, it was conjectured that the murder had been perpetrated by the French gentlemen, whoſe angry tone of voice had been heard, while their words had not been underſtood by the people. Some were for putting them to death immediately, but were prevented by the more conſiderate part, who thought it highly reaſonable they ſhould undergo a lawful trial. In the midſt of this confuſion, a hat was found near the door, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, containing three or four lines of the remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom. All were now convinced that this hat belonged to the aſſaſſin; but there was ſufficient reaſon to think he had eſcaped far enough, during the tumult, not to be found without a hat. They were, however, miſtaken; Felton never attempted to fly from juſtice, and he was ſoon perceived walking very ſedately before the door without his hat. He was immediately ſeized, confeſſed the murder, and ſeemed to triumph in the action. The enraged ſoldiers drew their ſwords, and were for ſacrificing him immediately on the ſpot. Their fury had no effect upon Felton; he readily expoſed his breaſt to their ſwords, and ſeemed willing to fall a preſent victim to their anger. Their fury was, however, prevented, and the aſſaſſin was ſecured. Some gentlemen, deſirous of finding whether Felton had any accomplices, hinted that Buckingham, though dangerouſly wounded, was not dead, and that there were great hopes of his recovery. Felton ſmiled at this, and replied, in words very expreſſive of his enthuſiaſm, "I know that he is dead, (ſaid he) for I had the force of forty men when I ſtruck the blow." Being queſtioned with regard to the perſons by whoſe inſtigations he had performed the horrid deed, he told them, that their inquiries were uſeleſs; that no perſon upon earth had credit ſufficient with him to have diſpoſed him to undertake ſuch an action; that no man living was privy to his purpoſe; that the reſolution proceeded wholly from the impulſe of his own conſcience; and that if his hat was found, his motives would ſufficiently appear; for, thinking he ſhould periſh in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them.

Charles was at church when the news was brought him of his favourite's death; but he was ſo earneſt in his devotions, that no diſcompoſure appeared in his actions, nor alteration in his countenance. The ſervice, however, was no ſooner over, than he retired to his chamber, and gave vent to his ſorrows in a flood of tears. During his whole life, he expreſſed his regard for Buckingham by a ſeries of munificent acts towards his widow, his children, and his friends. Some of the council, and biſhop Laud in particular, threatened Felton with the rack, if he did not diſcover his accomplices. But this had no effect upon the aſſaſſin: he calmly replied, "that if he was put to the torture, he did not know whom he might name in the extremity of anguiſh, perhaps the biſhop himſelf." The judges, however, being conſulted, declared, that though that practice had been formerly common, no man, by the laws of England, could be put to the torture. Reflection and confinement had more effect on the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of Felton than all their threatenings. He ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to recover from his deluſion, expreſſed remorſe for what he had done, and ſuffered death with compoſure and reſignation.

Thus fell, in the 37th year of his age, the celebrated George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, whoſe riſe was ſudden, his promotions rapid, and his end untimely. Notwithſtanding the load of public cenſure heaped upon this great favourite and miniſter, there is reaſon to believe that he meant well both to his maſter and his country; and that his chief misfortunes proceeded from jealouſy in others, who thought the great and extenſive power he enjoyed dangerous to the rights of a free people. It is poſſible, if he had lived a few years longer, he might have ſeen through the temptations of greatneſs, and have proved as great a pillar of the ſtate as any of his predeceſſors. He was of a moſt noble and generous diſpoſition: he ſeldom ſtudied to conceal his reſentments, either of love or hatred; in the former he was immoderate, in the latter he was not ſanguinary; but once offended, he never could forget: his courage was great, but it ſometimes tranſported him to fear, for if he had a little yielded to the times, and withdrawn from thoſe ſtorms he could neither prevent nor allay, he might, perhaps, have found a milder fate.

Though the death of Buckingham greatly affected Charles, yet it did not extinguiſh his deſire of relieving Rochelle. He gave the command of the fleet to the earl of Lindſay, and repaired in perſon to Portſmouth, in order to haſten the ſailing of the fleet. His preſence had ſuch effect, that more was done in ten or twelve days, than in almoſt as many weeks before. It was, however, the eighth of September before the fleet ſailed from Portſmouth, when the vaſt genius of Richelieu had finiſhed a work thought impoſſible to be executed in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time: this was a mole of more than a mil in length, carried acroſs the mouth of the harbou in the boiſterous ocean, and by means of which al relief by ſea was cut off. On the eighteenth of September the fleet reached the road of Rochelle; bu a calm coming on, it was the twentieth before th ſhips approached the mole, when a furious cannonad bega



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

The DUKE of BUCKINGHAM Aſsaſsinated by FELTON.

Wale delin. White ſculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

began, and continued for two hours, without any great loſs on either ſide. Next day the cannonading continued, but with leſs vigour; though it was known, by a gentleman who had found means to eſcape from Rochelle, that the inhabitants, unleſs relieved in two days, muſt ſurrender. But even this intelligence produced no effect on the Engliſh captains, who appear to have been deſtitute of experience, and ſome of them courage. The duke of Soubiſe offered to attempt the mole with the French ſhips, provided the Engliſh would promiſe to follow him; but this propoſal was rejected in a council of war, by a majority of the Engliſh captains. The count Laval next propoſed, with the help of artificial mines, contrived in three ſhips, to attempt to blow up the mole; but this was alſo rejected, and the time was ſpent in fruitleſs cannonading. At laſt it was determined, in a council of war, to make one general and deciſive attack upon the mole; but before the deſign could be carried into execution, the beſieged were obliged to capitulate. Of fifteen thouſand perſons who had been ſhut up in the town, four thouſand only ſurvived the fatigues and famine they had undergone. A more ſhocking ſcene of calamity was never beheld than Rochelle preſented at the time of its ſurrender. The living were not ſufficient to bury the dead, ſo that vermin and birds of prey devoured the uninterred bodies in the ſtreets. Many carried their coffins into the church-yards, to lie down in them, never more to riſe: and the few inhabitants who ſurvived appeared rather as ſpectres and ſkeletons than men.

The diſguſt which the failure of this expedition occaſioned in the nation made Charles think it improper to let the parliament meet according to their adjournment, which was in October. He therefore farther prorogued that aſſembly to the twentieth of January.

A. D. 1629. The parliament being met on the day appointed, the grand committee were very buſy and active in traverſing whatever views they thought the council might have adopted. They pretended that religion was much injured by the growth of popery and arminianiſm. Buckingham, the great object of their hatred, being now removed, their reſentment glowed with double rancour againſt Laud, biſhop of London, who, as the king's ſpiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a ſuperſtitious eccleſiaſtic, chief of the Arminian ſect, by whoſe intereſt Montague, Cozens, Sibthorpe, and Manwaring had been pardoned, and even promoted to biſhoprics, or rich benefices; and they exclaimed againſt him as an implacable foe, not only to the puritans, but alſo to the liberty of his country.

While the committee were thus employed in examining religious grievances, the reſt of the houſe were no leſs active in their enquiries concerning civil affairs. Though the remonſtrance againſt tonnage and poundage had not been preſented to the king, it was made public, and, by it, the people could eaſily judge what were the ſentiments of the commons. Upon this foundation ſeveral merchants refuſed to pay this duty to the king, among whom were Rolles, Chambers and Vaſſal. Rolles was a member of the houſe, notwithſtanding which, on his refuſal, his warehouſe was ſealed up by the officers of the cuſtoms; and Chambers and Vaſſal were condemned by the barons of the exchequer, who ordered their goods to be detained. The affair of Rolles was, by the commons, adjudged a breach of the privilege of their houſe, and the cuſtom-houſe officers were ſummoned before the houſe to anſwer their miſdemeanor therein. But Charles ſupported his officers, and, in a meſſage he ſent to the commons, informed them, that what theſe men had done was only in compliance with his orders. This heightened the quarrel between him and his parliament. A motion was made in the houſe to impeach Sir Richard Weſton, lord treaſurer; and the king began to entertain thoughts of finiſhing the ſeſſion by a diſſolution.

The commons now reſolved to proceed to a remonſtrance againſt the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage being levied without conſent of parliament. The king, finding them thus refractory, adjourned the parliament to the twenty-fifth of February, and afterwards to the ſecond of March. At their meeting the ſame buſineſs was again brought on the carpet. Sir John Elliot had framed the intended remonſtrance, and offered it to the clerk to read; which he refuſing, he read it himſelf. The queſtion being then called for, Sir John Finch, the ſpeaker, ſaid, "that he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no queſtions," and immediately left the chair. This occaſioned a violent uproar in the houſe. The ſpeaker was forced back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by two of the members, till the following ſhort proteſtation was drawn up and read.

I. "Whoſoever ſhall bring in an innovation of religion, or by favour ſeek to introduce popery, or arminianiſm, or other opinions diſagreeing from the true and orthodox church, ſhall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

II. "Whoſoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking or levying, of the ſubſidies tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or ſhall be an actor or inſtrument therein, ſhall likewiſe be reputed a common enemy to the commonwealth.

III. "If any man ſhall voluntarily yield to pay the ſaid ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, ſhall be reputed a betrayer to the liberties of England, and an enemy to the commonwealth."

This remonſtrance was paſſed by acclamation rather than by vote, while many of the members, thinking the leaders had gone too far in their oppoſition, expreſſed their diſlike of the whole proceeding, and the greateſt indecencies, even to blows, were committed. The king ſent the gentleman uſher of the houſe of lords, but the doors were locked, and he could obtain no admittance till the remonſtrance was finiſhed. As ſoon as the door was opened, he, by the king's order, took the mace from the table, which put an end to their proceedings; and a few days after the parliament was diſſolved.

This violent rupture between the king and his parliament alarmed the nation; but Charles took no care to make uſe of lenient meaſures, which might, perhaps, have effected a reconciliation. On the contrary, he inflamed the diſcontents of the people by acts of ſeverity. Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, eſq; William Coriton, Walter Long, and William Strode, were committed to priſon, on account of the late tumult in the houſe, which was called ſedition, and with great difficulty, after ſeveral delays, they were releaſed. Sir John Elliot, Denzil Holles, and Benjamin Valentine were ſummoned to their trial in the king's bench, for ſeditious ſpeeches and behaviour in parliament; but refuſing to anſwer before an inferior court for their conduct, as being members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the former in a thouſand pounds each, and the latter in five hundred.

A. D. 1630. Charles, deprived of all hopes of ſupply, was now forced to conclude a peace with the two crowns againſt whom he had hitherto carried on a war, begun without neceſſity, and proſecuted with, out glory. The crown of France, though victorious over its proteſtant ſubjects, was greatly weakened by civil diſſenſions which prevailed among the princes of the blood: it was alarmed by the greatneſs of the houſe of Auſtria, and on the point of engaging in a war with Italy. In ſhort, Lewis wanted a peace as much as Charles; and it was accordingly agreed, that the Venetians ſhould interpoſe their good offices for a peace between the two crowns. The articles were therefore ſoon adjuſted; but contain nothing remarkable. Charles could not, in his preſent circumſtances, pretend to inſiſt on any terms for the Hugonots: they were left to the mercy of their own ſovereign.

The Spaniards, having been very unfortunate in Italy for above two years, liſtened to the advances made by Charles for a peace. The articles, however, had nothing advantageous, either to Charles or his allies; nothing was ſtipulated in favour of the prince palatine, except a promiſe from Philip III. to uſe his good offices in order to reſtore him to his electorate.

While theſe things were tranſacting, Charles was ſtudying the means of raiſing money, and eſtabliſhing his own authority by puniſhing all who dared to oppoſe it. Among other methods of filling his coffers was that of appointing commiſſioners to compound with thoſe, who, though ſummoned at his coronation to receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward the ſecond, an old cuſtom was enacted into a law, importing, that every man who poſſeſſed twenty pounds a year in land ſhould be knighted; and moſt of the ſucceeding monarchs had carried this law into execution. Charles, conſidering the value of money between that reign and the preſent time, ſummoned thoſe only whoſe yearly rent amounted to forty pounds; yet even this mitigation was conſidered as a hardſhip; becauſe, the value of twenty pounds in the time of Edward was equal to four times that ſum in the reign of Charles. A great number had therefore refuſed to obey the mandate, and theſe were now fined for their diſobedience.

Theſe proceedings occaſioned many complaints, which were greatly encreaſed by the king's giving orders for levying the tonnage and poundage with the utmoſt rigour. The officers of the cuſtoms were impowered to enter houſes, and break open warehouſes, cheſts, and cloſets, to ſearch for goods which had not paid duty: and under pretence of ſearching they committed innumerable acts of fraud and oppreſſion. This encreaſed the popular clamour to an enormous height, and the council, in order to prevent any dangerous inſurrection, iſſued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, from a perſuaſion that their appearance would ſufficiently intimidate the populace; while they were, on the other hand, amuſed with public orders for putting in execution the laws againſt papiſts. At the ſame time the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting excluſive privileges for the ſale of various ſpecies of commodities and proviſions, to the unſpeakable prejudice of trade and manufactures.

Charles was better pleaſed to govern by his prerogative alone, than in conjunction with his parliament; and leſt the hopes of relief or protection from the commons might encourage oppoſition, he iſſued a proclamation, in which he declared, "That whereas, for ſeveral ill ends, the calling again of a parliament is divulged; though his majeſty has ſhewn, by frequent meeting with his people, his love to the uſe of parliaments: yet the late abuſe having, for the preſent, driven him unwillingly out of that courſe, he will account it preſumption in any one to preſcribe to him any time for the calling that aſſembly." This was generally conſidered as a declaration that, during this reign, no more parliaments were intended to be ſummoned.

A. D. 1631. The eyes of the Engliſh were now turned toward their beloved object the queen of Bohemia; and the king was very deſirous of procuring ſome relief for his unfortunate ſiſter and her family. He joined his good offices with thoſe of France, and mediated a peace between the kings of Poland and Sweden, in hopes of engaging the latter to protect the oppreſſed proteſtants of the empire, and reſtore the elector palatine to his dominions. This was the celebrated Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe military genius, ſeconded by the wiſeſt policy, rendered him, in a ſhort time, the moſt diſtinguiſhed monarch of the age, and rendered his country, formerly unknown and neglected, of great weight in the balance of Europe. To encourage and aſſiſt him in his projected invaſion of Germany, Charles agreed to furniſh him with ſix thouſand men; but, at the ſame time, to preſerve the appearance of neutrality, he made uſe of the marquis of Hamilton's name, a nobleman allied to the crown. Hamilton entered into an engagement with Guſtavus, and after enliſting theſe troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe. The deciſive battle of Leipſic was fought ſoon after; where the conduct of Tilly and the valour of the imperialiſts were overcome by the ſuperior conduct of Guſtavus, and the ſuperior valour of the Swedes. What remained of this hero's life was one continued ſcene of victory; for which he was leſs beholden to fortune than to thoſe perſonal endowments which he derived from nature and from induſtry. That rapid progreſs of conqueſt which we ſo much admire in antient hiſtory, was here renewed in modern annals; and without that cauſe to which in former ages it had been owing. Military nations were not now engaged againſt an undiſciplined and unwarlike people, nor heroes ſet in oppoſition to cowards. The veteran troops of Ferdinand, conducted by the moſt celebrated generals of the age, were foiled in every encounter, and all Germany wa over-run in an inſtant by the victorious Swedo This rapid ſeries of conqueſts brought at laſt the elector palatine to Munich. That unfortunate princ now ſaw himſelf on the point of being reſtored to hi dominions, and even to the crown of Bohemia, b the hand of the conqueror: when in the ſecond batt near Leipſic, fought in the plains of Lutzen, Guſta vus was ſlain in the midſt of a victory he had alread gained.

The death of Guſtavus proved fatal to Frederi who now deſpairing of any further reſource, was ſe zed with a violent fever, occaſioned by his immode rate grief, which, in a few months, but a period to life filled with perpetual croſſes and diſappointment

A. D. 1632. Charles, ſince the diſſolution of th laſt parliament, had brought over to his intereſt ſev ral of the principal leaders who oppoſed his meaſure One of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among theſe was S Thomas Wentworth, now become ſo zealous a d fender of the royal authority, that the king made hi preſident of the council of York. This court h been erected, after a rebellion in the north, by patent from Henry VIII. without any authority parliament; and this exerciſe of power, like ma others, was indulged by that arbitrary monarch. T council of York had long acted chiefly as a crimin court; but beſides ſome innovations introduced James, Charles thought proper, on Wentwort being made preſident, to extend its powers, a to give it a large civil juriſdiction, and, in ſo meaſure, a diſcretionary power. Poſſibly the kin intention in this was nothing more than to free inhabitants of the northern counties from the troub expence, and fatigue, of attending the courts at Weſtminſter. But it ſoon appeared that the inhabitants were, by this means, deprived of the protection of the ordinary law, and ſubjected to an arbitrary authority. And accordingly ſome irregular proceedings in that court were now complained of, and tended to exaſperate the people ſtill more againſt the government.

When Wentworth was gained over to the court party, Sir Dudley Digges was made maſter of the rolls, Noy attorney-general, and Littleton ſolicitor-general. All theſe were leading men in the houſe of commons. But it ſoon appeared, that the ſame abilities which are ſufficient to perplex a court by their oppoſition, are not capable of effectually ſerving it by their compliance. Charles flattered himſelf, that by engaging theſe eminent leaders in his ſervice, his government would meet with no more oppoſition, and that a calm tranquillity would be eſtabliſhed in his kingdom during the remainder of his reign; but his own upright intentions to make the virtues of his miniſters ſupply the laws of his country fatally deceived him. Laud purſued the puritans with unremitting fury, and was fond of introducing new ceremonies into the church, and of carrying to the utmoſt height the power of the prieſthood

A. D. 1633. Charles had been for ſome time deſirous of viſiting his antient kingdom of Scotland; and as there was no parliament now ſitting, he determined to embrace this opportunity of gratifying his inclinations. He accordingly ſet out for that kingdom about the middle of May, and was attended by the whole flower of the Engliſh nobility, who vied with each other in the ſplendor of their equipages. It was the fifteenth of June before he reached Edinburgh; and on the tenth of the ſame month he was crowned in that city, with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. On the 20th the parliament met, and granted the king a larger ſubſidy than had ever been given to any other monarch of that realm.

Charles inherited his father's deſign of bringing he religion of Scotland to a conformity with the nglish church; and Laud, biſhop of London, accompanied him in this journey to facilitate the execuon of his ſcheme. As a preparatory ſtep, two acts ere paſſed in the Scottiſh parliament, the firſt enti-ed "Concerning the king's prerogative, and the abits of the clergy." This was no other than the onfirmation of another ſtatute enacted in the prece-ng reign, empowering the king to give what orders e ſhould think proper, with regard to the dreſs of e clergy. The other ratified and improved all the atutes which had been made concerning the liberties d franchiſes of the true church. But theſe acts met th great oppoſition from the preſbyterians. They nſidered the firſt as a prelude to the uſe of the ſurce, which they looked upon as an abomination: d the words "at preſent profeſſed," they conſider- as an equivocal expreſſion, calculated to reſtore iſcopal government. Their church was governed provincial ſynods, and general aſſemblies; but the hops ſtill ſubſiſted, though without the leaſt juriſtion or influence. The bill was, however, paſſed, t occaſioned great heats and diſcontents among the ople.

The fears entertained by the Scotch religioniſts were ill-founded. The king's real intention was to roduce the rites of the Engliſh church, and reabliſh epiſcopacy in all its former power and ſplen-. Biſhop Laud preached in the royal chapel at inburgh on the benefit of conformity, and the ſad ceremonies of the church. He propoſed to the ttiſh biſhops, that the Engliſh liturgy ſhould be ived in their ſervice. They objected to this propoſal, as ſuch a ſtep could not fail of alarming the nation, as the reception of the Engliſh liturgy would be conſidered as the fore-runner of Engliſh laws, and an encroachment on the independency of the kingdom. They therefore requeſted that another form might be compoſed for the uſe of the Scottiſh church, that ſhould be the ſame in ſubſtance, but different in ſome particulars of little conſequence. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud. He was was himſelf jealous of the independence of his native kingdom; and accordingly appointed a ſelect number of the Scottiſh biſhops to form a new liturgy for their own ſervice. At the ſame time he erected Edinburgh into a biſhopric, created the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom, and admitted ſeveral other prelates to ſeats in the privy council, and in the college of juſtice: a very unſeaſonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy, while the biſhops by this promotion incurred the hatred and envy of the nobility, who, though they reſpected them in their eccleſiaſtical capacity, could not bear to ſee them in civil ſtations to which they thought themſelves better entitled.

Charles, having partly ſucceeded in his attempt to reſtore epiſcopal government in Scotland, returned to London, and immediately beſtowed the archbiſhopric of Canterbury (vacant by the death of Abbot) on his favorite Laud, who, by this acceſſion of authority, was now enabled to ſupport eccleſiaſtical diſcipline with the greateſt vigour.

On the elevation of Laud to the archiepiſcopal ſee, Dr. Juxon was placed in the ſee of London, and at the ſame time was made lord high treaſurer. He was a perſon of great integrity, mildneſs, humanity, and underſtanding; but all his virtues could not procure him the friendſhip of the puritans. He was a lover of hunting, and other ſports of the field; a ſufficient reaſon, however eminent in virtue, to procure him the hatred of thoſe whoſe religion admitted not of the leaſt relaxation.

Charles was very deſirous of introducing a chearfulneſs into the national religion. He renewed his father's edict for allowing ſports and recreations on Sunday, after the ſervice was over, to ſuch as attended the public worſhip; and ordered his proclamation for that purpoſe to be publicly read by the clergy after divine ſervice. Thoſe who were puritanically affected refuſed obedience, and were puniſhed by ſuſpenſion or deprivation. This tended greatly to widen the breach between the church and the diſſenters, and promote that ill humour and diſcontent already too predominant in the nation. The queen, though ſtrictly virtuous, was immoderately fond of pleaſure, particularly the entertainments of the ſtage; and her example was followed by the whole court, and the greateſt men in the nation.

In the midſt of this diſſipation, William Prynne, a puritanical barriſter of Lincoln's-inn, publiſhed an enormous quarto of a thouſand pages, intituled, Hiſtorio-Maſtyx. Its profeſſed purpoſe was to decry ſtage-plays, comedies, interludes, muſic, dancing, and other diverſions of that kind; but he alſo took occaſion to declaim againſt hunting, public feſtivals, Chriſtmas-keeping, bonfires, and may-poles. The author tells us, in his preface, that he was excited to write againſt theſe enormities, by obſerving that plays ſold better than the choiceſt ſermons, and that they were frequently printed on finer paper than even the Bible itſelf. He maintained that moſt of the players were papiſts, and all of them deſperately wicked; that the play-houſes were Satan's chapels, the frequenters of them little better than devils incarnate, and every ſtep in a dance was a ſtep to hell; that the principal crime of Nero was that of frequenting and acting of plays; and that thoſe who conſpired his death were chiefly excited to it by their indignation at that enormity. This publication gave ſo much offence to the court, that Prynne was indicted before the ſtar-chamber, where his behaviour was remarkably obſtinate and petulant, which tended to increaſe the rigour of his ſentence. He was condemned to pay a fine of 5000l. to the king, to be put from the bar, and rendered incapable of his profeſſion; to be excluded from the ſociety of Lincoln's Inn, and degraded in Oxford; to ſtand on the pillory in Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, to loſe an ear at each place, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment.

The diſtinguiſhed ſeverity of this ſentence raiſed the government many enemies, and greatly augmented the members of the puritan party. It was thought extremely hard that an invective againſt plays ſhould merit a puniſhment proper only for the greateſt criminals. But it muſt be obſerved, that this ſatire againſt the diverſions in vogue, though the pretended, was not the real crime for which Prynne was condemned. He had ſeverely cenſured the practices of the new hierarchy, and the ceremonies introduced by Laud; a crime which that imperious prelate could not forgive.

A. D. 1634. Freſh troubles now aroſe in conſequence of the Dutch, who were become the moſt diſtinguiſhed rivals to the Engliſh in point of commerce. James had made ſeveral attempts for hindering them from fiſhing on the coaſt of England, but all his prohibitions were in vain; the Dutch, after various pretences, at laſt aſſerted they had a right to fiſh upon the Britiſh coaſts, which right, they ſaid, was founded on immemorial poſſeſſion. The ſtates of Holland, however, diſavowed this plea of their commiſſioners; but at the ſame time declared, that however unjuſt, and however contrary to the rights of ſovereignty in the crown of England their practice of fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts might be, it was ſo abſolutely neceſſary to the very exiſtence of their ſtate, that they dared not give it up, or pay any acknowledgment for it, leſt their people ſhould riſe in open rebellion againſt them.

This was an argument not to be anſwered by reaſon, and Charles was determined to drive them by force from the Britiſh coaſts. Vigorous meaſures were, therefore, begun in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; but theſe could not be carried on without proportional revenues; and thoſe of Charles were only barely ſufficient for maintaining the ſplendor of the court, performing his engagements with foreign princes, and defraying the neceſſary expences of his government. Noy, the attorney-general, was therefore deſired to project ways and means for fitting out a fleet ſufficiently powerful to execute his purpoſe. Noy fell upon the expedient of ſhip-money, grounded upon obſolete uſages and records, which juſtified a tax upon the people for furniſhing a certain number of ſhips for the defence of the ſeas.

In conſequence of this, writs were immediately iſſued, with which were given inſtructions and directions from the lords of the council for the aſſeſſing and levying the ſhip-money. Theſe inſtructions were directed to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties; and the reſpective officers appointed to gather the tax were inveſted with the moſt arbitrary powers. Thoſe who refuſed to pay their proportion were to be diſtreſſed, and their goods ſold for payment, without any reſpect of perſons. The writ being ſerved upon the lord-mayor of London, he immediately ſummoned a common-council, when it was agreed to preſent the following petition to the king:

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

"The humble petition of your faithful ſubjects, "the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of your city "of London, moſt humbly ſheweth,

"That whereas your majeſty, by writ bearing teſte "20 Octobris laſt, commanded your petitioners, at "their own charge, to provide ſeven ſhips of war furniſhed with men, victuals, and all warlike proviſions, to be at Portſmouth by the firſt of March "next, and to continue from that time during the "ſpace of twenty-ſix weeks in your majeſty's ſervice, "upon the defence of the ſeas, and other cauſes in "the ſaid writ contained:

"Your petitioners do, in all ſubmiſſive humbleneſs, and with acknowledgements of your ſacred "majeſty's favours unto your ſaid city, inform your "majeſty, that they conceive, that by antient privileges, grants, and acts of parliament, which they "are ready humbly to produce, they are exempt, and "are to be freed from that charge.

"And do moſt humbly pray,

"That your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, "that the petitioners, with your princely grace and "favour, may enjoy the ſaid privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing of the ſaid ſhips "and proviſions."

Charles, however, notwithſtanding this oppoſition of the capital, proceeded with as much violence as i ſhip-money had always been an eſtabliſhed tax, and as if he did not expect to meet with any oppoſition to his arbitrary proceedings. Noy, the attorney-general, dying about this time, left the affair unfiniſhed; but the neceſſities of Charles increaſing, he reſolved that ſhip-money ſhould be extended t the inland as well as the marine counties. But i order to this, it was neceſſary to employ proper per ſons, and to invent plauſible pretences. Sir Rober Heath, lord chief juſtice, had, in many reſpects, bee found untractable, and was accordingly removed fro his office, and his place ſupplied by Sir John Finch a lawyer of great eloquence, and a firm friend to th court; and Sir John Banks was made attorney-gene ral. It was, probably, owing to the opinion of tho lawyers, who were far inferior in abilities to Noy, th Charles made ſhip-money a general tax; but eve this attempt did not alarm the nation ſo much as w expected. The merchants, who generally take th lead on theſe occaſions, were too well acquainted wi the advantages of commerce to riſque them by a oppoſition which might have given the court a pr tence for impoſing heavier duties upon goods; a as the tax propoſed fell more heavy on the land than the trading intereſt of the kingdom, they did n for ſome time, conſider it as a ſtretch of arbitra power. This acquieſcence gave the court a perf ſecurity. Charles endeavoured to fill the kingdo with apprehenſions, that the Dutch and the Fren having entered into a new alliance, would certain attempt to make themſelves maſters of the narro ſeas; and a proclamation was accordingly publiſhe commanding all Engliſh ſeamen and ſhip-wrig who were in foreign ſervices, to return home i mediately.

A. D. 1636. In the ſpring of this year a flee ſixty ſail of large ſhips was fitted out, under the co mand of the earl of Northumberland; and a p clamation was iſſued, ſtrictly forbidding all perſo not the natural-born ſubjects of theſe kingdoms, fr fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſt, without proper licen from the king, who farther declared, that he inten always to keep a ſtrong ſquadron at ſea, in orde prevent all ſuch encroachments for the future, an protect thoſe ſhips of his friends and allies who ſho take out licences. The earl of Northumberl ſailed in the month of May; and coming up ſome of the Dutch ſhips, he ſunk all that refuſe leave the coaſts, and diſcontinue their fiſhery.

This ſpirited conduct ſtruck a terror into all the maritime powers of Europe; even the haughty Richlieu himſelf, who had formed a deſign of rendering the Dutch the rivals of the Engliſh on the ocean, was obliged to abandon his project. The Dutch themſelves applied to Charles in the moſt earneſt manner; and at laſt conſented to pay thirty thouſand pounds for a licence to fiſh during the remainder of the year, when it was hoped a proper regulation would be made for fixing an annual tribute for the neceſſary licences.

A regular diſtribution was now drawn up of ſhips adapted to the ſeveral ſhires of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men, and monthly expence; together with the ſums charged upon the reſpective corporate towns in each county. And Charles, that he might proceed with more ſafety, and remove the ſeveral objections that had been ſtarted againſt paying the tax, procured the opinion of the judges, "that when the good and ſafety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the nation in danger, the king might lawfully levy a tax for fitting out ſuch a number of ſhips as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of the nation; and that his majeſty is the ſole judge both of the danger, and when and how it is to be prevented."

Charles took particular care to publiſh and circulate this deciſion of the judges. He ſeemed ſatisfied that he had not acted contrary to the laws, and determined to puniſh, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all who ſhould, for the future, dare to oppoſe his royal pleaſure. It is little to be wondered at that the people paid this tax with the greateſt reluctance; but they had no recourſe to avoid ſubmitting to the proſtitution and perverſion of the laws of their country. Their uſual aſylum, the courts of law, were ſhut againſt them, and there was no medium; they muſt either ſubmit, or have recourſe to violence, an expedient which no wiſe man would chuſe. A choſen few, however, were ſtill in reſerve; men who dared to think with juſtice, and act with intrepidity; who, armed with the principles of civil and natural liberty, were determined to ſupport the cauſe of their country, and not tamely ſubmit to the arbitrary power of the crown. Strong reaſonings, bold elocution, deep learning, and upright intentions, were not, however, ſufficient to ſuſtain this dreadful combat; a leader muſt be found, who, beſides all theſe accompliſhments, had intrepidity ſufficient to ſtand forth in the cauſe of his country. Such a man was John Hambden, a gentleman poſſeſſed of a conſiderable eſtate, and deſcended from an antient family in Buckinghamſhire; which, being an inland county, afforded him the better pretence for refuſing to pay the tax of ſhip-money. His ſhare did not amount to more than thirty ſhillings, yet he abſolutely refuſed payment, and determined to venture a trial, the event of which would clearly point out to the whole kingdom, whether arbitrary power was to prevail over juſtice.

After many pleadings and traverſes, the caſe was argued, during twelve days, in the exchequer-chamber, before all the judges of England; and the nation regarded, with the utmoſt anxiety, every circumſtance of this celebrated trial. It will be eaſily conceived, from the opinion of the judges, that the great queſtion in this cauſe was, Whether the kingdom was in ſuch imminent danger, that the king had a right to aſſeſs his ſubjects, without waiting for the neceſſary forms of parliamentary proceedings? It was confeſſed on all hands, that both public and private dangers may be ſo great, that all property may ceaſe, while the parties are providing for their own ſafety. But one of the crown lawyers pretended, that the danger of the kingdom was then ſo preſſing, as to give the king a right to the property of the ſubject; and the ſmall portion of Mr. Hambden's aſſeſſment was no argument for his paying it, unleſs they could prove it to be according to law. Whether the king was, or was not, the ſole judge of the public neceſſity, was ſtrongly debated, but greatly to the diſadvantage of the court; ſince nothing could be more obvious than this, that when public danger becomes ſo preſſing as to confound all property, the caſe will be notorious, and ſelf-preſervation becomes the common principle with both prince and people.

Notwithſtanding the arguments uſed by Hambden's council were much more forcible than thoſe of his opponents, yet the event was what had been long foreſeen. The prejudiced or proſtituted judges, four of them excepted, gave the ſentence in favour of the crown. Hambden, however, obtained, by the trial, the end for which he had ſo generouſly ſacrificed his ſafety, and his quiet: the people were rouzed from their lethargy, and became fully ſenſible of the danger to which their liberty was expoſed. Theſe national queſtions were canvaſſed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently it appeared to many, that liberty was totally ſubverted, and an unuſual and arbitrary authority exerciſed over the kingdom. Slaviſh principles, it was ſaid, concurred with illegal practices; eccleſiaſtical tyranny lent aſſiſtance to civil uſurpations; iniquitous practices were ſupported by arbitrary puniſhments; and all the rights of the nation, tranſmitted through ſo many ages, ſecured by ſo many laws, and purchaſed by the blood of ſo many heroes and patriots, now lay proſtrate at the feet of the monarch.

A. D. 1637. We have already obſerved how deſirous Charles was of eſtabliſhing in Scotland the diſcipline and worſhip of the church of England. He was fond of epiſcopacy, and inveſted the biſhops with an authority which he thought equally advantageous to religion and government. He loved church ceremonies, and wanted to have them received as eſſentials in divine ſervice. Without reflecting how much all men are attached to their particular mode of worſhip, Charles, confident of his own power, now ſent down canons for the government of the church of Scotland, and a new liturgy for regulating the manner of worſhip. The people were far from being diſpoſed to receive them. The nobility, from a jealouſy of power, and the diſſenting clergy from principles of equality, were enemies to the hierarchy; and their univerſal hatred of the church of Rome made them abhor whatever had the leaſt reſemblance to the method of its worſhip. On the ſixteenth of July, public intimations were given from the pulpits, that on the following Sunday the new liturgy would be introduced into the principal churches. Both the biſhop and dean of Edinburgh attended to give the greater ſolemnity to this new form of worſhip. The latter, dreſſed in a ſurplice, began the liturgy. But he had not proceeded far in the ſervice, before the people cried out, "A Pope! a Pope! ſtone him!" The biſhop, however, mounted the pulpit, and attempted to appeaſe the tumult. But his endeavours were in vain: they threw a bench at his head, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that both him and the dean eſcaped with their lives.

The period was now approaching which was to decide the fate of the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland. The ſpirit of oppoſition to the new liturgy daily increaſed among the common people, and the repeated commands of the court to introduce it proved at once ineffectual, and dangerous to the biſhops. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, where theſe diſturbances chiefly prevailed, were, in ſecret, enemies to the liturgy, but, in public, they expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the riotous proceedings of the populace, and frequently aſſembled in order, as they pretended, to concert meaſures for putting a ſtop to thoſe alarming attempts of the multitude. They even promiſed to aſſiſt the king to the utmoſt of their power to appeaſe the tumultuous populace, and introduce the new liturgy. But in the mean time a breach enſued between the biſhops and miniſters of Scotland, and ſoon after another between the biſhops and the nobility of that kingdom. The counſel of the moderate biſhops, who had always oppoſed the violent methods of introducing the liturgy, was diſregarded by the new prelates promoted by Laud, and who were perſuaded that the intereſt of their patron with the king was abundantly ſufficient to ſupport them. This induced them to diſregard not only the advice of their more moderate brethren, but alſo that of the nobility, who took advantage of this neglect to withdraw their countenance entirely from the proceedings of the clergy.

The people, animated by the countenance of their miniſters and the nobility, began to unite, and to encourage one another to oppoſe the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were ſigned and preſented by perſons of the higheſt quality: the women, as is common in every religious diſturbance, joined with great violence in the oppoſition: the puritan miniſters declaimed vehemently againſt popery; and the pulpits reſounded with the moſt violent invectives againſt anti-chriſt. In a word, fanaticiſm mingling with faction, and private intereſt with the ſpirit of liberty, ſoon produced the ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous inſurrection and diſorder in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1638. Neither the defection of the nobility, nor the threats of the vulgar, made any impreſſion on Charles: he ſeemed to deſpiſe both, and fully determined to perſevere in this religious enterprize. The primate of Scotland, a man of great temper, wiſdom, and religion, always averſe to the introduction of the new liturgy, repreſented to his majeſty, in faithful colours, the ſtate of the nation. The earl of Traquair, lord treaſurer, repaired to London, in order to lay the matter more fully before the king. But all their repreſentations were in vain: Charles was inflexible. He had, however, nothing to oppoſe to ſo violent a combination of the whole nation but a proclamation, wherein he promiſed pardon for all paſt offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to ſubmit peaceably to the uſe of the liturgy. But this was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that it was immediately oppoſed by a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindeſey. This was the criſis of the oppoſition: the inſurrection which had been gathering by degrees, now broke out at once; the ſtandard of rebellion was diſplayed, and the ſword of civil diſcord on the point of being ſheathed in the bowels of that unhappy country.

A new order, or rather a new adminiſtration, now took place; a ſufficient indication that this diſturbance had been ſecretly fomented by perſons in a ſtation far exalted above the common people. Four tables, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh: one conſiſted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, and a fourth of burgeſſes; and in the hands of theſe four tables was placed the whole authority of the government. One of their firſt, and, at the ſame time, the greateſt act they performed, was that of the Solemn League and Covenant. This celebrated compact conſiſted, firſt, of a renunciation of popery formerly ſigned by James in his youth, and compoſed of many invectives calculated to inflame the minds of the people. Then followed a bond of union, by which the ſubſcribers bound themſelves to reſiſt all religious innovations, and to defend each other againſt all oppoſition whatever: "And all this for the greater glory of God, and the greater honour and advantage of their king and country."

All ranks and conditions, young and old, of both ſexes, flocked to their ſubſcription of this covenant. Few there were who diſapproved of it, and the ſmall number that did were afraid openly to condemn it. The king's miniſters and counſellors themſelves were ſeized with the general contagion: and it was thought, that none but rebels to God, and traitors to their country, would withdraw themſelves from ſo ſalutary and pious a combination.

Charles was ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings, that he offered to ſuſpend the introduction of the liturgy, provided they would retract the covenant. Their anſwer was, that they would ſooner renounce their baptiſm. He then relaxed in other matters, and permitted a general aſſembly to be ſummoned at Glaſgow. By this unadviſed meaſure the whole deſign was finiſhed. The laity, whom the preſbyterians admitted, and who formed the ſtrongeſt part, began with impeaching the biſhops, whom they charged indiſcriminately with all ſorts of crimes. They afterwards declared all acts with regard to eccleſiaſtical matters, made ſince the advancement of James to the crown of England, null and void. Thus the canons, the liturgy, the court of high commiſſion, and even epiſcopacy itſelf, were aboliſhed in Scotland at one ſtroke.

A. D. 1639. As the Scots knew that Charles would not eaſily ſubmit to ſuch flagrant breaches of the conſtitution, they put themſelves in a poſture of defending by arms, what they deſpaired of obtaining by favour. Cardinal Richlieu, who had from the beginning fomented the troubles in Scotland, ſupplied the covenanters with money; and they invited home many commanders of their own nation who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves under the famous Guſtavus, in the wars of Germany.

Theſe precautions being taken, they ſeized on the caſtles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and ſeveral other places of ſtrength; took Dalkeith, and converted to their own uſe all the arms and ammunition depoſited there. They choſe Alexander Leſley, an old experienced officer, to be captain-general of their armies, to whom all who took arms ſolemnly ſwore obedience; and he, in return, ſwore to execute his charge with fidelity.

In the mean time the greateſt expedition was uſed to repair the fortifications in different parts of the kingdom. Beſides the perſons who were hired for this purpoſe, great numbers of volunteers, and even the nobility, aſſiſted in the work, and conſidered the moſt abject employment as dignified by the ſanctity of the cauſe. Nor were the women idle ſpectators; even thoſe of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their ſex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the loweſt rabble; and carried on their ſhoulders the rubbiſh and other materials neceſſary for completing the fortifications.

Though Charles was fond of peace, and of his native country, yet he could not avoid raiſing troops to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to reaſon, and ſubdu the refractory ſpirit of the Scots. By his œconomy he had ſaved two hundred thouſand pounds; and the queen, by her influence with the catholics, engage them to grant the king a conſiderable ſupply. Th English fleet was very formidable, and well provide with every neceſſary. Five thouſand land force were embarked on board this ſquadron, the comman of which was given to the marquis of Hamilton who had orders to ſail to the Frith of Forth, an cauſe a diverſion in the forces of the rebels. A army of near twenty thouſand foot and three thouſan horſe was levied, and commanded by the earl Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but famou neithe neither as a ſoldier nor a ſtateſman. The earl of Eſſex, a nobleman extremely popular, and of great military abilities, was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horſe. On the twenty-ninth of May, the king himſelf joined the army, and ſummoned all the peers of England to attend him. Few diſregarded the ſummons; ſo that the Engliſh army reſembled rather the court of an eaſtern prince than a military expedition againſt an enemy.

The forces of the mal-contents were little inferior in numbers to that of the Engliſh, but almoſt deſtitute of cavalry. The infantry conſiſted, indeed, of an undiſciplined and ill-armed rabble, but animated with a religious fervour, which, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied the want of diſcipline, and rendered them very formidable. The declamations of the clergy had greatly aſſiſted the officers in gaining recruits, by thundering out anathemas againſt "all who went not out to help the Lord againſt the mighty." But the leaders of the mal-contents did not omit the more ſafe and prudent method of negotiation. They knew that a defeat muſt be fatal; and however their troops might be inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic fury, they were unable to ſtand the regular attacks of diſciplined forces. They therefore immediately ſent very ſubmiſſive meſſages to the king, in which they begged leave to be admitted to a treaty in order to reſtore tranquillity to their native country, and ſheathe the deſtructive ſword of civil diſcord.

Charles, who was deſirous of terminating a war in the very bowels of his kingdom, liſtened to the covenanters, and concluded a ſudden pacification, in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots ſhould diſmiſs their army within eight and forty hours; that the king's forts ſhould be reſtored to him; his authority acnowledged; and that both a general aſſembly and parliament ſhould be immediately ſummoned in order o adjuſt all differences.

The Scottiſh deputies were at a loſs how to appeaſe heir principals with regard to theſe articles, which ell far ſhort of what their ſanguine hopes had taught hem to expect. Accordingly, the earl of Caſſils, nd ſeveral other noblemen and heads of the mal-conents, loudly exclaimed againſt a pacification, which as to diſarm them, and leave them, in that conition, to the mercy of the court. No abolition of piſcopacy, nor acknowledgment of the aſſembly at lasgow, had been ſtipulated, as they had been ade to believe; and the drawing off the Engliſh eet from the coaſt was of little importance, becauſe e ſhips might return whenever his majeſty pleaſed. dd to theſe conſiderations, that Charles, in one of e anſwers he had given to the deputies, had actually ſowned the aſſembly at Glaſgow; nor would he onſent to any thing farther than to refer civil matters a parliament, and eccleſiaſtical affairs to a general embly; both of which he could call or diſſolve at eaſure.

The Engliſh exclaimed againſt the peace with no s vehemence than the Scots; and there ſeemed ry little hopes that it would be of any long continuce: the ſeeds of diſaffection were ſown in Scotd, and it was no eaſy taſk to prevent their owth.

In the mean time an incident happened on the aſt of England, which ſeemed to threaten the moſt rming conſequences. The firmneſs of Charles in adily preſerving his neutrality diſconcerted Richu's plan for attacking the ſea coaſt of Flanders; d the count d'Eſtrades was ſent to conclude a new aty of ſubſidy with the prince of Orange, in order enable the Dutch to attack Antwerp, while the ench were to beſiege St. Omer's. But the ſucceſs of thoſe attempts are foreign to this hiſtory. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that theſe diſpoſitions induced the court of Spain to fit out a ſtrong ſquadron at Corunna, conſiſting of fifty ſhips, under the command of Don Antonio Doguendo, a celebrated ſea officer. Twelve thouſand foot were embarked on board this ſquadron, which was deſigned to join another fleet of Spaniſh ſhips at Dunkirk. Richlieu gave immediate notice of the ſailing of this fleet to the prince of Orange, who ſoon after diſcovered that the Spaniſh admiral was ordered not to fight, if he could poſſibly avoid it; but put himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh, and land his men upon the coaſt of Flanders. This armament, and the fear of its being joined by the Engliſh fleet, greatly alarmed both the French and Dutch; and extraordinary efforts were made to put their fleets to ſea, in order, if poſſible, to render any attempt of the Spaniards abortive. A ſmall ſquadron of Dutch, then at ſea, fell in with, and attacked the Spaniſh fleet, but with conſiderable loſs to themſelves. Soon after, the Spaniſh admiral came to anchor near Dover, where he thought himſelf ſafe under the protection of the Engliſh. But the ambitious Richlieu had no regard to the rights of neutrality, when they oppoſed his views. He ordered d'Eſtrades to lay before the prince of Orange, "the glory that would attend his defeating the meaſures of two great monarchs, and of crowning all his noble exploits in war by a victory over the fleet of Spain under the protection of the Engliſh, and, perhaps, actually aſſiſted by their ſhips." He added, "that ſuch an action would infallibly lay Flanders open to the united forces of France and Holland."

The prince of Orange, fond as he was of glory, eſpecially when acquired againſt Spain, was ſtartled at the thoughts of committing ſo groſs an inſult on the Engliſh flag; and aſked d'Eſtrades, with ſome emotion, "Whether Richlieu was in earneſt?" D'Eſtrades aſſuring him he was, the prince ſent orders to Van Tromp the Dutch admiral, to haraſs the enemy, but by no means to venture a general engagement, till he was joined by admiral Evertſon. As ſoon as this junction was performed, Tromp was ordered to ſend a meſſage to the Engliſh admiral, acquainting him, that having received orders from his maſters to attack their enemies wherever he found them, he requeſted that the Engliſh ſhips might leave the Spaniſh ſquadron, becauſe he was commanded not to attack them, unleſs they aſſiſted the enemy, and in that caſe his orders were to attack both without diſtinction. Charles was in the utmoſt perplexity how to behave on this alarming occaſion. The haughty republicans were now at the height of their power: their fleet, when united, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips of war, commanded by the beſt ſea-officers in the world; they were highly exaſperated againſt Charles for refuſing them the liberty of fiſhing on the Britiſh coaſts, and wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging the affront, by deſtroying his fleet. At the ſame time, the public were perſuaded, that the Spaniſh fleet was either intended to conquer England, or aſſiſt the king in ſubduing his rebellious ſubjects. Charles, therefore, knew that he could not truſt to the fidelity of his ſeamen, even if the Dutch ſhould violate their neutrality. At the ſame time, he knew that the Spaniſh fleet, which conſiſted of ſixty-ſeven large ſhips, was in want both of cannon and ammunition; while the Dutch were liberally ſupplied with both from Calais, and other ſea port towns in France. It was ſome time before the whole Dutch fleet appeared, and made the proper diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy. During this interval, the Spaniſh miniſter preſented repeated memorials to Charles, for his protecting the Spaniſh fleet, which was now riding at anchor under the guns of the Engliſh caſtles near the South Foreland, while the Dutch remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt any Engliſh ſhip being employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. Charles knew not how to behave in this critical conjuncture, but at laſt determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; and immediately iſſued orders, that no Engliſh ſhips ſhould take any Spaniards on board, or paſs from London below Graveſend, without a licence. At the ſame time, he acquainted the Dutch ambaſſador, that he could not, without the higheſt diſhonour, refuſe the Spaniards that protection on his coaſts they had a right to demand from the law of nations; and that he had ſent orders to Sir John Pennington, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four ſail of Engliſh men of war, to join that fleet which ſhould be firſt attacked. This declaration leſſened the ardour of the Dutch, and the Spaniſh admiral found means to ſend twelve large ſhips and four thouſand men to Dunkirk. Charles was, however, fearful of the conſequences; and ſent the earl of Arundel to perſuade the Spaniſh admiral to ſlip away the firſt fair wind, as he could not be anſwerable for the ſucceſs of an engagement, if the Spaniards were attacked by the Dutch. Doguendo would gladly have followed this advice, but could not, on account of contrary winds: and the Dutch fleet being now completely reinforced, Van Tromp ſent a letter to Pennington, demanding the benefit of his neutrality, under pretence of the Spaniards violating their privilege of protection, by firing on the Dutch admiral's barge, and killing one of his men. Tromp accordingly attacked the Spaniſh fleet with the utmoſt fury, forced them to cut their cables, and drove twenty-three ſhips a-ſhore, of which three were burnt, and two ſunk. The Thereſa, mounted with an hundred braſs guns was burnt, fixteen were taken, and ſent to Fluſhing, with four thouſand five hundred priſoners, and fourteen ſhips were loſt near Boulogne; the Dunkirk ſquadron, under Doguendo, only eſcaping. The victory was complete on the ſide of the Dutch, though it was not obtained without ſome loſs; ten of their ſhips periſhing in the action.

Charles did not fail to repreſent this conduct of the Dutch as an inſult upon the Britiſh flag; and made uſe of it as a argument for enforcing the payment of ſhip-money, in order to be able to keep a ſufficient fleet at ſea, to curb the inſolence of thoſe republicans. New writs were accordingly iſſued, and ſent to all the counties of England and Wales for collecting the tax.

Notwithſtanding this, and other acts of deſpotic power, were daily exerciſed, the people diſcovered no remarkable uneaſineſs at the neglect of parliaments, and the unconſtitutional meaſures of the government. Peace and plenty reigned in the kingdom, and the wars that raged in other nations of Europe made England the repoſitory of riches from every part of the world. This gretaly tended to render the people almoſt paſſive in their preſent ſituation. They knew, indeed, their rights; they murmured at their being violated; they publicly proclaimed their grievances; they proteſted againſt illegal executions; but this was nothing more than forming a rope of ſand; a parliament was wanting to give their complaints ſtrength and conſiſtency.

The patriots were highly pleaſed with Charles's conduct with reſpect to Scotland; and the diſpoſitions of the Scots were equally favourable for bringing matters to the criſis they deſired. The nobility and perſons of conſequence in that kingdom, were perſuaded they had ſufficiently guarded againſt all reſumptions of church revenues by exacting a promiſe from Charles to call a free parliament and an aſſembly of the clergy. They would willingly have waited the reſult of both; and that great point, the only one they dreaded, being gained, they would equally have concurred and acquieſced in every dutiful meaſure towards the crown. But they found the people untractable: they refuſed to ſtop till epiſcopacy was totally abrogated, and the principles of civil liberty founded on a more ſolid baſis than at preſent. This ſcheme might have anſwered the juſt expectation of men of property, and, at the ſame time, if not have fully ſatisfied the wiſhes, have calmed the ſpirit of the people; but the whole was defeated through a want of moderation on the part of government. The marquis of Hamilton laid before Charles the deſtructive conſequences that muſt attend his not acting with ſincerity, by leaving the approaching parliament and aſſembly in Scotland at free liberty to gratify the people, with regard to every thing that had been underſtood to have been granted by the late pacification. By this he meant the total abolition of the epiſcopal order, both in church and ſtate; but he perceived, by the manner in which the king received his repreſentation, that this would not be granted. He therefore reſigned the office of high commiſſioner in Scotland; and the earl of Traquair was appointed in his ſtead.

Charles, who had been for ſome time at Berwick, ſent an order to Edinburgh, commanding fourteen of the chief covenanting lords to attend him, in order to conſult the proper meaſures for ſettling the affairs of Scotland. The people were alarmed at this meſſage, and openly declared, that it had been propoſed by their own leaders in order to elude the force of the covenant. This ſo greatly intimidated the noblemen, that three only of the fourteeen lords could be prevailed on to obey his majeſty's orders. Montroſe, Loudon, and Lothian, were the perſons who deſpiſed the fury of the populace when it tended to prevent their obedience to the king. The buſineſs of Charles was ſerious and important: he was deſirous of learning the whole deſign of the covenanters, and wha they intended to demand in the approaching parliament and aſſembly. Montroſe was one of thoſe noblemen who thought the king had done enough t ſatisfy all his Scottiſh ſubjects, who had no dangerou or fanatical views. His two companions, particularl the earl of Loudon, were of the ſame opinion, bu wiſhed to have ſecurity for the performance; and thi they thought could only be effected by ſome additional bulwarks to the liberties of their country, eſtabliſhed in a full and free parliament.

Theſe noblemen laid before Charles the grievance they expected would be redreſſed in the enſuing pa liament; the firſt of which was, that of the comman of their garriſons being given to ſtrangers. Bo James and Charles had, indeed, broken down th partition-wall between the two kingdoms; and th Scots had poured by multitudes into England, whe they enjoyed a great number of offices, both civ and military. But the wiſeſt men in both natio condemned the partiality in favour of the nativ country of their prince; and even the generality the Scots themſelves were diſſatisfied with the enco ragement many of their great men met with in En land, which induced them to ſpend both their mon and eſtates in that country. The Engliſh, a gre and powerful people, had far leſs to apprehend fro the Scots than the Scots from them. The garriſo of Edinburgh and Dumbarton were already garriſo ed by the Engliſh; and it was always eaſy for th navy to deſtroy the commerce of Scotland. T Scots therefore thought it reaſonable, that no ſtrang ſhould be entruſted with the government of any their caſtles, unleſs by the advice of the ſtates.

The heritable juriſdictions of Scotland were thoug even by the natives themſelves, to be dangerous, b cauſe they created too great a dependence of t

infer

inferior people on particular families. They demanded, therefore, that no commiſſion of juſticiary or lieutenant might be granted, but for a limited time. Laſtly, they excepted againſt the precedency of the lord-treaſurer and the lord privy-ſeal, as not being warranted by any poſitive law. This exception was, probably, intended to prevent arbitrary promotions, which might eclipſe the luſtre of their antient nobility, and create too powerful an influence of the crown in parliament.

Theſe were the demands intended by the Scots to be made in the enſuing parliament; and, poſſibly, if Charles had acted with ſincerity, they had ſtopped there; but he could not be prevailed upon to conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy. The covenanters ſaw this, and were convinced that all conceſſions made by the king muſt be forced, and that he would retract them the firſt favourable opportunity. Their chiefs, therefore, thought they had no ſafety but in uniting more cloſely than ever, and openly oppoſing the power of the crown itſelf. Though their army had ſeparated on the concluſion of the late treaty, they continued ſtill in large bodies; the fortifications of Leith were continued; they iſſued commiſſions for purchaſing large quantities of arms and ammunition abroad; and Leſley ſtill kept up the character and title of general.

No ſooner did Traquaire receive his commiſſion, than he repaired to Edinburgh, where both a parliament and an aſſembly were held. They immediately paſſed a bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and another for removing the grievances already mentioned. The king was greatly exaſperated at theſe precipitate proceedings, and Traquaire received orders to prorogue both the parliament and aſſembly; but his authority was diſregarded; they continued their ſeſſion, and ſent the bill they had paſſed to Charles for the royal aſſent, pretending that no prorogation could take place without the conſent of the eſtates of the kingdom in parliament aſſembled.

The aſſembly were no leſs violent in their proceedings than the parliament. They voted epiſcopacy to be unlawful in the church of Scotland: the king was willing to allow it contrary to the inſtitution of that church. They ſtigmatized the liturgy and canons as popiſh: he agreed ſimply to their being aboliſhed. They denominated the high commiſſion tyranny: he was willing to ſet it aſide. In ſhort, both the parliament and aſſembly were determined to oppoſe the meaſures of Charles; on which account, recourſe was again had to arms, and it was now ſuppoſed the ſword alone muſt determine the diſpute.

A. D. 1640. As Charles had diſbanded his army after the ſigning of the late pacification, a very conſiderable ſum of money was neceſſary for raiſing another, and the council were greatly perplexed to diſcover neceſſary ways and means for that purpoſe. The only conſtitutional method (by ſummoning a parliament) was thought a dangerous experiment; but the neceſſities of the crown were ſo preſſing, that it was determined to ſummon that aſſembly. It was, however, thought, that there was a neceſſity for ſtriking ſome bold, ſpeedy, and effectual blow, to intimidate the nobles; and that the parliamentary ſupplies would be too ſlow and uncertain to anſwer the purpoſe. The earl of Strafford, therefore, propoſed a ſubſcription, and generouſly opened it with twenty thouſand pounds. The young duke of Richmond followed his example, and ſubſcribed the ſame ſum. Their examples influenced many of the nobility and clergy; ſo that a large ſum was ſoon ſubſcribed, in order to enable the king to oppoſe his rebellious ſubjects.

The parliament met on the thirteenth of April, when the lord-keeper Finch informed them, that the king had been able to aſſemble and ſupport his army, not by any revenue he poſſeſſed, but by means of a large debt, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, which he had contracted, and for which he had given ſecurity upon the crown lands. He repreſented, that it was neceſſary to grant ſupplies for the urgent demands of his military armaments: that the ſeaſon was far advanced, the time precious, and that none of it muſt be loſt in deliberations: that though his coffers were empty, they had not been exhauſted by unneceſſary pomp, ſumptuous buildings, or any other kind of magnificence: that whatever ſupplies had been levied from his ſubjects had been employed for their advantage and preſervation; and, like vapors ariſing out of the earth and gathered into a cloud, had fallen in ſweet and refreſhing ſhowers on the ſame fields from which they had, at firſt, been exhaled: that though the king deſired ſuch immediate aſſiſtance, as might, for the time, prevent a total diſorder in the government, he was far from any intention of precluding them of their right to enquire into the ſtate of the kingdom, and to offer him petitions for the relief of their grievances: that as much as was poſſible of this ſeaſon ſhould be allowed them for that purpoſe: that as he expected only ſuch ſupplies at preſent as the current ſervice abſolutely required, it would be neceſſary to aſſemble them again next winter, when they ſhould have full leiſure to conclude whatever buſineſs had been left imperfect and unfiniſhed: that the parliament of Ireland had twice put ſuch truſt in his good intentions, as to grant him, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, a very large ſupply, and had always experienced good effects from the confidence repoſed in him: and that in every circumſtance his people ſhould find his conduct ſuitable to a juſt, pious, and gracious king, and ſuch as was calculated to promote an entire harmony between prince and parliament.

But theſe topics, however plauſible, produced not the deſired effect. The leaders of the diſcontented party began to foreſee the conſequences of the Scottiſh inſurrection, and to hope that the time ſo long wiſhed for was at hand, when royal authority muſt become wholly ſubordinate to popular aſſemblies; and when public liberty muſt acquire the full aſcendant. A reaſonable compliance with the meaſures of the court was now conſidered as ſlaviſh dependence; a regard for the king, ſervile flattery; a confidence in his promiſes, ſhameful proſtitution. It was hoped, that by reducing the crown to neceſſities, the king would be puſhed into violent meaſures, which could not fail of ſerving their purpoſes; and that by multiplying theſe neceſſities, his prerogative, undermined on all ſides, muſt at laſt be overthrown, and rendered no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people.

Full of theſe ſentiments, every meaſure that had a tendency to preſerve the government in its preſent form was zealouſly oppoſed by the popular leaders. Inſtead, therefore, of taking notice of the king's complaints againſt his Scottiſh ſubjects, or his applications for a ſupply, the houſe entered immediately upon grievances, and a ſpeech made by Pym upon that ſubject was much more attended to than the harangue delivered by the lord-keeper in the name of their ſovereign.

In conſequence of Pym's ſpeech the houſe divided the public grievances into three claſſes, namely, the infringement of parliamentary liberties, innovations in religion, and grievances againſt property and the common liberties of the kingdom. Each of theſe branches was referred to a proper committee; and it was determined to apply themſelves to remove the grievances of the nation, before they granted any ſupplies to his majeſty.

Charles was highly diſpleaſed at this perverſe behaviour of the commons; but he was more particularly exaſperated on hearing they intended to aboliſh ſhip-money, and all the other bracnhes of the revenue. Determined, however, to prevent any attempt of that kind, he went the next morning to the houſe of lords, and, having ſent for the commons, diſſolved the parliament.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the Scottiſh covenanters were not idle; they proceeded in their preparations with a ſpirit far above their ſtrength. The noblemen and gentry of that party ſtripped themſelves of every luxury, and the ladies of their jewels and ornaments, in order to ſupport the neceſſary expences of what they termed a holy war. Some of the fortifications of Edinburgh having fallen down, the covenanters not only refuſed to ſuffer them to be rebuilt, but openly oppoſed an order ſent by the king, for throwing in ſtores, proviſions, and ſoldiers, to reinforce that fortreſs. Men, women, and children, worked with amazing alacrity on the fortifications of Leith; and the covenanters having demanded that the caſtle of Edinburgh ſhould be delivered into their hands, declared Ruthven, the governor, a traitor, for refuſing to deliver up the fortreſs.

As Charles had not received any aſſiſtance from his parliament, he was now reduced to the neceſſity of calling upon his friends for their ſubſcriptions; and ſuch was their ardour, joined with that of the public, that in a few weeks no leſs than three hundred thouſand pounds were brought into the exchequer. This ſum, with the aſſiſtance he expected from Ireland, both of men and money, enabled him to purchaſe arms, erect magazines, and levy forces in every part of England. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and Conway general of the horſe. According to the original plan of this campaign, an army of twenty thouſand horſe was deſigned to act on the borders of Scotland near Berwick; ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were to be landed from Ireland, and to take poſſeſſion of the town of Aire, in Scotland; ten thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were to be ſent into the north of that kingdom; and a fleet of ſhips, having a conſiderable number of ſoldiers on board, were to ſail into the Frith of Forth.

In the mean time the Scottiſh covenanters were very aſſiduous in modelling their church, their ſtate, and their army, according to their own pleaſure, without the leaſt regard to the royal authority. They had blocked up the caſtle of Edinburgh, impriſoned ſeveral noblemen who were friends to the king; and a reſolution was taken, in a meeting at Edinburgh to march their army into England, under the command of Leſley their former general. Their parliament met on the ſeventh of June, purſuant to their former prorogation; and though an order was ſent down from the king to prorogue it for a longer time, the king's meſſage was diſregarded, under pretence of its being defective in form. They endeavoured to excuſe this proceeding in a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate; but added the ſevereſt menaces, if the king did not order Ruthven to deliver up the caſtle of Edinburgh, and withdraw his ſhips from their coaſt, where they did infinite prejudice to their commerce. They conſidered the diſſolution of the late parliament in England, as a proof of their ſtrength in that kingdom; and looked upon the queen, Laud, and Strafford, as the only enemies in the nation. This opinion, however unjuſt, gave them infinite ſpirits; and it is aſtoniſhing with what alacrity the gentry, the citizens, and even the lower ranks of people, threw their plate and money upon the tables of the covenant, taking only the bonds of the chiefs for their ſecurity.

Notwithſtanding the great aſſiſtance Charles had received from his friends, yet it was manifeſtly evident that the ſums already brought into the exchequer were very inſufficient to anſwer the expences of an offenſive war againſt Scotland. Recourſe was, therefore, had to a cabinet-council; the fatal reſult of which was, to employ the whole force of the prerogative in raiſing money. All the various oppreſſive methods already enumerated were accordingly employed in the moſt execrable manner. The feudal grievances were revived, knight-money was exacted, the tenants who held of the king in capite were unreaſonably taxed for men, horſes, and arms. Privy-ſeals were every where circulated for a loan; ſhip-money was rigorouſly exacted; cart and conduct-money for the ſoldiers was levied, under the empty promiſe, indeed, of re-payment. It was with great difficulty that Charles was diſſuaded by the merchants from ſeizing all the bullion in the Tower, and to content himſelf with forty thouſand pounds. Commiſſions were renewed for compounding with recuſants: patents, and pardons of all kinds, were ſold for money, and great quantities of India goods were purchaſed upon credit by the king's officers, and ſold at a vaſt diſcount for ready money. But what was of ſtill worſe conſequence to the royal cauſe, an order was iſſued, commanding the city of London to furniſh four thouſand men with cart and conduct-money for the expedition againſt Scotland. The lord mayor and aldermen were alſo ſummoned by the council to give in the names of ſuch citizens as were beſt able to lend the king two hundred thouſand pounds; and, upon refuſal, Sir Nicholas Rainton, and the aldermen Soams, Atkins, and Geere, were ſent to the Tower.

It is little to be wondered at that theſe violent meaſures ſhould produce an univerſal diſguſt. The very ſoldiers catched the infection, and repaired ſo unwillingly to the ſeveral places of rendezvous in the north, that in ſome of the towns they mutinied, and murdered their commanders, and in others were guilty of the greateſt diſorders. Notwithſtanding this, an army of twenty thouſand men was raiſed, and continued their march to the northward. In the mean time the earl of Northumberland was taken dangerouſly ill; and Strafford being lately recovered from a very alarming diſtemper, was unable to join the army; ſo that the active part of the command fell upon lord Conway, who was by no means equal to the taſk.

Though the Scots army was much more numerous than the king's, yet it was ſooner ready for action, and they were now advancing with great alacrity to the borders of England. To engage them to proceed, beſides their general knowledge of the diſcontents of the kingdom, lord Saville had forged a letter, in the name of ſix noblemen, the moſt conſiderable in England, in which the Scots were invited to aſſiſt their neighbours in procuring a redreſs of their grievances. But notwithſtanding theſe warlike preparations, the covenanters ſtill made uſe of the moſt pacific and ſubmiſſive language; and entered Enlgand, as they pretended, with no other view than that of obtaining acceſs to the king's preſence, and laying before him an humble petition for the relief of their grievances.

When the Scots army reached Newborne on the Tyne, they were oppoſed by a detachment of four thouſand five hundred men, under the command of lord Conway, who ſeemed determined to diſpute with them the paſſage of the river. The Scots firſt intreated them, with great civility, not to ſtop them in their march to their gracious ſovereign; but being refuſed, they attacked them with ſuch fury, that they gained the paſſage, and drove the Engliſh from their intrenchments. A panic now ſeized the whole army, and the forces left to defend Newcaſtle fled, with the utmoſt precepitation, to Durham; but not yet thinking themſelves ſafe, they left that city, and retreated into Yorkſhire.

The Scots, after their ſucceſs at Newborne, marched immediately to Newcaſtle; and though ſufficiently elated with their victory, they preſerved an exact diſcipline; well knowing, that if they acted otherwiſe, the people would become their enemies, join the king's army, and drive them back into their own country. They alſo diſpatched meſſengers to the king, who was now arrived at York; and were particularly careful, after the advantage they had obtained, to redouble their expreſſions of loyalty, duty, and ſubmiſſion to his perſon; and even made apologies for their late conqueſt over the Engliſh.

Charles was highly exaſperated at the proceedings of his Scottiſh ſubjects, but he was in no condition to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Surrounded by counſellors whom he dared not truſt; his exchequer empty, his ſpirits low, and his cauſe diſliked by the people, to what ſide could he turn for advice? When he mentioned war, and the chaſtiſement of the rebels, he met with coldneſs in every look of his peers, more expreſſive of diſapprobation than the moſt violent debate. Such ſullenneſs forced him to aſk counſel of his faithful Strafford, who frankly confeſſed he was for fighting the rebels. This advice was, doubtleſs, the beſt that Charles could have purſued at that critical juncture. Notwithſtanding the coldneſs of his peers, and the diſlike many of them entertained againſt Strafford, the Engliſh would have gladly revenged upon the Scots the inſult of invading their country. The refinements of the great had not reached their inferiors, and every man who could ſee or feel was touched with the indignity ſuffered by the Engliſh. The emptineſs of the exchequer was no argument againſt fighting, becauſe the two armies might have met in a few days, and the conteſt have been ſoon decided. Should the attempt have been unſucceſsful, Charles, even after the loſs of a battle, could not have been more diſtreſſed, or reduced to a more deplorable ſituation: on the contrary, it would, in all human probability, have ſo exaſperated the Engliſh, that they would have forgot, at leaſt for a time, their hatred of the court, and exerted all their efforts to take a dreadful revenge on their inſulting enemy. The marquis of Hamilton retained ſtill his pacific ſentiments; he trembled for the danger of his native country ſhould the king be victorious; and for his majeſty's ſituation, ſhould the Scots ſucceed. He was therefore very earneſt for concluding a treaty; and was ſo well ſeconded by the reſt of the council, that Charles determined to embrace pacific meaſures.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the Engliſh council, the Scots actually gave themſelves over for loſt, and the heads of the army held ſeveral conſultations on the moſt eligible meaſures to be purſued in this alarming criſis. It was even propoſed to throw themſelves entirely upon the king's mercy, and to give up the names of the Engliſh, who had not only encouraged, but invited them to invade their country. They were, however, diverted from this reſolution, by intelligence received from their friends in the Engliſh camp; but it was not without difficulty they were perſuaded to continue in their preſent ſituation, and to endeavour to conciliate the friendſhip of the Londoners by ſome ſignal act of kindneſs. They wrote a very affectionate letter from Newcaſtle to the mayor and aldermen of London, inviting them to continue the Newcaſtle trade, and aſſuring them of all imaginable ſecurity. This was a very prudent and ſucceſsful meaſure, and induced the citizens to ſend a petition to his majeſty for calling a parliament; and ſoon after, twelve noblemen preſented a petition to the ſame purpoſe. As theſe petitions ſeemed to expreſs the ſenſe of the whole nation, Charles iſſued writs for the meeting of the parliament on the third of November.

In the mean time Charles ſummoned a great council of the peers at York. They met on the 24th of September, when the king opened the aſſembly with a ſpeech, in which he demanded their advice with regard to two particulars of the utmoſt importance, What anſwer was proper to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated? And what methods muſt be uſed for raiſing money till a parliamentary ſupply could be obtained? After various debates, it was reſolved to name commiſſioners for treating with the Scots; and fourteen noblemen, all of them profeſſed friends to moderate meaſures, were named as commiſſioners. It was firſt propoſed, as moſt conſiſtent with the king's dignity, that the conferences ſhould be held at York; but the Scots, not ſo much from any real apprehenſion they entertained of danger, as to increaſe the popular odium againſt Strafford, refuſed to meet in a place where he had any power, and Rippon was accordingly appointed for that purpoſe. With regard to the king's ſecond queſtion, it was propoſed to borrow two hundred thouſand pounds of the city of London: but this loan could not be obtained till the peers aſſembled at York joined in the requeſt.

When the conferences were opened at Rippon, the Scots commiſſioners, after propoſing ſome inſolent preliminaries, demanded 40,000l. per month for the ſubſiſtence of their army during the treaty. Charles would very gladly have conſented to the diſbanding of both armies, but could not prevail, and ſoon perceived that nothing advantageous to him could reſult from the conference at Rippon. He therefore made an another attempt to remove the meeting to York, where the great council of peers were ſtill ſitting; but was again diſappointed through the obſtinacy of the Scots. Some of the Engliſh noblemen, exaſperated at their inſolent behaviour, adviſed Charles to break up the conferences, and fortify himſelf in York, where he might be able to ſet his enemies at defiance, and, in all probability, render their expedition abortive. This was, indeed, the only expedient Charles could have taken to ſupport his own authority; but the majority of the council were of a different opinion, and it was therefore rejected.

Though the conferences ſtill continued at Rippon, yet they were carried on in ſo languid a manner, that the commiſſioners ſeemed to meet rather to conſult meaſures then to ſettle differences. The Scots, who were very aſſiduous in careſſing the Engliſh, ſolemnly proteſted, that they intended nothing more than to concur with the parliament in limiting the prerogative, in circumſcribing the high claims of the clergy, in chaſtiſing the inſolence of the papiſts, and in ſettling the conſtitution of the two kingdoms upon free and equitable principles. Nothing but the facility of the Engliſh commiſſioners could have given the Scots ſuch conſiderable advantages on this occaſion, though it muſt be admitted they behaved with great addreſs. They had treated Wilmot, and other Engliſh officers taken priſoners at Newborne, with the utmoſt politeneſs; and after giving them the higheſt ideas of their courage, reſolution, diſcipline, and good intentions, ſent them back to the Engliſh camp. This behaviour was of the utmoſt conſequence to their affairs, which were far from being in ſo promiſing a condition as the public imagined. The earl of Montroſe had kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the king; and one of his letters, either through accident or treachery, fell into the hands of Leſley, the Scottiſh general. This affair was at once both alarming and delicate. The Scots were particularly deſirous of carrying on their deſigns with an air of candour, in conjunction with their Engliſh friends; but the reputation of Montroſe, the moſt able officer they had, together with the ſenſe of his ſervices, which were far ſuperior to thoſe of any other nobleman, rendered him dear to the whole army. His correſpondence with the king, after the many profeſſions of loyalty the Scots had made for his majeſty's perſon, could not, with any appearance of juſtice, be deemed treaſonable; but, at the ſame time, the heads of the covenanters were convinced that he had abandoned their cauſe. Montroſe ſoon perceived that his correſpondence was diſcovered, by his being no longer admitted to the private conſultations and councils of war held by the other general officers; but he took no pains either to conceal or excuſe the fact: he openly avowed and juſtified it. Leſley was for bringing him to a court-martial, and putting him to death; but the other noblemen were more cautious: they knew that the ſoldiers loved Montroſe, and the loſs of their leader might make ſuch a diviſion in their army as might prove their ruin.

Charles was reduced to ſo unfortunate a ſituation, that he could take no advantage even of this favourable incident. His own commiſſioners preſſed him to remove the conferences from Rippon to London, and he was obliged to comply, though he was very ſenſible of the great advantages the Scots would receive from it. A ceſſation of arms was alſo agreed to, by which the Scots were aſſured of maintenance for their army, and the river Tees was made the boundary between both parties.

The above ceſſation was ſigned on the 26th of October, and the next day Charles repaired to London, in order to attend the new parliament, which, according to appointment, aſſembled on the 3d of November. The king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; but this was little regarded by the commons, who were determined to liſten only to meaſures for redreſſing national grievances, and reſtraining the royal prerogative. They forgot the reſpect and ſubmiſſion due to the ſovereign, and determined to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem of government, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the antient conſtitution. Intereſt, ambition, cabals, and, above all, fanaticiſm, united their formidable influence with that patriotic zeal, which, while it was contending for liberty, threw the whole nation into a flame.

The earl of Strafford was too much devoted to the intereſts of his maſter, too vigilant, and too firm in his adminiſtration, not to be univerſally hated by the popular leader. Pym began the attack againſt him in a long ſtudied ſpeech, divided into many heads, wherein he enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured; and inferred, from a complication of ſuch oppreſſions, that a deliberate plan had been laid for changing entirely the form of government, and ſubverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "Could any thing (ſaid he) increaſe our indignation againſt ſo enormous and criminal a project, it would be to find, that, during the reign of the beſt of princes, the conſtitution has been endangered by the worſt of miniſters, and that the virtues of the king have been ſeduced by wicked and pernicious counſels. We muſt enquire (continued he) from what fountain theſe waters of bitterneſs flow: and though, doubtleſs, many evil counſellors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who challenges the infamous pre-eminence, and who, by his courage, enterprize, and capacity, is entitled to the firſt place among the betrayers of his country; I mean the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and preſident of the council of York, who, in both places, and in all other provinces where he has been intruſted with authority, has raiſed ample monuments of tyranny, and will appear, from a ſurvey of his actions, to be the chief promoter of every arbitrary counſel." He proceeded to enumerate ſome particulars of imperious actions and expreſſions; and then entered on a more perſonal attack of that miniſter, and endeavoured to expoſe his whole character and manners. At laſt the orator concluded, that it belonged to the houſe to provide a remedy proportioned to the diſeaſe, and to prevent further miſchiefs, which might otherwiſe be juſtly apprehended from the influence he had acquired over the meaſures and counſels of their ſovereign.

Pym was not the only one who ſpoke with the greateſt vehemence againſt Strafford; ſeveral others harangued to the ſame purpoſe; and it was at length moved, that the miniſter ſhould be impeached of high treaſon. This motion was received with univerſal applauſe; nor was there a ſingle perſon who ſpoke in his favour. Lord Falkland alone, though known to be his enemy, modeſtly deſired the houſe to conſider, whether it would not be more conformable to the gravity of their proceedings, firſt to digeſt, by a committee, many of thoſe particulars that had been mentioned, before they ventured to ſend an accuſation againſt him to the lords. But this was over-ruled, the accuſation was voted, and Pym choſen to carry up the impeachment, and was followed by the greater part of the commons. Strafford was in the houſe of peers when Pym brought up the impeachment. The lords ſeemed almoſt as much prejudiced againſt him as the commons, for all the favour he could obtain was to be heard in his place. He urged how unreaſonable it was, upon a general charge, unſupported by evidence, to deprive him of liberty, which was in itſelf a puniſhment, before any crime had been proved againſt him; and how dangerous a precedent to the peerage itſelf they would eſtabliſh, by admitting ſuch precipitate meaſures. But theſe conſiderations, however juſt, had very little weight with the houſe: the earl was committed to the cuſtody of the black rod, till a more particular charge ſhould be exhibited againſt him.

The commons having been thus ſucceſsful againſt a man who was conſidered as their capital enemy, they proceeded to conſider more particularly the grievances of the nation, which they reduced under the following heads: Privilege of parliament; prejudice of religion; and liberty of the ſubject.

Under the firſt head were reckoned, 1. Reſtraining the members of parliament from ſpeaking. 2. Forbidding the ſpeaker to put a queſtion. 3. Impriſoning divers members for matters done in parliament. 4. Proceeding againſt them in inferior courts. 5. Enjoining their good behaviour, and continuing them in priſon till death. 6. Abrupt diſſolutions of parliament.

Under the ſecond head were mentioned, 1. The ſuſpenſion of the laws againſt perſons profeſſing the popiſh religion. 2. Their places of truſt and honor in the common-wealth. 3. Their free reſort to London, and the court, to communicate their counſels and deſigns. 4. Their being permitted to have a nuncio here, to execute the orders of the pope.

Under innovations in religion were enumerated, 1. Maintenance of popiſh tenets in books, ſermons, and diſputes. 2. Practices of popiſh ceremonies countenanced and enjoined, as altars, crucifixes, and images. 3. Diſcouragements of proteſtants, by rigid proſecutions of the ſcrupulous, for things indifferent; no vice being conſidered ſo great as non-conformity. 4. Encroachment of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

Under the third head were claſſed the grievances. 1. By tonnage and poundage unduly taken. 2. Compoſition for knighthood. 3. The unparaleled grievance of ſhip-money. 4. Enlargement of the foreſts beyond due bounds. 5. Selling of nuiſances, by compounding for them. 6. The commiſſion for building. 7. The commiſſion for depopulation. 8. Unlawful military charges, by warrant of the king, letters of the council, and orders of the lieutenants of the counties, and their deputies. 9. Extra-judicial declarations of judges, without hearing counſel or argument. 10. Monopoliſts countenanced by the council-table, and juſtices of the peace required to aſſiſt them. 11. The ſtar-chamber court. 12. The king's edicts and proclamations lately uſed for maintaining monopolies. 13. The ambitious and corrupt clergy preaching divine authority, and abſolute power in kings to act as they pleaſe. 14. The intermiſſion of parliaments.

From theſe heads it appeared ſufficiently evident, that a total alteration in government was intended, and this intention was ſupported by ſpeeches enforced by all the learning and eloquence of that age. Almoſt every county in England had its peculiar grievances, which were preſented to the houſe by members, many of whom were afterwards the firmeſt friends to the king, and ſuffered deeply in his cauſe. Thoſe who were the warmeſt aſſerters of the king's legal prerogative, inveighed with the greateſt vehemence againſt its abuſe. Among others, Mr. Capel, who afterwards fell a victim to his loyalty, expatiated in the warmeſt manner on the grievances of the county of Hertford, which he repreſented in parliament. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon, and Falkland, were alſo in this number: but in their ultimate views and intentions, they differed widely from the majority, though they were equally deſirous of removing the real grievances of the nation, and of placing proper bounds to the royal prerogative.

The proceedings of the commons were highly countenanced by the lords. Among others, lord Digby inveighed with great warmth againſt the oppreſſions of the court. But other matters, for ſome time, engaged the attention of parliament. Sir Thomas Rowe having made a report concerning the treaty with the Scots, it appeared, that a contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day had, for a very conſiderable time, been levied on the inhabitants of the north, and they had petitioned his majeſty for relief in the moſt affecting terms. From theſe complaints, it was ſuſpected, that they were unable to ſupport this heavy contribution; and it was known that the Scots had declared, they ſhould conſider the ceſſation of payment as an infraction of the treaty; and that they ſhould be then at liberty to paſs the river Tees, and advance farther into the heart of England.

From this ſhort ſtate of the caſe, the lord-keeper, in a conference between the two houſes, endeavoured to prove, that as the lords commiſſioners were the firſt that adviſed the ceſſation of arms, the miſeries of the country, in conſequence of that meaſure, could not be attributed to the king. This being premiſed, he admitted the neceſſity of providing for the Scottiſh army, but, at the ſame time, enlarged on the abſurdity of ſuffering that of the king to ſtarve, or be diſbanded; becauſe Yorkſhire, and ſeveral of the beſt counties in England, would, by that means, be wholly expoſed to the ravages of an inveterate and rapacious enemy. The commons, however, were of a very different opinion: they had already ſhewn ſome diſguſt at an expreſſion in his majeſtys's ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, in which he had termed them traitors, and had called one of their own members to the bar of the houſe for making uſe of the ſame expreſſion. They were even ſo far from cenſuring the lords commiſſioners at Rippon, that it was reſolved upon the queſtion, "That this houſe doth approve of the perſons of thoſe lords that were commiſſioners in the late treaty of Rippon, to be commiſſioners now to treat with the Scotch commiſſioners; with this declaration, that no concluſion of their's ſhall bind the commons without their conſent in parliament." The houſe could not, however, with any appearance of decency, refuſe to provide for the royal, as well as for the rebel army. But it was ſufficiently apparent, that the former was not an object of their favour. They appointed a committee to conſider the ſtate of the king's army, and what commanders, or other inferior officers, were papiſts; to conſider of the ſtate of the northern counties; and how the money, after being raiſed, might, with convenience and diſpatch, be ſent into the north.

In the mean time the Scottiſh commiſſioners were arrived in London, where they were received as the guardian angels of the rights and liberties of the people. They were attended by Henderſon, and other fanatical preachers; and the church of St. Antholin was appointed for the place of their devotions. It was amazing to ſee the propenſity of the public for this new religion: multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. Thoſe who were ſo happy as to find acceſs early in the morning, kept their places the whole day; and others, who were excluded, clung to the doors and windows, in hopes of catching at leaſt ſome broken murmurs of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the ſpirit of liberty, and employed in the moſt important intereſts of the nation, was attended to with much leſs avidity than theſe lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbariſm and ignorance.

The commons were now very aſſiduous in providing for the ſubſiſtance of the two armies; and becauſe ſubſidies would be levied too ſlowly for ſo urgent an occaſion, money was borowed from the city on the ſecurity of ſome particular members. Two ſubſidies, a very ſmall ſum, not more than an hundred thouſand pounds, were at firſt voted; the intention of this ſupply being only to indemnify the members, who by their private had ſupported public credit.

From the conduct of the Scotch commiſſioners it ſoon appeared that they came rather to conſult meaſures with their friends, than to finiſh the treaty. It was ſufficiently evident, that the Scots had proceeded much farther than they originally intended, which was nothing more than that of forming and ſecuring the conſtitution of their country; but this was rather owing to the arts of the mal-contents in England than their own. The great aim of the popular leaders was to protract the treaty, though that could not be effected but at the enormous expence of maintaining at leaſt forty thouſand men in a country already exhauſted. The commons, indeed, made no ſecret of retaining theſe invaders of their country till all their enemies were ſuppreſſed, and all their purpoſes effected. "We cannot ſpare the Scots (ſaid Strode plainly in the houſe) the ſons of Zeruiah are ſtill too ſtrong for us."

The commons appointed a committee to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, and the members were to be directed in their proceedings by the petitions againſt grievances, ſent up by different counties. Religion was one of the principal ingredients in the compoſition of the remonſtrance intended to be drawn up by this committee, and it was reſolved to accuſe

Windebank of high-treaſon, for the many ſervices and favours, which he, as ſecretary of ſtate, had conferred on prieſts and papiſts. Windebank ſaw their intention; but affected ſuch a firmneſs of reſolution, that the commons imagined he would make a ſtand againſt all the power of their indignation; but being interrupted by a meſſage from the lords, when they were on the point of declaring him a traitor to his country, he took the opportunity of leaving the houſe, and made his eſcape to the continent.

Several violent repreſentations were made againſt the uſurpations of the clergy; and it was reſolved to purge the army of papiſts, to preſent the names of recuſants, to examine the high commiſſion courts of Canterbury and York, and to enquire into the proceedings of the late convocation, or, as the clergy themſelves had termed it, the holy and ſacred ſynod. Theſe reſolutions were hardly finiſhed when alderman Pennington preſented to the houſe, a petition ſubſcribed by above fifteen hundred perſons in the city of London, againſt the hierarchy and government of the church of England, by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and arch-deacons, praying the houſe, "that the ſaid government, with all its dependencies, roots, and branches, might be aboliſhed; and all laws in their behalf made null and void." A ſchedule was annexed to this petition, conſiſting of twenty-eight articles, in which were contained all the common-place objections to the epiſcopal hierarchy, whether founded on the pretended unlawfulneſs of the order itſelf, or the abuſes and vices of thoſe who compoſed it.

Four days after the above petition was preſented, the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

1. That the clergy of England, convened in any convocation, or ſynod, or otherwiſe, have no power to make any conſtitutions, canons, or acts whatſoever, in matter of doctrine, diſcipline or otherwiſe, to bind the clergy, or laity of this land, without the common conſent of parliament.

2. That the ſeveral conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical, paſſed with the conſent and approbation of his majeſty, in the laſt ſynod, do not bind either the clergy or laity of this kingdom.

3. That theſe canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhed with the king's conſent in the laſt ſynod, contain in them many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and ſtatutes of this realm, to the rights of parliaments, and to the property and liberty of the ſubject; and alſo matters tending to ſedition and dangerous conſequence.

4. That the ſeveral grants of the benevolence, or contribution, granted to his majeſty by the the laſt ſynod, are contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy."

Theſe reſolutions were followed by ſeveral ſevere ſpeeches againſt Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, particularly one by Mr. Grimſtone. He accuſed the primate of having introduced the earl of Strafford to his majeſty, and procuring the poſt of ſecretary for Windebank, whom he termed "the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon." He upbraided him for having advanced Montague, Manwaring, and other prelates, ſuſpected of popery; and laſtly, he accuſed him of being the main ſpring and promoter of all the deteſtable projects and monopolies that had proved ſo oppreſſive to the ſubject. Several others ſpoke nearly to the ſame purpoſe, and it was at laſt voted, that Mr. Hollis ſhould go up to the lords with a meſſage, "To accuſe William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury of high-treaſon, in the name of the commons of England, and to deſire he might be immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed; and that the houſe, in a convenient time would offer particular accuſations againſt him."

The requeſt of the commons was immediately complied with, and the primate was ordered to withdraw, but he requeſted to be heard a word in his place. This being complied with, he began with proteſting his innocency, and added, that he was perſuaded, there was not a member in the houſe of commons, who believed, in his heart, that he was a traitor. He was called to order for that expreſſion by the earl of Eſſex, who obſerved, that the primate had ſeverely reflected on the houſe of commons, by affirming they had brought him in guilty of a charge, which they themſelves did not believe. Laud was deſirous of retracting this indiſcretion, which had eſcaped him without mature deliberation; but the peers were ſo little favourable to his cauſe, that they refuſed to grant him even this ſmall indulgence. He was immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to the Tower.

The next grievance the commons took into conſideration was that of ſhip-money, when ſeveral animated ſpeeches were made on the occaſion, and it was reſolved, "that the charge impoſed upon the ſubjects of this kingdom, for the providing and furniſhing of ſhips, and the aſſeſſments for raiſing of money for that purpoſe, commonly called ſhip-money, are againſt the laws of the realm, the ſubjects right of property, and contrary to former reſolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right." This reſolution was followed by others, which condemned the extra-judicial determination of the judges upon ſhip-money, publiſhed in the ſtar-chamber, and al writs iſſued for paying that obnoxious and arbitrary tax.

From the minute inſpection of the commons into national grievances, it was apprehended by ſome of the members that the king might be prevailed on to diſſolve the parliament, cruſh their proceedings, and attempt to reduce England into a deſpotic government. To prevent this, no meaſure was thought ſ proper as ſome poſitive, conſtitutional act, which might render the calling of parliaments leſs precarious, and more frequent. Many ſpecious arguments, beſides thoſe drawn from the circumſtances of thi important criſis, were urged with great force and eloquence. Parliaments, in former times, regularl met once a year, and it could not be any unreaſonable conceſſion in the crown to bring the conſtitutio ſo far back to its firſt principles, as to paſs an act fo triennial parliaments. This bill was ſtrongly ſuppor ed by lord Digby, ſon to the earl of Briſtol. H appealed for the truth of what he urged to the violations of the petition of right, which had happene through the diſcontinuance of parliaments. "L majeſty (ſaid he) hear our complaints ever ſo co paſſionately; let him purge away our grievances ev ſo efficaciouſly; let him puniſh and expel ill miniſte ever ſo exemplarily; let him make choice of go ones ever ſo exactly: if there be not a way ſettled preſerve and keep them good, the miſchiefs will grow again like Sampſon's locks, and pull down t houſe upon our heads.

"The people of England (continued he) cann open their ears, their hearts, their mouths, or th purſes, to his majeſty, but in parliament. We c neither hear him, acknowledge, nor give, but the This bill, Mr. Speaker, is the ſole key that c open the way to thoſe reciprocal endearments, wh muſt make and perpetuate the happineſs of the ki and kingdom. Let no man object any derogati from the king's prerogative by it: we only preſent bill; it muſt be made a law by our ſovereign; honour and his power will be as conſpicuous in co manding at once, that a parliament ſhall aſſem every third year, as in commanding a parliament

aſſem

aſſemble this or that year: there is more majeſty in ordaining primary and univerſal cauſes, than in the actuating of ſubordinate effects.

"I do not doubt but that the glorious king Edward III. when he made thoſe laws for the yearly calling of parliaments, did it with a right ſenſe of his dignity and honour: the truth is, the kings of England are never in their glory, their ſplendor, their majeſtic ſovereignty but in parliament. Where is the power of impoſing taxes? Where is the legiſlative authority? In the king, Mr. Speaker, but how? In the king, encircled and environed by his parliament. Out of the parliament the king has only a limited power, a circumſcribed juriſdiction; but, waited on by his parliament, no monarch of the eaſt is ſo abſolute in diſpelling grievances. In chaſing away bad miniſters, we do nothing more than diſſipate clouds that may gather again; but in voting this bill, we ſhall contribute, as far as is in our power, to the perpetuating our ſun, our ſovereign, in his vertical, in his noon-day luſtre."

Theſe were the ſentiments of that great man, lord Digby, who thought the preſervation of liberty far from being incompatible with that of loyalty; that a king of England could be great only by ruling over a free people; and that the people could be no longer free than the king was great. But he believed, and believed with reaſon, that Charles had imbibed falſe notions of royal greatneſs, and that he ſought to make that perſonal which was only political. That a king of England can do no ill was an allowed maxim in the conſtitution; but that his miniſters may, and that they may be puniſhed for it, was equally allowed. Charles, while he was able to keep the ſeat of power, ſupported the firſt of theſe maxims, but was willing to evade the latter. He endeavoured to ſcreen his miniſters, and by this prepoſterous conduct, at laſt, received in his own breaſt that popular reſentment which was originally aimed at thoſe whom he had ſo injudiciouſly protected, and which at laſt brought him to an unhappy exit.

The more the commons proceeded in their inquiry into grievances, the more they multiplied. The truth is, there was a party in the houſe of commons, who laboured aſſiduouſly to diſcover grievances, and ſought rather to propagate than extinguiſh them. Every unthinking court divine, every buſy officer, and every imprudent perſon who was honoured with a commiſſion in the army or navy, who ſpoke with warmth for ceremonies in religion, or deſpotiſm in the ſtate, were called before the commons, and their follies or offences obliquely charged upon the court. The ſervants of the high commiſſion court, the ſtar chamber, and other officers, where illegal or other arbitrary meaſures had been purſued, were condemned to make ſatisfaction to the injured parties, and ſometimes corporally puniſhed. By theſe, and other artful meaſures, the anger of the houſe againſt the late grievances was kept up perpetually, without admitting a calm hour for reflection, or making the leaſt allowance for natural infirmity, miſtakes, or miſrepreſentations.

During theſe violent proceedings the king remained entirely paſſive. The few ſervants who continued faithful to him were ſeized with aſtoniſhment at the rapid progreſs made by the commons in power and popularity, and were glad, by their inactive and inoffenſive behaviour, to compound for impunity. Charles ordered both houſes of parliament to attend him at Whitehall, where he complained ſtrongly of their ſlow proceedings, and recommended to them the better ſupport of the two armies, the forts and the navy. He profeſſed, in very earneſt terms, his deſire of their perfecting the reformation they had begun; but, at the ſame time, wiſhed them not to make any alteration in the eſtabliſhed government. "You have (ſaid he) taken the whole machine of government to pieces; a practice frequent with ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the wheels from any ruſt which may have grown upon them. The engine may again be reſtored to its former uſe and motions, provided it be put up entire, ſo that not a pin be wanting." But this was far from the intention of the commons; they were perſuaded that the machine was incumbered with many wheels and ſprings which retarded and croſſed it's operations, and prevented it's utility. Happy would it have been for themſelves, and happy for the kingdom had they proceeded with moderation, and been contented with their preſent plenitude of power, to remove ſuch parts only as might juſtly be deemed ſuperfluous and incongruous.

The petition preſented by alderman Pennington againſt the government of the church had hitherto lain dormant; the attempt was thought too dangerous, and the leaders of the oppoſition determined to proceed with caution. They accordingly introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen from exerciſing any civil office. One of the conſequences of this bill would have been a deprivation of the biſhops of their ſeats in the houſe of peers; but it was ſoon diſcovered, that though this meaſure was very acceptable to the zealous commons, who obſerved, with regret, the firm attachment of that order to the crown, it was not generally approved; for when the bill was preſented to the peers, it was rejected by a great majority. This was the firſt check the commons had met with in their popular career; and ſufficiently informed them of the oppoſition they muſt expect to meet with from the upper houſe, whoſe inclinations and intereſt could never be totally ſeparated from their ſovereign.

The commons now brought in a bill for granting his majeſty the duties of tonnage and poundage for a limited time; but they took the utmoſt care, in the preamble, to aſſert their own right of beſtowing this gift, and to diveſt the crown of all independent title of aſſuming it. And that they might increaſe, or rather finally fix, the entire dependence and ſubjection of the king, they voted theſe duties only for two months; and afterwards renewed their grant, from time to time, by very ſhort periods.

Charles readily paſſed the bill for tonnage and poundage, but it was not without manifeſt reluctance he gave the royal aſſent to that for triennial parliaments. By this bill it was enacted, that if the chancellor, who was bound under ſevere penalties, failed to iſſue writs by the third of September, every third year, any twelve or more of the peers ſhould be empowered to exert this authority: in default of the peers, the ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. ſhould ſummon the voters: and, in their default, the voters themſelves ſhould meet, and proceed to the election of members, in the ſame manner as if writs had been regularly iſſued from the crown: nor could the parliament, after it was aſſembled, be diſſolved in leſs than fifty days. As this act, however neceſſary to prevent the diſuſe of parliaments, retrenched ſome of the nobleſt and moſt valuable prerogatives of the crown, it is no wonder that the king was unwilling to paſs it into a law; eſpecially as theſe aſſemblies had lately eſtabliſhed it as a maxim, to carry their ſcrutiny into every part of government. But finding nothing leſs would ſatisfy the houſe of commons, he came to the houſe of lords, and gave it the royal aſſent. Solemn thanks were returned to his majeſty by both houſes for this mark of condeſcenſion; and the greateſt rejoicings were made in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1641. The earl of Strafford was ſtill in cuſtody, and Charles, ever ſince his impriſonment, had laboured inceſſantly to ſave his life. He attempted to mollify, by every indulgence, the rage of his moſt inveterate proſecutors, and was willing to make almoſt any ſacrifice to obtain his wiſhes. But he laboured in vain: The reputation of that nobleman for experience and capacity was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that the members of the oppoſition were perſuaded, if he eſcaped their vengeance, he muſt regain his aſcendancy in the adminiſtration; and conſequently, that his death was the only ſecurity for the eſtabliſhment of their preſent power, and for ſucceſs in their future enterpriſes. They therefore puſhed on his impeachment with the utmoſt vigour; and after long and ſolemn preparations, it was brought to a final iſſue.

Weſtminſter-hall was formed into a ſpacious court of judicature for this important trial; the earl of Arundel preſided as high ſteward, the peers ſat in their robes as judges, the commons appeared as accuſers, and therefore it was determined that the impeachment ſhould be managed by commoners. Accordingly, George lord Digby, an Iriſh peer, John Hambden, John Pym, Oliver St. John, Sir Walter Earle, Geoffrey Palmer, John Maynard, and John Glynn, were appointed a committee for this important office, and Whitlock was choſen their chairman. The biſhops, agreeable to the precepts of the canon law, which forbid their aſſiſting at any trial for life, withdrew; being unwilling, by any oppoſition, to irritate the commons, who were already too much prejudiced againſt them. At the upper end of the hall was a chair and cloth of ſtate for the king; and on each ſide a cloſe gallery, in which the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial, ſat in private.

The trial began on the twenty-ſecond of March; and the articles of impeachment, which conſiſted of twenty-eight in number, were exhibited againſt him with all the virulence of the moſt inveterate malice, ſupported by the united efforts of the three kingdoms. But though the earl ſtood alone againſt this formidable combination, unaſſiſted by counſel, and diſcountenanced by authority, yet ſuch was the capacity, genius, and preſence of mind, which this magnanimous ſtateſman diſplayed on the occaſion, that while argument, reaſon, and law, had any place, he obtained an undiſputed victory. And he periſhed at laſt by the open violence of his unrelenting enemies.

The accuſation and defence laſted eighteen days, and Strafford, in his replies, was obliged to preſerve a reſpect for his moſt implacable enemies, the Scottiſh nation and the Iriſh parliament. The managers divided the ſeveral articles among them, and attacked the priſoner with all the weight of authority, with all the vehemence of rhetoric, with all the accuracy of long preparation. Strafford, on the contrary, took only a very ſhort time to recollect himſelf on each article, yet he alone, without the leaſt aſſiſtance, mixing modeſty and humility with firmneſs and vigour, foiled all their attempts, and baffled all their proceedings.

Nothing had hitherto appeared againſt him to juſtify the charge of treaſon. Indeed, the charge itſelf was founded on a kind of accumulative or conſtructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themſelves, or criminal in a very trifling degree, might, when put together, ſubject the perſon to the higheſt penalties inflicted by the law.

But notwithſtanding the commons endeavoured to ſupport their accuſation on this new method of proceeding, they well knew that the famous ſtatute of Edward III. had enumerated every kind of treaſon, and that every other crime, except ſuch as are there expreſsly mentioned, is carefully excluded from that denomination. They, therefore, under pretence of defending liberty, were endeavouring to reverſe a ſtatute the beſt calculated for the ſecurity of that invaluable bleſſing.

The ſpeech which Strafford made on this occaſion, does honour to human abilities; nor perhaps can hiſtory produce any performance equal to it, in the perſpicuity of language and ſtrength of reaſoning, in ſtating, clearing or evading controverted evidences and facts, in extenuating ſome charges, in confuting others, and in following a ſubtle adverſary through all the mazes of a long and complicated impeachment. In all the argumentative part of this noble ſpeech, the earl confined his language only to the facts themſelves; but when he came to repel the arguments of the commons to make the bill amount to treaſon, he gave himſelf a much greater latitude, and diſplayed ſuch an amazing ſtrength both of ſtyle and reaſoning, as at once aſtoniſhed and affected the audience.

“ Where, ſaid he, has this ſpecies of guilt lain ſo
“ long buried, during ſo many centuries, that no
“ ſmoke ſhould appear, till it burſt out at once to
“ conſume me and my children? Better were it to
“ live under no law at all, and by maxims of cau-
“ tious prudence, to conform ourſelves, the beſt we
“ can, to the arbitrary will of a maſter, than fancy
“ we have a law on which we can rely, and find, at
“ laſt, that this law ſhall inflict a puniſhment prece-
“ dent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims
“ unheard of, till the very moment of the proſecu-
“ tion. If I ſail on the Thames, and ſplit my veſſel
“ on an anchor, in caſe there be no buoy to give me
“ warning, the party ſhall pay me damages: but i
“ the anchor be marked out, then is the ſtriking o
“ it at my own peril. Where is the mark ſet upo
“ this crime? where is the token by which I ſhould
“ diſcover it? It has lain concealed under water,
“ and no human prudence, no human innocence
“ could ſave me from the deſtruction with which I
“ am at preſent threatened.

“ It is now full two hundred and forty years ſince
“ treaſons were defined; and ſo long has it been
“ ſince any man was touched to this extent, upo
“ this crime, before myſelf. We have lived, m
“ lords, happily to ourſelves at home; we have live
“ glorious abroad to the world: let us be conten
“ with what our fathers have left us; let not our am
“ bition carry us to be more learned than they wer
“ in theſe killing and deſtructive arts. Great wi
“ dom it will be in your lordſhips, and juſt provi
“ dence for yourſelves, for your poſterities, for th
“ whole kingdom, to caſt from you into the fi
“ theſe bloody and myſterious volumes of arbitrar
“ and conſtructive treaſons, as the primitive chriſtia
“ did their books of curious arts; and betake you
“ ſelves to the plain letter of the ſtatute, which te
“ you where the crime is, and points out to y
“ the path by which you may avoid it.

“ Let us not, to our own deſtruction, awake tho
“ ſleeping lions, by raking up a company of o
“ records, which have lain for ſo many ages by t
“ wall, neglected and forgotten. To all my affli
“ tions add not this, my lords, the moſt ſevere
“ any; that I, for my other ſins, not for my tr
“ ſons, be the means of introducing a precedent
“ pernicious to the laws and liberties of my nat
“ country.

“ However, theſe gentlemen at the bar ſay, th
“ ſpeak for the common-wealth, and they believe
“ yet, under favour, it is I, who in this particu
“ ſpeak for the common-wealth. Precedents l
“ thoſe endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed againſt m

" muſt draw along with them ſuch inconveniences, " and miſeries, that in a few years the kingdom will " be in the condition expreſſed in a ſtatute of " Henry IV. and no man ſhall know by what rule to " govern his words and actions.

" Impoſe not, my lords, difficulties unſurmountable " on miniſters of ſtate; nor diſable them from ſerving, " with chearfulneſs, their king and country. If you " examine them, and under ſuch ſevere penalties, by " every grain, by every little weight, the ſcrutiny " will be intolerable; the public affairs of the king" dom muſt be left waſte, and no wiſe man, who has " any honour or fortune to loſe, will ever engage " himſelf in ſuch dreadful, ſuch unknown perils.

" My lords, I have now troubled your lordſhips " much longer than I ſhould have done. Were it " not for the intereſt of theſe pledges, which a ſaint " in heaven left me; I ſhould be loth"—Here he pointed to his children, and his tears ſtopt him.— " What I forfeit for myſelf is nothing; but I confeſs, " that my indiſcretions ſhould forfeit for them, it " wounds me very greatly. You will be pleaſed to " pardon my infirmities. Something I ſhould have " ſaid, but I ſee I ſhall not be able, and, therefore, " I ſhall leave it.

" And now, my lords, I thank God I have been, " by his bleſſing, ſufficiently inſtructed in the ex" treme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, com" pared to the importance of our eternal duration. " And ſo, my lords, even ſo, with all tranquillity of " mind, I ſubmit clearly and freely to your judg" ment; and whether that righteous doom ſhall be " to life or death, I ſhall repoſe myſelf, full of grati" tude and confidence, in the arms of the great au" thor of my exiſtence."

The commons were now ſufficiently convinced that t would be impoſſible ever to attain their purpoſes gainſt Strafford by any legal proſecution. But his eath was conſidered of too great importance to be ſt unaccompliſhed. A bill of attainder was therere introduced into the lower houſe, immediately fter the concluſion of theſe pleadings, which paſſed at houſe on the twenty-firſt of April, after very arm debates, fifty-nine votes only diſſenting, and as immediately ſent up to the lords. On the firſt of lay the king went to the houſe of peers, and, in a peech, earneſtly requeſted both houſes that they ould not carry their proſecutions againſt the earl of trafford to the utmoſt extremity; declaring upon his nſcience, that he could not condemn him of high eaſon; but aſſured them, that for his miſdemeanors ſhould never ſerve him, or the kingdom, in any ace of truſt, " no not ſo much as a conſta- e."

This ſpeech was highly offenſive to thoſe who irſted for the blood of Strafford; and they were ſo gilant in the purſuits of their deſigns, that the com- ns voted it a breach of privilege for the king to ke notice of any bill depending before the houſe. the ſame time they employed their emiſſaries with- t doors to diſperſe, in different parts of London, pers, containing the names of the fifty-nine mem- rs who voted againſt the bill of attainder. Thoſe mes were alſo fixed up at public places under the nomination of Straffordians and betrayers of their untry, and thus expoſed to the fury of the multitude, o were arrived to ſuch a pitch of madneſs, that, the third of May, great numbers from the city ap- ared at Weſtminſter, armed with ſwords and dgels, crying out for juſtice againſt the earl of Straf- d; and ſuch as were ſuppoſed to be the friends of t unfortunate nobleman were afraid to appear in blic.

About eighty peers had conſtantly attended the l of Strafford; but ſo much were they intimidated by the popular tumult, that only forty-nine were in the houſe of lords when the bill of attainder was introduced, yet even nineteen of theſe had the courage to vote againſt it; a ſtrong proof that, had liberty of debate been allowed, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority.

A diſcovery, which was made about this time, greatly heightened the fury of the people, and haſtened the fate of the devoted Strafford. Some principal officers of the king's army, partly from their attachment to the crown, and partly from an averſion to the parliament, had formed a plan for engaging in the king's ſervice the troops under their command; with this view they entered into an aſſociation, bound themſelves by an oath of ſecrecy, and maintained a cloſe correſpondence with the king's ſervants. The form of a petition to the king and parliament was drawn up, to which they reſolved to procure the ſubſcription of the army. In this petition, after repreſenting the great danger to which the antient conſtitution of the kingdom was ſubject, by the inſolent proceedings of certain factious and turbulent ſpirits, the army offered to come up and protect his majeſty and the parliament. " So ſhall the nation," as they expreſs themſelves in the concluſion, " not only be " vindicated from precedent innovations, but be ſe" cured from the future which are threatened, and " which are likely to produce more dangerous effects " than the former." The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was, unhappily, prevailed on to counterſign it, as a mark of his approbation. One of the aſſociation, named Goring, imagining the affair could not long remain a ſecret, diſcovered the whole to the lords Newport and Dungarvon, and they to Pym, who immediately imparted it to the houſe. This diſcovery could not fail of exciting the moſt violent indignation among the people. It was now reported that a ſcheme was concerted between the court and the army, to cut the throats of the parliament, and of all thoſe who ſtood up for their liberties. To convey more ſpeedily their terror and indignation at this plot, the commons voted, that a proteſtation ſhould be ſigned by all the members, to maintain the proteſtant religion againſt popery, to defend the king's perſon, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the ſubject. This proteſtation was ſent up to the lords, and ſigned by all of them, except Southampton and Roberts; and then the commons, by their ſole authority, iſſued orders that it ſhould be ſigned by the whole nation. Alarms were every day given of new conſpiracies, and theſe of ſuch a nature as to keep up the rage of the miſguided multitude, and animate them in their demands of juſtice againſt the unfortunate Strafford.

A bill was now brought into the houſe for continuing the parliament, which ſhould not be prorogued, adjourned, or diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed. This was on the fifth of May, and the ſame day the commons ſent to the king, deſiring acceſs to him, which being granted, they attended in the Banquetting-houſe, where they preſented to him the bill of attainder againſt Strafford, and that for the continuance of the parliament. Charles told them they might expect his anſwer on the Monday following, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

The king came to the houſe of lords according to his promiſe, and aſſured them of his firm reſolution, for which he offered them any ſecurity, never again to employ Strafford in any public affairs; but at the ſame time owned himſelf entirely diſſatisfied with regard to the circumſtances of treaſon, and on that account declared his diffidence in giving his aſſent to the bill of attainder, which he thought was framed with an intention of condemning a man whom he could not, in his conſcience, deem guilty of the crime laid his to charge.

The populace now flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of juſtice upon Strafford with the moſt ſhameful and open menaces; and the whole nation was thrown into ſo violent a ferment, as ſeemed to threaten ſome great and alarming convulſion. Wherever the king turned his eyes he was preſented with a gloomy and frightful proſpect: he perceived no reſource, no expedient, no ſecurity. All his ſervants preferred their own ſafety to that of their maſter, and even declined interpoſing with their advice between him and his parliament. The queen, terrified with the appearance of ſuch alarming inſurrections, preſſed him with tears to ſatisfy his people with regard to his miniſter, as it was hoped that his death would reſtore that tranquillity which had for ſome time forſaken the kingdom. Juxon alone, whoſe courage was not inferior to his other virtues, deſpiſed the menaces of the populace, and boldly told the king, that if in his conſcience he thought the bill againſt Strafford unjuſt, by no means to paſs it.

While Charles continued in this dreadful ſituation of mind, Strafford took a ſtep which demonſtrated that his ſoul was a ſtranger to fear. He wrote a letter to the king, in which he intreated his majeſty to prefer the peace and ſafety of his kingdom to the life of an unfortunate, though innocent man; and quiet the tumultuous populace, by granting the requeſt they made with ſo much vehemence. "In this, added he, "my requeſt will more acquit you to God, than all "the world can do beſides. To a willing man there "is no injury. And by God's grace, I forgive all the "world with a calmneſs and meekneſs, of infinite "contentment to my diſlodging ſoul; ſo, Sir, to "you I can reſign the liſe of this world with all imaginable chearfulneſs, in the juſt acknowledgment "of your many and exceeding favours."

This letter greatly aſtoniſhed the king: he knew the ſoul of Strafford was not eaſily terrified, but he thought him not endued with ſuch magnanimity. It tended, however, but little to remove the doubts of Charles: he could not bear the thought of putting to death a man whom he loved, eſteemed, and believed to be innocent.

At length, however, after the moſt violent anxiety and doubt, Charles granted a commiſſion to four noblemen, empowering them to give the royal aſſent to the bill. Carleton, ſecretary of ſtate, was ſent to inform Strafford that the bill of attainder was ſigned, and that his execution was appointed for the 12th of May. On receiving this fatal news, he roſe from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and ſaid, "Put not your truſt in princes, nor in the ſons of men, for in them there is no ſalvation." He, however, ſoon recollected his ſpirits, and prepared himſelf to ſuffer the fatal ſentence. Three days only were allowed him; nor could the king, though he ſent a letter by the prince of Wales to the parliament, obtain any longer reſpite.

The unfortunate earl was attended, in his laſt moments, by archbiſhop Uſher; and in paſſing from his apartment to Tower-hill, where the ſcaffold was erected, he ſtopped under the window of archbiſhop Laud, with whom he had long lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip. The aged primate appeared diſſolved in tears; and on Strafford's begging the aſſiſtance of his prayers in thoſe awful moments which were ſo nearly approaching, the prelate pronounced, in a broken voice, a tender bleſſing on his departing friend, and ſunk into the arms of his attendants. This affecting ſcene of tender friendſhip drew tears from the eyes of the unfortunate Strafford, but could not ſhake the magnanimity of his ſoul. With a mind ſuperior to his fate, he marched on with an air of greater dignity than that which uſually attended him. His behaviour on the ſcaffold was noble and decent. "I fear, ſaid he, it is an ill omen for the projected reformation in the ſtate, to begin with ſhedding innocent blood." After bidding adieu to his brother and friends who attended him, and ſending a bleſſing to his wife and children who were abſent, he ſaid, "I "have now almoſt done. One ſtroke will make my "wife a widow, and my dear children fatherleſs, de"prive my poor ſervants of an indulgent maſter, "and ſeperate me from my affectionate brother and "all my friends!" As he was laying his head upon the block, he ſaid, "I thank God I am not afraid of "death, nor am I daunted with any terrors; but do "as chearfully lay down my head at this time, as "ever I did when going to repoſe." After finiſhing this ſhort declaration, the executioner, with one blow, put a final period to his life.

Thus died, in the 49th year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, one of the greateſt men that ever appeared in England. Though he was not irreproachable, yet he certainly merited a much better fate, and whatever advice he might give his majeſty when dangers rendered deſperate methods neceſſary, yet he often repeated to his maſter this memorable and noble maxim: "That if ever neceſſity obliged the ſovereign to violate the laws, it ought to be done with great reſerve; and that, as ſoon as it was poſſible, reparation ought to be made to the laws for what they had ſuffered by ſuch violation."—It is remarkable, that a few weeks after Strafford's executio the parliament, as if conſcious of the iniquity, a leaſt illegality, of his ſentence, paſſed an act for reſtoring his children in blood and honour, and inveſte them with the poſſeſſions of their father's eſtates.

The ſame commiſſioners, who ſigned the bil againſt Strafford, ſigned alſo another more fatal to th royal authority. By this act it was declared, that th parliament ſhould not be adjourned, prorogued, o diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes. Th king conſidered not the conſequence of this ſtatute Abſorbed in grief at the loſs of his favourite, he gav his aſſent to an act that rendered him the ſlave of hi oppreſſors.

The commons having, by the death of the earl o Strafford, removed, as they pretended, the great obſtacle to the reformation of the ſtate, proceeded t proſecute their projected plan with the utmoſt induſtry and vigour, fully reſolved to annihilate all remains of arbitrary power. They attacked the cou of high-commiſſion and the ſtar-chamber, whoſe juriſdiction, almoſt without rule or bounds, put re ſhackles on civil liberty. A bill unanimouſly paſſe the houſe to aboliſh theſe courts; and, in them, t deſtroy the principal and moſt dangerous articles o the king's prerogative. The breach made in th power of the crown by this abolition was the greate as the ſtar-chamber took cognizance of all the infra tions of the royal proclamations. The right of iſſuing ordinances was, from that time, in a great meaſu abrogated, as the king no longer had it in his pow to carry them into execution.

The marſhal's court, which took cognizance of o fenſive words, and was thought not ſufficiently l mited by law, was alſo, for that reaſon, aboliſhe The ſtannary courts, which exerciſed juriſdiction ov the miners, being liable to a ſimilar objection, unde went a ſimilar fate. The abolition of the Council York, and the Council of Wales, followed from t ſame principles: and the authority of the Clerk the Market, to whom the care of a general inſpecti of the weights and meaſures throughout England w committed, was transferred to the mayors, ſheri and ordinary magiſtrates.

Thus did the commons aboliſh every remnant arbitra arbitrary power; and made the rigid maxims of law and equity the ſole rule of their conduct. No courts of judicature now exiſted but thoſe of Weſtminſter-hall; and though the means they made uſe of to procure theſe great advantages to poſterity often ſavoured of artifice, ſometimes of violence, yet it ſhould be remembered, that it is, perhaps, impoſſible to effect a revolution in government, merely by the force of reaſon and argument. Upon the whole, therefore, if we except that complication of cruel iniquity, that effected Strafford's attainder, it muſt be owned that the tranſactions, during the firſt period of this memorable parliament, were productive of very great advantages to the nation, by fixing the liberty of the ſubject on a firm and ſolid foundation.

The treaty with the Scots being now brought to a concluſion, Charles permitted the parliament of that kingdom to aſſemble, and declared his intention of aſſiſting at it in perſon. The commons ſuſpecting, that under pretence of viſiting Scotland, he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of his army in the north, demanded a conference with the lords, when a propoſition was made that both armies ſhould be diſbanded before the king's departure. This being unanimouſly agreed to by the lords, both armies were accordingly diſbanded at the ſame time, and the Scots returned home with the greateſt ſeeming ſatisfaction.

The king ſet out for Scotland on the 10th of Auguſt, attended by ſeveral of the principal nobility; among whom were, the duke of Lenox, lately honoured with the additional title of duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby. He was received at Edinburgh with the greateſt demonſtrations of affection by the people; and, in return for this reception, he not only confirmed the articles of the treaty between the two kingdoms by act of parliament, but likewiſe all his former conceſſions, together with all the particulars that had been tranſacted in their general aſſembly. At the ſame time, to gain more effectually their eſteem, he conferred titles of honour and dignity on ſome, and places of truſt and profit on others. Among the former the marquis of Hamilton was created duke; and general Leſley was made earl of Leven.

While Charles was aſſiduouſly employed in ſettling the diſturbances in Scotland, he received advice that a rebellion was broke out in Ireland. The catholics of that kingdom were perſuaded that they had now the faireſt opportunity of ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke; and religion and liberty, thoſe ſources of the greateſt paſſions, hurried them into the attempt of totally extirpating the Engliſh from every part of the kingdom. It was Roger More, a gentleman deſcended from a very antient family in Ireland, and highly celebrated among his countrymen for valour and capacity, firſt formed the project for expelling the Engliſh, and aſſerting the independency of his native country. He was indefatigable in the purſuit; going, with the utmoſt ſecrecy, from one chieftain to another, and uſing all the arts in his power to awaken every latent principle of diſcontent. He maintained a cloſe correſpondence with lord Maguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neale, the moſt powerful perſons among the antient Iriſh. He obſerved, that the rebellious factions in England and Scotland offered the moſt favourable opportunity for effecting their purpoſe; that the Engliſh planters who had expelled them from their poſſeſſions, ſuppreſſed their religion, and bereaved them of their liberties, were but a handful when compared with the natives; and though the catholics had hitherto enjoyed, in ſome conſiderable degree, the exerciſe of their religion, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, they muſt thenceforth expect the government would be conducted by other maxims and other principles; that the puritanical parliament having at laſt ſubdued their ſovereign, would, doubtleſs, when their power was conſolidated, extend their ambitious enterprizes to Ireland, and make the catholics in that kingdom feel the ſame furious perſecution, to which their brethren in England were at preſent expoſed; and that a revolt in the Iriſh, tending only to vindicate their native liberty againſt the violence of foreign invaders, could never, at any time, be deemed rebellion, much leſs, during the preſent confuſions, when their prince was, in a manner, a priſoner, and obedience muſt be paid, not to him, but to thoſe who had traitorouſly uſurped his authority.

Theſe conſiderations could not fail of awakening the native pride of the Iriſh, and induce them to form a conſpiracy againſt their hated maſters. Plunket, a ſoldier of fortune, readily engaged in the undertaking, and it was agreed that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conſpirators, ſhould begin the inſurrection on the ſame day in the different provinces, while lord Maguire and Roger More made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Dublin. The twenty-third of October was the day fixed upon for carrying their deſign into execution. The ſcheme was at firſt propoſed with a great deal of moderation; it was reſolved not to ſpill any blood but in caſes of neceſſity, and not to moleſt the Scots, who were very numerous in the northern parts of the kingdom. The Engliſh ambaſſadors at foreign courts received frequent hints of what was projecting in Ireland, and the lords juſtices were deſired, by repeated advices, to be upon their guard; but all theſe intimations produced no effect, they continued in the ſame ſupine indolence and ſecurity. The caſtle of Dublin, by which the capital itſelf was commanded, contained arms for an hundred thouſand men, thirty-five pieces of cannon, and a proportional quantity of ammunition; yet, even this important fortreſs was guarded by no greater force than fifty men. The truth is, there was at that time ſo great a ſimilarity of intereſts between the Engliſh puritans and the Iriſh catholics, that the lords juſtices, who were enemies to Strafford, did not chuſe to be very active againſt the papiſts. Leiceſter, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, remained in London, and Sir Wm. Parſons and John Borlace, the chief juſtices, were of ſlender capacities, and owed their promotion merely to their zeal for the party that was now predominant. Tranquil from their ignorance and want of experience, they ſlumbered on the very brink of deſtruction. But the evening before the deſign was to be carried into execution, they were rouſed from their lethargy by the information of O'Connolly, an Iriſh proteſtant, who betrayed the whole ſecret to Parſons. In conſequence of this, Mahone, lord Maguire, and about thirty of the conſpirators were ſeized during the night; but More, Plunket, and ſome others, made their eſcape.

Though the Engliſh in Dublin were happily preſerved by the diſcovery of this infernal plot, yet it was not ſo with thoſe in the other parts of the kingdom. The conſpirators were in arms in the reſpective provinces early on the morning of the day appointed, and actually maſſacred forty thouſand defenceleſs proteſtants. No age, no ſex, no condition was ſpared. The wife, weeping for her butchered huſband, and embracing her helpleſs children, was pierced with them, and periſhed by the ſame ſtroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, and the infirm, underwent the ſame fate, and were blended in one common ruin. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault: deſtruction was every where let looſe, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourſe had to relations, to companions, to friends; all connections were diſſolved, and death was dealt by that hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without oppoſition, the aſtoniſhed Engliſh, living in profound peace, and full ſecurity, were maſſacred by their neareſt neighbours, with whom they had long maintained a continued intercourſe of kindneſs and good offices. Nay, even death was the ſlighteſt puniſhment inflicted by theſe monſters in human form: all the lingering pains of body, the anguiſh of mind, the agonies of deſpair could not ſatiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cauſe. Humanity forbids a particular enumeration. Such enormities, though atteſted by undoubted evidence, appear almoſt incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, though encouraged by the utmoſt licence, cannot reach to ſuch a pitch of ferocity. Even the weaker ſex themſelves, naturally tender to their own ſufferings, and compaſſionate to thoſe of others, here emulated their robuſt companions in the practice of every cruelty. The very children, taught by example, and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, dealt their feeble blows on the dead carcaſes or defenceleſs children of the Engliſh. Nor was the avarice of the Iriſh a ſufficient reſtraint to their cruelty. Such was their frenzy, that the cattle they had ſeized, and by rapine had made their own, were, becauſe they bore the name of Engliſh, wantonly ſlaughtered, or, when covered with wounds, turned looſe into the woods, there to periſh by ſlow and lingering torments. The commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the ſloth and ignorance of the natives, were laid in aſhes, or levelled with the ground. And where the wretched owners had ſhut themſelves up in the houſes, and were preparing for defence, periſhed in the flames, together with their wives and children.

When Charles received advice of this inhuman inſurrection, he ſeemed greatly affected, and immediately laid the diſpatches before the Scottiſh parliament; at the ſame time earneſtly requeſting that they would ſend forces for the ſuppreſſion of the rebels, and the protection of thoſe diſtreſſed proteſtants who had happily eſcaped. The Scots were far from being averſe to the complying with his majeſty's requeſt, and appointed a committee of their parliament to treat with the commons of England; but ſo much time was ſpent in negotiations, that the opportunity of chaſtiſing the rebels, and putting a ſtop to their inhuman ravages, was irretrievably loſt; and the unfortunate proteſtants were denied that aſſiſtance from their brethren in England, which even the laws of nature, and the ſacred ties of friendſhip, gave them the higheſt reaſon to expect.

As ſoon as the heat of ſlaughter was over, and cool reflection returned, the Iriſh trembled for their ſituation, and endeavoured to conceal the blackneſs of their crimes by the moſt horrid impoſture. They pretended they had received authority from the king and queen, eſpecially from the latter, for the horrid murders they had committed; and by this ſpecious aſſertion, though deſtitute of the leaſt foundation in truth, they deceived many of their deluded countrymen. They added, that the ſole reaſon for taking up arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative, ſo unjuſtly invaded by the puritanical parliaments of England and Scotland. To give ſome colour of truth to this improbable declaration, recourſe was had to artifice and fraud. Sir Phelim O'Neale having found a royal patent in the houſe of lord Cranfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the ſeal, and affixed it to a commiſſion he had forged for himſelf.

Charles arrived in London on the twenty-fifth of November, and informed the parliament of the neceſſity there was for immediately ſending aſſiſtance to his proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland. He flattered himſelf that the terror they had always expreſſed againſt popery, a religion that now appeared in all its terrors, would ſufficiently prompt them to interpoſe in behalf of their diſtreſſed countrymen. But he was miſtaken; a real zeal for religion was not the object of the parliament; it wanted the ſtimulation of faction or intereſt to produce the deſired effect. Charles was not, however, wanting on his part, to rouze the parliament to revenge the blood of their countrymen. He laid before the commons all the intelligence he had received; and informed them, that the inſurrection was not, in his opinion, the reſult of any raſh and furious enterprize, but of a formed conſpiracy againſt the crown of England. He added, that a cauſe ſo important to national and religious intereſts required their utmoſt attention, muſt be entered upon immediately, and purſued with vigour.

But he ſoon found that the parliament were more deſirous of exalting their own authority upon the ruins of the prerogative, than of ſending aſſiſtance to their brethren, though plunged in the very abyſs o diſtreſs. As ſoon as the particulars of this infernal maſſacre arrived, all the privy-counſellors in the neighbourhood of London repaired to the houſe o commons, and laid before the aſſembly the variou informations they had received. The dreadful nar rative ſeemed to rouze in the breaſts of the member the tender feelings of humanity; it was immediatel reſolved to borrow fifty thouſand pounds from th city on parliamentary ſecurity. Several committee were appointed to take care of the Iriſh affairs; an the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

"That a convenient number of ſhips be provide for guarding the ſea-coaſts of Ireland. That ſix thou ſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, be raiſed with a convenient ſpeed, for a preſent expedition into th kingdom. That the lord-lieutenant be deſired t preſent to both houſes of parliament the names o ſuch officers as he ſhall think proper to ſend into Ire land, for commanding the forces intended to b tranſported thither. That magazines of proviſio be provided at Weſt Cheſter, in order to be ſent ove to Dublin, as the occaſions of that kingdom may r quire. That the magazine of arms, ammunition a powder, now in Carliſle, be forthwith ſent over Knockfergus, in Ireland. That it be referred to h majeſty's council to conſider of ſome method of offe ing rewards to ſuch as ſhall ſignalize themſelves in t Iriſh expedition: of pardoning thoſe rebels in th kingdom who ſhall make their ſubmiſſion in a limit time; and of offering ſums of money as rewards ſuch as ſhall bring in the heads of the principal rebe That letters be immediately ſent to the juſtices Ireland, informing them how ſenſible this houſe is the affairs of that kingdom. That the committee Iriſh affairs conſider how and in what manner t kingdom may make uſe of the friendſhip and aſſi ance of Scotland in the affair of Ireland. That rections be given for drawing a bill for impreſſ men for this particular ſervice."

Notwithſtanding the commons came to theſe re lutions, the preparations were carried on ſo ſlow that all hopes of the Iriſh proteſtants, with reg to a ſpeedy aſſiſtance from their brethren in Engla vaniſhed. In the mean time, the commons took c to alarm every part of the kingdom with the m dreadful apprehenſions of the horrid deſigns and nu bers of the papiſts. This gave many of their o friends in the houſe of lords a diſlike to their proce ings; they began to be alarmed at their conduct, to miſtruſt their deſigns. Capel (lately called u the houſe of peers) had been very warm in the op ſition, and as forward as any gentleman in the h for removing the real grievances of his coun The ſame may be ſaid of the lords Falkland

Digby, Sir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others whoſe concurrence in the meaſures againſt the court had given great credit to the oppoſition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and, perhaps, farther than in duty they could require; and therefore that all oppoſition ought now to ceaſe. They made no ſecret of theſe ſentiments; but none, except lord Digby, had as yet the courage to break with the popular leaders in the houſe of commons.

It was, however, ſufficiently evident, that the two parties muſt ſoon divide; and the oppoſition took every method in their power to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the approaching rupture, and to prevent the deſertion of ſo many powerful friends from having any effect in turning againſt them the current of popular favour. Nothing contributed more to this than the continual alarms they artfully ſpread with regard to the deſigns of the papiſts, already ſo much the object of general abhorrence. Accuſtomed, in all their invectives, to join the prelatical party with the catholics, the people immediately ſuppoſed the inſurrection in Ireland to be the reſult of their united counſels: and when they heard that the rebels in that kingdom pleaded the king's commiſſion for all their violences, bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, aſſented, without ſcruple or examination, to that groſs impoſture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance ſhocking to humanity.

The commons were far from uſing any endeavours to contradict a report ſo favourable to their deſigns. They did not, indeed, pretend to charge the king with this enormous cruelty, but inſinuated that the Iriſh rebellion had been ſecretly planned, and was at that very time fomented by papiſts in great truſt about the perſons of the king and queen. Alarmed at theſe baſe imputations, Charles, to clear himſelf and his conſort from all ſuſpicions, unhappily recommended the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion to his parliament. Probably, the popular leaders had foreſeen this, and took care to make uſe of the advantages they had acquired from an act of ſo much imprudence. Under pretence of this acquiſition of truſt, they aſſumed the power of diſpoſing of the royal magazines, and of iſſuing orders for raiſing forces, which till that time had been underſtood to be lodged in the crown. In ſhort, Charles, by thus injudiciouſly devolving his authority on the parliament, in ſome meaſure put his own ſword into the hands of his ſubjects. Care was taken to publiſh to the whole world, that his majeſty had particularly recommended the preſervation of Ireland to both houſes of parliament; but, at the ſame time, effectual meaſures were taken to defeat the king's prudent intention of ſending over a body of Scots to ſuppreſs the Iriſh rebels, and to reſtore peace to that miſerable kingdom. They had, indeed, voted, that a conſiderable army ſhould be immediately raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland; but no effectual ſtep was taken for carrying that vote into execution, though the rebellion was now arrived to ſuch a height, as to call for the whole power of England. They, however, carried on the proſecution againſt the papiſts with the utmoſt vigour: five prieſts were executed at one time: the law of nations was violated with regard to foreign ambaſſadors whom they ſuſpected of harbouring prieſts: all the recuſants of any figure or fortune in England were ſecured; and it was reſolved that all the Iriſh in the inns of court, who refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſhould be expelled thoſe ſocieties, and rendered incapable of being again admitted. Theſe violent proceedings alarmed the lords, who expreſſed a viſible reluctance to proceed to ſuch extremities. This occaſioned ſeveral ſtrong reſolutions of the commons, ſufficiently indicating their intention of acting without the concurrence of the houſe of peers, if they continued to oppoſe them.

The commons were now buſied in preparing a remonſtrance on the ſtate of the nation, which was ſoon attended with the moſt important conſequences. It was not addreſſed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. It was a recapitulation of all the wrong meaſures embraced by the king ſince the commencement of his reign: the unſucceſsful expeditions to Cadiz and the iſle of Rhé were mentioned; the ſending ſhips to France for the ſuppreſſion of the Hugonots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for refuſing to obey illegal commands; the violent diſſolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government that always ſucceeded; the queſtioning, fining, and impriſoning members, for their conduct in the houſe; the levying taxes without conſent of parliament; the introducing ſuperſtitious innovations into the church, without the authority of law: in ſhort, every thing which, either with or without reaſon, had given offence during the courſe of fifteen years, from the acceſſion of the king to the calling of the preſent parliament.

Had all the oppreſſions here complained of ſtill exiſted, this famous remonſtrance had been the braveſt and wiſeſt meaſure that any parliament ever purſued, and muſt have rendered the memories of its conductors dear to poſterity. But as the land-marks of the conſtitution had been replaced; as Charles had been as liberal in granting as his people had been importunate in aſking; as nothing that the will of heaven could warrant, or the art of man deviſe, was now wanting to the ſecurity of the people; and as no recent violations of the king's conceſſions, or the people's rights, had been ſo much as pretended; what could any unprejudiced perſon imagine the parliament meant by this remonſtrance? The anſwer is certainly obvious: they intended to inflame the people againſt the government, and throw the whole ſtate into confuſion. It is, therefore, no wonder that it met with very ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of commons. For more than fourteen hours the debate was ſupported with remarkable warmth and acrimony; and the remonſtrance would poſſibly have miſcarried, had not the uncommon length of the debate wearied out many of the king's party, which principally conſiſted of perſons advanced in years; for it was at laſt carried only by a majority of eleven, there being 159 for the motion, and 148 againſt it.

The remonſtrance was ſoon after preſented to his majeſty, together with a petition, requeſting that the biſhops might be deprived of their votes in parliament, that ſeveral alterations might be made in the eſtabliſhed worſhip, and that the king would remove all evil counſellors from his preſence.

Charles received the remonſtrance with great civility and politeneſs; and a few days after diſperſed an anſwer to it, in which he obſerved, that during the period ſo much and ſo bitterly complained of, the people enjoyed a large ſhare of happineſs, even when compared with the moſt fortunate periods of Engliſh hiſtory. He made the warmeſt profeſſions of ſincerity in the reformed religion; promiſed indulgence to tender conſciences, with regard to the ceremonies of the church; enumerated his great conceſſions to natural liberty; and blamed the infamous libels every where diſperſed againſt his government and the national religion. "You have thrown out (ſaid he) gene-
"ral reproaches with regard to pernicious councils;
"but aſk your own conſciences, have I protected
"any miniſter from parliamentary juſtice? Have I
"retained any unpopular ſervant, or conferred
"offices on any one who enjoyed not, in a high de-
"gree, the eſteem of the public? But if, notwith-

"ſtanding this, any malignant party ſhall take heart, "and be willing to ſacrifice the peace and happineſs "of their country to their own ſiniſter ends and am- "bition, under whatever pretence of religion and "conſcience; if they ſhall endeavour to leſſen my "reputation and intereſt, and to weaken my lawful "power and authority; if they ſhall attempt, by "diſcountenancing the preſent laws, to looſen the "bands of government, that all diſorder and con- "fuſion may break in upon us; I doubt not but "God, in his own good time, will diſcover them to "me; and that the wiſdom and courage of my high "court of parliament will join with me in their ſup- "preſſion and puniſhment."

This anſwer had great effect on the more wiſe and prudent part of the nation. Even the leaders of the commons themſelves were alarmed, and began to fear, that unleſs they could remove the biſhops from the houſe of lords, they ſhould never ſucceed in the plan they had projected. They had already attempted this without ſucceſs, though thirteen of the biſhops were impeached of high-treaſon. Nor could the committee, with all their art, draw up any charge againſt Laud that would affect either his life or fortune. They, however, renewed their attempts againſt the biſhops with great violence, but without ſucceſs; the peers thought it highly unreaſonable to condemn them before they were proved to be guilty. Exaſperated at this, and other inſtances of oppoſition they had lately met with from the upper houſe, particularly by their inſiſting on taking ten thouſand Scots into their pay, the commons appointed a committee "to prepare "heads for a conference with the lords, and to ac- "quaint them what bills this houſe hath paſſed, and "ſent up to their lordſhips, which much concerned "the ſafety of the kingdom, but have had no conſent "of their lordſhips to them; and that this houſe being "the repreſentative body of the whole kingdom, "and their lordſhips being but particular perſons, "and coming to the parliament in a particular capa- "city; that if they ſhall not be pleaſed to conſent "to the paſſing of thoſe acts, and others, neceſſary "for the preſervation and ſafety of the kingdom, "that then this houſe, together with ſuch of the lords "as are more ſenſible of the ſafety of the kingdom, "may join together, and repreſent the ſame to his "majeſty."

This violent proceeding of the lower houſe produced a different effect from what it was intended, as it operated ſtrongly in favour of the king. The commons ſoon perceived it; and in order to avert the conſequences, encouraged the lower claſs of people, and perſons incapable of judging for themſelves, to preſent petitions to the houſe againſt the biſhops votes in parliament. One was brought up by the London apprentices, who aſſembled in great multitudes before the houſe of lords, crying out, "No Biſhops, No Biſhops." But the principal object of the commons was that of wreſting from Charles all his power over the military. He had offered to raiſe ten thouſand volunteers for the ſervice of Ireland; but the propoſal was rejected under pretence that they were unwilling to truſt the king with ſo large a military force; though the moſt dreadful accounts and pathetic petitions were every day received from the proteſtants in Ireland. It was in vain for Charles to endeavour to quicken the motions of the commons by repeated meſſages; the time was fruitleſsly ſpent in voting money, that was never paid; in making reſolutions, that were never executed; in conferences that had no concluſion; and in debates that had no meaning.

The tumults about Weſtminſter became every day more violent and outrageous, ſo that even Charles himſelf ſeemed in danger from lawleſs attempts of the mad populace. In this ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, ſome reduced officers and gentlemen of the inns of court offered their ſervice to his majeſty; which being accepted, they appeared as guards at Whitehall, and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between them and the rabble. By way of reproach, theſe gentlemen, who ſupported the royal cauſe, ſtigmatized their antagoniſts with the appellation of Round heads, on account of their wearing round ſhort hair; and the latter in return, gave the others the name of Cavaliers: and thus the nation, which was already ſufficiently exaſperated both by civil and religious quarrels, was now alſo provided with party names, under which the oppoſite leaders might range their adherents, and ſignalize their mutual hatred and reſentment.

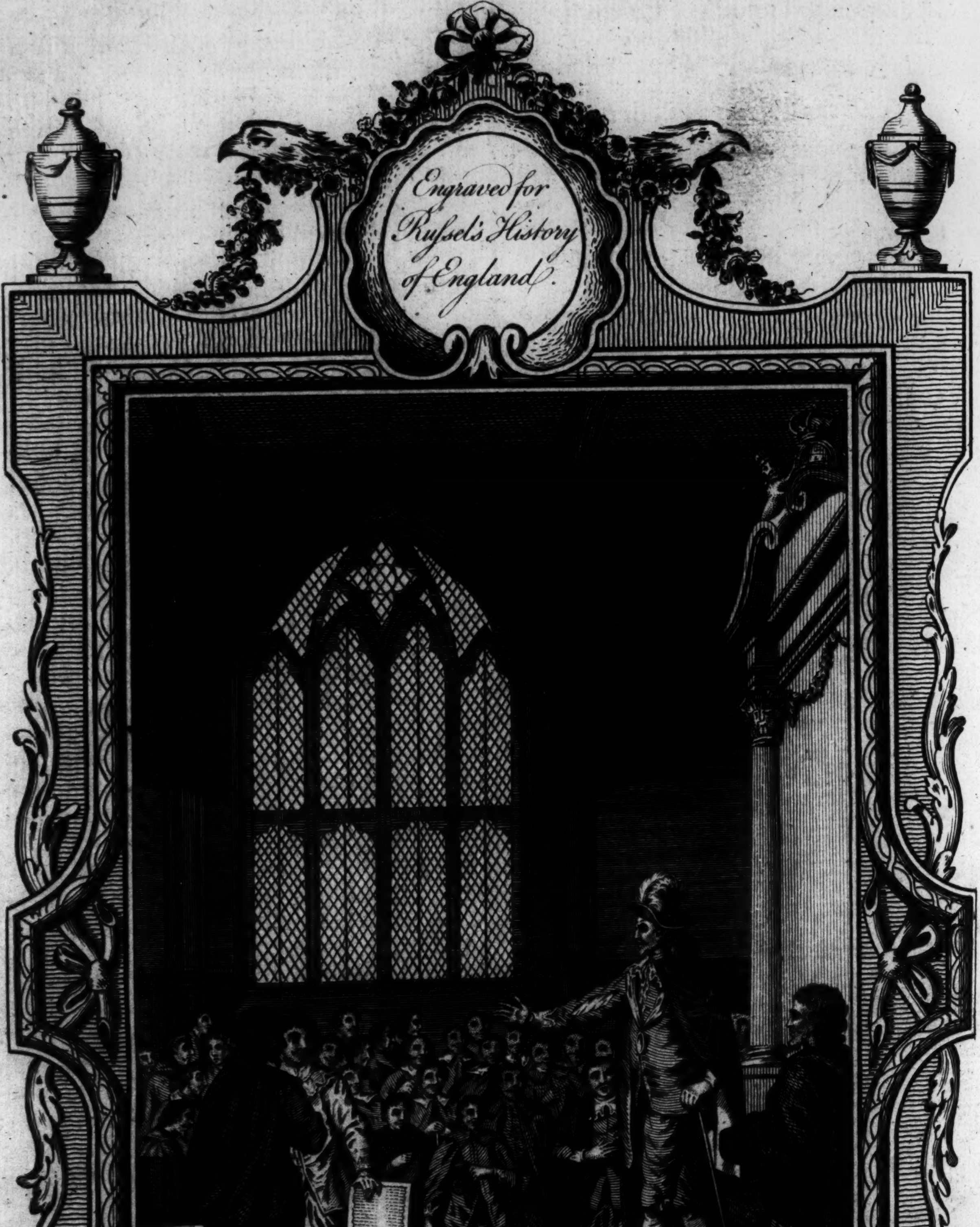
Notwithſtanding the tumultuous aſſemblies of the lower claſs of people ſtill continued, yet the popularity of Charles daily increaſed among the better ſort. The common-council of London not only diſclaimed having any ſhare in thoſe diſorders, but alſo preſented ſeveral dutiful addreſſes to the king, beſeeching him to continue his reſidence at Whitehall, and aſſuring him of protection againſt any who ſhould dare to offer him the leaſt inſult. The Scots alſo, affected to ſee their king ill uſed by others, however contumaciouſly they had treated him themſelves, informed him of the correſpondence carried on between the chief covenanters and the principal leaders of the houſe of commons, both before, and during the continuance of the late invaſion.

Charles unfortunately miſtook this gleam of compaſſion for the return of luſtre to his reign. He began therefore to act with more ſpirit and vigour. He diſcharged Belfour from his government of the Tower, and appointed Lansford in his place, notwithſtanding the warm declarations made againſt it by the commons. But Charles wanted courage to ſupport his nomination; he ſoon after diſmiſſed Lansford, and gave the command to Sir John Byron. On the eleventh of December, while the houſe was engaged in warm debates with regard to biſhops voting in parliament, the king iſſued a proclamation for paying obedience to the laws for eſtabliſhing the true religion in England; and the next day he iſſued another, commanding all abſent members to attend their duty in parliament. Theſe two proclamations, publiſhed at ſuch a juncture, gave the commons room to believe, that Charles was meditating ſome dreadful blow, and their apprehenſions were increaſed when they ſaw Falkland, Culpepper, Hyde, and ſeveral others of the wiſeſt and moſt popular members in the houſe, divide againſt them.

A bill had been paſſed by the commons for impreſſing men for the ſervice of Ireland; in the preamble to which the king's power of impreſſing, though always practiſed by former princes, was declared illegal, as contrary to the liberty of the ſubject. While this bill was debating by the peers, Charles, unwilling to ſubmit to ſo conſiderable a diminution of his power, came up to the upper houſe, where he told the lords he was very willing to paſs the bill without the preamble, by which means, he obſerved, that ill-timed queſtion with regard to the prerogative would, for the preſent, be avoided, and the pretenſions of each party remain entire. Both houſes took fire at this precipitate meaſure; and declared it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill before it was preſented to him for the royal aſſent.

A few days after this, Charles committed an indiſcretion that was attended with more fatal and dangerous conſequences, and which, at leaſt, greatly accelerated all the diſorders and civil wars in which the kingdom was ſoon after involved. Lord Digby, a perſon of great abilities, but of a warm and paſſionate diſpoſition, ſhocked at the growing inſolence of the oppoſition, repreſented to Charles, that if he

BRITISH 13 JY 73 MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
White sculp.

KING CHARLES I.
Demanding the Five Members in the House of Commons.

exerted the authority, and diſplayed the majeſty of a monarch, his inſolent ſubjects would inſtantly ſhrink before him. The queen and ſeveral of the courtiers enforced this advice; and Charles, who was ever too haſty, and had lately received ſuch inſults that even no private gentleman could bear with patience, yielded to the fatal importunity of his friends and ſervants. He was encouraged to hope, that he could give the final blow to the popularity of the faction, by producing undeniable proofs of their having invited the Scots to invade England.

A. D. 1642. Accordingly, on the third of January, the attorney-general (by the king's order) preſented to the houſe of peers the following articles of high-treaſon againſt Kinbolton, and five commoners, the moſt active perſons in the oppoſition, viz. Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſelrigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode:

"1. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of England, to deprive the king of his royal authority, and to place in ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and eſtates of his majeſty's ſubjects.

"2. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured, by many foul aſperſions upon his majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majeſty odious to them.

"3. That they have endeavoured to draw his majeſty's late army to diſobedience to his majeſty's command, and to ſide with them in their traiterous deſigns.

"4. That they have traiterouſly invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majeſty's kingdom of England.

"5. That they have traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the rights and very being of parliaments.

"6. That in order to compleat their traiterous deſigns, they have endeavoured, ſo far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them in their traiterous deſigns; and to that end had actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king and parliament.

"7. And that they have traiterouſly conſpired to levy, and actually have levied war againſt the king."

As ſoon as the Attorney-General had delivered theſe articles of impeachment, he demanded, in behalf of his maſter, that the houſe ſhould appoint a committee of ſecrecy for examining the king's witneſſes: that he ſhould have liberty to add or alter as he pleaſed, and that the perſons he had impeached ſhould be taken into cuſtody.

Charles ſeconded this attack by another ſtill more raſh and inconſiderate: a ſergeant at arms repaired to the houſe of commons, and demanded, in the king's name, the five impeached members; but he was diſmiſſed without any poſitive anſwer. In conſequence of this, meſſengers were employed to ſearch for and arreſt them; and their trunks, chambers and ſtudies were ſealed up and locked. Theſe proceedings being reported to the commons, they came to the following reſolutions:

"That the ſergeant at arms be ordered to apprehend and bring hither as delinquents the perſons who have ſealed up the trunks, or doors, or ſeized the keys of Mr. Pym, Mr. Hollis, or any other member of this houſe: and that the ſergeant ſhall have power to break open the doors, and to break the ſeals off from the trunks.

"That if any perſon whatſoever ſhall come to the lodgings of any members of this houſe, and there offer to ſeal the trunks, doors, or papers of any members, or to ſeize upon their perſons, that ſuch members ſhall require the aid of the conſtable, to keep ſuch perſons in ſafe cuſtody, till this houſe give farther order; and this houſe doth declare, that if any perſon whatſoever ſhall offer to arreſt or detain the perſon of any member without firſt acquainting this houſe therewith, and receiving farther order, that it is lawful for ſuch member, or any perſon aſſiſting him, to ſtand upon his or their guard of defence, and to make reſiſtance according to the proteſtation taken to defend the privilege of parliament."

The king, irritated at theſe proceedings, reſolved to go the next day in perſon to the houſe of commons, and demand the impeached members. But this deſign was not kept ſufficiently ſecret to anſwer his majeſty's intention. The counteſs of Carliſle, ſiſter to the earl of Northumberland, diſcovered it, and ſent intelligence to the five members, ſo that they had time to withdraw a few minutes before the king entered. Charles was attended with his ordinary retinue, amounting to about 200 men, armed in their uſual manner, ſome with halberts, and ſome with walking ſwords. He left his attendants in the lobby, and the door being immediately thrown open, he entered the houſe and advanced to the ſpeaker's chair, all the members ſtanding up to receive him. Charles looked carefully round the houſe, but not ſeeing the accuſed members, he made the following ſpeech to the commons:

"Gentlemen,

"I am ſorry for this occaſion of coming to you.
"Yeſterday I ſent a ſergeant at arms to demand ſome,
"who, by my order, were accuſed of high-treaſon.
"Inſtead of obedience, I received a meſſage. I muſt
"here declare to you, that though no king that ever
"was in England could be more careful of your pri-
"vileges then I ſhall be, yet, in caſes of treaſon, no
"perſon has privilege. Therefore am I come to tell
"you, that I muſt have theſe men whereſoever I can
"find them. Well, ſince I ſee all the birds are
"flown, I do expect you will ſend them to me as
"ſoon as they return. But I aſſure you on the word
"of a king, I never did intend any force, but ſhall
"proceed againſt them in a fair and legal way; for
"I never want any other. And now, ſince I ſee I
"cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit oc-
"caſion to repeat what I have ſaid formerly, that
"whatever I have done in favour, and to the good of
"my ſubjects, I do intend to maintain it."

This imprudent action of Charles threw the houſe into univerſal diſorder; and even before the king reached the door, ſome of the members called aloud, "Privilege! Privilege!" Immediately after his departure the houſe adjourned till the next day; and the five accuſed members retired into the city, where they were ſure of protection. The guards at the gates were immediately doubled, and the greater part of the citizens continued under arms during the whole night.

The following morning Charles diſpatched a meſſenger to the lord-mayor, ordering him to call a common-council immediately. His commands were accordingly obeyed; and about ten o'clock the king, attended only by three or four lords, repaired to Guildhall, and addreſſed the common-council as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"I am come to demand ſuch perſons as I have
"already accuſed of high-treaſon, and do believe
"are concealed in the city. I hope no good man
"will keep them from me; their offences are trea-
"ſons, and miſdemeanors of a very high nature. I
"deſire your loving aſſiſtance herein, that they may
"be brought to a legal trial.

"And whereas there are divers ſuſpicions raiſed,
"that I am a favourer of the popiſh religion, I do
"profeſs, in the name of a king, that I did, and
"ever will, to the utmoſt of my power, be a proſe-
"cutor of all ſuch as ſhall any ways oppoſe the laws

“ and ſtatutes of this kingdom, either papiſts or ſeparatiſts; and not only ſo, but I will maintain and defend that true proteſtant religion which my father profeſſed, and will continue in it during life.”

The lord-mayor and aldermen behaved with the greateſt reſpect, and attended his majeſty as far as Temple-Bar; but he could not eſcape the contumacious language of the populace, who made the ſtreets echo with the cry of “ Privilege of Parliament.”

No ſooner had the king left the city, than a committee of the parliament met at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, doubtleſs to inſinuate, that they did not think themſelves ſafe without the walls of London. This committee was charged with the affairs of Ireland, which, notwithſtanding the dreadful ſituation of the proteſtants in that kingdom, had been hitherto neglected. A declaration was, ſoon after meeting, drawn up, with regard to the late attempt on the privilege of parliament, and afterwards confirmed by the houſe. It was conceived in the following terms:

“ Wheraes his majeſty, in his royal perſon, came yeſterday to the houſe of commons, with a great multitude of men, armed in a warlike manner, with halberts, ſwords, and piſtols, who came up to the very door of this houſe, and placed themſelves there, and in other places and paſſages near to the houſe, to the great terror and diſturbance of the members thereof then ſitting, and, according to their duty, in an agreeable and orderly manner, treating of the great affairs of both kingdoms of England and Ireland; and his majeſty having placed himſelf in the ſpeaker's chair, did demand the perſons of divers members of that houſe to be delivered to him.

“ It is this day declared by the houſe of commons, that the ſame is a high breach of the rights and liberties of parliament, and therefore the houſe doth conceive, that they cannot, with ſafety of their own perſons, or the indemnities of the rights and privileges of parliament, ſit here any longer, without a full vindication of ſo high a breach of privilege, and a ſufficient guard wherein they may confide, for which both houſes jointly, and this houſe by itſelf, have been humbly ſuitors to his majeſty, and cannot as yet obtain.”

The whole kingdom was now thrown into a flame; and nothing was talked of but declarations, votes and remonſtrances, againſt the late flagrant breach of privilege. Several addreſſes were preſented to the king, requeſting him to name the perſons who had adviſed him to purſue ſuch alarming meaſures. Petitions were alſo ſent up from different parts of the kingdom; and among others, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and, common-council of London, repreſented to his majeſty,

“ That trade is decayed, to the ruin of the proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the ſubjects, by the deſigns of papiſts; more particularly, by their fomenting the Iriſh rebellion, by the changing the conſtable of the Tower, by fortifying Whitehall, and his majeſty's late invaſion of the houſe of commons. They therefore pray, that by the parliament's advice, the proteſtants of Ireland may be relieved; the Tower put into the hands of perſons of truſt; a guard appointed for the ſafety of the parliament; and that the five members may not be reſtrained, nor proceeded againſt, but by the privilege of parliament.”

Charles thought proper to ſend an anſwer to the city petition; in which he obſerved, “ that it was impoſſible for him to expreſs a greater ſenſe of Ireland than he had done; that, merely to ſatisfy the city, he had removed a very worthy perſon from his command in the Tower; and that the late tumults had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to fortify Whitehall for the ſecurity of his own perſon: that his going to the houſe of Commons was to apprehend thoſe five members for high-treaſon, to which the privilege of parliament could not extend; but that he never intended to proceed againſt them any otherwiſe than by legal methods only.”

This, however, did not at all tend to quiet the minds of the people. Exaſperated by oppoſition, and influenced by the artful harangues of their leaders, the popular tumults every day increaſed; and the king thinking himſelf and family in danger, determined to remove from Whitehall, and take up his reſidence at Hampton-court. His friends, who were beſt acqnainted with the nature of popular inſurrections, particularly thoſe of the lower claſs in London, exerted all their influence to prevail upon the king to lay aſide his deſign. They obſerved, that a little firmneſs would be ſufficient to diſſipate the ſtorm raiſed by an artful faction; that if he would remain in his palace, and his friends return to their ſeats in parliament, the giddy populace muſt ſoon ſpend their rage, and the affairs of government reſume their natural order. But all their reaſonings were in vain: Charles, after diſmiſſing the guard that attended at Whitehall, removed, with his whole family, to Hampton-court.

Two days after the king left London he ſent a meſſage to the commons, wherein he propoſed, that they ſhould agree upon a legal method, by which he might carry on his proſecution againſt the members, leſt farther miſunderſtandings might happen with regard to the privileges. In their anſwer, they deſired the king to lay the grounds of his accuſation before the houſe, pretending that they muſt firſt judge whether it would be proper to abandon their members to a legal trial. In a ſubſequent meſſage, Charles informed them, that he was willing for the preſent, to wave all proſecution; and, by another, he offered pardon to the members; to concur in any law that ſhould acquit or ſecure them; and to make any reparation for the breach of privileges, of which he acknowledged they had reaſon to complain. But the commons were determined not to accept of any ſatisfaction, unleſs he would name the perſons who adviſed him to purſue that illegal method; a condition which they were ſenſible he would not comply with.

Though the commons were deaf to all the offers made them by his majeſty, the diſtreſs to which himſelf and his family were reduced, excited the compaſſion of the wiſer part of the nation. They were alarmed at the furious proceedings of the commons: no perſon ſeemed to be ſafe, as it could not be known what they would, or what they would not vote to be treaſon. It ſoon appeared that they were determined to ſtrike a terror into every perſon who ſhould venture either to ſpeak his mind, or to do his duty. They allowed the attorney-general but one night to prepare for juſtifying his conduct with regard to his accuſing the five members; and after many captious queſtions, which he could not anſwer without breaking his oath of ſecrecy, they voted him guilty of a high crime, and addreſſed the lords to ſecure his perſon till they could bring him to an open trial. It appears, however, that the true deſign of theſe proceedings againſt the attorney-general was to diſcover the names of the witneſſes whom the king could produce againſt the accuſed members; but in this they were diſappointed by the attorney's firmneſs. Had they ſucceeded in their intention, it might, perhaps, have proved ſtill more favourable to Charles, as it is more than probable, that he had both his information and proof from the Scots, who would then have been obliged to declare in his favour; and they ſeem themſelves to have been apprehenſive of this, for the Scottiſh parliament ordered their commiſſioners to mediate a peace between the king and his parliament.

The accuſed members, who had hitherto affected to remain in the city, now went in triumph to Weſtminſter. Skippon, whom the commons, by their own authority, had appointed major-general of the city militia, conducted them thither at the head of a numerous army. And when the populace paſſed by Whitehall, they aſked, in a very inſulting manner, "What was become of the king and his cavaliers? and whither they were fled?"

From the proceedings of both parties, it now appeared ſufficiently evident, that the ſword alone could decide the conteſt. Charles, however, was ſtill deſirous of averting the horrors of a civil war; and accordingly ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring, "that they would digeſt into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to ſend them to him, promiſing his favourable aſſent to thoſe means which ſhould be thought moſt effectual for redreſs." But this requeſt was refuſed; the commons pretended they were engaged in matters of too much importance to admit of time for ſuch kind of buſineſs.

Every candid perſon muſt acknowledge that the conceſſions made by Charles were abundantly ſufficient to have quieted the apprehenſions of men who were deſirous of peace. But the leaders of the party had ſo invincible a diſtruſt of him, that they put no confidence in his promiſes; and were perſuaded that nothing leſs than wreſting all power from his hand would be ſufficient for their ſafety. He, however, ſtood at preſent fairer in the eye of the public than they. He had taken away, by his meſſages and conceſſions, all the points controverted between them. New ones were therefore ſtarted. They deſired him to put the Tower of London, all the forts, and the whole militia of the kingdom, into ſuch hands as they could truſt. Charles agreed to give the command of the Tower to Sir John Conniers, inſtead of Sir John Biron, though the latter had done nothing to merit his diſcharge; but he abſolutely refuſed their requeſt with regard to the militia.

Charles now removed from Hampton-court to Windſor, and employed his time in making diſpoſitions for providing againſt events which he now ſaw no proſpect of avoiding. He perceived that the intention of the parliament was to ſecure the magazines of the Tower of London, Hull, and Portſmouth; and even their addreſſes to him had hinted ſomething of that kind. He had given private orders to the duke of Newcaſtle to ſecure Hull; but the deſign being diſcovered by the treachery of ſome about his perſon, the houſe of commons inſiſted on his attending his duty in parliament; and ordered Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of great eſtate in that neighbourhood, to take care of the place for the parliament. At the ſame time, they paſſed a vote, that the governor of Portſmouth ſhould admit no perſon into that forteſs, nor ſuffer any part of the ordinance or military ſtores to be diſpoſed of, without an order from the king ſignified by both houſes of parliament.

Many people conſidered theſe proceedings as a diſſolution of the regal government; eſpecially as the commons had taken upon themſelves, not only to diſpoſe of the militia and trained bands of the capital, but to name lord-lieutenants of ſeveral counties, and even the captains that were appointed to command the ſhips of war. The duke of Richmond was highly exaſperated at theſe proceedings, and made a motion in the houſe of peers to adjourn for ſix months; but his motion was over-ruled, he was [illegible] cenſured for his conduct, and a proteſt was entered by thoſe lords who were friends to the commons, becauſe, as they pretended, his puniſhment was not adequate to his crime. So dangerous was it to oppoſe the current of popular fury, whatever unconſtitutional methods were made uſe of to effect it!

The duke of Richmond was a nobleman of great ſpirit, nearly related to the king, and in poſſeſſion of a very large eſtate. The leaders of the commons therefore thought it neceſſary to point him out as an object of popular reſentment. They procured an atteſted copy of the proteſt, and reſolved, "that the houſe had ſufficient cauſe to accuſe him of being one of the malignant party, and an ill counſellor to his majeſty." Sir Ralph Hopton alſo felt the weight of their reſentment. He had been one of the moſt ſtrenuous declaimers againſt the real grievances of his country; but was perſuaded the conceſſions made by the king were more than ſufficient for reforming the government, and placing the liberties of the ſubject on a baſis not to be ſhaken: He therefore oppoſed the proceedings of the houſe with great force of reaſon, and ſometimes with indecent expreſſions, ſimilar to thoſe that had been uſed by many of the leaders againſt their ſovereign. But the very words that had been applauded when uttered againſt majeſty, were cenſured when they were directed againſt the leaders of the commons. His ſpeeches were declared malignant, and he was committed priſoner to the Tower.

Theſe proceedings of the commons ſo greatly alarmed the king, that he began to be anxious for the perſonal ſafety of his wife and children, whom he loved with the moſt tender affection. It was therefore reſolved to ſend them to Holland, where they would be beyond the reach of their moſt inveterate enemies. His eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Mary, had been lately married to the prince of Orange, who now greatly intereſted himſelf in favour of his diſtreſſed father-in-law. In conſequence of this determination, Charles accompanied his family to Dover, from whence they embarked for the continent.

While the king was employed in providing for the ſafety of his family, the commons preſented to him a bill for diſpoſing of the militia, or rather putting it entirely into the hands of the parliament. Charles did not abſolutely refuſe the royal aſſent to this bill, but replied, that he was not ſufficiently at leiſure to conſider a matter of ſuch importance, and therefore they muſt wait ſome time before he could give them a poſitive anſwer.

Alarmed at this delay, the parliament inſtantly diſpatched another meſſage to the king, preſſing him for an immediate anſwer. They repreſented, that when dangers and diſtractions prevailed, a delay was of equal conſequence with a denial; that it was their duty to ſee a meaſure ſo neceſſary to the ſafety of the public carried into execution; that the people in many parts of the kingdom had applied to them for that purpoſe, in the moſt earneſt manner; and that, in ſome places, the inhabitants were ſo alarmed at their preſent dangers, that they had exerted their own authority in preparing for their defence.

Charles did not think proper to give the commons an abſolute denial; but deſired that if the military authority was in any part defective, it might be conferred on the crown; promiſing, at the ſame time, that he would immediately give commiſſions to ſuch perſons only as the parliament ſhould name. But this was far from ſatisfying the commons. They replied, that the dangers of the kingdom were ſo preſſing as to admit of no longer delay; and that if his majeſty refuſed to ſatisfy his people, they would do it by their own authority.

Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, the commons did not as yet think proper to pull off the maſk. They pretended the greateſt ſorrow at his majeſty's leaving the capital, and earneſtly preſſed him to return, and fix his reſidence at Whitehall. The king was aſtoniſhed at this meſſage, and gave the following anſwer to the committee who delivered it:

"I am ſo much amazed at this meſſage, that I "know not what to anſwer. You ſpeak of jealou"ſies and fears! Lay your hands upon your hearts, "and aſk yourſelves, whether I may not likewiſe be "diſturbed with fears and jealouſies; and if ſo, I "aſſure you, this meſſage has nothing leſſened them.

"As to the militia, I thought ſo much of it be"fore I gave that anſwer, and am ſo much aſſured, "that the anſwer is agreeable to what in juſtice or "reaſon you can aſk, or I in honour grant, that I "ſhall not alter it in any point.

"For my reſidence near you, I wiſh it might be "ſafe and honourable, and that I had no cauſe to "abſent myſelf from Whitehall: aſk yourſelves "whether I have not.

"What would you have? Have I violated your "laws? Have I denied to paſs any bill for the eaſe "and ſecurity of my ſubjects? I do not aſk what "you have done for me.

"Have any of my people been tranſported with "fears and apprehenſions? I offer as free and gene"ral a pardon as you yourſelves can deviſe. All this "conſidered, there is a judgment of heaven upon "this nation, if theſe diſtractions continue.

"God ſo deal with me and mine as all my thoughts "and intentions are upright for the maintenance of "the proteſtant religion, and for the obſervance and "preſervation of the laws; and I hope God will "bleſs and aſſiſt thoſe laws for my preſervation."

This anſwer was conſidered by the commons as an abſolute denial to their requeſt: in conſequence of which they declared, that thoſe whoſe counſels the king followed were enemies to the ſtate; that if he perſiſted in his reſolution he would expoſe the ſafety of the three kingdoms to the utmoſt danger, unleſs the parliament provided ſome remedy; and that they approved of the conduct of thoſe who had already put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

Though the commons thus aſſumed an independent authority over their ſovereign, yet they were in reality greatly alarmed, eſpecially when it was known that his majeſty had ſet out to viſit the northern parts of his kingdom, and that he intended to make the city of York the place of his reſidence. As ſoon as Charles reached Huntingdon, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, upbraiding them for their conduct with regard to the affairs of Ireland, and informing them, "that he expected an equal tenderneſs in them with regard to his majeſty's known unqueſtionable privileges, among which he is ſure it is a fundamental one, that his ſubjects cannot be obliged to obey an act, order, or injunction, to which his majeſty hath not given his conſent; and therefore he thinks it neceſſary to publiſh, that he expects, and hereby requires obedience from all his loving ſubjects to the laws eſtabliſhed, and that they preſume not, on any pretence of order or ordinance, to which his majeſty is no party, concerning the militia, or any other things to do, or execute what is not warranted by thoſe laws; his majeſty being reſolved to keep the laws himſelf, and to require obedience to them from all his ſubjects. And his majeſty recommends to his parliament, what he had before required, that they ſhould compoſe and digeſt as ſoon as poſſible, ſuch acts as they ſhall think fit, for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their privileges, and the free and quiet enjoyment of their eſtates and fortunes, the liberties of their perſons, the ſecurity of the true religion now profeſſed in the church of England; the maintaining of his majeſty's legal and juſt authority, and the ſettling of his revenue; his majeſty being very deſirous to take all fitting and juſt ways, which may beget a happy underſtanding between him and his parliament, in which he conceives his greateſt power and riches conſiſt."

The commons were ſo irritated at this meſſage, that they determined to inſiſt upon their former reſolutions concerning the militia: they voted ſevere penalties againſt all who had adviſed the king to give the anſwer he did to that bill; and reſolved upon the queſtion, "that when the lords and commons in parliament, which is the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom, ſhall declare what the law of the land is; to have this not only queſtioned and controverted, but contradicted, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament."

The king had now reached York, and finding the people faithful to him, he determined firmly to oppoſe the attempts of the parliament with regard to the militia. On the contrary, the commons (reſolved to ſupport the power they had uſurped in contempt of all laws) appointed lord-lieutenants to the different counties, gave them the command of the militia, the garriſons, and all the forts in the kingdom; obliging them to obey his majeſty's orders ſignified to them by both houſes; that is, the orders of parliament, ſignified in the king's name, with an intent to dethrone him. Manifeſtos, the forerunners of civil wars, were publiſhed on both ſides. Thoſe of the king carried with them a force of evidence, which was only oppoſe by invectives. A detail of the ſacrifices and conceſſions he had made, and of the violence and inſult which had been their only reward, gave an appearanc of juſtice to his cauſe. Confiding in the ſtrength o his arguments, the king was deſirous that the declara tions of the parliament might be diſtributed with hi own; while the parliament was very induſtrious t ſuppreſs the king's papers. Lord Falkland, ſecretar of ſtate, and Mr. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendo were the authors of the papers in behalf of the king In theſe the Engliſh conſtitution was defined wi great preciſion; the three ſpecies of government, th monarchical, the ariſtocratical, and the democratica were diſtinguiſhed; and the government of Englan ſhewn to be a compound of the whole, each tem pering the other.

The civil war was not, indeed, yet declared, b it was ſufficiently evident, that it muſt ſoon be t conſequence from theſe furious meaſures. The ar of all the forces levied againſt the Scots had been d poſited in the magazine of Hull; and Sir Jo Hotham, the governor, had accepted a commiſſi from the parliament, but was thought to be no ene either to the church or monarchy. Theſe circu ſtances induced Charles to believe, that if he pr ceeded in perſon to the gates of that town, before t commencement of hoſtilities, the governor, overaw by his preſence, would admit him with his ordina retinue, by which means he might eaſily becon maſter of ſo important a place. He was, howev miſtaken. Hotham had received ſtrict orders fr the parliament to be upon his guard; ſo that wh Charles appeared before the place, the governor ſ him a very reſpectful meſſage, deſiring his majeſty n to approach nearer to the town; but the king con nuing to advance, he ordered the bridge to be dra up, and the garriſon to appear on the walls in a poſt of reſiſtance. When Charles was near enough his voice to be heard by the garriſon, he called Hotham, and demanded entrance; which the vernor refuſed, declaring, that he had received truſt from the parliament. Charles was in no con tion to attack the place; and therefore repeated demand, offering to reduce his train to tw perſons. This was alſo denied; and the king ceiving that the governor was determined to defend the place, he retired, after proclaiming Sir John Hothan a traitor by two heralds at arms. Charles afterwards complained to the parliament of the diſobedience of the governor; but was ſo far from obtaining redreſs, that they juſtified his conduct.

The parliament, however, were greatly alarmed at finding the inhabitants of Yorkſhire attached, in the firmeſt manner, to the royal cauſe. They had raiſed a guard of ſix hundred men for the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, and ſeemed determined to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. The parliament, though they had already levied a guard for themſelves, had attempted to ſeize the whole military power, the navy, and all the forts of the kingdom, yet they immediately voted, "that the king, ſeduced by wicked counſels, intended to make war againſt his parliament, who, in all their conſultations and actions, had propoſed no other end but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his perſon: that this attempt was a breach of the truſt repoſed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a diſſolution of the government; and that whoever ſhould aſſiſt him in ſuch a war were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom."

The proceedings of the two parties being now in- ompatible, both ſides made the neceſſary prepara- ations for deciding the diſpute by force of arms. The arliament appointed the earl of Eſſex general of eir forces; and the ardour was ſo great among the eople in the capital, that no leſs than four thouſand en inliſted in one day. At the ſame time, the par- ament voted a declaration, which they required very member to ſubſcribe, that they would live and ie with their general. Orders were iſſued for bring- g in loans of money, in order to maintain the rces levied to defend the parliament: and the zeal of e people was, in this particular, more remarkable an their enliſting under Eſſex; for during ten days, e throng was ſo great, that the perſons appointed to eceive the offerings of the populace had neither time r room ſufficient for the purpoſe; many of them ere therefore obliged to carry back their treaſures, l a more convenient opportunity offered for their ing received.

But notwithſtanding the parliament were thus ſup- orted by the voluntary offerings of the people, they ere totally eclipſed by the ſplendid appearance of e nobility, who flocked to the king at York. Above rty peers of the higheſt rank in the kingdom at- nded upon Charles, among whom was the lord- eper Littleton; while the houſe of lords at Weſt- inſter ſeldom conſiſted of more than ſixteen mem- rs, and even ſome of theſe were of the royal party, d conſtantly oppoſed the meaſures of the commons. he king iſſued commiſſions of array all over the gdom, but the execution of them was voted trea- able by the parliament. They were, however, eatly aſtoniſhed and alarmed, when they perceived large and reſpectable a part of the kingdom had de- red for the king; and, in conſequence thereof, a w ſet of propoſitions were made, on which they re willing to come to an agreement. Their de- nds were as follow:

"1. That the officers of the crown, the miniſters of ſtate, and the governors of all the ports and forts of the kingdom, ſhall be choſen and approved of by the two houſes, or by the council in the intervals of parliament. 2. That no places ſhall be given for life; but that thoſe on whom they ſhould be beſtowed, may hold them no longer than they diſcharge their duty well. 3. That the two houſes, and the council, ſhall name the perſon unto whom the government and education of the king's children ſhall be committed. 4. That no marriage ſhall be concluded, or treated, for any of the king's children, without the conſent of parliament. 5. That the laws againſt jeſuits, and other ſecular prieſts, and in general againſt all papiſts, ſhall be ſtrictly put in execution, without any toleration or diſpenſations whatſoever. 6. That the popiſh lords be expelled from the houſe of peers, and their children taken from them, in order to their being brought up in the proteſtant religion. 7. That ſuch a reformation be made of the liturgy and church government, as both houſes of parliament, with the advice of divines, ſhall adviſe. 8. That the king ſhall reſt ſatisfied with the method taken by the parliament for ſettling the militia. 9. That a ſtrict alliance be entered into with the ſtates of the United Provinces, and other neighbouring princes and ſtates of the proteſtant religion, againſt the pope and his adherents. 10. That the five impeached members be cleared by act of parliament, and reſtored to their rights, that future parliaments may be ſecured from the conſequence of that bad example. 11. That peers made hereafter be reſtrained from ſitting and voting in parliament, without the conſent of both houſes. 12. That the military forces now attending the king be diſcharged. 13. That the lords and others of the privy-council, and others in offices and employments, be removed, except ſuch only as ſhall be approved by both houſes of parliament; and that the perſons made choice of to fill their places and employments may be approved of by both houſes of parliament; and that the privy counſellors ſhall take an oath for the due execution of their places, in ſuch form as ſhall be approved of by the parliament. 14. That the great affairs of the kingdom ſhall not be concluded nor tranſacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unſworn counſellors; but that ſuch matters as concern the public, and are proper for the high court of parliament, ſhall be debated, reſolved, and tranſacted only in parliament; and ſuch as ſhall preſume to do any thing to the contrary ſhall be reſerved to the cenſure and judgment of parliament; and ſuch other matters of ſtate as are proper for the privy-council ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of the nobility and others as ſhall, from time to time, be choſen to fill that board, by approbation of both houſes of parliament; and that no public act, concerning the affairs of the kingdom, which is proper for the privy-council, ſhall be eſteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the royal authority, unleſs it be done with the advice and conſent of the major part of the council, atteſted under their hands; that the council ſhall be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty-five, nor under fifteen; and if any counſellor's place happen to be vacant, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the aſſent of the major part of the council, which choice ſhall be confirmed at the next ſitting of parliament, or elſe be void. 15. That the lord high-ſteward of England, the lord high-conſtable, the lord chancellor, or keeper of the great ſeal, the lord treaſurer, the lord privy-ſeal, the earl marſhal, the lord admiral, the warden of the cinque ports, the chief governor of Ireland, the chancellor of the exchequer, the maſter of the wards, the ſeveral ſecretaries of ſtate, the two chief juſtices and chief baron, ſhall always be choſen with the approbation of both houſes of parliament; and in the intervals of parliament, by the aſſent of the major part of the council, in the ſame manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of counſellors.

" 16.

" 16. That ſuch members of either houſe of parliament, as, during this preſent parliament, have been put out of any place or office, ſhall either be reſtored, or otherwiſe have ſatisfaction upon the petition of ſuch houſe of which they are members. 17. That all privy-counſellors and judges ſhall take an oath, the form whereof ſhall be agreed upon and ſettled by act of parliament, for maintaining the petition of right, and of certain ſtatutes made by this parliament, which ſhall be mentioned by both houſes; and that an inquiry of all breaches and violations of thoſe laws ſhall be given in charge by the juſtices of the king's bench every term, and by the judges of aſſize in their circuits, and juſtices of peace at the ſeſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to law. 18. That the juſtice of parliament ſhall paſs upon all delinquents, whether they be within the kingdom or in foreign parts; and that all perſons cited by either houſe of parliament ſhall appear, and abide by the cenſure of parliament. 19. That a general pardon ſhall be granted, with ſuch exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by both houſes of parliament."

It was not reaſonable to imagine that Charles would ever comply with theſe demands, which were manifeſtly calculated to deprive him even of the ſhadow of regal authority. No ſubjects had ever talked in ſo high a ſtrain ſince Henry III. was in the power of the Mountforts. They had, indeed, ſo changed every part of the conſtitution, that it ſcarce retained any veſtige of its former ſtate, except the name of a king at the head of a republic. "Should I grant theſe demands," ſaid the king in his reply, "I may be waited on bare-headed, I may have my hand kiſſed, the title of majeſty may be continued to me, and The king's authority, ſignified by both houſes, may be ſtill the ſtyle of your commands; I may have ſwords and maces carried before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight of a crown and ſceptre, (though even theſe twigs would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon which they grew was dead): but as to true and real power, I ſhould remain but the outſide, but the picture, but the ſign of a king."

Nor did Charles content himſelf with refuſing theſe demands of the parliament. He retorted their accuſations with great force; and exhibited his charge againſt the commons in a very ſpirited and maſterly manner.

The ſword of civil diſcord was now drawn, and both parties made preparations for deciding by it the dreadful conteſt. Hambden, Whitlocke, Mainyard, Grimſtone, St. John, and Selden, accepted of the parliament's commiſſions, under the ordinance of militia; but the great weight of landed intereſt declared for the king. Charles was furniſhed by his queen with money, which ſhe had borrowed upon her jewels; but the parliament had a much ſurer reſource in public credit, upon which great ſums were raiſed by way of loan; and ſmall ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the royal and parliamentary parties in different parts of the kingdom.

The greater number of the lords were now with the king, and thoſe who remained in the houſe knew not how to act, being, from various cauſes, fearful of declaring their ſentiments. Some of them were reduced by the authority of Eſſex, and the leading members of the commons; ſome were intimidated by the danger to which their perſons were expoſed, by the inſolence of the populace; ſome by the threats of the commons to annihilate their order; ſome were influenced by reſentment, and ſome by principle; ſo that upon the whole there was not a party ſufficient, in their houſe, to ſtem the dreadful torrent that was now ready to ruſh upon the conſtitution. The venerable earl of Briſtol, diſdaining the ignoble motives of reſentment for the uſage he had met with from the king, in a very pathetic, but ineffectual, ſpeech, expoſed the impending calamities of England, and exhorted them to conclude a peace with the king on honourable terms. But his advice, however prudent and ſalutary, produced not the deſired effect; the parliament were determined to puſh the advantage they enjoyed over the king to the utmoſt extremity. Hollis, by order of the houſe of commons, demanded at the bar of the lords the names of thoſe peers who had refuſed to comply with the ordinance for the militia, and made an ungenerous uſe of the diſcovery. The names of thoſe that were known to be well affected to the king were publiſhed, by which means the were inſulted by the populace, and could not attend their duty in parliament without being expoſed to the utmoſt danger; while thoſe who had the courage to join his majeſty were branded with the opprobrious title of "betrayers of the liberty of their country." The commons likewiſe voted, that all horſes ſent to the north, without an order from parliament, ſhould be ſeized and ſecured. At the ſame time they voted nine of the lords incapable of ever again ſitting in parliament. In conſequence of this laſt reſolution, the nobility who were with the king ſigned a paper, "that they would obey no orders or commands whatever, but ſuch as were warranted by the known laws of the land; that they would defend the king's perſon, crown and dignity, together with his majeſty's juſt and legal prerogative, againſt all perſons and power whatſoever; that they would defend the true proteſtant religion, eſtabliſhed by the law of the land, the lawful liberties of the ſubjects of England, and the juſt privileges of his majeſty and both houſes of parliament; and that they would obey no rule, order or ordinance whatſoever, that had not the royal aſſent."

Animated by theſe aſſurances of ſupport, Charles having collected a few forces, advanced to the ſouthward, and, on his arrival at Nottingham, he erected his royal ſtandard, the open ſignal of diſcord and civil war throughout the nation.

Never perhaps was a quarrel more unequal than that between the two contending parties, when Charles erected his ſtandard. The parliament were maſters of the royal revenues, the fleet, the ſea-ports, and all the magazines of arms and ammunition. The king was deſtitute of almoſt every advantage. He had neither arms nor ammunition, except what belonged to the trained bands of the counties favourable to his intereſt, and a ſmall ſupply ſent him by his queen from Holland. It is therefore no wonder that the parliament entertained the moſt ſovereign contempt for all the efforts they ſuppoſed the king was capable of making in ſupport of his prerogative; many imagined that he would not even attempt to make a reſiſtance, but muſt at laſt yield to the pretenſions, however enormous, of the two houſes. To this perſuaſion Charles owed his ſafety. Even after his ſtandard was erected, the danger of a civil war was not, in general, apprehended; nor was it imagined would have the imprudence to engage his implacable enemies, and render his condition ſtill more deſperate, by oppoſing a force ſo greatly ſuperior to his own. Theſe hopes were confirmed by the low condition his army, if indeed his new forces deſerved that name, when he appeared at Nottingham. His train of tillery, though far from being large, he had been obliged to leave behind him at York, for want horſes to draw it. The troops of the parliament, conſiſting of above ſix thouſand men, well armed and well appointed, lay at Northampton, under command of the earl of Eſſex, within a few days march of him, and ſeemed to threaten him with inevitable deſtruction.

When Charles reflected on theſe circumſtances, he as greatly alarmed at his ſituation, and determined o make one more effort for concluding a peace with is parliament. He accordingly ſent a meſſage to he two houſes, by the hands of the earls of South-mpton and Dorſet, Sir John Culpepper, and Sir William Uvedale. He propoſed to open a negotia-ion immediately, in order to conclude a treaty of eace. He aſſured them that nothing on his part hould be wanting to advance the true proteſtant re-gion, oppoſe popery and ſuperſtition, ſecure the laws f the kingdom, confirm all the juſt power and privi-eges of parliament, and render both king and peo-le happy. " Bring with you (added he) as firm reſolutions to do your duty, and let all our people join with us in our prayers to Almighty God, for his bleſſing upon this work."

The commons, however, inſteadof joining with the ing in propoſals for reſtoring the public tranquillity, proached him with having erected his royal ſtand-d; and refuſed to open any negotiation, unleſs he ould recall all his proclamations publiſhed againſt em. Even this anſwer did not exaſperate Charles make uſe of any indecent expreſſions; he offered take down his ſtandard, and recall his proclama-ns, provided they would recall the papers they had bliſhed againſt him and his friends. This was ab-lutely refuſed; they would agree to no terms, unleſs would immediately take down his ſtandard, and call his proclamations, without their acting a reci-ocal part.

But this negotiation, unſucceſsful as it was, did arles the greateſt ſervice. The parliament had ated the king's meſſengers with the utmoſt indigni-; they did not even pay the common civility to ir perſons. At the ſame time, they ordered all ir officers to repair to their reſpective poſts imme-tely, and publiſhed the following declaration to dicate their conduct:

" Whereas his majeſty, in his meſſage, requires, that the parliament ſhould revoke their declarations againſt ſuch perſons as had aſſiſted his majeſty in this unnatural war againſt his kingdom; it is this day ordered and declared by the lords and commons, that the arms which they have been forced to take up, for the parliament, the religion, the laws, and the liberties of the kingdom, ſhall not be laid down till his majeſty ſhall withdraw his protection from ſuch perſons as have been voted by both houſes to be delinquents, and ſhall leave them to the juſtice of the parliament, to be proceeded with according to their demerits; to the end, that both this and ſucceeding generations may ake warning, how they incur the like heinous crimes; and alſo to the end that thoſe great charges and damages, wherewith all the commonwealth have been burthened ſince his majeſty's departure from the parliament, may be borne by the delinquents and other malignant and diſaffected perſons; and that all his majeſty's good and well affected ſubjects, who by loan of monies, or otherwiſe at their charge, have aſſiſted the common-wealth in ime of extreme danger, may be repaid all ſums of money lent them for thoſe purpoſes, out of the eſtates of the ſaid delinquents, and of the malignant nd diſaffected party in the kingdom."

The commons flattered themſelves with receiving t advantages from this declaration; but they were h deceived: on the contrary, it turned the tide popular affection ſtrongly in favour of the king. this was perceived by the parliament, they were e cautious in their proceedings; and, perhaps, to ſingle conſideration the king owed his ſafety, ch was now looked on as ſo precarious, that Sir ob Aſtley, whom the king had appointed major-general of his army, told him, that he could not give him aſſurance but he might be taken out of his bed, ſhould the rebels make a briſk attempt for that purpoſe.

In conſequence of this it was determined that the royal army ſhould leave Nottingham, and the king accordingly began his march for Shrewſbury, the moſt convenient town in England for the rendezvous of his army. Every hour during his march added conſiderable acceſſions to his ſtrength, the people flocking from all parts to join the royal ſtandard. On his arrival at Wellington (a day's march from Shrewſbury) Charles ordered his army to be drawn up, ranged in ſeveral diviſions under proper officers, and his military orders to be publiſhed at the head of each regiment. As ſoon as this was done, he mounted his horſe, and placing himſelf, as near as poſſible, in the center of his army, addreſſed them as follows:

" Gentlemen,

" You have heard theſe orders read: it is your " part, in your ſeveral places, to obſerve them ex-" actly. The time cannot be long before we come " to action, therefore you have the more reaſon to " be careful; and I muſt tell you I ſhall be very " ſevere in the puniſhing of thoſe, of what condition " ſoever, who ſhall tranſgreſs theſe inſtructions. I " cannot ſuſpect your courage and reſolution; your " conſcience and your loyalty have brought you hi-" ther, to fight for your religion, your king, and the " laws of your land. You ſhall meet with no enemies " but traitors, moſt of them browniſts, anabaptiſts, " and atheiſts; ſuch who deſire to deſtroy both church " and ſtate, and who have already condemned you " to ruin for being loyal to us. That you may ſee " what uſe I mean to make of your valour, if it " pleaſe God to bleſs us with ſucceſs, I have thought " fit to publiſh my reſolution to you, in a proteſta-" tion, which, when you have heard me make, you " will believe you cannot fight in a better quarrel; " in which I promiſe to live and die with you.

" I do promiſe, in the preſence of almighty God, " and as I hope for his bleſſing and protection, that " I will, to the utmoſt of my power, defend and " maintain the true reformed proteſtant religion, " eſtabliſhed in the church of England; and by the " grace of God, in the ſame will live and die.

" I deſire to govern by all the known laws of the " land; and that the liberty and property of the " ſubjects may be preſerved by them with the ſame " care as my own juſt rights. And, if it pleaſe God, " by his bleſſing upon this army, raiſed for my ne-" ceſſary defence, to preſerve me from the preſent " rebellion; I do ſolemnly and faithfully promiſe, " in the ſight of God, to maintain the juſt privileges " and freedom of parliament, and to govern to the " utmoſt of my power by the known laws of the " kingdom; and particularly to obſerve inviolably " the laws to which I have given my conſent in this " parliament. In the mean while, if this time of " war, and the great neceſſity to which I am now " driven beget any violation of law, I hope it will be " imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this " war, and not to me, who have ſo earneſtly la-" boured for the preſervation of the peace of the " kingdom.

" When I willingly fail in theſe particulars, I ſhall " expect no aid or relief from man, nor protection " from above. But in this reſolution I hope for the " chearful aſſiſtance of all good men, and am confi-" dent of the bleſſing of heaven."

The effects this ſpeech produced were of the moſt advantageous nature. The whole army were animated with freſh ſpirits; they promiſed to live and die with their ſovereign; they now conſidered him not only as the father, but the guardian of his country. His cauſe became ſo popular, that the town of Shrewſbury declared in his favour, by which he acquired a communication with all North Wales, and other places beyond the Severn.

The king had now learned, in the ſchool of adverſity, the uſeful leſſons of complaiſance, affability, and other popular arts, which he practiſed with infinite ſucceſs. He erected a mint at Shrewſbury, and the nobility and gentry of his party poured in money and plate with as much zeal, though not in ſuch large quantities, as the Londoners had done to the parliament. He had ſtooped to many other meaſures, which nothing but his neceſſities could juſtify, for raiſing money, and his troops were as regularly paid as thoſe of the parliament, and as little burthenſome to the country. The people were charmed to ſee the alteration made in the king, with regard to his addreſs and behaviour. In all his excurſions and marches, he repeated to his people his tenderneſs for their laws and liberties, and his reſolution rather to die than infringe them. This behaviour gained the hearts of the populace ; they flocked to his ſtandard, and his army amounted to ten thouſand men.

On the firſt appearance of the commotions in England, the two princes, Rupert and Maurice, ſons to the unfortunate Palatine, offered their ſervice to the king, and the former now commanded a body of horſe, which had been detached to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, who was then on his march towards that city. Rupert had hardly reached Worceſter, before he ſaw a body of the enemy's cavalry approaching the gates. He immediately attacked them with the utmoſt fury. The diſpute was very obſtinate, till colonel Sandys, who commanded the parliament's detachment, being mortally wounded, they gave way, and were totally routed by the royal party.

This action, though inconſiderable in itſelf, tended greatly to raiſe the ſpirits of the king's forces, and it was determined to march immediately to meet the parliament's army, and, if poſſible, decide the quarrel by a general battle. The royal forces were commanded by the earl of Lindeſey, who had ſerved many years in the Low Countries with great applauſe: prince Rupert commanded the horſe: Sir Jacob Aſtley the foot: Sir Arthur Aſton the dragoons: Sir John Heydon the artillery: and lord Bernard Stuart a troop of guards. Lord Clarendon ſays, that the eſtate and revenues of this ſingle troop were at leaſt equal to that of all the lords and commons, who remained in the parliament at Weſtminſter. Nor will this appear improbable when it is conſidered, that both houſes were remarkably thin ; the commons often voting matters of the greateſt moment, when not more than forty-five or fifty members ſat in the houſe.

Charles left Shrewſbury on the 12th of October, and, in order to bring on a battle with the army of Eſſex, purſued his march towards the capital with great expedition. This alarmed the parliament ſo much, that they ſent repeated expreſſes to their general to ſtop the progreſs of the royal army. Eſſex obeyed with reluctance. He was very unwilling to begin a war, which threatened the deſtruction of his country ; but at laſt determined to obey the orders of his maſters.

The two armies were now within ſix miles of each other. The king's army lay in the neighbourhood of Banbury, and that of the parliament at Keinton in Warwickſhire. In the night of the 22d of October Charles received intelligence from prince Rupert, that the enemy was approaching ; in conſequence of which, early the next morning, the king repaired to the top of Edge-hill, fully reſolved to give them battle ; and ſhewed himſelf as ready to expoſe his perſon as any private officer in the whole army. As each ſeemed equally forward for an engagement, the forenoon was ſpent in drawing up both armies, in which the king was the leſs expeditious, as ſome of his foot were not yet come up, and his ſituation was ſuch, that he could not be attacked without great diſadvantage.

The right wing of the parliament's army was compoſed of a conſiderable body of troops, which lined ſome hedges, and two bodies of horſe, drawn up near the town of Keinton. The left wing was compoſed of a ſtrong body of foot and a thouſand horſe, commanded by Ramſay, a Scotch officer ; and the center, which was deſigned as a body of reſerve, by Sir William Balfour, under the earl of Bedford, general of the horſe. Eſſex himſelf reſolved to charge in perſon at the head of a regiment of foot.

The right wing of the royal army was commanded by prince Rupert, the left by general Wilmot, and the center by Sir John Biron. The king intended to have ſcattered ſome proclamations among the parliament army, offering his pardon to ſuch officers and ſoldiers as ſhould join his forces; but this pruden meaſure was neglected ; and the old earl of Lindeſey was ſo affected at the heat and animoſity of the young officers, that he declared, " he did not look upon himſelf as a general, but would die as a private colonel, with a pike in his hand, at the head of his own regiment."

Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who had levied a body o horſe to ſerve againſt the rebels in Ireland, had bee obliged to ſerve in the parliamentary army, and wa now poſted in the left wing ; but he no ſooner perceived prince Rupert advancing, than ordering hi troop to diſcharge their piſtols in the ground, h joined the royal detachment. This incident, together with the furious charge of the prince, ſtruck th whole left wing with conſternation ; they gave a ver diſorderly fire, and were broken, routed, and drive off the field by prince Rupert, who purſued the above two miles, forgetting that he carried with hi the flower of the royal army, and thereby expoſe the king and the remaining part of his forces to th moſt imminent danger. The right wing of the parliament's army had no better ſucceſs. Chaſed fro their ground by lord Wilmot and Sir Robert Aſto they alſo took to 'flight. The action had hithert been chiefly among the horſe, the foot on both ſide were pretty entire, and fought with great courag The forces of Eſſex made their chief efforts again the king's ſtandard, which was carried by Sir Edward Verney, and bravely defended by the royaliſts but their principal attack was againſt the diviſion commanded by Sir William Stapleton. It was here th error committed in drawing up the king's forces w perceived. For though the body of reſerve und Sir John Biron had now advanced and joined in th attack againſt the artillery of Eſſex, and were on th point of taking it, yet Balfour's reſerve was ſtill entire, and advanced to the relief of the artillery j at the time when Stapleton was going to abandon Had prince Rupert, or general Wilmot, returned this critical moment, the victory had been complet and perhaps a final period put to the civil war; b both theſe commanders were at a great diſtance, a the diſpute was now very unfavourable to the kin For Balfour's diviſion charged him in flank and re with ſo much fury, that the earl of Lindeſey, fig ing on foot at the head of his regiment, was morta wounded, the royal ſtandard was taken, and ſome the king's cannon nailed up.

During this furious engagement, Charles, attend by his two ſons, was in the center of his own foot, a ſmall diſtance from the hotteſt part of the ſervic but, upon Balfour's breaking in, his perſon was in

m

moſt imminent danger, and he ſent the two princes back to the hill, which they reached with ſome difficulty. The duke of Richmond, the earl of Dorſet, and ſeveral other noblemen, kept by his perſon; and it was here that Charles had the firſt opportunity of ſhewing his perſonal courage. For drawing his ſword, and advancing to attack the enemy, his ſoldiers were ſo animated by the example of their king, that they returned to the charge with more fury than ever; the royal ſtandard was retaken, and the enemy in their turn obliged to give ground. Rupert, at the head of his horſe, now returned from the unſeaſonable purſuit, and the battle aſſumed all the appearances of beginning afreſh. The prince ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, that every thing bore the appearance of a defeat inſtead of a victory; but his troops were ſatisfied with carnage, and could not be prevailed upon to renew the attack. The two armies faced each other for ſome time, but neither of them ſhewed courage ſufficient for a new battle. All night they lay upon their arms; and the next morning perceived themſelves in ſight of each other; but neither general nor ſoldier ſhewed any diſpoſition to renew the fight. Eſſex firſt drew off his forces, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. The loſs was greateſt on the ſide of the parliament; and near five thouſand men were found dead on the field of battle. On the king's ſide the earl of Lindeſey, lord Aubigny, and Sir Edmund Verney, the king's ſtandard-bearer, were ſlain in the action; and the lord Willoughby, Sir Thomas Lunſford, Sir William Vavaſor, and Sir Edward Stradling taken priſoners. Among the parliamentarians, the lord St. John, and colonel Eſſex, one of their beſt officers, were killed, and Sir William Eſſex, father to the colonel of the ſame name, was aken priſoner. The coach of the earl of Eſſex, ith ſome of his papers and his waggons, fell into he hands of the royaliſts.

This was the firſt action of any conſequence that appened between Charles and his parliament: and ough neither could boaſt of any remarkable adantage, it occaſioned a general conſternation in the ingdom. A civil war was known in England only by ading or tradition; the inhabitants were not yet hatuated to conſider one another as enemies in the ld, nor to think it their duty to plunge their ſwords the breaſts of their friends, their neighbours, their lations, their brothers, and their parents; for ſuch re the horrors entailed upon civil war. Both parties erefore ſhuddered at dipping their hands in the ood of their countrymen; but when the firſt dreadl eſſay was over, all ties of nature and duty were rgotten; all relations, however tender, diſappeared; ey wantoned in floods of cruelty, and ſported upon e wrecks of their country. The diſpoſitions of both rties were ſo violent, that it was almoſt impoſſible r any man to remain neuter, without expoſing himf and his family to inevitable ruin. Many had ned the parliament merely from a received opinion, at the king was utterly incapable of making even hew of reſiſtance, and muſt be obliged, without uſion of blood, to comply with their demands. t when they ſaw him joined by thoſe, who had ely appeared at the head of the moſt forward opers of whatever was uſurped, or even doubtful in e prerogative; when they ſaw him ſurrounded by plendid court, and retain all the forms of law and ice; when they ſaw the nobleſt blood in England ered to be ſhed in his defence, and his own perſon poſed at the head of the army with as much appearce of reſolution, as that of a common ſoldier of tune, they began to imagine they had been too ly in their choice, and to repent of their precipie engagements: but they had gone too far to ret, and were obliged to ſtand or fall by the party they had embraced; thinking that the king, whatever profeſſions he might make, never could pardon the provocations he had received.

After Charles had refreſhed his troops, and placed a garriſon in Banbury, he continued his march to Oxford, the only place in his dominions at his devotion. But as the weather ſtill continued favourable, the royal army was not ſuffered to remain idle. One Martin had been appointed governor of Reading by the parliament, who had conſiderably augmented the fortifications of the town. A party of horſe was therefore detached to make an attempt upon the place, which was thought of great importance. At their approach both the governor and garriſon were ſeized with a panic, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation to London, ſo that the royal detachment entered the town without oppoſition. This remarkable ſucceſs induced Charles to march his whole army to Reading; and to form the deſign of approaching the capital itſelf.

The commons, alarmed at the king's progreſs, and the conſequences that might enſue if his army ſhould reach the city, ſent an expreſs to the earl of Eſſex, ordering him to march with the utmoſt expedition to London. He obeyed the order, and was received by both houſes as a conqueror: they alſo made him a preſent of five thouſand pounds, declaring "that they were infinitely obliged to the ſaid "earl, for the great and acceptable ſervice he had "done the common wealth, and that they ſhould be "ready on all occaſions to expreſs the due ſenſe they "have of his merit, by aſſiſting and protecting him, "and all others under his command, with their lives "and fortunes, to the utmoſt of their power; that "this ſhould remain upon record in both houſes of "parliament for a mark of honour to his perſon, "name, and family, and for a monument of his ſingular virtue to all poſterity."

But notwithſtanding this compliment paid to Eſſex, ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the parliament were diſſatisfied with the great powers with which he was inveſted; and were very deſirous of preventing any farther effuſion of human blood, if an equitable accommodation could be obtained. They were perſuaded that the king would have no objection to enter into a treaty with the parliament, if he could procure the ſafety of his friends, who had, in a manner, been proſcribed by both houſes. But this was not likely to be effected. All the priſons, ſeveral of the halls, and other large houſes in London, were filled with thoſe the parliament termed delinquents; among whom were ſome of the aldermen both above and below the chair, and many of the richeſt citizens. Theſe commitments had been made with all the inſolence of power; and the goods, money, and houſes of the delinquents, had been ſeized, in as arbitrary a manner as any act of authority ever committed by the king. The delinquents were not only puniſhed before conviction, but upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions.

Theſe arbitrary proceedings could not fail of alarming every perſon of ſenſe and reflexion; and peace now appeared to be a very deſirable object. The parliament had diſcharged many ſuſpected officers and ſoldiers, who not having an opportunity of joining the royal army, continued in the neighbourhood of London, and were perpetually forming cabals againſt the parliament. As it was impoſſible to prevent their correſpondence with the king's friends, Charles conceived great hopes of their aſſiſtance, and this motive induced him to continue his march towards the capital. Previous to his leaving Reading, he ſent a proclamation of pardon to the cities of London and Weſtminſter; but this the parliament ordered the ſheriffs to repreſs; the moſt effectual method they could have taken to render it univerſally known. At the ſame time Sir Peter Killigrew was ſent with a petition to his majeſty, for fixing ſome place near London where he might reſide, while the negotiations for a peace were carrying on. Charles ſhewed great readineſs to embrace this offer, named Windſor as the place for carrying on the conferences, and deſired that the parliament's garriſon might be removed, and his own troops admitted into that caſtle.

In the mean time Eſſex ordered ſix thouſand of his troops to march to Kingſton, that they might be in readineſs to advance to Hounſlow, to ſtop the progreſs of the royal army, provided they continued their march towards London; and ſent ſeveral of his beſt regiments to Brentford, where they threw up ſome works, while another ſtrong detachment filed off towards Acton.

As ſoon as Killigrew received the king's anſwer, he immediately ſet out for London. On his reaching Brentford, and finding it full of ſoldiers, he ſtrongly repreſented to Eſſex that he feared his advancing ſo far from the city might prove an obſtacle to the peace; but Eſſex took no notice of it. Killigrew, however, on his arrival at Weſtminſter, prevailed with the parliament to write a letter to the king, intimating their deſign that a ceſſation of arms ſhould take place between the two armies.

The active prince Rupert had been perpetually ſcouring the country at the head of his cavaliers. He well knew that the ſecret intention of Charles was, if poſſible, to march to London; and foreſaw it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to effect it, if Eſſex had time ſufficient to compleat his diſpoſitions. It is ſufficiently evident, that the commons themſelves never meant that their petition for peace ſhould imply a ceſſation of arms; becauſe they thought it neceſſary to make the ceſſation a ſeperate act, which they had diſpatched to Charles by Sir Peter Killigrew. While that gentleman was poſting with it to the king's head quarters, then at Colebrook, prince Rupert attacked the parliament's regiments and works at Brentford with the utmoſt fury; and, notwithſtanding they made a noble reſiſtance, they were all cut off, wounded, or taken priſoners, and the prince remained maſter of the town. In the heat of this action Killigrew arrived, with the letter for a ceſſation of arms in his pocket, and immediately informed Eſſex of the purport of his meſſage. Eſſex would not ſuffer him to proceed any further, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for acting on the defenſive, till he could receive reinforcements from London.

The king now moved with his whole army to Brentford; while the city marched its trained bands, in excellent order, to join the earl of Eſſex, who determined, at all events, to engage the royal army. The parliamentary forces amounted to 24,000 fighting men, beſides detachments, conſiſting of 1,000 more, which might have been recalled in a few hours. Eſſex was likewiſe poſſeſſed of a complete train of artillery, which he drew up in a lane between Turnham Green and Hammerſmith. His van conſiſted of Stapleton's and Goodwyn's regiments of horſe. His main body and reſerve were compoſed of his infantry, intermixed with the city trained bands. His cavalry formed the wings, the left extending towards the Thames, and the right towards Acton. A council of war being held, it was propoſed by ſome of the officers, that the party lying at Kingſton ſhould advance towards Hounſlow; that two of the beſt regiments of horſe ſhould defile off towards Acton; and that, upon a ſignal given, Eſſex, at the head of the main body, ſhould advance in front; by which means the king's army would be attacked at one and the ſame time in front, flank and rear. But none of the principal officers were for putting the ſucceſs of the war upon the iſſue of a ſingle battle; becauſe if they gained the victory, the conſtitution muſt be deſtroyed; if they were defeated, both themſelves, their friends, the city of London, and the cauſe of liberty itſelf, muſt be left to the mercy of an incenſed ſovereign, and a furious army. Eſſex, however, thought that ſome art was neceſſary in order to ſupport his deſign of not coming to a general engagement. It was urged that the intended detachments would ſo greatly weaken the center of the army, that the king might eaſily force his paſſage, and get between them and London, before either the flank or rear of his army could be attacked, eſpecially as it was known with what irreſiſtable fury prince Rupert charged at the head of his cavaliers. It was therefore reſolved not to venture a general engagement; that the three thouſand men lying at Kingſton ſhould immediately march to London, where their appearance was highly neceſſary to allay a ſtrong ferment that now appeared in favour of his majeſty; and that the detachment at Acton ſhould rejoin the main body. Both armies continued to face each other for ſome time, and ſeveral ſmall ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties, but nothing material occurred. At laſt they both retired, the king to Colebrook, and Eſſex to London.

A few days after the two armies retired, the parliament ſent the following meſſage to the king:

"May it pleaſe your majeſty,

"It is humbly deſired by both houſes of parliament that your majeſty will be pleaſed to return to your parliament, with your royal, not your martial attendants; to the end that religion, laws, and liberties, may be ſettled by their advice; finding by a late and ſad accident, that your majeſty is environed by ſome ſuch counſellors as rather perſuade a deſperate diviſion, than a joining and good agreement with your parliament and people: and we ſhall be ready to give your majeſty aſſurance of ſuch ſecurity as may be for your honour, and the ſafety of your royal perſon."

Beſides this meſſage, petitions were now drawin
up by the cities of London and Weſtminſter for
peace, which ſo greatly alarmed the violent party i
the houſe of commons, that they were ordered to b
diſcontinued. Theſe diſorders, and the difficulties t
which the commons were now reduced for raiſing th
neceſſary ſupplies, encouraged Charles, in anſwer t
their late addreſs, to tell them, "That he hoped a
" his good ſubjects would look upon that meſſag
" with indignation, as intended, by the contrivers
" it, to treat him with contempt; and deſigned by th
" malignant party, of whom he had ſo often com
" plained, as a wall of ſeparation between his majeſ
" and his people. That he had often told them t
" reaſons that induced him to leave his capital, fro
" which, indeed, he was driven; and had often com
" plained that the greateſt part of his peers, and
" the members of the houſe of commons, could n
" with ſafety to their perſons, ſit and vote free
" among them; but were debarred, by violent a
" artful practices, of thoſe privileges which their bir
" rights, and the truſt repoſed in them by their co
" ſtituents, juſtly gave them. That the whole kin
" dom knew an army was raiſed, under pretence
" orders of both houſes, (an uſurpation never bef
" heard of in any age) which army had purſued
" majeſty in his own kingdom; given him battle
" Keinton; and now theſe rebels being recruit
" and poſſeſſed of London, he was courteouſly in
" ted to return to his parliament, that is, into
" power of that army. That ſince the traiterous
" deavours of theſe deſperate men could not ſna
" the crown from his head, it being defended by
" providence of God, and the affections and loy
" of his good ſubjects, they had requeſted him to

"liver it up, and put his own life, together with the
"lives, liberties, and fortunes of all his good ſub-
"jects, into their mercileſs hands: that he thought
"proper to give no other anſwer to that part of
"their petition; but as he imputed not that affront
"to both his houſes of parliament, nor to the major
"part of thoſe who were then preſent there, but to
"that dangerous party which his majeſty and the
"kingdom muſt deteſt, ſo he would not take advan-
"tage of it: that if they would really purſue the
"courſe their petition delivered at Colebrook point-
"ed out, he would perform all he then promiſed;
"whereby the hearts of his diſtreſſed ſubjects might
"be raiſed by the hopes of peace, without which
"neither religion, the laws, nor the liberties of the
"kingdom, could be ſettled and ſecured."

A negotiation, however, was opened at Oxford; and the earl of Nothumberland, with four members of the lower houſe, repaired thither as commiſſioners. In this treaty the king ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the re-eſtabliſhment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the reſtoration of his conſtitutional prerogative. The parliament ſtill required new conceſſions, and a farther abridgement of legal authority, as a more effectual remedy to their fears and jealouſies. Finding the king ſupported by more forces, and a greater party than they ever had imagined, they ſeemingly abated ſomewhat of the exorbitant conditions they had formerly claimed; but their demands were ſtill too great for an equal treaty. Beſides other articles, to which a complete victory alone could entitle them, they required the king, in expreſs terms, to aboliſh epiſcopacy; a demand which they had only inſinuated before; and deſired that all other eccleſiaſtical controverſies ſhould be determined by their aſſembly of divines. They alſo deſired the king to acquieſce in their ſettlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the intire authority of the ſword. And in anſwer to the king's propoſal, that his magazines, towns, forts, and ſhips, ſhould be reſtored to him; the parliament required that they ſhould be put into ſuch hands as they could confide in. And having now, in the eye of the law, been guilty of treaſon in levying war againſt their ſovereign, their fears and jealouſies muſt, on that account, have multiplied extremely, and have rendered their perſonal ſafety ſtill more incompatible with the authority of the monarch. The conferences, therefore, proceeded no farther than the firſt demand, and the parliament's commiſſioners returned ſuddenly to London.

Excluſive of the military operations between the principal armies, which lay in the heart of England, each county, each town, and almoſt each family, was divided within itſelf; and the moſt violent convulſions ſhook the whole kingdom. The two noblemen in the north, on whom Charles principally relied were, the earls of Newcaſtle and Cumberland. The latter ſoon reſigned his command, but the former aſſociated with the northern counties, where the inhabitants were well diſpoſed to join the royal party; and on account of their being ſituated near the borders of Scotland, were much better provided with arms than the other parts, of the kingdom. Newcaſtle, therefore, ſoon raiſed an army of eight thouſand men, but ſo pompouſly divided and ſubdivided into regiments, ſquadrons, and companies, that it appeared to conſiſt of twice the number. The chief adherents to the parliament, among whom were the lord Fairfax, and his ſon Sir Thomas Fairfax, were proclaimed traitors. Lord Fairfax had received a commiſſion to command the parliament's forces in Yorkſhire; but perceiving the people in general were prepoſſeſſed in favour of the king, he was obliged to act only on the defenſive. He attempted to prevent the earl of Newcaſtle from paſſing the river Tees, but his detachment was over-powered, and Newcaſtle marched directly to York, where he was received in triumph by Sir Thomas Glenham, the deputy governor.

During theſe tractions, the queen and Goring landed at Burlington-bay, with a conſiderable quantity of arms, ammunition, and ſome money. The king's affairs in the north were now in a proſperous condition. He had a ſtrong garriſon in Newcaſtle. The regiments that were raiſed againſt him in Richmondſhire and Cleveland had diſbanded themſelves. The earl of Newcaſtle had garriſoned Newark in Nottinghamſhire. A detachment from his army, under the command of Mr. Cavendiſh, had made themſelves maſters of Grantham in Lincolnſhire, and taken three hundred priſoners, with all their arms and ammunition.

The families of Huntingdon and Stamford had been for ſome time at variance with each other; and colonel Haſtings, a younger brother of the former, had oppoſed, with ſucceſs, in Leiceſterſhire, the lord Grey, ſon to the earl of Stamford. The city of Litchfield itſelf was without fortifications; but the cloſe, built by one of its biſhops, was capable of making a good defence, and had been ſeized for the king by a party of Loyaliſts. Lord Broke, one of the moſt zealous parliamentarians in England, was ordered to attack this ſtrong retreat. He accordingly advanced to Litchfield, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, and entered the city without oppoſition, the king's party retiring into the cloſe. While Broke was concerting the proper diſpoſitions for beſieging the place, he was killed by a muſket-ball, and by his death the parliament loſt one of the moſt inveterate enemies Charles had in the nation. This event inſpired his ſoldiers with a deſire to revenge the death of their leader. They ſoon made themſelves maſters of the place, and took the whole party priſoners. The earl of Northampton, who commanded the garriſon of Banbury, was advancing to the relief of Litchfield; but in his march threw himſelf into Stafford, in order to prevent the town from being fortified by Sir John Gell, one of the parliament's generals. Gell abandoned the place at his approach; but being joined by Sir William Brereton he advanced againſt Stafford. Northampton, who knew nothing of the junction, marched immediately out of the town, in order to fight Gell. The conteſt was very ſharp, and though the royaliſts were far inferior in number, Gell's cavalry were totally routed, but the brave earl of Northampton loſt his life in the action. This misfortune ſo intimidated his forces, though they had greatly the advantage, that they retreated to Stafford.

But the moſt remarkable actions of valour were performed in the weſtern parts of the kingdom. Sir Ralph Hopton, at the head of a ſmall troop, being obliged to retire into Cornwall, before the earl of Bedford, who commanded a ſuperior army in Devonſhire, he was joined by the militia, and the whole country reduced to peace and obedience under the king. But the loyaliſts were not contented with the advantages they had gained in Cornwall; they were deſirous of carrying the war into Devonſhire, and reducing that county alſo to ſubjection. Purſuant to this reſolution, Sir Bevil Granville, the moſt popular man in that county, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir Nicholas Stanning, Arundel and Trevannion, undertook, at their own expence, to raiſe an army for the king; and their great intereſt in Cornwall ſoon enabled them to effect their purpoſe. Hopton had been as forward as any man in the parliament for oppoſing the king's meaſures; but being perſuaded of his majeſty's good intentions, and ſeeing no end of oppoſition but in rebellion, he joined the royal party, and received a commiſſion from the marquis of Hertford to act for Charles in the weſtern counties. Hopton had ſerved many years abroad with great applauſe, and was therefore complimented with the principal command of the army. Their ſucceſs was ſo rapid, that the parliament was alarmed, and ſent orders to Ruthven, governor of Plymouth, to march with all the forces of Dorſet, Somerſet, and Devon, and reduce the whole county of Cornwall to obedience. He obeyed the order, and was ſoon after followed by the earl of Stamford, with a conſiderable reinforcement. Ruthven having entered Cornwall by means of ſome bridges thrown over the Tamar, he marched with the utmoſt expedition, in order to bring on an engagement with the royaliſts before he was joined by Stamford's forces, and obtain alone the honour of that victory which he looked for with aſſurance. The royaliſts were equally impatient to bring the affair to a deciſion, before Ruthven's army received ſo conſiderable a reinforcement. The battle was fought on Braddock-down, and victory declared for the royaliſts, though greatly inferior in numbers. Hopton had a made very artful diſpoſition for the engagement. He concealed two field pices behind his ranks, which opened at every diſcharge. Theſe pieces did great execution among the enemy, and ſoon put them into diſorder. The advantage was immediately perceived by Hopton, who led his forces to the charge, and obtained a complete victory. The rebels loſt above two thouſand five hundred men, together with all their artillery and baggage. Ruthven, with a few broken troops, the poor remains of his army, fled to Saltaſh; but that town being taken by Hopton, he eſcaped with ſome difficulty, and almoſt alone, into Plymouth. The earl of Stamford, informed of Ruthven's defeat, retired to Taviſtock with great precipitation. But he was ſoon after obliged to abandon that town by Sir John Berkeley, who took poſſeſſion of Taviſtock for the king.

A. D. 1643. The loyaliſts, however, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, were greatly diſtreſſed for want both of money and ammunition; and this obliged them to conclude a neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonſhire. But as ſoon as the ſpring advanced, the commons diſapproved of the treaty, and the war re-commenced, with the appearance of every diſadvantage to the royal party. Stamford, who commanded the parliament's forces, was at the head of near ſeven thouſand men, well provided with money, proviſions, and ammunition. Deſirous of retrieving the honour he had loſt when driven from Taviſtock, he advanced againſt the royaliſts, who were not half his number, and oppreſſed with every kind of neceſſity. Deſpair, blended with their natural valour, now determined them to make one noble effort againſt the enemy. Stamford was encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton; and it was determined to attack them, in four diviſions, by five in the morning, on the ſixteenth of May. One of the diviſions was commanded by lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton; another by Sir Bevil Granville and Sir John Berkeley; a third by Stanning and Trevannion; the fourth by Baſſet and Godolphin. The royaliſts preſſed, with the utmoſt valor, four ways up the hill, and were as obſtinately oppoſed by their enemies. For ſome time the battle continued doubtful, till word was brought to the royal forces that all their ammunition was ſpent, except four barrels of powder. This defect they determined to ſupply with valour, but at the ſame time to conceal it from the ſoldiers. Orders were therefore given to advance, without firing, to the top of the hill, where they would be on equal ground with the enemy. The courage of the officers was ſo well ſeconded by the ſoldiers, that the royaliſts continually gained ground. Major-general Chidley, who commanded the parliament's forces, did every thing becoming a good officer; and when he ſaw his men recoil before the royaliſts, he advanced in perſon at the head of a ſtrong detachment of pikes, and, piercing into the thickeſt of the enemy, was overpowered and taken priſoner. This incident determined the fate of the battle. His men began to give ground apace; ſo that the four parties of royaliſts approaching nearer and nearer, as they aſcended the hill, they at laſt met together on the plain at the top, where they ſignalized their victory with mutual ſhouts and congratulations.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs, Charles ordered the marquis of Hertford, who had raiſed about three thouſand forces in Wales, to join the Corniſh loyaliſts, and puſh their conqueſts ſtill farther in the weſtern counties. In his march he attempted to ſurpriſe Cirenceſter, but failed in the attempt, through ſome unavoidable accidents ariſing from the badneſs of the roads and weather. But as that town was of the utmoſt advantage to the king, prince Rupert undertook that ſervice; and marching with the utmoſt expedition, took the place by ſtorm, cutting to pieces a whole regiment of the parliament's forces, taking eleven hundred priſoners, and about four thouſand ſtands of arms.

But the ſucceſs of the royaliſts in the weſt was in ſome meaſure balanced by that of the parliamentary army commanded by the earl of Eſſex, who had now taken the field, and laid ſiege to Reading. His army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men. The town was bu indifferently fortified, and defended by a garriſon o three thouſand men. The town was but indifferently fortified, and defended by a garriſon of three thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, commanded by Si Richard Aſton and colonel Fielding. The largenes of the place, the weakneſs of the fortifications, an particularly the great conſumption of gunpowder ne ceſſary for making a vigorous defence, and wit which Charles was very ill provided, had occaſione a motion in the royal council for abandoning th place, and removing the magazines to Oxford: bu before this could be effected, the town was inveſte by the enemy. The approaches, however, wer carried on with ſo little judgement, that it was plai the place would not have been taken, had the fortifi cations been properly conſtructed. The enemy however, enjoyed great advantages from the ſituatio of the place, their cannon playing directly into th town, by which means ſeveral of the garriſon we killed, and Sir Richard Aſton dangerouſly wounde The diſabling of this able commander was of the u moſt importance, as the king was now advancing, the head of his army, to relieve the town. F while he was on his march, the garriſon, under Fiel ing, who had now ſucceeded to the command, af killing a great number of the enemy in their ſallie thought proper to capitulate, by which the town w delivered up to the parliament's army. By the ar cles of the capitulation, the whole garriſon were march out with the honours of war, and be at f liberty to join the royal army; but all deſerters we to be given up to the enemy. The laſt conditi was thought ſo ignominious and prejudicial to king's affairs, that Fielding was tried by a court-m tial, and condemned to loſe his his head for grant it; but his ſentence was afterwards remitted.

Though Eſſex had ſucceeded in his enterprize, a his army, during the ſiege, had been fully ſuppl with every neceſſary from London, yet the hardſh which the ſoldiers ſuffered, from the inclemency the weather, had weakened them to ſuch a deg that they were not capable of undertaking any new terprize: ſo that no action happened, for ſome t between the two armies, though encamped in

nei

neighbourhood of each other. Eſſex at laſt made a motion towards Oxford, and fixed his head quarters t Thame, on the borders of Buckinghamſhire, in order to over-awe that country, which now began to arm in favour of the king. Colonel Urrey, a Scots fficer, had been preferred to the command he held nder Eſſex, on the preſſing inſtances of the commons; but not thinking the poſt he enjoyed adequate o his merit, he threw up his commiſſion; and preſenting himſelf in his regimentals before prince Ruert, offered to conduct a detachment of the royal rmy to a place where they might, with great eaſe, eat up the enemies quarters. Rupert readily emraced the propoſal, and Urrey performed the ſerice with great courage and ſucceſs, killing and taking riſoners a whole regiment of the parliament's horſe, eſides diſperſing other detached parties, and returnd to Oxford with a large booty, and a conſiderable umber of priſoners. Animated by this ſucceſs, he ropoſed a ſtill more daring attempt to prince Rupert, hat of ſurpriſing the enemy's head quarters; offerg, at the ſame time, that the prince ſhould enjoy ll the honour of the enterprize, while he himſelf erved as a volunteer. Nothing could be more agreeble to the daring ſpirit of prince Rupert than expeitions of this kind. He embraced the offer with reat avidity; and putting himſelf at the head of a mall detachment of horſe, marched with ſo much exedition, that he ſurpriſed and cut in pieces two of e enemy's regiments, one of horſe and the other of oot, quartered at Wickham, together with another ery conſiderable party lying at ſome diſtance. The rength of the prince's detachment rendered it highly mprudent to make any farther attempt, as the enemy as, by this time, ſufficiently alarmed; and he acordingly began his march back to the royal army. ut Eſſex, who was now informed of the ſucceſs that d attended Rupert, and exaſperated at ſo daring an ult, ſent a party of his horſe to intercept his retreat, a bridge which the royaliſts were obliged to paſs. he troops deſigned for this expedition were ſeen by upert, as he was marching over a plain called Chalavefield, towards a lane which led to the bridge. e immediately perceived the diſadvantage of being acked in the defile, gave immediate orders for his ces to halt, and drew up his party on the plain. ſhamed of having been diſcovered, the parliament's ces advanced againſt the prince with great intrepiy; but being unable to ſupport the furious charge Rupert, they were all cut off, or taken priſoners, fore the earl of Eſſex could bring up the infantry to ir aſſiſtance, and Rupert returned with his priſonto Oxford. The famous Hampden, who comnded a regiment of foot in the neighbourhood, d joined the party ſent to intercept Rupert, as a lunteer, and ruſhed into the thickeſt of the battle. ne of the priſoners, after the action was over, inmed Rupert, that he was confident Mr. Hampden s wounded; for he ſaw him, contrary to his uſual ſtom, ride off the field before the battle was over; head hanging down, and his hands leaning on his ſe's neck. The ſoldier was not miſtaken: news ived the next day, that he had received a brace of ol bullets in his ſhoulder, and that the bone was ttered. He languiſhed eight days, and then paid the t of nature, ſincerely lamented, even by his enes. He was, doubtleſs, one of the greateſt men age produced. His prodigious abilities, his ued virtues, his unſhaken integrity, have been ly celebrated by writers of all parties. But he had ppily imbibed the moſt violent prejudices againſt rles, and eſteemed him as a prince wholly unthy of any truſt or confidence from his people. ſurely an attempt to annihilate monarchy, to ſubthe antient conſtitution of his country, and to d the horror of a civil war over every part of the kingdom, was carrying oppoſition to a very blameable extreme; eſpecially when there was the greateſt reaſon to believe, that his antipathy to the king was not founded upon truth; and that the arbitrary proceedings of that prince proceeded rather from neceſſity, and a natural deſire of ſupporting the prerogative which had been tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, than from any ambitious deſigns of eradicating the liberties of the people. Perhaps Hampden himſelf never intended to carry oppoſition to this dreadful height. It is more than probable, that he, as well as many others in the oppoſition, never imagined that the king could have found ſo many reſources; and that he muſt have been obliged, even before the ſword of civil diſcord had made any progreſs in depopulating the kingdom, to ſubmit to the conditions offered by the parliament. Perceiving himſelf deceived in the reſiſtance he imagined Charles could make, he endeavoured to repair the dreadful conſequences of his miſtake, by puſhing on the war with more vigour and ſpirit than ever. He well knew that a deciſive victory only could now protect his party from the indignation of an enraged ſovereign; and was therefore deſirous of purſuing, with the utmoſt intrepidity, the only meaſures that could reſtore peace to his country. When the king was informed of Hampden's misfortune, he was ſo ſenſibly affected with the fate of that great man, tho' one of his capital enemies, that he made an offer of his own ſurgeons to attend him; but it was too late: he had been ſeized with a violent fever, which haſtily put a period to his life.

While the two principal armies continued in their quarters near the city of Oxford, Sir William Waller was ſent, at the head of a large body of forces, into the weſt, with orders to incorporate among his troops the poor remains of the parliament's army that had eſcaped from the battle of Stratton. Waller was a man of great ſpirit and fortune: he had already diſplayed his great abilities as a commander, by reducing Portſmouth, and defeating Lord Herbert. His great reputation brought in vaſt numbers of volunteers, and he advanced into the weſt with the utmoſt celerity. But before he reached the place of action, prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, had joined Hopton with a conſiderable reinforcement, ſo that the army of the royaliſts now amounted to near ſeven thouſand men. They were well provided with artillery, and other neceſſaries, and greatly elated with their late ſucceſs. But the diſpoſition of the weſtern forces, which had chiefly been diſciplined by Hopton, were very different from the troops under prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford. They were very regular and tractable in their quarters; they paid punctually for every thing as far as their money would extend, and treated thoſe who did not join them with great humanity and tenderneſs. They never levied money upon the inhabitants but with apparent reluctance, and with promiſes to repay it as ſoon as the circumſtances of the times would permit. This abſtinence was blended with the utmoſt courage, and a conſciouſneſs of their being the chief ſupports of the royal cauſe in that part of the kingdom. Maurice ridiculed this behaviour; and his troops having been accuſtomed to live at free-quarters, looked upon the ſobriety and regular conduct of the others as a reproach to themſelves. It was fortunate for Charles, that notwithſtanding this difference in the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers, all of them were united in the common principle of ſupporting the crown; their reputation was very great, even with the parliamentary party.

From theſe conſiderations it is little to be wondered at, that the royaliſts ſhould make a very rapid progreſs. Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſtar-caſtle, gave up without the leaſt reſiſtance, and gentlemen of known fidelity to the king were appointed governors.

Sir William Waller had now reached Bath, where he continued ſome time recruiting his army; and frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the two parties, which generally terminated in favour of the royaliſts. At laſt the armies met at Landſdown near Bath, and fought a pitched battle, with great loſs on both ſides, but without any deciſive event. The gallant Sir Bevile Granville fell in the action, and Hopton was greatly hurt by the blowing up of ſome powder.

After this engagement the royaliſts marched to the eaſtward, in order to join the king at Oxford: but Waller hung on their rear, and greatly infeſted their march till they reached the Devizes. Reinforced with additional troops which flocked to him from all quarters, he ſoon ſo greatly ſurpaſſed the royaliſts in number, that they durſt no longer continue their march, or expoſe themſelves to the hazard of an action. It was therefore reſolved, that prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford, ſhould proceed with the cavalry, and, after procuring a reinforcement from the king, haſten back to the relief of their friends in the Devizes. Waller was ſo confident of taking this whole body of infantry, now abandoned by their principal ſupport, that in a letter he wrote to the parliament, he told them that the work was done, and that he would inform them, by the next poſt, of the number and quality of the priſoners. But the king, even before Hertford's arrival, hearing of the great difficulties to which the weſtern army was reduced, had prepared a ſtrong body of horſe, and immediately diſpatched them under the command of lord Wilmot. Waller, inſtead of endeavouring to prevent the junction of this reinforcement with the foot in the Devizes, which he might eaſily have done by continuing the blockade of the place, drew off his troops, thinking himſelf ſure of the victory, and that a deciſive action would totally ruin the king's affairs. He was, however, miſtaken. The infantry, relieved from deſpair, advanced with the greateſt alacrity to join Wilmot, and a general action ſucceeded on Roundway-down, about two miles from the Devizes. After a ſhort but ſharp conflict, Waller's army was totally defeated, few of them eſcaping either death or captivity. Waller himſelf, with the poor remains of his numerous army, fled to Briſtol, and carried thither the firſt news of his own defeat.

This event, together with the late ſucceſs of prince Rupert, and the death of Hampden, ſo diſcouraged Eſſex, that, quitting Thame and Ayleſbury, where he had hitherto lain, he retreated to London, at the head of a broken and diſheartened army, which, but a few months before, he had led into the field in ſo flouriſhing a condition. In the mean time the forces that had defeated Waller reduced Bath, and then marched to form the ſiege of Briſtol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. Briſtol was conſidered as one of the principal places poſſeſſed by the parliament; it was very rich, and garriſoned by two thouſand five hundred foot, a regiment of horſe, and another of dragoons. Nathaniel Fiennes, ſon to lord Say, commanded the forces, and many of the citizens took up arms, and joined the garriſon. The fortifications were, however, incomplete and irregular, which induced prince Rupert to reſolve to ſtorm the city. Accordingly the aſſault was begun in four different places, and, after a deſperate engagement, the ſuburbs were taken. But ſtill the garriſon were maſters of the town, and the entrance was rendered more difficult by the ruins of the houſes that were demoliſhed in the late attempt; as well as by the loſs ſuſtained by the royaliſts. It was even propoſed not to make any farther attempt, when, to the great joy of the whole army, the beſieged beat a parley. The articles of capitulation were ſoon ſettled, by which the garriſon were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, leaving their cannon, ammunition, an colours. The moſt wealthy inhabitants of Briſtol fearing the city would fall into the hands of the loyaliſts, embarked the greateſt part of their wealth o board their ſhips, in order to ſend it to London but prince Rupert, informed of their deſign, ſeize the ſhips, and by that means became maſter of a ver rich booty.

The taking of Briſtol was of the greateſt importance to Charles; but to ſhew that he was not intoxicated with ſucceſs, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in whic he renewed his proteſtation lately made with ſuch ſolemnity at the head of his army, and declared hi earneſt deſire of concluding a peace, upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution; offering to grant general pardon, and bury all that was paſt in eterna oblivion. But the factious inhabitants of Londo were ſo far from thinking that the king's late ſucceſſe gave him a title to talk of peace, that they ran int greater violences than ever. Sir William Waller wa now returned to the capital, and by his ſpirited harangues kept alive that enthuſiaſm, which a turn o fortune ſeemed to have depreſſed. The leaders o the houſe of commons ſecretly promoted theſe furious diſpoſitions of the people, though they pretende they were very deſirous of peace. The lords mad no ſecret that they were determined to ſend propoſitions to the king, and his majeſty's late manifeſto, occaſioned by his ſucceſſes in the weſt, was repreſente even by ſome conſiderable members among the commons, as a mark of royal clemency, and a prope baſis for a treaty. On the fifth of Auguſt the lord ſent down to the commons the following propoſition to be tranſmitted to the king.

1. "That both armies be immediately diſbande and his majeſty be intreated to return to his parliament, upon ſuch ſecurity as ſhould be thought ſatiſfactory.

2. "That religion might be ſettled by the advic of a general ſynod of divines, in ſuch a manner a his majeſty, with the conſent of both houſes of parliament, ſhould appoint.

3. "That the militia, both by ſea and land, ſhoul be ſettled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and ſhips o the kingdom, put into ſuch hands as the king ſhoul appoint, with the approbation of both houſes of pa liament; his majeſty's revenue be abſolutely and totally reſtored to him: only deducting ſuch part as ha been expended for the maintenance of his children.

4. "That all the members of both houſes, wh had been expelled only for abſenting themſelve ſhould be reſtored to their ſeats.

5. "That all delinquents, before the year 164 ſhould be delivered up to the juſtice of parliament, an a general pardon for all others, on both ſides, grante

6. "That an act of oblivion ſhould be paſſed for a former acts of hoſtility."

Theſe propoſitions were immediately taken in conſideration by the commons, and the article relative to the king's revenue was agreed to; but being late on Saturday night when this reſolutio paſſed, the houſe was adjourned till Monday mornin when all the members in and about London attende and, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, that ha the parliament been left to themſelves, they wou have laid a ſure foundation for the ſalutary work peace. But this was prevented by the leaders of t faction, who had hitherto rendered abortive eve attempt for putting a period to the miſeries of ci diſcord. The two houſes were ſurrounded by t populace, who in a very clamorous and threatenin manner, demanded that no terms of accommodatio ſhould be accepted. In the midſt of this confuſio Mr. Hollis produced a letter from Eſſex, informi the houſe, that the king's forces had taken Doncaſt a and Weymouth. But this was far from diſcouraging the faction; the tumults continued to increaſe, till the lords, in a conference with the commons, plainly told them, that unleſs care was taken to ſuppreſs the violent proceedings of the populace, they muſt and would adjourn their houſe, till they could meet and deliberate with freedom, and without danger to their perſons. An order was accordingly ſent to Pennington, the factious lord-mayor, ordering him to ſuppreſs theſe tumults. But many of the members, thinking their lives in danger, had retired from the houſe, and the propoſitions for a peace were rejected by a majority of ſeven. They now liſtened to no propoſal from the lords that tended to put a period to the horrors of a civil war, but inſtead thereof appointed committees to ſit in every hall in the city, to receive ſubſcriptions for raiſing men and horſes for the defence of their religion, their laws, and their liberties. The lords were highly exaſperated at theſe proceedings, eſpecially as they ſaw, that, notwithſtanding the late order, no care was taken to ſuppreſs the tumults, and that a party of the trained bands were ſuffered to attack and murder ſeveral women who had loudly clamoured for peace. The earls of Northumberland, Bedford, Clare, Holland and Portland, with the lords Conway and Lovelace, left the houſe and retired to the king, who received them with favour.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the parliament, it was propoſed in council, that the royal army ſhould march directly to London, where every thing was in confuſion, and where it was hoped, either by an inſurrection, by victory, or by treaty, a ſpeedy end might be put to the civil deſtruction. Had this motion been carried, in all probability the conſternation of the party at the approach of the royal army would have been fatal to their cauſe; but it was thought by the majority of the council, that the great number and force of the London militia would render the attempt too dangerous. Glouceſter, lying within twenty miles of the army, offered an eaſier, and, at the ſame time, a very important conqueſt. It was the only garriſon now poſſeſſed by the parliament in thoſe parts. Should the undertaking be ſucceſsful, the advantages would be very great; the whole courſe of the Severn would be under his majeſty's command; the rich mal-content counties in the weſt, being deprived of all aſſiſtance, might be obliged to pay high contributions, as an atonement for their diſaffection; an open communication would be preſerved between Wales and theſe new conqueſts; and one half of the kingdom being entirely free from the influence of the parliament, might be united into a compact body, give the king a great ſuperiority, and be employed with ſucceſs in reducing the reſt of England to obedience. Theſe reaſons induced the king to embrace a reſolution that proved fatal to him and his adherents.

The garriſon of Glouceſter, conſiſting of about 1500 regular troops, beſides the citizens who took up arms on this occaſion, was commanded by one Maſſey, an intrepid ſoldier of fortune; but his not being infected with the enthuſiaſm of the age, induced Charles to think that he would ſoon liſten to terms of accommodation. He was, however, deceived; Maſſey was reſolute to preſerve an entire fidelity to his maſters; and though no enthuſiaſt himſelf, he well knew how to employ, to great advantage, that fanatical ſpirit with which his whole garriſon, and the greater part of the inhabitants, were infected. The king ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender, giving him two hours to return an anſwer; but before half the time was expired, two citizens appeared at the head quarters, dreſſed in the moſt uncouth manner, while their countenances diſplayed all the marks of that enthuſiaſtic ardour which had been ſo fatal to the peace of the three kingdoms. Without being aſked the purport of their meſſage, without exhibiting the leaſt appearance of duty or good manners, they ſaid, in a pert, ſhrill, undiſmayed accent, that they brought an anſwer from the godly city of Glouceſter; and, after making ſeveral inſolent and ſeditious replies to ſome queſtions that were aſked them, they delivered the following anſwer in writing: "We the inhabitants, "magiſtrates, officers, and ſoldiers, within the garriſon of Glouceſter, unto his majeſty's gracious "meſſage, return this humble anſwer: That we do "keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the uſe of his majeſty and his "royal poſterity; and do accordingly conceive ourſelves wholly bound to obey the commands of his "majeſty ſignified by both houſes of parliament; "and are reſolved, by God's help, to keep this city "accordingly."

All negotiations were now at an end, and the ſiege was puſhed with the greateſt intrepidity. Sir William Vavaſour lay, with his Welſh forces, on the weſt and north-weſt ſides of the town; Ruthven, earl of Brentford, was poſted on the ſouth; and Sir Jacob Aſhley on the eaſt, where the king himſelf had his head quarters.

As ſoon as it was known in London that Glouceſter was inveſted, the inhabitants were thrown into the greateſt conſternation. The whole city was immediately in confuſion, and the people thought they ſaw the royal army thundering at their gates. Had even a party of the king's forces appeared in this moment of diſtraction, the conſequences might have been fatal: but the ſiege of Glouceſter demanded the king's whole attention, and in a few days the citizens recovered from their conſternation.

In the mean time the arbitrary proceedings of the parliament exaſperated many who had before joined them; and a combination was formed in London that required all the abilities of the leaders to ſuppreſs. Edmund Waller, ſo well known for his poetical writings, was a perſon of a very conſiderable fortune, and equally remarkable for his talents and elegance of manners. He was a member of the lower houſe, and had heartily joined in the meaſures that had been purſued for reducing the prerogative of the crown within proper bounds; but ſeeing no end of the encroachments of the commons, he exerted all his powers to ſtop the career of faction, and uſed the utmoſt boldneſs in his ſpeeches in blaming the violent counſels by which the members were governed. But finding all his eloquence in the houſe was exerted in vain, he determined, if poſſible, to form a party in the city, that might oblige the parliament to accept of reaſonable conditions, and reſtore peace to the nation. All the eminent perſons in and about London had formed the ſame deſign, and highly approved the ſentiments of Waller, the charms of whoſe converſation, added to his character of courage and integrity, had procured him many friends. Theſe all joined in wiſhing that ſome expedient could be found for ſtopping the impetuous career of the parliament, and bringing about a peace on equal terms. Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins, had for ſome time entertained the ſame ſentiments; and informed Waller, that the ſame deſire of peace among all men of ſenſe and moderation prevailed in the city. It was therefore thought very eaſy to form a ſtrong combination, for refuſing, by mutual agreement, the illegal taxes impoſed upon the people by the parliament, without the royal aſſent.

Pleaſed with the idea of reſtoring peace to their country, by obliging the parliament to accept of reaſonable terms of accommodation, they applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to form liſts of perſons whom they conceived would join them in their deſign; and ſoon had the pleaſure of ſeeing them contain a conſiderable and very reſpectable number. But, unfortunately for them, a ſervant belonging to Tomkins, who had imbibed the fanatical ſpirit of the times, overheard their converſation, and informed Pym of their deſign. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately ſeized, and tried by a court-martial. They were all found guilty, and Tomkins and Chaloner ſuffered death on gibbets erected before their own doors; but the ſentence of Waller was reſpited, and he afterwards obtained a pardon, on paying a fine of 10,000l.

During theſe tranſactions in parliament, the ſiege of Glouceſter was carried on with great fury; and Maſſey, ambitious of ſaving the place, and having under his command a garriſon ready to ſacrifice their lives in ſupport of their religion, had hitherto maintained his part with ſuch courage and capacity, that he had greatly retarded all the advances of the royaliſts. By ſudden and frequent ſallies he infeſted them in their trenches, and often gained conſiderable advantages. But notwithſtanding all his intrepidity, he ſaw his garriſon reduced to the laſt extremity; and failed not, from time to time, to inform the parliament, that, unleſs he was ſpeedily relieved, he muſt, from extreme want of proviſions and ammunition, be obliged to ſurrender.

The commons now found it neceſſary to exert their whole power and authority, in order to repair their loſſes, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. They well knew, that if Glouceſter fell into the king's hands, it would be very difficult to ſupport themſelves againſt a victorious army; eſpecially as they had lately found that very great diſſentions prevailed among the people, even in the capital itſelf. They uſed the utmoſt diligence to recruit the army of Eſſex, and render it capable of facing the royaliſts. They excited their preachers to renew their declamations againſt the cauſe ſupported by his majeſty; and even had recourſe to the expedient of impreſſing men into their ſervice, though they had ſo loudly exclaimed againſt that practice when exerciſed by the king, and even very lately aboliſhed it by a bill for which they had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended. They alſo prevailed upon the city to ſend four regiments of its militia to the relief of Glouceſter; an event expected with the utmoſt anxiety.

At length, an army of 14000 men being raiſed, and properly equipped, Eſſex put himſelf at their head, and marched with the utmoſt expedition through Bedford and Leiceſter. He was greatly inferior to the royaliſts in cavalry; and prince Rupert had been detached, at the head of a flying party to haraſs him in his march; but Eſſex, by the mere force of conduct and diſcipline, eluded all the efforts of Rupert, and paſſed over thoſe open champaign counties, without any material loſs. On his approaching the city, the king was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, ſo that Eſſex entered Glouceſter without oppoſition. He found on his arrival, that the garriſon was reduced to the utmoſt extremity, and that had his march been deferred one day longer, and the royaliſts made another attack, the garriſon muſt have ſubmitted, for they had only one barrel of powder remaining, and their proviſions were wholly conſumed. The country people ſupplied both the army and garriſon with plenty of neceſſaries, which they had carefully concealed from the royaliſts, pretending that their ſtock was entirely exhauſted.

It is reaſonable to imagine that Charles intended to give Eſſex battle if he returned by the ſame rout, and for that purpoſe continued for ſome time at Sudley caſtle, and thence removed to Eviſham. But Eſſex wiſely declined an engagement in an open country where the king's cavalry, under ſo intrepid a leader, muſt have a deciſive advantage. He lay five days at Tewkeſbury, which was his firſt ſtage after leaving Glouceſter; and ſeemed, by ſome preparations, to continue his rout to Worceſter. But by a forced march during the night he reached Cirenceſter, and obtained the double advantage of paſſing unmoleſted through an open country, and of ſurprizing a convoy of proviſions, eſcorted by three hundred royaliſts. Eſſex now directed his march towards London, thro' the northern parts of Wiltſhire, where he thought the king's horſe could act only with the leaſt advantage. But by the indefatigable activity of prince Rupert, his rear was attacked at Awborn-chaſe, with ſo much ſucceſs, that great numbers of his ſoldiers fell in the action. At laſt he reached Newbury; but was ſurprized to find, that the king, by forced marches, had arrived before him, and was already in poſſeſſion of the place.

An action was now unavoidable, and the neceſſary preparations were made for the approaching conflict by the leaders of both armies. The battle was fought with deſperate valour and a ſteady bravery on both ſides. Eſſex's horſe were ſeveral times broke by the king's, but his infantry ſtood firm; and beſides keeping up a continued fire, preſented an invincible barrier of pikes againſt the furious attacks of prince Rupert, and thoſe gallant troops of gentry who chiefly compoſed the royal cavalry. The London militia on this occaſion behaved with remarkable valour; and though taken ſo lately from their ordinary occupations, equalled the moſt veteran ſoldiers. They had been trained by Skippon, and the enthuſiaſm with which they were inſpired rendered them ſtrangers to fear. The engagement continued in all its fury till night put an end to the ſlaughter, and left the event undecided. Eſſex, who had done more than he intended, renewed not the action, but purſued his march towards London, which he reached in ſafety. His rear indeed was once put into confuſion by the king's cavalry, but no material conſequences enſued; Rupert with all his intrepidity could not ſtop the army of Eſſex, ſo as to bring on a ſecond engagement. The king followed the parliamentary army, and took poſſeſſion of Reading, where he eſtabliſhed a garriſon.

The loſs ſuſtained on both ſides in the battle of Newbury was not ſo great as might have been expected from the length of the action, which began at ſix in the morning, and continued till night; not more than 2000 men being ſlain in the field of battle. Among thoſe who fell on the part of the royaliſts were the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two noblemen of great worth and abilities. But what rendered the loſs irreparable, was the death of Lucius Carey, lord viſcount Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate. He was one of the moſt learned perſons of his age, and ſtood foremoſt in the liſt of patriots, while he was perſuaded that the prerogatives of the crown incroached on the liberties of the ſubject. But when the royal power was confined within bounds; when the liberty of a ſubject had nothing to fear from the hand of authority, he embraced the defence of thoſe limited powers which were ſtill left to monarchy, and without which he was perſuaded the Engliſh conſtitution could not ſubſiſt. He was, however, penetrated with the miſeries of his country, and dreaded the ſucceſs of his own party, almoſt as much as that of the parliament. Perſuaded that an advantageous peace could only be attained when the forces of both parties were nearly balanced, he was very deſirous of opening a negotiation, and ſetling the articles of a laſting peace on the ſolid baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. On the morning of the battle in which he fell, he had taken ſome care in dreſſing himſelf, and told his acquainquaintance that his motives for doing it were, his being unwilling the enemy ſhould find his body in a ſlovenly, indecent ſituation. "I am weary of the "times," added he, "and foreſee much miſery to "my country; but believe I ſhall be out of it ere "night." He fell in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Notwithſtanding the royal forces in the north were greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the parliament, yet they did not make that progreſs which might have been expected. The popularity of the earl, now created marquis of Newcaſtle, was very great in the north; but he was oppoſed by two men, who about this time began to render themſelves remarkable for their valour and military conduct. Theſe were Sir Thomas Fairfax, ſon to the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell. The former had obtained ſome advantages over the royaliſts, eſpecially at Wakefield; and the latter obtained a victory at Gainſborough, over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendiſh, who periſhed in the action. Cromwell, by a painful obſervance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cauſe, was daily riſing in preferment. He had never ſeen any foreign ſervice, and if we believe his cotemporaries, his courage was not natural, but acquired by experience and reaſon. As he was a conſummate judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite ſcheme, that of inſpiring thoſe whom he commanded with an enthuſiaſm, that might more than balance all the ſentiments of honor, loyalty and duty in the other party. He ſucceeded, and the regiment he commanded became famous for a ferocious courage, founded on fanaticiſm, that nothing could withſtand.

But notwithſtanding the great abilities of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Cromwell, the advantages were on the ſide of the royal party in the north. They gained a complete victory over Fairfax at Atherton Moor, and diſperſed his whole army. But the fortreſs of Hull greatly prevented the progreſs of the royaliſts, and it was determined to beſiege the town. Newcaſtle accordingly ſet down before it with an army of fifteen thouſand men. Hotham was no longer governor; both he and his ſon had entered into a correſpondence with the royaliſts, and had fallen victims to the ſeverity of the parliament, Sir Thomas Fairfax now commanded in that town, and by his military conduct and valour rendered all the attempts of Newcaſtle abortive, and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

As the ſucceſs of each party was nearly equal, there appeared no proſpect of peace, unleſs the Scots could be engaged to join in the war, it being concluded that their weight muſt turn the ſcale of the party they favoured. The commons had been early in their applications to the Scottiſh leaders; they had ſent Pickering as their agent into Scotland to carry on the negotiation. He repreſented the great danger that muſt attend the form of religion eſtabliſhed in their country, if the royal party prevailed; and conjured them to ſuccour their diſtreſſed brethren in England. The marquis, now duke of Hamilton, and the earl of Montroſe, had waited upon the queen at York, and laid before her the danger that threatened the kingdom from the negotiation of Pickering. Hamilton was for temporizing, but Montroſe was of very different ſentiments, and urged the neceſſity of having recourſe to more violent methods, in order effectually to prevent the Scottiſh parliament from joining with the commons of England. But prepoſſeſſed in favour of Hamilton, Charles intruſted him and his friends with the affairs of Scotland; and at the ſame time earneſtly requeſted that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the Scottiſh court from engaging in any negotiation with the committees which he underſtood the Engliſh parliament intended to ſend into that kingdom. If the duke of Hamilton and his brother the earl of Lanerk were ſincere in their attachment, they undertook more than they were able to perform. A parliament or convention of the ſtates was called, tho' expreſsly againſt the king's conſent. This meaſure was indeed chiefly effected by the Scots commiſſioners, who after concluding the late treaty in England, had entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the leaders of the parliament in London. The negotiation had indeed been carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, that when it was firſt mentioned in the houſe of commons, it created a general conſternation. There is ſomething extremely ſhocking in the idea of calling in a foreign enemy; but the deſperate ſtate of their affairs rendered it neceſſary. The earl of Rutland and the lord Grey of Warke, were named as commiſſioners for the houſe of lords; but the former had intereſt ſufficient to get himſelf excuſed, and the latter, tho' conſidered as an unſhaken friend to the cauſe of the parliament, ſo reſolutely declined the ſervice, that he was ſent to the Tower for diſobedience. Sir William Armyn, and Sir Henry Vane the younger, at laſt undertook the ſervice, and were aſſiſted by the ſame fanatical divines, who promiſed to bring over to their intereſt the Scottiſh clergy, on whoſe aſſiſtance the ſucceſs of the negotiation in a great meaſure depended. Montroſe ſent timely information to the king of the intrigues of the Engliſh parliament, and offered, on receiving a commiſſion for that purpoſe, to declare the convention of the ſtates traitors to their country. Had this been done immediately, the attempts of the commons would, in all probability, have been rendered abortive; but the king liſtened ſo much to the counſels of Hamilton, that Montroſe and his friends were neglected till the affair became deſperate, and it was then too late. Hamilton indeed pretended, that he had done every thing in his power to prevent the Scots from agreeing with the Engliſh commiſſioners; but that all his endeavours were in vain. The truth is, a large arrear was ſtill owing by the Engliſh parliament to the Scottiſh covenanters, and this muſt have been loſt if the former had been ruined. The Scotch forces in Ireland had done nothing to anſwer the great expectation conceived of them; and tho' their general, the earl of Leven, had engaged they ſhould never join the king, yet as the parliament was unable to ſupply Leven with money, it was hard to ſay what courſes the ſoldiers might follow, when pinched by neceſſity. Leven and his forces were therefore recalled from Ireland in order to prevent their inliſting in that kingdom, and paſſing over into England. Add to this, that the great ſpirit of Montroſe, his virtuous popularity, his numerous dependents, and the inflexibility of his principles, rendered him now ſo formidable, not only to the covenanters, who were directed by Argyle, but alſo to the moderate party headed by the duke of Hamilton, that a coalition took place between theſe two parties againſt Montroſe and the royaliſts. It happened to the Scots, as to a people wanton with liberty, who having nothing to wiſh for, had a thouſand things to fear. Hamilton, with all his moderation, made no ſecret of his diſtinguiſhing the revival of what he called hierarchical tyranny in Scotland, and conſequently he was united with the covenanters in the main principle of oppoſition to Charles. For though the true motives of it were ambition, and an inordinate deſire of poſſeſſing the revenues of the church, yet religion was the avowed pretence. The Engliſh commiſſioners improved all the jealouſies the Scots entertained with regard to the king's intentions. They laid before the convention the ſteps they had already taken for an intire uniformity of eccleſiaſtical government between the two kingdoms; they invited him to ſend members to the aſſembly of divines, then ſitting at Weſtminſter, for introducing a farther reformation of religion, and offered to proceed as far as the low condition of their affairs would admit, in diſcharging the arrears due to the Scottiſh army. But at the ſame time, they mentioned the neceſſity of ſecuring all thoſe invaluable bleſſings by the Scots preventing the ruin of the Engliſh parliament, which could only be effected by immediately raiſing an army for their aſſiſtance.

This rebellious propoſition would certainly have been rendered abortive, had not ſome of Charles's beſt friends been intimidated by a charge ſent down againſt them by the Engliſh parliament, for holding a correſpondence with the queen. Their letters had been intercepted by Fairfax, who forwarded them to London, whence they were ſent to Scotland by the parliament. At the ſame time the king's friends were diſunited among themſelves. The duke of Hamilton and his brother the earl of Lanerk, finding they had been deceived by the covenanters, would willingly have joined Montroſe and the declared royaliſts; but that nobleman now conſidered them as the worſt of traitors. He imputed all the aſcendancy the king's enemies had obtained in Scotland to their counſels, and rejected, with indignation, all advances towards an accommodation. It is certain the Scots in general were at this time well affected to his majeſty's perſon; nor did Montroſe over-rate his own abilities, when he made an offer to the queen of taking the field againſt thoſe noblemen who had voted for calling a convention of the ſtates without the king's permiſſion. His enemies were ſo ſenſible of this, that they offered to give him the ſecond command in the armies; a propoſal which he artfully eluded; and, notwithſtanding all the provocations he had received, preſerved an unſhaken loyalty. Recourſe was had to the ſame principles which had been before ſucceſsful, that of undermining the civil authority by means of religion. They perceived inſurmountable difficulties ſhould they make their firſt attack upon the ſtate; but they knew that treaſon would find a ready admiſſion thro' the doors of the church.

At the time the Engliſh commiſſioners arrived in Scotland, the aſſembly of divines were in full convocation; and perhaps never were there ſeen together ſuch a number of men ſo groſsly ignorant, though dignified with a ſacred function, and concealed under the diſguiſe of public zeal. The epiſcopal clergy, who had a principal ſhare in the government, when the alteration in religion took place, had either been ſequeſtered, or enjoyed very little credit with the covenanters, and every vacancy that happened had been filled with the weakeſt and moſt violent men their country produced. Henderſon, their moderator, in any other company of clergymen would have made but a contemptible figure, while Rutherford, Gilleſpie, and the other leading members of the aſſembly, by their writings and deportment, rendered it juſtly a queſtion whether they were more fit for the diſcipline of a ſchool, or that of a mad-houſe. Tho' Argyle, Loudon, and other great men, who had done ſo much for public liberty, had induſtriouſly encouraged this ignorance and frenzy in their teachers, they now began to feel the inconveniencies of both. The weakeſt minds are ſuſceptible of ambition; the luſt of power is common to the wiſe and the fooliſh. The enthuſiaſtic teachers were ſoon ſenſible of their own importance; and the torrent of zeal they poured out againſt popery, prelacy, and the like unmeaning words, grew more ungovernable, and ſwept before it all conſiderations of duty, loyalty, national independence, and public ſafety.

When the Engliſh commiſſioners preſented their letters and credentials from the Weſtminſter divines, they were received as angels ſpeaking from heaven; and without conſulting any thing but their own frantic zeal, they propoſed that a new league and covenant ſhould be taken by the ſubjects of both kingdoms. Not contented with the eſtabliſhment of preſbyterian diſcipline in their own country, they indulged an ardent paſſion for propagating, by every method, that mode of religion in the neighbouring kingdoms. Perſuaded, in the fervency of their zeal, that, by ſupernatural aſſiſtance, they ſhould be enabled to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itſelf, their joy was unbounded when a proſpect opened of rendering it prevalent in England.

This ſolemn league and covenant was framed by Vane, who, in eloquence, addreſs, and capacity, as well as in art and diſſimulation, was not ſurpaſſed by any perſon in that age. It effaced all the former proteſtations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. By this inſtrument they ſolemnly engaged themſelves to purſue the univerſal extirpation of popery and prelacy in England, "as well as in Scotland, leſt they ſhould be partakers of other men's ſins"; and undertook to purſue to extremity all incendiaries and malignants; terms which they extended as far, and to whom they pleaſed: and vowed an eternal adherence to a firm peace and union between the two kingdoms. They alſo vowed to preſerve the reformed religion eſtabliſhed in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with regard to England and Ireland, than that theſe kingdoms ſhould be reformed, according to the word of God, and the examples of the pureſt churches. The Scots zealots, indeed, deemed this expreſſion entirely free from ambiguity; they regarded their own model as the only one which correſponded, in any degree, to ſuch a deſcription. Guthrie, afterwards biſhop of Dunkeld, was the only member in the aſſembly of divines that perceived the ambiguity, or, at leaſt, that had the courage to hint at what afterwards happened, namely, the danger that an independent party might root out preſbytery, as well as prelacy, unleſs the aſſembly declared, in expreſs terms, what plan of church-government they intended both nations ſhould follow. His ſpeech, however reaſonable in itſelf, ſerved only to draw upon him an enormous load of public reproach; and the work of the zealots was hurried on ſo faſt, that the new ſolemn league and covenant was unanimouſly voted.

The natural reſult of this covenant was a treaty with the Engliſh parliament; by which the Scots engaged to raiſe an army of 16,000 foot, and 3,000 horſe. Deſirous that the ſword ſhould carry conviction to all refractory minds, they prepared themſelves, with great alacrity, for their military enterprizes. Their levies were ſoon completed. The hopes of good pay, and warm quarters, added to a favourable diſpoſition for the cauſe, induced numbers to enliſt; ſo that their army was ready, by the end of the year, to enter England, under the command of their old general the earl of Leven.

Charles no ſooner perceived the ſtorm gathering in the north, than he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf by every expedient in his power. Ireland ſeemed to promiſe aſſiſtance. He accordingly concluded a ceſſation of arms with the papiſts: and the duke of Ormond ſent over conſiderable bodies of his forces to England, by which means the royal army was greatly augmented. The ſucceſs of prince Maurice in the weſt alſo tended to raiſe the ſpirit of the king's party. He had formed the ſiege of Exeter, which was defended by the earl of Stamford, who was ſoon obliged to ſurrender the city. This was an important acquiſition; but Maurice was ſo pleaſed with his new conqueſt, and the daily additions he received of men and money from the neighbouring counties, that he ſtayed too long at Exeter, without ſending any aſſiſtance to colonel Digby, who had beſieged Plymouth, a place of great importance. The royaliſts were, indeed, for ſome time, perſuaded, that the town would be delivered up to him, by Sir Alexander Carew, the governor; but the deſign was diſcovered, and Carew ſent priſoner to London. Digby, however, made himſelf maſter of mount Stamford, and had certainly taken Plymouth, had prince Maurice come in time to his aſſiſtance. But the prince, deceived by the negotiation with Carew, inſtead of marching to Plymouth, led his forces to Dartmouth, and after a tedious ſiege, reduced the town. He then marched to Plymouth, and joined Digby; but it was now too late. The garriſon, before his arrival, had received a reinforcement of ſix hundred men from Portſmouth, under the command of an intrepid and experienced officer, who made ſo noble a defence, that prince Maurice, after ſuſtaining a conſiderable loſs, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

It is impoſſible, in a general hiſtory, to enumerate all the warlike operations of this buſy year. Suffice it to ſay, that a war, which was extended over the whole kingdom, left hardly room for any man to continue neuter, however agreeable to his wiſhes. Every county became a ſcene of horror and of blood. Not only forts and caſtles, but alſo the ſeats of the nobility and gentry, ſuſtained long ſieges. Each action, each ſiege, and almoſt each ſkirmiſh, did honour to ſome particular family; though, in ſuch a multitude, many particulars that well deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity, are forgotten, and ſwept away among the refuſe of things. But upon the whole, notwithſtanding the exploits of Eſſex, Cromwell and Fairfax, the affairs of the king were in a much better ſituation than they were at the cloſe of the preceding campaign. Lord Clarendon tells us, that he had now five armies in the field. The principality of Wales, an inconſiderable part of it excepted, was at his devotion. Plymouth, Poole, and Lyme, were the only places of ſtrength in the weſtern counties poſſeſſed by the parliament. Hull was the only conſiderable place they held in Yorkſhire; and Nantwich, in Cheſhire. But on the other hand, the parliament had received infinite encouragement. The earl of Eſſex had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by his military talents, above either his rivals or his enemies. He was entirely poſſeſſed of the affections of his own ſoldiers, and therefore capable of executing the moſt dangerous ſervice. The earl of Mancheſter was the idol of the aſſociated counties, and even many of the royaliſts held him in great eſteem. Though almoſt a ſtranger himſelf to the military ſcience, yet Cromwell, perhaps the beſt ſoldier of the age, ſerved under him with ſo much ſucceſs, that the ſcale of war where he fought was greatly turned in favour of the parliament. The conduct, courage, and reputation of the elder and the younger Fairfax, did honor to the cauſe they had embraced. They loſt no credit when vanquiſhed, nor committed any acts of cruelty when victorious. This moderation prevented many in the north, who favoured the royal cauſe, from exerting themſelves with that vigour they would otherwiſe have done. Sir William Waller continued ſtill the idol of the London populace, though his actions, ſince the battle of Lanſdown, deſerved very little applauſe. Many other officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupporting the ſame cauſe, and the parliament prudently rewarded even their miſcarriages, when they were aſſured of their good intentions, and that they had done every thing in their power to deſerve ſucceſs.

But the eyes of all parties were now principally turned towards Scotland, it being chiefly from that kingdom they expected deliverance or feared deſtruction. It is almoſt incredible with what ſeverity the divines in that kingdom proceeded againſt all who refuſed their covenant. Thoſe preachers and profeſſors of the goſpel of peace, iſſued the moſt peremptory order for ſeizing the goods, collecting the rents, and apprehending the perſons of the royaliſts. Nor were they contented even with this unjuſt ſeverity dictated by their fanatical ſtrain of devotion, they gave a commiſſion to the ſoldiers in general, to put to death all who refuſed to take the covenant, and made any reſiſtance to their being ſent to priſon.

There yet remained in the Engliſh parliament ſome members, who, though they had been induced, either by private ambition, or their zeal for civil liberty, to concur with the majority, ſtill retained an attachment to the hierarchy, and to the antient modes of worſhip. But in the preſent danger, which threatened their cauſe, all ſcruples were laid aſide; and the covenant, by whoſe means alone they could expect to obtain ſo conſiderable a reinforcement as an acceſſion of the whole Scottiſh nation, was received without oppoſition. The parliament, therefore, having firſt ſubſcribed it themſelves, ordered it to be received by all who acknowledged their authority. This cauſed great rejoicings among the Scots. They highly applauded themſelves in being the happy inſtruments of extending their mode of worſhip, and diſſipating that profound darkneſs, in which, they fancied, all the neighbouring nations were involved.

A. D. 1644. A mediation had been propoſed by the French for putting an end to the horrors of civil diſcord in England, by concluding a laſting peace; and the ambaſſador from that court had been ſome time in London for the purpoſe. Before the parliament had acquired the aſſiſtance of the Scots, they appeared to liſten to his propoſals; but he was now given to underſtand that his offers were rejected. They were, however, ſtill diſtreſſed for money: they had ſent a large ſum to Scotland to put that army in motion, and the city ſeemed not forward to ſupply their wants. Eſſex relapſed into his former indifference, and appeared very deſirous of putting an end to the war. He was far from being pleaſed with the ſteps taken by the parliament for introducing a foreign army, which muſt farther increaſe the diſtreſſes of his country, as his own troops were in great want of neceſſaries. He therefore ſent a meſſage to both houſes, acquainting them, that if his army, which lay at St. Albans, was not ſpeedily ſupplied, he muſt throw up his commiſſion. Fairfax and lord Gray made ſimilar complaints, and diſplayed, in pathetic language, the diſtreſſes of their troops. Anſwers were immediately diſpatched, promiſing the complainants relief as ſoon as the neceſſary ſupplies could be raiſed; but they rejected every offer for putting an end to the war.

The parliament, as a farther teſtimony of their averſeneſs to an accommodation with the king, ordered formal preparations to be made for the trial of Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury. The unfortunate primate ſtill continued in priſon, and had been for ſome time deprived of his eſtate and goods by the violence of the commons. Though it is certain that no ſubject had more largely contributed to the errors of government, yet his enemies, however keen and artful in their reſentments, found inſurmountable difficulties in forming a charge which could amount to high treaſon. His firmneſs had not forſaken him in his confinement; he ſtill continued his oppoſition to the parliament, and obſtinately refuſed to collate a perſon to a living, when recommended to him by the faction. But ſtill his caſe was very different from that of the judges; becauſe it was next to impoſſible to convict him legally of what he had ſaid and recommended at the council board, in which his chief crimes conſiſted. This did not, however, prevent the faction from treating him with the utmoſt ſeverity. His books and papers were ſeized by an order from both houſes, and his famous diary printed and publiſhed. But notwithſtanding all the violence of his proſecutors, the articles againſt Laud were very defective, and they were obliged to have recourſe to the ſame methods uſed before in the caſe of Strafford, that of accumulated treaſon; though it was confeſſed that no article, ſingly conſidered, amounted to treaſon. The charge againſt him, when properly conſidered, conſiſted of three general heads.

1. “ A traiterous endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government.

2. A traiterous endeavour to ſubvert God's true religion as by law eſtabliſhed, and to ſet up popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry in its ſtead.

3. An attempt to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and the ancient courſe of parliamentary proceedings.”

The moſt trifling allegations were brought to ſupport this general charge. The moſt bitter ſpeeches were made againſt him, and ſome of them delivered in the coarſeſt expreſſions. But notwithſtanding all the ſpirit exerted againſt the primate, the lords proceeded very ſlowly in his trial; while he defended himſelf with ſo much vigour, reaſon, and eloquence, that the proſecution was for ſome time at a ſtand. His ruin was, however, determined, and every expedient was to be tried to complete it. The populace were no ſooner informed that it was doubtful whether the lords would find him guilty, than petitions were ſigned, by a great number of citizens, for bringing him and the biſhop of Ely to juſtice. This produced ſo great a ferment, that the earl of Pembroke, a violent enemy to Laud, intimated to them, that if they delayed any longer to give the ſatisfaction expected by the commons, the citizens would aſſemble and demand juſtice, as they did in the caſe of Strafford. Mr. Strode, one of the managers of the proſecution againſt the archbiſhop, threw out a menace of the ſame kind, at the bar of the houſe of lords; but upon their reſenting it, he declared he had not done it in conſequence of any commiſſion from the commons, and that he meant not any affront to the peers. The lords were ſatisfied with this apology, and he was diſmiſſed without cenſure. They, were, however, greatly intimidated, and the principal part of them attended not the ſervice of the houſe. The primate's enemies took advantage of this ceſſion, and when no more than fourteen peers were in the houſe, Laud was voted guilty of endeavouring to ſubvert the laws, overthrow the proteſtant religion, and lay aſide the uſe of parliaments. But none of theſe articles, nor even all of them conjoined, were found by the judges to amount to high treaſon by any known eſtabliſhed law of the land; and the lords declared themſelves of the ſame opinion in a conference with the commons. Diſappointed in their expectation of capitally convicting Laud, his enemies appointed a faſt to be held, in order to rouſe the ſpirit of the populace. A petition againſt delinquents was preſented to the lower houſe, and every ſymptom of a dangerous convulſion appeared. The commons were, however, obliged to have recourſe to their legiſlative authority, and paſs an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. But notwithſtanding the low condition into which the houſe of peers had fallen, there appeared ſome intention of rejecting this ordinance, and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguiſh, by threats of new tumults, the ſmall remains of liberty poſſeſſed by the upper houſe. Apprehenſive of the dangerous conſequences that might attend their following their duty, and determined not to vote againſt the dictates of their conſciences, only ſeven peers were in the houſe when the important queſtion was decided.

The primate, who had long expected the fatal ſentence, ſunk not under its terrors. His fears diſſipated in proportion as the fatal hour (which was to put a period to his mortal exiſtence) approached. “ No man, ſaid he, can be more willing to ſend me out of life, than I am deſirous to go.”

On the morning of his execution he applied himſelf, with great fervency, to private prayer, and ſo continued till the lieutenant of the Tower came to conduct him to the ſcaffold, which he aſcended with a chearful and compoſed countenance. He then made a ſpeech to the people, endeavouring to clear himſelf of what had been laid to his charge; and having prayed for ſome time, he gave the executioner a purſe, ſaying, without the leaſt change of countenance, “ Here, honeſt friend, God forgive thee as I do, and do thy office upon me with mercy.” He then kneeled down, and prayed for ſome time; after which he laid his head upon the block, and praying ſilently to himſelf for a few minutes, he ſaid aloud, “ Lord receive my ſpirit ;” which was the ſignal fo the executioner, who, with one blow, ſtruck off hi head.

Thus died Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in th 72d year of his age. He had many ſad hours o leiſure, during his impriſonment, to reflect, that th meaſure he had dealt to others was meted out to him ſelf. He was an eminent inſtance that a great ſchola may be a weak man, and a favourite miniſter a poo politician; that miſtaken zeal is ſometimes as fata to the cauſe it would ſupport, as premeditated trea chery; and that nothing can more irritate the peop of England, than to ſee religion affecting to hold th reins of government, and government actuated b the caprices of eccleſiaſtical authority. Howeve miſtaken, he was certainly ſincere, and actuated b religious motives in all his purſuits. It was that ſup ported him in the dreadful hour of trial, and ren dered his laſt moments remarkably tranquil and com poſed.

While preparations were making for opening th campaign, Charles ſummoned the members of bo houſes, who adhered to his intereſt, to meet at O ford. By this meaſure he hoped to avail himſelf the name of a parliament, ſo paſſionately cheriſh by the Engliſh nation. The houſe of peers was full, that though many lords were employed in d ferent parts of the kingdom, it contained more th double the number of members that voted at We minſter. But the houſe of commons did not amou to above one hundred and fifty, not more than h the other houſe of commons. The ſeſſion was op ed by a ſpeech from the king; and the aſſembly, order to enable him to recruit his army with m ſucceſs, granted him the ſum of 100,000l. to be vied by way of loan upon the ſubject. The k accordingly circulated privy-ſeals, counter-ſigned the ſpeakers of both houſes, requiring the loan of p ticular ſums from ſuch perſons as lived within places ſubject to his authority.

As Charles, in all his offers for peace, requi nothing more than the re-eſtabliſhment of the l and conſtitution, and the ſame rights which had b enjoyed by his predeceſſors, every diſcourſe peace, and every diſcuſſion of the terms on w that bleſſing could be obtained, tended greatl

prom

promote his intereſt; eſpecially as he offered, in order to facilitate ſo valuable an end, to paſs an univerſal act of oblivion, and to grant a toleration or indulgence to tender conſciences. On the other hand, the parliament ſtudiouſly avoided, as much as poſſible, all advances towards negotiation; becauſe the terms on which they were willing to conclude a peace were of too exorbitant a nature for a general diſcuſſion. They were unwilling to expoſe to the eyes of the public their pretenſions, though they well knew their partizans were blinded with the thickeſt veil of religious prejudices.

Senſible of their advantages, the parliament at Oxford wrote the following letter to the earl of Eſſex, the only channel by which it could be conveyed to the commons at Weſtminſter; Charles having declared that they were no longer a free parliament, and conſequently entitled to no authority.

"My lord,

"His majeſty having, by his proclamation, ſummoned all the members of both houſes of parliament to attend him at Oxford; we whoſe names are underwritten, are here met and aſſembled, in obedience to his majeſty's commands. His majeſty was pleaſed to invite us, in the ſame proclamation, by theſe gracious expreſſions, that his ſubjects ſhould ſee how willing he was to receive advice, for the preſervation of the religion, laws and ſafety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to reſtore it to its former peace and ſecurity (his chief and only end) from thoſe whom they had truſted, though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed. This moſt gracious invitation hath not only been made unto us, but ſeconded and heightened by ſuch unqueſtionable demonſtrations of the deep and princely ſenſe which poſſeſſes his royal heart of the miſeries and calamities of his poor ſubjects, in this unnatural war, and of his moſt entire and paſſionate affections to redeem them from that ſad and deplorable condition, by all ways poſſible, conſiſtent either with his honour, or with the future ſafety of the kingdom, that as it were impiety to queſtion the ſincerity of them, ſo were it great want of duty and faithfulneſs in us (his majeſty having declared that he called us to be witneſſes of his actions, and privy to his intentions) ſhould we not teſtify, and witneſs to all the world the aſſurance we have of the piety and ſincerity of both. We being entirely ſatisfied of this truth, cannot but confeſs, that amidſt our higheſt affections, in the deep and piercing ſenſe we have of the miſeries and deſolation of our country, and thoſe further dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected into ſome hopeful and comfortable thoughts, that poſſibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his juſtice have not determined this nation, for its ſins, to total ruin and deſolation) hope to be the happy inſtruments of our country's redemption from the miſeries of war, and reſtitution to the bleſſings of peace.

"And we being deſirous to believe your lordſhip, however engaged, a perſon likely to be ſenſibly touched with theſe conſiderations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this bleſſed work, which is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you, by all the obligations that have power upon your conſcience, or public piety; that laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of our country, and the outward more menacing deſtruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to its preſervation, by truly repreſenting to, and faithfully and induſtriouſly promoting with thoſe by whom you are truſted, this following moſt ſincere, and moſt earneſt deſire of ours; that, they joining with us in a right ſenſe of the paſt, preſent, and more threatening calamities of this deplorable kingdom, ſome perſons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed upon, to treat of ſuch a peace, as may yet redeem it from the brink of deſolation.

"This addreſs we ſhould not have made, but that his majeſty's ſummons, by which we are met, moſt graciouſly proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough, that his mercy and clemency can tranſcend all former provocations; and that he had not only made us witneſſes of his princely intentions, but honoured us alſo with the name of being ſecurity for them. God Almighty direct your lordſhip, and thoſe to whom you ſhall preſent theſe our moſt real deſires, in ſuch a courſe as may produce that happy peace, and ſettlement of the preſent diſtractions, which is ſo heartily deſired and prayed for by us, and which may make us,

Yours, &c."

This letter, which was ſubſcribed by the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen, was ſent by a trumpeter to the earl of Eſſex. But that nobleman, however diſguſted with the furious meaſures of the parliament, and however deſirous of a reaſonable peace, was ſtill more reſolute to preſerve an honourable fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him. He therefore, in his anſwer to the earl of Forth, the king's general, obſerved, that as the paper ſent him neither contained any addreſs to the two houſes of parliament, nor any acknowledgement of their authority, he could not communicate it to them.

Charles, however, ſtill deſirous of making another attempt for bringing about a peace, determined to have recourſe to the parliament at Weſtminſter. A ſafe conduct was accordingly demanded from Eſſex for two perſons to treat upon an accommodation. Eſſex readily complied, and Charles diſpatched a meſſage to the parliament for concluding a treaty of peace.

Various debates aroſe in both houſes on this propoſition; but it was at length jointly agreed to reject it. Accordingly, a letter was ſent to the king at Oxford, refuſing to open any negotiation, unleſs he would acknowledge them to be the only parliament: and the king, who knew what ſmall hopes there appeared of any accommodation, refuſed to abandon the pretenſions he had aſſumed, or acknowledge the two houſes at Weſtminſter more openly for a free parliament.

The conſiderable ſums of money that had been ſent from England to Scotland, and the flattering aſſurances the Scots had received that they ſhould now be entitled to all the privileges of Engliſhmen, had the deſired effect; and the Scottiſh army now marched for England with great alacrity. But notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the rebellion in that country was far from being general. Some of their greateſt men were ſo thoroughly convinced of the good intentions of Charles, that they refuſed to accept of any command raiſed againſt the royal party in England. But the clergy and populace were of a very different opinion: they made no ſcruple of ruſhing into the field without provocation, and in a quarrel in which they had no concern.

The Scottiſh army was in excellent order, and conſiſted of 18,000 foot, 3000 horſe, and 600 dragoons, all of them commanded by their own countrymen. They paſſed the Tyne on a bridge of boats, and ſummoned the town of Newcaſtle, which had been fortified by the care and vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, to ſurrender. They did not, however, make any attempt upon the place, becauſe the marquis of Newcaſtle lay at Durham with an army of 14,000 men. But at the ſame time they did not continue idle: they made themſelves maſters of the caſtles of Wark and Morpeth; and fortified a ſmall ſea-port town called Blyſnock, for the conveniency of receiving proviſions.

In the mean time colonel Bellaſis, who had a conſiderable body of forces, was totally routed at Selby by Sir Thomas Fairfax. This misfortune obliged the marquis of Newcaſtle to abandon Durham. Fearful of being incloſed between two armies, he retreated to York; and the Scottiſh general having joined Fairfax, they blocked up that city. But as the combined forces were not numerous enough to inveſt ſo large a place divided by a river, they contented themſelves with preventing any reinforcement of troops from joining the marquis. Some time before Newcaſtle's retreat, another party of the parliament's forces, under the command of Meldrum, had beſieged Newark, a place of the utmoſt importance to the royaliſts, as it kept open a communication between the king's ſouthern and northern quarters. Prince Rupert was, therefore, ordered to attempt the relief of that fortreſs. Rupert was at Cheſter when he received the order, but aſſembling immediately his troops, which amounted to about 7,000 men, he advanced with ſuch expedition to Newark, that he ſurprized Meldrum's army, and after killing about 500 men, he diſarmed the reſt, and ſeized all their cannon, carriages, and baggage. This defeat ſtruck terror into the garriſons of the neighbouring towns, and Gainſborough, Lincoln, Slyford, and ſeveral other places were abandoned by the parliament's forces. The prince alſo relieved Latham-houſe, which had been beſieged by a body of 2,000 men, and gallantly defended for eighteen weeks, by the counteſs of Derby. He took Bolton by ſtorm, put the garriſon to the ſword, and marched to Liverpool, which made no reſiſtance. His army was now increaſed to ten thouſand men, full of ſpirits, and fluſhed with victory.

While prince Rupert continued at Liverpool, the earl of Mancheſter made himſelf maſter of Lincoln, and joined the Scots and the army of Fairfax before York. That city, though vigorouſly defended by the marquis of Newcaſtle at the head of his army, was ſoon reduced to extremities; and the parliament's generals, after enduring the hardſhips of a winter's campaign, and ſuffering great loſſes from ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, flattered themſelves that all their labours would now be crowned with ſucceſs. But they were ſoon alarmed with the news that prince Rupert was approaching. That intrepid general, having joined Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcaſtle's cavalry, haſtened to the relief of York, at the head of an army of 20,000 men. The combined army immediately raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to Marſton-moor, in order to give battle to the royaliſts. Prince Rupert, informed of their intention, approached the city by another quarter, and interpoſing the river Ouſe between him and the enemy, ſafely joined his forces with thoſe of Newcaſtle. The marquis endeavoured to perſuade him, that, having ſo ſucceſsfully effected his purpoſe, he ought to be contented with the preſent advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminiſhed by their loſſes, and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs, to diſſolve by thoſe mutual diſſenſions which had taken place among them. Had Rupert liſtened to this advice, he had, in all probability, triumphed over the enemy without ſtriking a blow. The Scots had found themſelves greatly diſappointed during their march, in which they thought to have met with little or no reſiſtance. They had expected the plunder of the richeſt counties in England, and their generals of nothing leſs than making the Engliſh officers ſerve under them. In all theſe particulars they were deceived, and their rough vexatious manners rendered them exceſſively odious to the Engliſh commanders. Their avarice was inſatiable, and all their words and conduct ſhewed that good pay and the hopes of plunder, were the chief motives that excited them to undertake the expedition. When theſe failed, and when they found that the money granted by the parliament was not ſo punctually paid as it had been liberally voted, they began to talk of returning to their own country to defend it againſt the attempts of Montroſe, who was then in arms, and acting under the king's commiſſion. They would infallibly have carried this deſign into execution, had it not been for the hopes of an engagement, when they flattered themſelves of acquiring riches by plundering the baggage of the enemy. But when prince Rupert reached York, by taking a different rout, they became more ſullen than ever. Mancheſter, Fairfax and Cromwell, were, by no means, fond o their company, while this moroſe diſcontented humour prevailed; they would have thought it leſ diſhonourable to have ſubmitted to a generous enemy, than to be inſulted by their own needy mercenaries. Newcaſtle was no ſtranger to theſe diviſions among them, and urged the propriety of continuing quiet in their quarters and ſuffer thei- enemie to periſh by their own diſſentions. But theſe arguments were urged in vain; fighting was the elemen of prince Rupert. He entertained the moſt invi cible contempt of the Scots; and he had a few da before received a letter from the king, containi little leſs than a poſitive command to fight them, upo almoſt any terms, even after he had relieved Yor But the greateſt misfortune was a miſunderſtandi between the prince and the marquis of Newcaſt whoſe characters agreed only in perſonal courage, a a ſtrong attachment to the king's ſervice. The ma quis loved fighting; but hated the fatigues of wa the prince loved both. The marquis had ſerved t king with his perſon and fortune; the prince with perſon only. The marquis truſted greatly to Ki his lieutenant-general; the prince ſurveyed and rected every thing in his own perſon. The marq was fond of ſtate and ceremony; the prince deſpi both: and each was jealous of the great merit of other, with regard to the favour of the ſovereign, w equally loved and honoured them both.

As ſoon as Rupert entered York, he took u himſelf the command of the whole army, and t the marquis that he intended, the next day, to d out the garriſon, and give battle to the enemy. T officers who could take the greateſt freedom the prince uſed every argument in their power diſſuade him from this reſolution; but all their tempts were in vain; the prince continued fixe his purpoſe; and the marquis, that he might no cur the leaſt imputation of fear, ſubmitted to order.

The enemy, not ſuſpecting that Rupert would zard a battle in his ſituation, were filing off tow Tadcaſter, Cawood, and Selby, in order to cover eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire, and render it more diffi for the royaliſts to obtain ſupplies, when they agreeably ſurprized to perceive, that the prince, the diſpoſitions he was making, intended to them. They immediately recalled all their adva parties, and formed the line of battle. While diſpoſitions were making in the parliamentary a the garriſon of York were ſo diſcontented at the haviour of the prince towards their favourite ge that it was with the utmoſt difficulty the marqui general King perſuaded them to march out o city and join the royal army. This junction b compleated, the prince formed his line of battle himſelf commanded the right wing, which co of five thouſand horſe. The generals Gorin

Potter commanded the main body; and Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Henry, the left wing: the whole army conſiſted of 17,000 foot, 9,000 horſe, and a train of 25 pieces of cannon. The parliamentary army were, at leaſt, equal to that of the prince in number. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert commanded the right wing, in which the Scottiſh cavalry was poſted. His father, the lord Fairfax, and general Leven, commanded the main body; and the earl of Mancheſter, aſſiſted by Cromwell, the left wing. Before the battle began the marquis of Newcaſtle and his friends again deſired the prince to ſuſpend the action; aſſuring him, that they hourly expected a reinforcement of three thouſand men from the north, and that Montroſe was actually on his march, at the head of an army, to join them from Scotland. But the prince was deaf to every argument: he would liſten to nothing but that of fighting the enemy immediately.

The battle was begun by prince Rupert, who charged, with his uſual fury, the left wing of the parliament army, where Cromwell conducted the choiceſt troops, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. This body ſtood firm, and charged in their turn with ſo much impetuoſity, that the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way; and the infantry that ſtood next to them was alſo borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the ſame order in which they had firſt been ranged. Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert alſo broke through the royaliſts; and, tranſported by the fury of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, who were alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But this indiſcreet impetuoſity had nearly proved fatal to the parliamentary army. Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded in the right wing, perceiving that the tempeſt was paſt, reſtored order to his broken troops, and made ſo furious an attack on the parliamentary cavalry, that they were thrown into diſorder, puſhed upon their own infantry, and the whole wing put to flight. Animated with this ſucceſs, the royaliſts flattered themſelves that the difficulty was over, and were on the point of ſeizing the carriages and baggage of the enemy, when Cromwell appeared in his return from purſuing the broken forces of the other wing. Both parties ſeemed aſtoniſhed when they perceived that another battle muſt be fought before the victory, which each thought their own, could be obtained. The charge was again renewed with its former fury, and the balance of victory for ſome time ſuſpended: but after the utmoſt efforts of courage by both armies, the parliamentary forces prevailed. Rupert's whole army was puſhed off the field of battle, and his train of artillery taken by the enemy. About 4000 of the royaliſts were ſlain, and 1500 taken priſoners, among whom were Sir Charles Lucas, and ſeveral other perſons of note.

The marquis of Newcaſtle, enraged at the ill ſucceſs of the party he eſpouſed, and ſtill reſenting the haughty treatment of Prince Rupert, now determined to abandon the cauſe, and retire to the continent. He accordingly repaired to Scarborough with a few friends, where he found a veſſel ready to ſail, and which landed him ſafely in France. He continued abroad till the reſtoration; and, though reduced to neceſſity, he ſcorned to acknowledge the uſurped authority of thoſe who aſſumed the government of England.

Prince Rupert alſo formed a very precipitate reſolution: for though the cavalry of the royaliſts was, in a manner, ſtill entire, and though the greater part of the infantry had eſcaped into York, he determined to abandon that city, and march his army towards Oxford, which was ſtill in the king's poſſeſſion. He had no ſooner left the city of York, than it was beſieged by the parliament's army. Glenham, who commanded the garriſon, made a brave defence, but was at laſt obliged to capitulate on honourable terms. Lord Fairfax was made governor, and a thouſand horſe were ſent into Lancaſhire to join the parliamentary forces in that quarter.

Eſſex and Waller, who commanded two of the parliament's armies, received orders to join their forces and march towards Oxford; and if they found the king continue in that city to beſiege it, and by one deciſive blow put an end to the war. Charles ordered a rendezvous of his forces at Marlborough, and after proroguing his parliament at Oxford, came in perſon to the camp, and reviewed his army, which conſiſted of 6,000 foot, and 4,000 horſe. As ſoon as the armies under Eſſex and Waller began their march towards Oxford, Charles drew his garriſon out of Reading, and demoliſhed the fortifications; the place being in no condition to ſtand a ſiege, if attacked by ſo powerful a force. It is not eaſy to ſay what might have been the conſequence had the junction between the forces of Eſſex and Waller been effected, as they amounted to upwards of 20,000 men; but theſe two generals hated each other ſo heartily, that they always found means to evade the orders of the parliament. Eſſex took poſſeſſion of Abingdon, the place being unaccountably abandoned by the king's forces. Waller, at the ſame time, marched his forces to Farnham, ſo that nothing hindered the two armies from joining: for the royaliſts having abandoned Reading and Abingdon, the parliamentary army became maſters of Berkſhire, and the king was obliged to retreat to the northward of Oxford.

It was now thought that the condition of Charles was deſperate; for Eſſex having gained the paſs of Anſlow-bridge, and Waller that of Newbridge, their armies were between him and Oxford, the only place of ſtrength he was poſſeſſed of in the ſouthern quarters. Charles retreated to Worceſter, and it was expected at London, that the king muſt either deliver himſelf up to Eſſex, or throw himſelf into the hands of the parliament. Poſſibly this might have been the caſe, had a good underſtanding prevailed between the parliament's generals; but their diſſentions gave Charles an opportunity of gaining two days march of Eſſex, who now ordered Waller to purſue him, and took upon himſelf to proſecute the weſtern expedition, originally aſſigned to the other. Waller complained loudly of Eſſex for uſurping his command, and produced his orders from the parliament; but Eſſex was abſolute, and threatened to try Waller by a court-martial, if he refuſed to obey.

During this contention between the parliamentary generals, Charles had the opportunity of refreſhing his army at Worceſter; but fearing to be ſhut up in that city by Waller, who had now reached Eviſham, retired with his army to Bewdley, and directed his courſe towards Shrewſbury. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, marched forwards, extending his quarters by degrees along the eaſt ſide of the Severn, till he placed himſelf between the king's army and Shrewſbury. This was the very thing the king deſired; for returning upon his own foot-ſteps he reached Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garriſon, marched, in his turn, in queſt of Waller.

At length, after ſeveral marches and counter-marches, the two armies faced each other at Cropedy-bridge, near Banbury, but were ſeparated by the river Cherwell, which ran between them. On the 29 of June, Waller, who had received conſiderable reinforcements, drew up his army in order for battle, but in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that Charles made a feint of marching towards Daventry, leaving a party of cavalry to guard Cropedy-bridge. This motion drew Waller from his advantageous poſt; and perceiving that the king's van was at a conſiderable diſtance from their rear, he attacked the party at Cropedy-bridge, at the head 15,000 horſe, 1000 foot, and 11 pieces of cannon. The poſt was ſoon abandoned by the royaliſts; but his detachment had no ſooner paſſed the bridge, with an intention to fall upon the rear of the king's army, than they were attacked, repulſed, and purſued with conſiderable loſs. Stunned and diſpirited by this blow, the army of Waller melted away by deſertion; and the king thought he might ſafely leave it, and march to the weſtward againſt Eſſex, who had obliged prince Maurice to raiſe the ſiege of Lyme, and made himſelf maſter of Weymouth and Taunton.

While Charles was marching, he received ſo many reinforcements, that he now appeared in the field with an army ſuperior to that of the enemy. Prince Maurice hovered round the camp of Eſſex with a flying army of 4,000 horſe and foot, cut off his convoys, and perpetually haraſſed his rear during his march. Eſſex now found himſelf greatly diſtreſſed, and knew not what courſe to purſue: he was incapable of fighting the royal army, and had no place of ſtrength whither he might retreat till he received reinforcements. A council of war was called, when lord Roberts propoſed their marching into Cornwall. He obſerved, that the greater part of the inhabitants of that county was well affected to the parliament, and would join their army as ſoon as the troops appeared among them; that there was the greateſt reaſon to think the king would not attempt to follow them into Cornwall, becauſe he muſt by that means be expoſed to the danger of putting himſelf between two fires, as it was more than probable Sir William Waller would ſoon be in a condition to follow him, and haraſs his rear. Theſe reaſons had the deſired effect, and a reſolution was taken of marching directly into Cornwall.

Charles immediately purſued Eſſex, and it was propoſed, in a council of war, to attack him in his camp; but Sir Richard Granville being daily expected from the weſtern parts of Cornwall with a conſiderable body of forces, it was thought more expedient to cut off his proviſions, and force him to ſurrender at diſcretion. Eſſex informed the parliament of his danger, and deſired that a body of troops might be ſent to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton received a commiſſion to execute that ſervice, but he came too late. The army of Eſſex, cooped in a narrow corner at Leſtithiel, deprived of all forage and proviſions, and ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs, was reduced to the laſt extremity. The king preſſed upon them on one ſide; prince Maurice on another; Sir Richard Granville on a third; and Sir Jacob Aſhley on a fourth. Eſſex, Robarts, and ſome of the principal officers, eſcaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour, with his horſe, paſſed the king's guards in a thick fog, and got ſafe to the garriſons of his own party. Skippon, who commanded the foot, had no method of eſcaping; he was therefore obliged to capitulate; by which it was agreed, that they ſhould deliver up their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition. This was accordingly performed; and the ſoldiers being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were diſmiſſed.

The conduct of Charles during this campaign produced him the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation; and indeed it muſt be owned, that it fell little ſhort of the beſt generals of that age. After his affairs were, to all appearance, deſperate, he had reduced two ſtrong armies of his enemies, commanded by their beſt officers, to the very ſituation which he himſelf had dreaded but a few weeks before. He triumphed over thoſe very perſons whom it was thought almoſt impoſſible for him to eſcape. Middleton attempted to intercept the king's proviſions, and was, in ſome attempts, ſucceſsful; but Sir Francis Doddington watched him ſo narrowly, that, after many bloody ſkirmiſhes, he was obliged to retire to Sherborne.

While Charles was in the weſt, Colonel Gage, one of the royal officers in Oxford, undertook the difficult ſervice of relieving Baſing-houſe, belonging to the marquis of Wincheſter, which colonel Norton, at the head of a large detachment of the parliament's forces, had beſieged upwards of three months. Gage had above forty miles to march from Oxford, and his route lay near the garriſons of Abingdon and Reading. He, however, performed the taſk with great applauſe; for though his party was not ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege, yet he found means to throw into the houſe a large convoy of ammunition and proviſions. He afterwards returned to Oxford without ſuffering any loſs. The town of Banbury, and the caſtle of Dennington, were both relieved; and the king's army, after driving Waller out of Andover, marched unmoleſted to Newbury.

The repeated ſucceſſes of the royaliſts greatly alarmed the parliament; and it was now determined to oppoſe the king with very numerous forces. They had new armed the ſubdued forces of Eſſex, and ordered Mancheſter and Cromwell to march with their recruited troops from the eaſtern aſſociation. All theſe forces, joining with thoſe of Waller and Middleton, formed an army far ſuperior to that of the king, and advanced to give him battle. Newbury was a ſecond time the ſcene of the bloody animoſities between the Engliſh. In this battle both parties were guilty of overſights. The king quitted his advantageous ſituation, and drew his army out into Speen-field, ſituated between Newbury and Dennington-caſtle, thinking that he could there be attacked only in front. But in a council of war held at Cheveley, it was reſolved, that Waller, aſſiſted by the London brigade, and the forces of Eſſex, ſhould take poſſeſſion of Speen-hill; that the earl of Mancheſter ſhould advance to Shaw; that the former ſhould begin the attack, and the latter, on a ſignal given, force the paſs at Shaw, by which the king's diſpoſitions muſt be broken. This was, however, a very dangerous ſervice, as Charles was in poſſeſſion not only of Dennington, near which Skippon, who commanded Waller's infantry, muſt paſs, but alſo of Doleman-houſe, which was fortified, and flanked Mancheſter's forces. Waller, however, with the officers under him, acted with great intrepidity and ſucceſs. They made a large circuit to avoid the fire of Dennington-caſtle, but their rear ſuffered very conſiderably by a ſally made from the garriſon. After eſcaping this danger, they attacked the king' troops about three in the afternoon on the twenty-ſeventh of October, and not only drove them from their works, but alſo took nine pieces of cannon. In this attack the ſoldiers of Eſſex, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge th diſgrace at Leſtithiel, charged with the utmoſt fury and ſome of the cannon they recovered, being th ſame they had loſt in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. But the earl o Mancheſter had not the ſame ſucceſs in attacking th paſſage at Shaw: for though he paſſed the Kennet o the left, and ſeemed at firſt to have the advantage yet Goring, putting himſelf at the head of Cleveland' brigade, drove him back with great ſlaughter; an another perſon attempting to take Doleman-houſe, w obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Night, ho ever, coming on before the action on that ſide coul be renewed, put an end to the battle; and Charle fearing that a ſecond engagement might prove fa to his army, determined to avoid it. He therefo left his baggage and cannon in Dennington caſtl and retreated firſt to Wallingford and then to Oxford. Soon after his arrival, he was joined by prince Rupert, at the head of a conſiderable body of cavalry, and a good train of artillery. Strengthened by this reinforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed in the ſiege of Dennington-caſtle. Eſſex, detained by ſickneſs, had not joined the army ſince his miſfortune in Cornwall. Mancheſter, who commanded in his abſence, though his forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the king, declined an engagement, notwithſtanding the preſſing ſolicitations of Cromwell, who conjured him not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of putting an end to the war. The king therefore carried off his artillery from Dennington-caſtle, in the face of the enemy, and by that means ſufficiently repaired the honour that had been loſt by his retreat from the battle of Newbury. But this was not all the advantage Charles gained by this action; it excited animoſities between Mancheſter and Cromwell, equal at leaſt to thoſe that before ſubſiſted between Eſſex and Waller, and which had proved ſo favourable to his majeſty.

The battle of Newbury put an end to the campaign, and both armies were ſoon after diſtributed into winter quarters. But though the military operations were over for a ſeaſon, the conteſts between the different generals increaſed when they repaired to London: the whole city and parliament were agitated by their mutual reproaches and accuſations. Theſe, indeed, owed their riſe to a party, which had been ſome time formed in the parliament, but which the dread of the royal power had hitherto ſuppreſſed. This party were called Independents, a ſect hitherto blended with the preſbyterians, and acquired diſtinction only from the deſtruction of monarchy. Enthuſiaſts by ſyſtem, infatuated with the idea of religious perfection, and believing that they were all ſupernaturally inſpired, they would admit of neither rites, nor biſhops, nor miniſters, they pretending that the holy ſpirit, by its inward communications, placed both poor and rich upon a level, and made the ignorant equal to the learned. They hated royalty no leſs than hierarchy. The object of the puritans was to reſtrain, theirs to annihilate the prerogative; and adding a profound policy to their abſurd reveries, they executed what others thought impoſſible. Cromwell, who was at the head of the independents, had a capacity adapted to the greateſt enterprize: he had the ardour of an enthuſiaſt, the daring ſpirit of the leader of a party, the diſſimulation of a hypocrite, the talents of a general, and the genius and addreſs of a ſtateſman. He declaimed, with great violence in the houſe of commons, againſt the conduct of Mancheſter, whom he accuſed of not puſhing the war with the neceſſary vigour; eſpecially of neglecting at Dennington-caſtle, the opportunity of totally defeating the royal army. And Mancheſter, in his turn, accuſed Cromwell of ſeditious ſpeeches, calculated to ruin the parliament.

The ſeverity of theſe diſputes alarmed the Independents; they perceived that they muſt now carry their ſcheme into execution, or abandon all thoughts of effecting it; and accordingly they formed the reſolution of new modelling the army. Their maxim was, that he who drew his ſword againſt the king, ſhould throw away the ſcabbard. They were for deciſive actions, and officers that would not heſitate at any enterprize. They were, indeed, far inferior in number, both in the parliament and in the kingdom, to the preſbyterian party; but they had addreſs ſufficient, in the end, to carry their deſign into execution. At their inſtigation, a ſolemn faſt was voted, in order to implore the aſſiſtance of heaven. Some of the moſt furious preachers lamented the diſſentions in parliament, and charged the members with intereſted views. They complained of the perfidious remiſſneſs of the leaders, who, inſtead of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, ſought only, by prolonging it, to enrich themſelves with the ſubſtance of the people. They intreated the Lord to raiſe up men more worthy to be the inſtruments of his providence. The day following, theſe diſcourſes were repreſented by the independent party in parliament as the manifeſt inſpiration of the Holy Spirit. The neceſſity of finding ſome remedy for theſe diſorders was inſiſted on. The members were conjured to diveſt themſelves of all perſonal intereſt and lucrative employments. Cromwell remarked, that ſince the commencement of the war, a number of able officers had been formed, who were capable of conducting the moſt dangerous expeditions; that the troops wanted a reform on a new plan, and the ſucceſs would depend on the extirpation of abuſes. Theſe repreſentations produced the deſired effect. A committee was appointed to frame what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which the members of both houſes were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few officers who were ſpecified. This ordinance gave occaſion to the moſt furious debates, and, for ſome time, rent both the parliament and city into factions. It was obſerved by the independent party, that the diſcipline of the army did not correſpond with the merit of the officers, nor were there any hopes, till the preſent vices and diſorders, which prevailed among the ſoldiers, were repreſſed by a new model, that the forces of the parliament would ever be attended with ſignal ſucceſs in any undertaking. The preſbyterians, on the contrary, repreſented, that beſides the ingratitude of diſcarding, by fraud and ſubtlety, ſo many noble perſons by whom the parliament had been hitherto chiefly ſupported, they would find it extremely difficult to ſupply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: that the rank alone, poſſeſſed by ſuch as were members of either houſe, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might ſafely be repoſed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain ſeparate views from thoſe embraced by the perſons who employed them. But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, which were urged with great force and eloquence, the bill paſſed both houſes of parliament. In conſequence of this act, Eſſex, Warwick, Mancheſter, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and ſeveral others, reſigned their commiſſions, and received the thanks of the parliament for their good ſervices; and a penſion of 10,000l. per annum was ſettled on Eſſex.

A. D. 1645. The Self-denying Ordinance being paſſed, it was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. It is remarkable that his commiſſion did not run like that of Eſſex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone; and the article relating to the ſafety of the king's perſon was omitted. Cromwell, being a member of the lower houſe, ſhould have been diſcarded with the others; but this impartiality would have diſappointed the views of thoſe who had introduced the Self-denying Ordinance. He was ſaved by a ſubtelty and that political craft in which he was ſo eminent. At the time when the other officers reſigned their commiſſions, care was taken that he ſhould be ſent with a body of horſe, to relieve Taunton, beſieged by the royaliſts. His abſence being remarked, orders were immediately diſpatched for his attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ ſome other officer in that ſervice. Cromwell feigned a ready compliance, and a day was fixed when he would take his place in the houſe. But Fairfax having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, deſiring leave to retain, for ſome days, lieutenant-general Cromwell, whoſe advice, he ſaid, would be uſeful in ſupplying the place of thoſe officers who had reſigned. Shortly after he begged, with great earneſtneſs, that they would allow Cromwell to ſerve during that campaign: thus the independents, tho' much inferior in number, obtained a complete victory over the preſbyterians; it being ſufficiently evident that the army could give law to the parliament. For though the command of the forces was, in appearance, conferred on Fairfax, it reſted in reality, with Cromwell.

Fairfax, having thus procured the continuance of Cromwell, new-modelled the army by his aſſiſtance, incorporating ſome regiments into others, making a total change in all the military departments, and eſtabliſhing a new diſcipline. All this, which at any other time would have occaſioned a revolt, now paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition.

During theſe tranſactions a treaty of peace was negotiating between the king and parliament, but with little hopes of ſucceſs. Upon his majeſty's return to Oxford, after putting his army into winter quarters, the two houſes required, and procured a ſafe conduct for their deputies, with propoſals for an accommodation, which they had framed during the ſummer. Charles, on their being preſented to him, required, in his turn, a ſafe conduct for the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Southampton, who ſhould carry his anſwer to the two houſes. But this favour was not to be obtained, till he had addreſſed them by the title of the two houſes of parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and alſo the Scottiſh commiſſioners. On this occaſion Charles had recourſe to an artifice, which does very little honor to his ſincerity: he entered in his council-book a ſecret proteſt, importing, that though he had called them a parliament, he did not acknowledge them as ſuch.

A treaty, however, being agreed to by both parties, Uxbridge was the place appointed for holding the conferences; and Charles appointed ſixteen commiſſioners, who accordingly met thoſe authorized by the parliament, attended by the Scots commiſſioners. It was agreed that the Scots and parliamentary commiſſioners ſhould give in their demands with regard to three important articles, namely, religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that theſe ſhould be ſucceſſively examined and diſcuſſed, in conferences with the king's commiſſioners. But it was ſoon found totally impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to either of theſe articles.

In conſequence of this, the negotiation was broke off, and each party prepared to decide the important conteſt by the ſword. On the 3d of April Fairfax repaired to the rendezvous of his troops at Windſor, where, by the great care and aſſiduity of Skippon, his ſerjeant-major, he found the army in excellent condition. Cromwell, having joined him from Saliſbury, was diſpatched with a party of horſe into Oxfordſhire, to prevent the junction of a large body of cavalry, detached from prince Rupert's army in the neighbourhood of Oxford. He was fortunate enough to meet at Iſlip-bridge five of the beſt regiments in the royal army, commanded by the earl of Northampton, and gained a complete victory, took 200 men priſoners, and 400 horſes. He then ſummoned and took Blechington-houſe, commanded by colonel Windebank, who was afterwards ſhot at Oxford, for delivering up the place. His next attempt was againſt another party of the royaliſts poſted at Brampton-buſh, under the command of Sir William Vaughan, whom he defeated and took priſoner, with two hundred of his men.

The town of Taunton was ſtill beſieged by the royaliſts, and the garriſon was reduced to ſuch extremity, that they had for ſome time ſubſiſted on the moſt nauſeous food. It was defended by colonel Blake, and attacked by Goring and Sir Richard Granville: but the latter being wounded, his command was given to Sir John Berkley, whom the troops refuſed to obey; and a difference happening between general Goring and the council in the weſt, the ſiege was raiſed at the approach of the parliamentary army.

After Cromwell had been ſo ſucceſsful in his encounters with the royaliſts, he ſummoned Farringdon-houſe to ſurrender. But colonel Bruges, who commanded the garriſon, inſtead of complying with the demand, ſallied out at the head of his troops, and Cromwell was defeated, though he had been joined by a ſtrong party of foot from Abingdon, under the command of Major-general Brown. In the mean time prince Rupert defeated Maſſey, governor of Glouceſter, and joined the king at Oxford; ſoon after which Goring defeated a body of Cromwell's horſe, and brought his forces to the royal camp.

Charles now took the field at the head of his army, which conſiſted of 6,000 horſe, and 5,000 foot. He directed his march towards Warwickſhire, in order to relieve Cheſter, which had been for ſome time beſieged by Brereton; but on the approach of the royal army, he drew off his forces, and marched towards Lancaſhire. In conſequence of this the king changed his rout. and determined to attack the town o Leiceſter, which was very ſtrong and defended by a good garriſon: but by the remarkable bravery o his troops, the place was carried by ſtorm, and the governor, with all his garriſon, conſiſting of 1500 men, were made priſoners of war. Could the king have reſtrained the exceſſes of his ſoldiers, this acquiſition would have proved of the utmoſt import ance; but the diſorders they committed, after they were maſters of the town, did more prejudice to hi affairs, than all the plunder they acquired, tho' it wa very rich, did him ſervice. Beſides the priſoners, h took about 1000 horſes, fourteen pieces of can non, and a great quantity of ammunition and militar ſtores.

The loſs of Leiceſter greatly alarmed the parlia ment. They preſſed the Scots to quicken the march to the ſouthward, and Fairfax, being now join ed by Cromwell and Brown, was ordered to block u Oxford. But thoſe meaſures were greatly embarra ſed by the backwardneſs of the Scots, who had r treated into Weſtmoreland, and by the bad conditio of Fairfax's army, after its fatiguing march into t weſt. Fairfax, however, obeyed his orders, an ſat down before Oxford on the 23d of May; thoug he was apprehenſive the king would ſoon return, a ſhut him up between his army and the town, whi was ſtrong and well garriſoned. On receiving a vice that the king was marching to relieve Oxfo Fairfax was ordered to leave the command of t blockade to general Brown, and watch the motio of the royal army; it being ſtrongly ſuſpected, th inſtead of marching to Oxford, the king intended fall upon the aſſociated counties. It ſoon appea that this opinion was well founded; and orders w immediately diſpatched for raiſing the blockade Oxford, and giving the king battle, if he contin to advance. Colonel Vermuden, who had been to join the Scots, finding they were retreated i Weſtmoreland, returned to the ſouthward, and himſelf between the royal army and the aſſocia counties. Borſtal-houſe had been, for ſome ti beſieged by Skippon, but made ſo brave a defe that he was obliged to draw off his forces. He j ed Fairfax on the 6th of June, and the next the whole army reached Sherington, in order to defend the aſſociated counties; certain advices having been received that the king had directed his march towards Northampton.

The parliament at Weſtminſter were very uneaſy, not from the ſucceſs of Charles, but from the reproaches of the expelled members, who beheld the progreſs of the king with infinite pleaſure. Goring had now cooped up Welden, who had been detached by Fairfax to Taunton, between his army and the walls of that place, and advice was every hour expected that both Welden and the town had ſurrendered. Charles had, however, ſeen his error and repented his having ſent Goring into the weſt; but he ſtill had it in his power to rejoin him, or to retire either to Leiceſter or Worceſter, where he might have recruited and refreſhed his army, while that of the parliament was haraſſed with fatiguing marches.

Had Charles taken theſe prudent meaſures, they would, in all probability, have been productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences; but, inſtead thereof, it was unhappily reſolved to fight Fairfax. This reſolution was principally owing to the ungovernable order of prince Rupert, who excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full, by urging the many difficulties under which the royaliſts laboured, and from which they could be relieved by nothing but a victory. The king's forces lay about Daventry in Northamptonſhire, where he waited five days in expectation of engaging Fairfax, of whoſe marches he was totally ignorant. At laſt certain advice arrived, that the parliament's general, who had now been joined by all his parties, was advanced to Wooton, and that his head quarters was within ſix miles of that of the king. It was not even now too late for Charles to decline an engagement without any injury to his reputation. He might ave taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp upon Burough-ill, where the forces of Fairfax could not have at-acked him, and where he might have waited till join-d by a party of 1200 horſe, detatched into Leiceſ-erſhire; or even till Goring returned from his ex-edition againſt Welden's army. But theſe advan-ges were neglected, and the royal army advanced gainſt that of the parliament.

The forces, which on both ſides were nearly equal, ere drawn up in Naſeby-field, the ſpot on which bloody conteſt between the king and his parlia-nt was decided. The right wing of the royaliſts s commanded by prince Rupert, the left by Sir armaduke Langdale, and the main body by the g in perſon. In the parliament's army, Cromwell mmanded the right wing, Ireton, his ſon-in-law, left, and Fairfax, aſſiſted by Skippon, the main dy. The parliament's army had the advantage of ground and ſituation: their front extended ſome-t farther than the king's; and a party of their goons poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome hedges, which ked prince Rupert's horſe. The charge was be-by prince Rupert, with his uſual celerity and l ſucceſs. Ireton made a ſtout reſiſtance; and after he was run through the thigh with a pike, maintained the combat till he was taken priſoner; all his courage was not ſufficient to ſupport the adful charge of the prince; his whole wing was e, and purſued with the moſt precipitate fury, by violent commander. He was even ſo inconſide-as to loſe time in ſummoning and attacking the ery of the parliament, which had been left with ong guard of infantry. The king led on his main with great intrepidity, and with all the conduct prudent general. The conteſt was here very p. Fairfax and Skippon nobly ſupported the t reputation they had acquired. The latter being dangerouſly wounded, was deſired by Fairfax to leave the field; but he declared he would continue there as long as any ſoldier would ſtand his ground. But notwithſtanding all the intrepidity of theſe two generals, the infantry in the center was broke; and Fairfax's own regiment, commanded by Sir Charles Doyley, was the only body of foot that kept their ground. Fairfax, however, with great preſence of mind, brought up the reſerve, and renewed the combat. In the mean time, Cromwell attacked the left wing of the royal army with ſuch intrepidity, that they could not ſupport the charge; they were broken, and purſued about a quarter of a mile, when Cromwell, who improved by his prudence the advantage he had gained by his valour, detached a party to prevent their rallying, while he himſelf turned back upon the king's infantry, and threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. One regiment only maintained its order unbroken, though twice deſperately aſſaulted by Fairfax. But the third attempt proved deciſive; Doyley charged them in front, while Fairfax attacked them in the rear. The gallant regiment was now broken, and partly diſperſed. Senſible, when it was too late, of his error, prince Rupert abandoned his fruitleſs attempt upon the enemy's artillery, and joined the king, whoſe infantry was now totally defeated. Charles did all in his power to animate this body of cavalry to exert that valour they had already diſplayed; he called aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But they ſaw too evidently the diſadvantages under which they laboured, to obey even the command of their ſovereign. The king was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy.

The number of ſlain in the parliament's army was greater than that in the king's, the former loſing upward of 1000, and the latter not above 800. But Fairfax took 400 officers, and upwards of 5000 men priſoners. He alſo took 12 pieces of cannon, two mortars, 8000 arms, 40 barrels of powder, and 100 colours, together with the king's equipage, and cabinet, in which were copies of his letters to the queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be publiſhed. In a word, this victory was at once the greateſt and moſt complete of any gained by the parliament during the whole courſe of the civil war.

Charles had ſtill a fine body of 2000 horſe, and 1000 foot, in Wales, under general Gerrard. Goring was at the head of an army before Taunton, little inferior to that the king had loſt at Naſeby, and the routed horſe were every day coming in to ſome of the royal garriſons. But a flood of misfortunes were now to be poured on the head of this unfortunate prince: his enemies conquered his towns, garriſons and armies, almoſt as faſt as a traveller could paſs from one to the other. The lord Loughborough ſurrendered Leiceſter to Fairfax, without ſtipulating any other condition, than that of obtaining quarters for himſelf and his garriſon. But Fairfax being no ſtranger to the wretched condition of Taunton, ſent a meſſenger to the parliament for inſtructions concerning his march into the weſt. In the mean time, he paſſed from Leiceſter to Lutterworth, and proceeded, without any interruption, to Dorcheſter. The miſeries of civil diſcord had, for ſome time, been ſo ſeverely felt by the inhabitants of the weſtern counties, eſpecially thoſe of Devon, Dorſet, and Wilts, that they had formed a ſcheme of neutrality, under the title of Club-men. Their declared intentions was to reſiſt either party who ſhould attack them, and to mediate fair conditions between the king and his parliament. This aſſociation was now ſo ſtrong, as to be formidable to both parties, who equally complained of their ſufferings from the Club-men. Soon after Fairfax reached Dorcheſter, Mr. Hollis, a gentleman of Dorſetſhire, with ſeveral other leaders of the Club-men, waited upon him with the following articles and requeſts, "That the aſſociates provide arms, ſet watches, be quiet with thoſe that excite no diſturbance, ſeize all diſorderly ſoldiers and ſend them to the neareſt garriſons; not to deny quarters and contributions proportioned to their abilities: till their petitions be delivered, not to favour either party, nor to protect any not aſſociated. To requeſt the renewal of a treaty, with a ceſſation of arms, and alſo that the garriſons in Dorſet, Devon, and Wilts, be put into their hands, till the king and parliament agree about their diſpoſal: that they be freed from all charges, except the maintenance of thoſe garriſons: that all laws, not repealed, be in force, and executed by the ordinary officers: that all perſons who deſire it may be at liberty to lay down their arms; and that others who have abſented themſelves from their houſes may have free liberty to return." The general told them, that he greatly approved of their endeavours to bring about a peace; but not of the ceſſation of arms, or of diſbanding the ſoldiers; but promiſed to protect them from being plundered, and required them to diſcontinue their meetings. Perhaps he would not have diſmiſſed the leaders of the Club-men on ſuch eaſy terms, had he not been very deſirous of proſecuting his favourite ſcheme, the relief of Taunton, the parliament having conſented to his leading the army into thoſe parts, where the royaliſts were ſtill powerful, and capable of making a gallant reſiſtance.

But feuds and animoſities had, for ſome time, prevailed among the officers, and threatened inevitable ruin to the royal party. Goring was capable of performing all that could be required from the braveſt and vileſt of mankind. His abilities were ſufficient to clothe vice with every advantage; his eloquence to delude caution into ruin. His heart, inſenſible either to the happineſs or miſeries of others, laid not a check on his career of wickedneſs. His profligacy, his intemperance, his riots, his overſights and his negligence, rendered it problematical for what end nature had beſtowed her gifts on a perſon who diſgraced them; and why fortune courted a man ſo ungrateful to her favours. The hopes of victory could not reſtrain him from debauchery, nor the fear of infamy deter him from treachery. His ſerving the royal party was not in him the reſult of principle, but of accident; and when oppoſed by the king's council, it cauſed him more pains to diſappoint, than it would have done to have executed the excellent diſpoſitions laid down by himſelf for the ſervice of his maſter. The ravages and barbarities of his ſoldiers had rendered him ſo diſagreeable to the royal party in the weſt, that he knew they had done him ill offices with his maſter, and was reſolved the ſervice ſhould ſuffer. He was accordingly ſo negligent in guarding the paſſages to Taunton, that the beſieged received frequent relief from the adjacent country, and even his chief officers were ſuffered to have interviews with thoſe of the enemy. This at once prolonged the ſiege, and diſcouraged the infantry ſo greatly, that they mouldered away; and when Fairfax advanced to relieve the place, Goring found himſelf under a neceſſity, wantonly occaſioned by his own negligence, of raiſing the ſiege. He retired to Lamport, an open town in Somerſetſhire, where he was defeated by Fairfax, who killed 300 of his men, and took 1400 priſoners.

Fairfax now ſat down before Bridgewater, a ſtrong and important town in that country. The place was defended by colonel Windham, at the head of a garriſon of 2,600 men. For ſome time the beſieged made a ſtout reſiſtance; but the outer town being taken by ſtorm, Windham capitulated, and delivered up the place to Fairfax; by which the whole garriſon were made priſoners of war. The taking of Bridgewater was a dreadful blow to the royaliſts, becauſe it was conſidered as impregnable; and the king's friends had laid up in it, as a ſure repoſitory, their treaſure and moſt valuable effects.

The king was now retreated to Cardiff, in South-Wales, where he had leiſure to reflect on his fallen condition; and, perhaps, ſaw it more clearly, and felt it more ſenſibly, than any man of his party. But when he was the ſport of fortune, he ſeemed regardleſs of her frowns. When his beſt friends, even thoſe who had been moſt forward in advancing war, now preſſed him to accept of peace on almoſt any conditions, Charles declared himſelf of a different opinion. He admitted, indeed, that he had nothing but ruin to himſelf, his cauſe, and his family, before his eyes; but at the ſame time declared, that he would neither ſacrifice his conſcience, injure his ſucceſſor, nor forſake his friends. He told prince Rupert, who was one of the party for peace, that if his caſe was to be viewed by a politician, it would appear next to frenzy for him to decline any terms; but as a king, a chriſtian, and a gentleman, low as his fortunes were, he would grant no other terms than what were conſiſtent with the honour and dignity of a ſovereign.

The Scots, having taken Carliſle, which had fo eleven months been bravely defended by Sir Thoma Glenham, marched to the ſouthward, and ſat down before Hereford; but they were ſo diſguſted by th treatment they had received in England, that th ſiege advanced very ſlowly. They complained loudl of the want of money, proviſions and artillery, whic had been promiſed them by the parliament, but th promiſe had never been performed. Charles bein therefore in no great pain with regard to the fate o Hereford, directed his courſe to the northward; an after very fatiguing marches, reached Doncaſte where he was joined by a body of 3000 men; it bein the peculiar fate of that prince to acquire mo friends by his misfortunes than by his proſperity. required, indeed, all his fortitude to ſupport th ſhocks of ill fortune by which he was every da aſſailed. The caſtles of Scarborough, Shipton, Sa dal, and Pontefract, after making a noble oppoſitio were obliged to ſurrender to the parliament; b their garriſons joined the royal army.

Charles was now very deſirous of puſhing forwa into Scotland, to join Montroſe, who, at the head a handful of naked, half-armed highlanders, had c in pieces ſeveral armies of regular veterans, co manded by officers of experience, and ſupported the whole ſtrength of the kingdom. The Scott army before Hereford were alarmed at his ſucce and general Leſley, at the head of all the cavalry a dragoons, marched directly towards Scotland. I mediately after his departure, the earls of Leven a Callender, who commanded at the ſiege of Herefo drew up a kind of manifeſto, enumerating the di culties and diſappointments they had met with, a urging the neceſſity of ſaving their own country fr the deſtruction with which it was threatened by Mo troſe. They accordingly raiſed the ſiege of He ford, and began their march to the northward. L ley, informed of the king's intention, marched w ſo much expedition, that he reached Rotherham a ſecured the paſs at Ferry-bridge, before the king informed of the rout he had taken; while Poyn one of the parliament's generals, took poſt, wi ſtrong body of horſe, in the neighbourhood of W ceſter. It being now impoſſible for Charles to l his army into Scotland, he directed his march tow the eaſtern aſſociated counties, with ſo much ſucc that he took Huntingdon, defeated ſeveral par of the enemy, and returned, with a conſidera booty, to Oxford.

In the mean time Fairfax made himſelf maſter of Bath and Sherborne caſtle, and prepared for beſieging Briſtol; an enterprize which, from the ſtrength of the garriſon, and the great reputation of prince Rupert the governor, was deemed of the laſt importance. But a weaker defence was not made by any town during the whole war. The general expectations were here totally diſappointed. The lines were no ſooner taken by ſtorm, than the prince capitulated, and delivered up the city to Fairfax. Charles, who, on receiving advice that Fairfax determined to beſiege Briſtol, had collected all his forces to relieve the city, was aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an event, which was hardly leſs fatal to his party than the battle of Naſeby. Exaſperated at the behaviour of Rupert, he inſtantly recalled all his commiſſions, and ſent him a ſafe conduct to paſs over to the continent.

Every thing now portended the ruin of the royal party. The king marched to the relief of Cheſter, which was beſieged by Jones, at the head of a ſtrong detachment of the parliament's forces. Poyntz followed him cloſe, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Cheſter, attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. The action was very ſharp, and victory ſeemed to incline to the royaliſts, till Jones fell upon their troops on the other ſide, and put them to flight, with the loſs of 600 ſlain, and 1000 priſoners. The king fled, with the remains of his broken army, to Newark, and thence eſcaped to Oxford, where he ſhut himſelf up during the winter.

The two generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, having now no powerful army to oppoſe them, divided their forces. Cromwell, at the head of four regiments, marched to the Devizes, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate. Berkley-caſtle was taken by colonel Rainſborough; but the garriſon, conſiſting of 00 men, were ſuffered to march out without their arms. Cromwell's detachment being now ſtrengthened by three regiments of horſe, he marched to Wincheſter, and ſat down before the caſtle, which was defended by lord Ogle, at the head of a numerous garriſon; but after a vigorous defence he was obliged to capitulate on honourable conditions. The next expedition was againſt Baſing-houſe, which, under the brave marquis of Wincheſter, had already repelled ſo many deſperate attacks of the enemy. But he could not reſiſt the impetuoſity of Cromwell; he took it ſword in hand, put the garriſon to the ſword, and ſent the marquis, with a few of the principal officers, priſoners to London.

A. D. 1646. Animated with ſucceſs, Fairfax determined to make an attack on Dartmouth, which, with the aſſiſtance of a ſquadron of the parliament's ſhips, under the command of admiral Batten, he took by ſtorm on the eighteenth of January. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, 1000 priſoners, 00 horſes, with proportional arms and ammunition, and two ſmall ſhips of war, belonging to the king, now fell into the hands of Fairfax. Among the priſoners were the earl of Dartmouth, colonel eymour, and a great number of inferior officers. oudram caſtle next fell into the hands of the victorious Fairfax; who now laid cloſe ſiege to Exeter. Lord Hopton, who commanded the royal army, conſiſting of 8000 men, advanced to relieve the place. The two armies met at Torrington, where Hopton was defeated, all his foot diſperſed, and he himſelf, with his horſe, obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax purſued his victory with ſo much vigour, that he encloſed the royaliſts at Truro, and forced the whole army, conſiſting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to ſurrender upon terms. The ſoldiers, delivering up their horſes and arms, were permitted to diſband, and received twenty ſhillings each to carry them to their own homes. Such of the officers as deſired it were granted paſſes to retire beyond the ſeas: the others, having promiſed never more to bear arms againſt the parliament, received a free pardon, on paying compoſitions proportioned to their abilities.

Fairfax now returned to the ſiege of Exeter, and after making himſelf maſter of that city, which completed the conqueſt of the Weſt, he marched his victorious army to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his head quarters at Newbury. The prince of Wales had the good fortune to eſcape when the royal army was inveſted at Truro; and, purſuant to the repeated orders of his father, paſſed over to the Iſles of Scilly, from thence to Jerſey, and afterwards to Paris.

Charles was no leſs unfortunate in other parts of the kingdom. Hereford was taken by ſurprize; Cheſter ſurrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, at the head of 1200 horſe, to force his way into Scotland, and join Montroſe, was defeated at Sherborne in Yorkſhire, by colonel Copely; his whole force was diſperſed, and he himſelf obliged to fly, firſt into the Iſle of Man, and thence into Ireland. The town and caſtle of Chepſtow were delivered up to the parliament; the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen were reduced by Langhorne: Shelford and Wyverton houſes were taken, and even the undaunted counteſs of Derby was obliged to ſurrender Latham-houſe. And to put a final period to the hopes of the royaliſts, news arrived that Montroſe himſelf, after the moſt aſtoniſhing ſucceſs, was totally defeated, and obliged to fly, with his broken forces, into the mountains.

In this ſituation was the ſtate of affairs when the inclemency of the ſeaſon put a ſtop to the rage of war. It would be endleſs to mention all the ſmaller actions and ſkirmiſhes, the ſieges of caſtles, and the taking of houſes, that happened during the whole campaign, ſo fatal to the royal party. The genius of Cromwell ſhone in its full luſtre; he was the ſupport of the independents; while his amazing ſucceſs awakened the jealouſy of the preſbyterians. He flew from poſt to poſt with aſtoniſhing expedition; the news of one conqueſt hardly arrived before another was finiſhed; the ſhouts of victory in his troops were blended with the ſinging of pſalms, and the conſultations for battle and deſtruction were always preceded by the exerciſes of prayer and preaching. That artful general always took care to keep the minds of his ſoldiers warm, either by the heat of battle, or the force of enthuſiaſm: he was at once their martial and their ſpiritual leader. Every county was a bloody ſcene of action, and on almoſt every gentleman's eſtate encounters happened, which exceeded in fury thoſe of any foreign war. The numbers that fell in the moſt diſtinguiſhed battles were inconſiderable when compared with the total that were ſlain in thoſe leſſer ſkirmiſhes. "To the work of the Lord diligently," was now become the watch-word of the independents, and implied, that no quarter ought to be given to the royaliſts, and that the war ſhould be carried on without regarding the few decencies which had hitherto been preſerved toward his majeſty and the chief nobility of the kingdom.

Charles now made another effort for negotiating a peace with the parliament, and deſired to have a perſonal treaty with the two houſes. He offered to come to London on receiving a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his attendants, and to commit the truſt of the militia to perſons againſt whom there could be no juſt exception. But they abſolutely refuſed him acceſs; and even iſſued orders for ſeizing his perſon if he attempted to viſit them.

The king's ſituation was now truly deplorable. Fairfax was approaching, at the head of a powerful and victorious army, to beſiege him in Oxford, whence it would be impoſſible for him, after the city was inveſted, to make his eſcape. He could not bear the thoughts of being made a captive, and led in triumph through the ſtreets of his capital, amidſt a prejudiced and inſolent populace, and a rude enthuſiaſtic ſoldiery, who hated his perſon and deſpiſed his dignity. The Scots army had now inveſted Newark, and ſeemed to open the only aſylum to majeſty in diſtreſs. He imagined that the Scots had not yet loſt all attachment to their ſovereign; and that, as zealous preſbyterians, they would not willingly ſubmit to the independents. Montreville, the French miniſter, deſirous of ſerving the king, had ſolicited the Scots generals and commiſſioners to give protection to their diſtreſſed ſovereign; and having received many general profeſſions and promiſes, he tranſmitted theſe, poſſibly with ſome exaggeration, to the king, who now determined to throw himſelf into the arms of his Scottiſh ſubjects.

The greateſt ſecrecy, however, was obſerved in this tranſaction; and that no interruption, ſufficient to occaſion a diſcovery, might happen, orders were given at every gate in Oxford to permit three perſons to paſs without being examined. Theſe precautions being taken, Charles, attended only by Dr. Hudſon and Mr. Aſhburnham, paſſed about midnight thro' the gate that leads to London. The king, in the dreſs of Aſhburnham's ſervant, with a portmanteau behind him, paſſed through Henley and Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained ſome thoughts of entering the capital, and throwing himſelf into the arms of the parliament; but this deſign appearing too dangerous, he purſued his firſt intention; and after paſſing through many croſs roads, reached the Scottiſh camp before Newark. The ſurpriſe of their generals and commiſſioners was prodigious: they pretended to do him homage, and paid him every external mark of reſpect, but were determined to make him a captive. They allotted him a guard, under pretence of protection and eſteem, but in reality to ſecure his perſon.

Newark ſtill made a noble defence againſt the Scots, who now applied to the king for orders to the governor to ſurrender the place. He readily obeyed, and the gates were opened to the enemy. Soon after the king's arrival, the Scots had informed the parliament of their being in poſſeſſion of his perſon; but hearing that the commons intended to demand him, and that the army of Fairfax was already in motion towards their camp, they thought proper to retire towards the frontiers of their own kingdom, and encamped at Newcaſtle, a place of great ſtrength. This motion was not diſagreeable to Charles; he imagined it was taken merely for the protection of his perſon; and flattered himſelf that by the conjunction of his friends with the Scots, he would be once more in a condition of facing the enemy, and poſſibly of reſtoring peace to his exhauſted kingdoms.

Charles, however, well knew that the Scots would never heartily concur in promoting his intereſt, unleſs he could gain the favour of their miniſters; he was therefore very attentive to their long and enthuſiaſtic ſermons, and ſeemed very deſirous of their inſtructions. But he ſoon perceived that the covenanting zealots were by no means his friends. One of their preachers, after bitterly reproaching him, in the harſheſt terms for his conduct, gave out that pſalm, which, in the Engliſh tranſlation, begins, "Why boaſteſt thou thyſelf, thou tyrant, that thou canſt do miſchief?" The king ſtood up, and called for that pſalm which begins, "Have pity upon me, O Lord, for men go about to devour me." The good-natured audience ſhewed that they were penetrated with the ſight of majeſty in diſtreſs, and ſung the pſalm called for by the king. Pity, for once, triumped over enthuſiaſm.

The Scottiſh generals now requeſted of Charles that he would iſſue orders to the governors of all his garriſons to ſurrender the places they defended to the parliament. The king readily complied with this requeſt: he perceived he could hope for no effectual aſſiſtance from the Scots, and knew that any further oppoſition would only tend to exaſperate ſtill more the party that was formed againſt him. Fairfax carried theſe orders into execution, and granted the garriſons honourable terms: he even prevented, as far as in his power, any inſults from being offered to the unfortunate royaliſts. The capital, with all the other forts garriſoned by the king's party in Ireland, were alſo delivered up to the parliament's officers; and Montroſe, after experiencing a great variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired to the continent.

As no farther oppoſition was now expected on the part of the royaliſts, it was thought neceſſary to project ſome method of ſettling the diſtracted ſtate o kingdom. But this was not eaſy to be performed. The ſtrength of the independent party in parliamen was greatly increaſed; and the army was at the devotion of Cromwell; but both began to entertain jealouſies of the Scots. It was therefore voted, "tha there is no farther occaſion for the Scottiſh army t continue in England. And, that 100,000l. be raiſed and one moiety thereof paid to the Scots, on thei delivering up all the towns they have garriſoned i England, except Berwick, and the other on thei return to Scotland." At the ſame time, they ordere the Scots commiſſioners to deliver to the houſe a account of the arrears due to their army, that the might be diſcharged according to the treaty betwee the two kingdoms.

Propoſals for eſtabliſhing a peace were now lai before the king; but they were of ſuch a nature a could only be expected by a captive entirely at th mercy of an inexorable conqueror. When Charle had read them, he told the meſſengers, that as the tended to introduce the moſt important innovation in the conſtitution, it was highly reaſonable he ſhoul be allowed a proper time for deliberation. They re plied, that he muſt give his anſwer in ten days. Th king complained, that the terms made uſe of wer not defined, and deſired to know their meaning The meſſengers told him they had no power to de bate, and that he muſt give a poſitive anſwer. Upo this the king delivered a paper, in which he com plained of the limited powers of the commiſſioner and demanded permiſſion to come to London, an treat with his parliament in perſon.

The parliament's commiſſioners, not thinking th paper any ways ſatisfactory, made ſome difficulty receiving it. And though it was accepted, yet produced no effect: the king was given to underſtan that if he refuſed to comply with their demand they would ſettle the kingdom by their own autho rity.

But two difficulties ſtill continued to be removed namely, to prevail on the Scots to deliver up th king, and to ſettle the payment of the arrears of the army. Both theſe particulars cauſed long debates the parliament. The Scots pretended, that Charles was king of both nations, they were equal entitled with the Engliſh to vote on the queſtion r lative to the diſpoſal of his perſon; and that whe the titles of both are equal, and the ſubject indiviſib the preſent poſſeſſor was entitled to the preferenc On the contrary, the Engliſh maintained, that as t king was in England, his perſon could not be diſpo of by any foreign nation. But though they differ ſo widely with regard to the diſpoſal of his majeſt

perſo

perſon, they agreed in impoſing on him ſuch rigorous conditions, that Charles, notwithſtanding his deplorable ſituation, refuſed to accept them. They did not, indeed, wiſh that he ſhould recover his freedom; they never intended to blend lenity and tyranny together in ſo inconſiſtent a manner. The Scots, however, determined not to deliver up the king to the Engliſh parliament, but keep him as a pledge for their arrears, which, in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the nation, they were unlikely to obtain by any other means. According to their own account, the ſum amounted to no leſs than two millions; for, as the parliament had paid them very little money, the contributions they had levied, and the price of their living at free quarters, were all the deductions to be made out of the whole pay due to them ever ſince they firſt entered England. This ſum was, however, conſidered as very exorbitant by the parliament; and the demand occaſioned very long and ſevere debates. At length the Scottiſh commiſſioners agreed to accept of 400,000l. in lieu of all demands; one half to be paid immediately, and the other within twelve months.

A. D. 1647. As the delivering up of the king's perſon was conſidered as the principal condition of this infamous bargain, the money was raiſed with great alacrity. The Scottiſh parliament had, indeed, voted that the king ſhould be protected, and his liberty be made one of the conditions of the treaty; but they were obliged to retract their reſolution on the interpoſition of the general aſſembly, who declared, "That as Charles had refuſed to take the covenant when tendered to him, it became not the godly to concern themſelves about his fortune." This reſolution, however, was not ſufficient to diſturb the tranquillity of the king's mind, ſo greatly had he profited in the ſchool of adverſity. He was playing at cheſs when he was informed of the final reſolution of the Scots to deliver him into the hands of the Engliſh parliament; but he continued his game without interruption; nor could any perſon in company perceive that the letter he peruſed brought any advice of conſequence.

The whole power of the nation was now in the parliament. They had ſurmounted every difficulty; and as they had nothing further to fear, ſo they had every thing to hope. Fairfax, the unhappy, the unwilling inſtrument of the miſeries of his country, was at this time in London, and complimented by the parliament in the moſt flattering terms. Theſe compliments, however, he received with that contempt they merited; but he was not proof againſt the arts of Cromwell. The army was now modelled in ſuch a manner, that they no longer conſidered themſelves as the ſervants of the parliament, but rather as their maſters; and Cromwell pointed out to Fairfax, with great juſtice and candour, the diſtractions that every where prevailed, both in church and ſtate. Scarcely two divines could agree in a ſtandard of faith, or two ſtateſmen on the ſame ſcheme of meaſures neceſſary to be purſued. Hence he concluded that the army was now the ſole principle of unity, and the center to which all lines muſt point. The ſoldiers, he ſaid, were the choſen people of God, and had within them that unerring light of grace, which ſoared above all ſublunary inſtitutions, and corrected all human errors. He meant, however, only thoſe ſoldiers under the command of Fairfax and himſelf; for there were beſides, two armies, one under Maſſey, governor of Glouceſter, and the other under Mitton, in Wales. Maſſey's ſoldiers felt the infirmities of human nature; they were diſtreſſed with cold, hunger, and the want of every neceſſary comfort of life. They therefore preſented ſeveral very ſtrong petitions to parliament, enumerating their ſervices, and aſking that relief to which as ſervants, as men, and as chriſtians, they were ſo juſtly entitled. But all their petitions and remonſtrances were in vain; they were threatened with being ſent to Ireland, and in the mean time ſuffered to live at free quarters, that the diſbanding of them, which was now determined, might appear the leſs unpopular.

The treaty with the Scots had been ſtrongly oppoſed by the independents, who were for demanding the perſon of his majeſty at the head of the army, and driving them out of the kingdom by force. Every vote, therefore, in their favour, was ſtrenuouſly debated; but the preſbyterians having, as yet, the majority, carried their point; and the meaſure for ſending the Scots into their own country, by an amicable treaty, was adopted. This being ſettled, it was voted, that Holmby-houſe in Northamptonſhire, ſhould be the place for receiving his majeſty; and a committee of lords and commons, with a party of the army, were appointed to attend him thither from Newcaſtle; but at the ſame time they declared, that nothing ſhould be done towards ſettling the peace, till the Scottiſh forces had paſſed the Engliſh borders. When the Engliſh commiſſioners arrived in the Scottiſh camp, and were permitted to kiſs the king's hand, he received them with the ſame grace and chearfulneſs as if they had travelled on no other errand than that of paying their court to him. His majeſty was allowed only nine ſervants to attend him; and though he was treated by the commiſſioners with all the external marks of reſpect, he was not ſuffered to have any intercourſe with his friends. A few weeks before the king was delivered into the hands of the parliament's commiſſioners, the earl of Eſſex paid the debt of nature. This was a ſevere blow both to the king and preſbyterian party. Senſible of the deplorable ſtate of the nation, to which, from miſtake rather than deſign, he had ſo greatly contributed, he determined to exert all his power to bring about a peace, and reſtore the tranquillity of the nation; but death put a final period to his deſign, deprived the preſbyterians, or moderate party, of a popular leader, and ſo greatly leſſened the power of the houſe of peers, that it was almoſt annihilated.

A. D. 1648. The nation now laboured under a variety of grievances; but the moſt conſiderable conſiſted in the army, which, though there was not the ſhadow of an enemy in the field, was ſtill kept up, to the great terror of the preſbyterian party, who were therefore determined to take the firſt favourable opportunity of reducing that alarming inſtrument of the independents. The army had been for ſome time greatly neglected, and had preſented many petitions to the parliament for their arrears, which they not only diſregarded, but an order had been made by both houſes, that no part of the army ſhould be quartered within twenty-five miles of London.

The preſbyterians were deſirous of diſmiſſing the army, even without rewarding them for their former ſervices. But this was oppoſed by Cromwell, who obſerved, that the parliament had nothing to ſupport the authority they had acquired but the army. On the 27th of February a motion was made in the houſe with regard to the reduction of the forces, which was carried by a majority of two only. It was then reſolved to begin with reducing the cavalry, and it was determined that 4000 horſe and 1000 dragoons would be ſufficient for the ſervice of the whole kingdom. They next proceeded to conſider how the forts and garriſons of the kingdom ſhould be diſpoſed of and provided for; and the queſtion was put, "whether there ſhould be a number of foot kept up at the pay of the kingdom, more than will be ſufficient for the keeping ſuch garriſons as ſhall be continued." This queſtion paſſed in the negative, notwithſtanding the independents excited all their intereſt to procure a majority. It was ſoon after voted, that 9000 horſe, 9000 foot, and 1200 dragoons ſhould be ſent over to Ireland. But the moſt violent queſtions carried againſt the independents were, "that no officer ſhould command under Fairfax above the degree of a colonel; and that no member of parliament ſhould have the command of any garriſon or fort in England." They next voted, "that ſuch perſons as ſhall be employed as officers in the garriſons, or forces that ſhall be kept up in the kingdom, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, ſhall conform to the eſtabliſhment of the church, as agreed to by both houſes of parliament."

As theſe votes were directly levelled againſt the independents in the army, and who were the moſt active perſons in it, it is no wonder that Cromwell and his party determined to attempt the independency of the army upon the ruins of the parliament. This was no difficult taſk for Cromwell to perform, by giving the officers a very unfavourable opinion of the houſe of lords, who were daily ſending meſſengers to the commons concerning the danger of the kingdom from the army. Mancheſter had, indeed, given the houſe a very unfavourable opinion of Cromwell's intentions, and the artful methods he made uſe of to gain an aſcendant over the army. The preſbyterians in the army equally hated Cromwell, and had already voted that the Scottiſh forces in Ireland ſhould be ſent back to their own country, and that the war in that kingdom ſhould be proſecuted by the Engliſh forces only. This vote greatly alarmed the army; they well knew that if they were once ſent to Ireland, their petitions and remonſtrances would have little weight: the parliament would leave them to earn a wretched ſubſiſtence with their ſwords in oppoſing the Iriſh rebels. The arrears due to the army were already very conſiderable, amounting to no leſs than 331,000l. A petition was therefore preſented to Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the officers of the army, in which they enumerated the hardſhips to which they muſt be reduced if their arrears were any longer deferred. Fairfax laid the petition before the parliament; but received only a harſh anſwer. The parliament even threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of the petition as enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of the public peace.

This declaration of the parliament tended rather to increaſe than leſſen the mutinous diſpoſitions of the ſoldiers. They lamented that, having ſo long expoſed themſelves to every danger in order to eſtabliſh the liberty of the ſubject, they ſhould be deprived of the rights of Engliſhmen, and even be denied the privilege of repreſenting their grievances. The commons, fearful of the conſequences of exaſperating the army, ſent commiſſioners, at the head of whom were Cromwell and Ireton, to the head-quarters at Saffron-Walden, to make propoſals for entering into the Iriſh ſervice. But inſtead of inliſting, the generality abſolutely rejected the terms, and deſired an indemnity ratified by the king, for any illegal actions of which, during the courſe of the war, they might have been guilty; together with ſatisfaction for arrears, freedom from preſſing, relief for widows and maimed ſoldiers, and pay till diſbanded. They did not expreſs any diſſatisfaction againſt Skippon, who was appointed to command the troops in Ireland, but diſcovered a much ſtronger deſire of ſerving under Fairfax or Cromwell.

The commiſſioners, who were in reality the ſole cauſe of all the diſcontents in the army, failed not to foment the diſorders they were ſent to appeaſe. A military parliament, in oppoſition to that at Weſtminſter, was now formed, conſiſting of two houſes. The
principal officers compoſed a council, or houſe o
peers; while two private men, or inferior officer
choſen from each troop or company, under the tit
of officers, formed the lower houſe. This eſtabliſh
ment afforded an eaſy method for the leaders to aug
ment the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, withou
the leaſt danger of being diſcovered. At the ſam
time the general humour that then prevailed in th
nation for forming plans for imaginary republic
was, in ſome meaſure, gratified. Their firſt reſolu
tions ſufficiently indicated the conſequences that wou
ſoon enſue from their deliberations. They vote
that the offers of the parliament were not ſatisfactor
that eight weeks pay (which was all, they ſaid, th
parliament promiſed) was but a ſmall part of fifty-fi
weeks, which they pretended was their due: that n
viſible ſecurity was given for the remainder; and th
having been declared public enemies by the com
mons, there was ſufficient reaſon to fear, that unle
the declaration was recalled, they might be hereaf
proſecuted as ſuch. Cromwell, in order to carry o
his ambitious deſigns under the impenetrable veil
hypocriſy, had taken care to repair to London, b
fore theſe violent reſolutions were taken, in orde
as he pretended, to lay the increaſing diſcontents
the army before the parliament.

Alarmed at theſe rebellious diſpoſitions of the ſo
diers, the parliament determined to make one vig
rous effort more, in order to ſupport their authorit
They voted, that all the troops that refuſed to en
for Ireland ſhould be immediately diſbanded
their quarters. But this reſolution was hardly paſſ
by the commons, before the new parliament in the a
my ordered a general rendezvous of all the regimen
in order to concert proper meaſures for ſupporti
their common intereſts. A plan ſecretly ſuggeſt
by Cromwell decided the victory in their favou
Not a moment was to be loſt; both the magiſtra
and the militia of London had declared for the pa
liament: ſome of the beſt officers in England, an
even the general himſelf, were for ſupporting the ſa
authority; the ſources of money were almoſt e
hauſted, and the ſoldiers had no other alternative th
that of ſubduing the parliament, or ſubmitting imp
citly to their authority.

Charles was ſtill at Holmby-houſe, and guard
by a party of ſoldiers under the command of colo
Graves, who was ſuppoſed to be in the intereſt of t
commons. It was, however, determined to ſeize t
king's perſon, and conduct him to the army.
party of 500 horſe, commanded by one Joice, o
riginally a taylor, but now advanced to the rank
cornet, accordingly marched for Holmby-hou
The guard made not the leaſt oppoſition; Jo
came into the king's preſence, armed with piſt
and bluntly told his majeſty he muſt go with h
immediately. "Whither?" ſaid the king. "To t
army," replied Joice. The king aſked by what
thority he acted, and required to ſee his warra
Joice pointed to one of the ſoldiers he had brou
with him, tall, handſome, and well accoutre
"Truly," ſaid the king, ſmiling, "your warrant
written in very legible characters, it may be r
without ſpelling." In the mean time the parliame
commiſſioners, perceiving the guard made no op
ſition, ſent an officer to know who commanded
party upon duty. He was anſwered, "that they
commanded." The commiſſioners now came i
the room, and aſked Joice if he had any orders f
the parliament? He ſaid, "No." "Have you
from the general?" "No." "By what autho
do you act in this manner?" He pointed, as befo
to the ſoldier. "We will write to the parliame
ſaid they, "to know their pleaſure." "You may
you pleaſe," replied Joice, "but in the mean ti

the king muſt immediately go with me." He added, that he had no deſign to inſult the perſon of his majeſty, but would conduct him with ſafety to their head quarters.

As all reſiſtance was in vain, Charles, after protracting the time as much as poſſible, ſtepped into his coach, and was carried to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous on Triplo-heath, near Cambridge. Fairfax, who was totally a ſtranger to the whole tranſaction, knew not how to behave on this occaſion. No one could be found who gave the orders, which were merely verbal; and while they were employed in tracing them to their ſource, Cromwell arrived from London, and finiſhed the debate. He juſtified the conduct of Joice, by aſſerting that Graves intended to carry his majeſty to London the next day, where a treaty was intended to be ſigned between him and the parliament, and the poor ſoldiers left to ſhift for themſelves, or perhaps be treated with greater ſeverity. Fairfax was, however, far from being convinced of the propriety of Joice's conduct. He thought he had gone too far; but conſented that the king ſhould be carried back to Holmby-houſe, and reſide there under a guard of his own officers and ſoldiers. But Whalley, a creature of Cromwell, being appointed to command the detachment, conducted his majeſty to Newmarket inſtead of Holmby-houſe.

When the parliament were informed of this daring inſult on their authority, they were ſtruck with the greateſt aſtoniſhment. The city was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; diſtraction ſeemed painted in every countenance. Many of the preſbyterian members, terrified at the power of the army, either abſented themſelves from the houſe, or joined with the independents in paſſing ſuch reſolutions as might tend to allay the ferment raiſed among the ſoldiers. They voted that the army ſhould have their full demands, and that both officers and ſoldiers ſhould have a reaſonable gratuity beſides their pay; but, at the ſame time, they voted, that the king ſhould be conducted back to Holmby-houſe; while the lords preſſed ſtrongly that he ſhould be carried to Oatlands. The army, however, put a negative upon both; and Joice openly avowed, in the preſence of the king, Fairfax, and Cromwell, that what he had done was the ſenſe of the whole ſoldiery, and that, though he had undertaken to act in that manner, without a written order from his commander, he had done no more than his duty. Both the council of officers, and houſe of agitators, were wholly moved by the direction of Cromwell, who thus conveyed his will to the whole army. He had conducted himſelf in parliament with ſuch profound diſſimulation, and refined hypocriſy, that he even deceived thoſe, who had long made it a practice to deceive others. Whenever any intelligence of diſorders in the army arrived, he appeared agitated in the moſt violent manner with the paſſions of grief and anger. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misfortunes of his country: he adviſed the moſt violent meaſures for ſuppreſſing the mutiny; and by giving theſe precipitate counſels, he at once ſeemed to prove his own ſincerity, and inflamed thoſe diſcontents of which he intended to make his own advantage. He appealed to heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him ſo odious in the army, that his life was expoſed to the utmoſt danger while he continued among them. Theſe aſſeverations produced the deſired effect, and he had now, by his profound and artful conduct, gained a ſituation, where he could cover his enterprizes from the eye of the public; and by ſeeming rather to obey the commands of his ſuperior officer, or yield to the motions of his ſoldiers, could, with eaſe and ſecrecy, pave the way to his future greatneſs.

When Fairfax drew up the whole army on Triplo-heath, the ſoldiers ſeemed more diſſatisfied than ever; there was not one among them who was ſatisfied with the laſt votes of parliament. The preſbyterian party were now ſufficiently alarmed, and immediately applied to the city for protection. Their requeſt was granted, and two regiments of militia marched to Weſtminſter for that purpoſe. This imprudent meaſure ſerved only to increaſe the ferment already too violent in the army. It was pretended that the parliament itſelf was under reſtraint; and that it was therefore neceſſary for them to march into the neighbourhood, in order to reſtore liberty to the members. Fairfax, who ſolemnly diſclaimed all intentions of breaking with the parliament, was pleaſed with what he conſidered as an inſtance of the ſoldiers duty, and gave orders for the army to march towards London. Deſtitute at once of talents for cabal, and of penetration to diſcover the cabals of others, Fairfax had given his confidence entirely to Cromwell; who, by the moſt ſpecious pretences, the appearance of an open ſincerity, and a ſcrupulous conſcience, impoſed on the eaſy nature of this brave and virtuous general.

On the 12th of June advice was received in London that the army had advanced to St. Alban's. The city had already armed their militia, drawn out their artillery, poſted their guards, and diſplayed the ſame warlike appearance as in the beginning of the war againſt the king. But the enemy they were now to encounter was of a very different kind; and they were ſo greatly terrified with the names of Fairfax and Cromwell at the head of a powerful and victorious army, that on their approach, the warlike order of the militia ſubſided; letters full of civility and profeſſions of eſteem paſſed between the magiſtrates and the general, who ſtill continued to advance, notwithſtanding repeated meſſages were ſent by the parliament, enjoining the general not to lead his army nearer than within forty miles of London. The parliament now found it neceſſary to ſubmit, and endeavour, by complaiſance, to ſtop the fury of the enraged army. Their firſt indication was their ordering the vote, which declared the military petitioners public enemies, to be erazed from their journal-book.

The parliament had exerciſed ſuch repeated acts of tyranny, that their former popularity was now totally loſt: from being once the idol of the nation, they were now become the object of general hatred and averſion. They experienced the meaſures they had ſo lately adopted in their uſurpation upon the crown. The army roſe every day in their demands. One claim was no ſooner granted than another ſtill more enormous and exorbitant was made: they ſeemed determined never to be ſatisfied. At firſt they only pretended to petition the parliament for what concerned themſelves as ſoldiers: they next inſiſted on a vindication of their character: they then thought it neceſſary that their enemies ſhould be puniſhed; and at laſt they claimed the right of modelling the government, and ſettling the nation. In theſe exorbitant demands, they preſerved, in words, the utmoſt deference and reſpect to the parliament, while in actions they inſulted them in the groſſeſt manner. They did not pretend to accuſe the whole aſſembly; their petitions were levelled againſt evil counſellors only, by whom they ſaid it was ſeduced and betrayed.

On the 16th of June they charged the following members with high treaſon, as enemies to the army, and evil counſellors to the ſtate; namely, Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir

John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, major-general Maſſey, Mr. Recorder Glyn, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. Theſe members, who were the leaders of the preſbyterian party, they inſiſted ſhould be immediately ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to priſon. The commons replied, that a general charge was not ſufficient for them to proceed to ſuch extremities. It was anſwered, that ſuch a charge was thought ſufficient in the caſes of Strafford and Laud. Such is, generally, the caſe of contending parties, in alternate uſurpations of authority; they indulge themſelves in the ſame exceſſes they had condemned in their adverſaries.

The general charge againſt the eleven members was ſucceeded by a declaration ſigned by Fairfax and his officers, aſſerting their right of keeping their arms, till they ſaw the purpoſes for which they firſt took them up fully anſwered. The paper was drawn up in a very maſterly manner, and contained the following demands: "That both houſes be immediately purged of ſuch miniſters who ought not to have a ſeat in that aſſembly: that thoſe perſons who have abuſed the confidence of the parliament and army, and endangered the kingdom, may be ſpeedily diſabled from doing any farther miſchief: that ſome interval of time may be appointed for the continuance of this, as well as of future parliaments, and that new elections be ſucceſſively made according to the bill for triennial parliaments: that proviſion be made to prevent future parliaments from being diſſolved at the king's pleaſure, without their conſent, but ſuffered to ſit their proper time: that the right of the people to repreſent to the parliament their grievances, by way of petition may be vindicated: that the diſcretionary powers given to country-committees during the war, may be taken away, as they are now no longer neceſſary: that the people may be ſatisfied with regard to diſburſements of the money levied on the nation: that public juſtice being ſatisfied by a few examples of the moſt exceptionable perſons, ſome courſe may be taken, by a general act of oblivion, that all apprehenſions of a future war may be entirely removed."

The city of London were ſo terrified at theſe demands of the army, that they ſent a deputation to St. Albans, diſclaiming any intention to raiſe forces for oppoſing them. This timidity of the citizens greatly intimidated the preſbyterian party, which now became contemptible in the eyes of the ſoldiers. The proſecution againſt the eleven commoners was puſhed with great violence; and the members themſelves, unwilling to give occaſion to freſh diſcords, begged leave to retire from the houſe; and the army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this mark of ſubmiſſion.

Having thus completely ſubdued the parliament, and no ſigns of reſiſtance appearing in the city, the army, at the deſire of the commons, retired farther from the capital, and fixed their head quarters at Reading, carrying the king with them. He had experienced much greater lenity ſince he had been with the army than before: he enjoyed not only his favourite diverſions, but his favourite mode of worſhip, and the converſation of his favourite friends. His children were once allowed to viſit him, and paſſed a few days with him at Caverſham-houſe, where he reſided. The chiefs of the army ſeemed to pay their court to him. Fairfax declared he intended to force the parliament to moderate their demands, and to reſtore him to his juſt rights. Cromwell and Ireton went ſtill farther; they profeſſed a reſpect, and even a veneration for his perſon; and actually imparted to him propoſals, to which they promiſed to procure the agreement of the army, and to which he might aſſent with little or no violence to his conſcience. All the agitators, except thoſe infected with the principles of levelling, made the ſame profeſſions; and were even friendly enough to put him upon hi guard againſt thoſe officers whoſe ſincerity they ſuſpected. The parliament, afraid of his forming ſome accommodation with the army, addreſſed him with fa more reſpect than formerly; they even invited him to reſide at Richmond, and contribute his aſſiſtance to the ſettlement of the nation.

Charles flattered himſelf, that the preſent ſcene o diſtractions, oppreſſions and terror, would induce th people to reflect on the antient form of government under which they and their anceſtors had ſo long en joyed happineſs and tranquillity. Courted by bot parties, he hoped he ſhould ſoon be reſtored to hi juſt rights, and once more hold the ſcepter of his an ceſtors. The independents, however, ſeemed to b moſt in his intereſt. He had ſufficiently experience the rigor of the parliament: they pretended wholl to annihilate his authority: they had confined his per ſon. In both theſe particulars he had received mor indulgence from the army. None of his friends we excluded from his preſence: and in the propoſals ſe him by the council or officers for the ſettlement the nation, they inſiſted neither on the abolition epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the royaliſt two points to which the king had the greateſt reluc ance. They alſo inſiſted, that a period ſhould be p to the preſent parliament; a meaſure which Charle had extremely at heart. He hoped by gratifying few particular men to draw over the whole army his intereſt. Accordingly he offered to inveſt Crom well with the order of the garter, create him earl Eſſex, and give him the command of the army Ireton was to be lord lieutenant of Ireland. But no withſtanding theſe favourable appearances, the ki was ſtill ſenſible that they were but ambiguous pro of the army's affection to his perſon and cauſe; feared they were only intended to procure the cou tenance of him and his friends to favour their deſig in effectually humbling the parliament. On the oth hand, he reflected, that the independents, being t profeſſed patrons of the liberties of the people, cou not ſurely act ſo contrary to their own principles, to deny that liberty to their king. What they d manded for their own conſciences, they could n with the leaſt appearance of reaſon, deny to his.

The militia of London had lately been put und the command of preſbyterian officers, and the arm now determined to place it in the hands of the ind pendents. This, together with the unſettled ſtate public affairs, occaſioned petitions to be ſent to t parliament from all ranks and degrees of peop The different garriſons in the kingdom, bei neglected and ill paid, began to mutiny, and ſe petitions to both houſes for redreſs. The We forces were actually in arms againſt the parliame The northern army had impriſoned Poyntz, their o brave, and ſucceſsful general. Many of the ſoldie who had engaged to go to Ireland, retracted th promiſe, and offered their ſervice to Fairfax: a thoſe who had enliſted under the parliament, amou ing to ſeveral thouſands, held nightly meetings conſult the moſt proper meaſures to be purſued at t alarming criſis.

Theſe diſorders were wholly occaſioned by t army of Fairfax, who had engroſſed to themſelves the money that had been raiſed. The people longer paid any reverence to the parliament. M titudes of young men and apprentices flocked Weſtminſter with petitions, ſome for the old co mittee of militia, and others againſt it; but all them ſpeaking in the ſtrain of ſupreme authority, if both the parliament and army had been their ſ vants. The artful Cromwell enjoyed this ſtor

whi

which he perceived would ſoon ſweep before it all the obſtacles that oppoſed his ambition. One day the mob of the independents, the next day that of the preſbyterians, prevailed. The parliament was no longer guided by thoſe able men who could direct the tumult, and turn confuſion to their own advantage: the populace were now maſters, and the parliament had no will of its own.

From theſe circumſtances it appeared abſolutely neceſſary for the army to march to London. Accordingly the troops began their march from Reading towards the capital. When they reached Hounſlow-heath, they were drawn up, and exhibited a very formidable appearance. They were 20,000 ſtrong; and determined, without any regard to laws or liberty, to purſue whatever meaſures their generals ſhould think proper. Here they were met by the ſpeakers of the two houſes, Mancheſter and Lenthall, attended by eight peers, and about ſixty commoners; who having ſecretly left the city, preſented themſelves, with their maces, and all the enſigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence exerciſed by the citizens, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and the army, being provided with ſo plauſible a pretence, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and to reinſtate the violated parliament in all their liberties and franchiſes.

The parliament met, purſuant to their prorogation, on the 30th of July; and it being now abſolutely neceſſary for them either to reſign their whole authority, or oppoſe the violent deſigns of the army, they reſolved upon the latter. Accordingly they choſe two new ſpeakers, lord Hudſon and Henry Pelham. Vigorous meaſures were immediately purſued. One of their firſt votes was to require the general not to advance nearer than thirty miles of London, or, if already advanced, to retire to that diſtance. They renewed their former orders for inliſting troops, and appointed Maſſey their commander. They ordered the artillery to be drawn out, and the trained bands to man the lines. The whole city was in a ferment; every corner reſounded with military preparations. But the terror of an univerſal pillage, and even maſſacre, had ſeized the timid inhabitants: and confuſion was painted in every countenance.

The next day the lords and commons voted, "that his majeſty be deſired to come to London, and there treat with both houſes of parliament and the commiſſioners of Scotland for a ſafe and honourable peace." But the affairs of the parliament were now in ſuch confuſion, that this vote, which was ſent to Fairfax, was diſregarded, and the army continued ſtill to advance nearer to the capital. Rainſborough having been detached over Kingſton-bridge, at the head of a ſtrong party, preſented himſelf before Southwark, and was gladly received by ſome ſoldiers quartered there for its defence, and who were reſolved not to ſeperate their intereſts from thoſe of the army. It was now abſolutely neceſſary for the city to capitulate, though nothing better than the following diſhonourable conditions could be obtained: "That they ſhould deſert the intereſt of the impeached members; recall their declaration lately publiſhed; relinquiſh their militia; deliver up all their forts and line of communication to the army, together with the Tower of London, and all the magazines of arms and military ſtores depoſited in that fortreſs; diſband all their forces, and drive all the reformadoes out of the line; withdraw all their guards from the houſes of parliament, and receive within the lines ſuch forces as the army ſhould think neceſſary; demoliſh their works, and ſuffer the whole army to march through the city."

Theſe terms being complied with, the army accordingly marched in triumph through the capital; but preſerved the greateſt order, decency, and the appearance of humility. The two ſpeakers were conducted to Weſtminſter, and took their ſeats without the leaſt oppoſition. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed of exciting the late tumult, were expelled, and moſt of them retired beyond the ſeas. Seven peers were impeached: the lord-mayor, one of the ſheriffs, and three aldermen, ſent to the Tower: ſeveral citizens and officers of the militia committed to priſon; and every act of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the ſpeakers. The lines of communication were levelled; the militia reſtored to the independents; and regiments were quartered in Whitehall and the Mews.

The army now lay in the neighbourhood of Putney, greatly diſtreſſed for want of money, and threatening every moment to break into the city, and become their own pay-maſters. Fairfax, who was ſtill the tool of Cromwell, (though his intentions were ſincere with regard to the peace and happineſs of his country) found the utmoſt difficulty in reſtraining the impatience of the ſoldiers, and the ſpirit of levelling, which was now diffuſed among the troops, by means of the agitators. The general council of the army was now applied to in the ſame manner as the parliament had been formerly; nor did the commons venture to paſs any vote of importance without knowing the ſenſe of the officers. The preſbyterian party, however, ſtill gave the generals great uneaſineſs on the popular topic of ſending relief to Ireland; and ſome votes paſſed for ſending ſeven or eight regiments over to that diſtreſſed kingdom, which the officers of the army did not think proper to oppoſe. Cromwell, however, found a pretence, from the want of money, to render the whole ineffectual for the preſent. Even that daring commander himſelf found ſome difficulty in rendering the reſentment of the agitators abortive; he was obliged to chaſtiſe ſome of them with his own hand, and to order others to be tried by a court-martial.

The heads of the army, who now, in reality, governed the nation, conveyed the king to Hampton-court, where he reſided, for ſome time, with all the appearance of dignity and freedom. He poſſeſſed ſo remarkable an equanimity of temper that, during all the variety of fortune which attended him, no change was perceived either in his countenance or behaviour. Though a priſoner in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſupported, towards all that approached him, the majeſty of a monarch.

During Charles's ſtay at Hampton-Court, the parliament preſented him with conditions for a peace; and the army alſo offered him propoſitions of a like nature. The king ſeemed to prefer the latter, and deſired the parliament to take the propoſals of the army into conſideration, and make them the foundation of the public ſettlement. But ſome event, or the ambitious deſigns of Cromwell, rendered the whole abortive. Several writers have aſſerted, that Cromwell really intended to make a private bargain with the king; a meaſure which carried the moſt plauſible appearance, both with regard to his own ſafety and advancement; but that he found inſuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. Others ſay, that a diſcovery made by Cromwell prevented his cloſing with the king, and determined him to purſue the ambitious ſcheme he had formed of becoming himſelf the deſpotic maſter of the whole kingdom*.

---

* In the Memoirs of lord Broghill we meet with the following ry, which deſerves ſome attention, as it agrees very well with the character of Cromwell. It is related in the following manner by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to the earl of Orrery. "Lord Orrery,

Be this as it may, however, it is certain that the behaviour of the officers of the army was now much altered towards his majeſty. Cromwell, indeed, pretended, that he was obliged to act in a very different manner from what he had hitherto done. He ſaid that the agitators had rendered him odious to the army, and had repreſented him as a traitor, who, for the ſake of private intereſt, was ready to betray the cauſe of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. At the ſame time he pretended that deſperate projects were formed, and that he feared all the authority of the officers would not be ſufficient to prevent theſe violent enthuſiaſts from executing their bloody purpoſe.

Theſe aſſertions greatly alarmed the king, who juſtly concluded, that if they were true it would be unſafe for him to continue any longer at Hampton-Court: if they were not true, they could be thrown out for no other reaſon than that of making him a cloſe priſoner. At all events therefore he determined to attempt his eſcape before he was deprived of the few remains of liberty he ſtill enjoyed. He was confirmed in this reſolution by the looks, the geſtures, and the expreſſions that dropt from the officers and ſoldiers at Hampton-court, as he walked about the gardens and village. He underſtood that this alteration was owing to his not embracing the army's propoſitions without reſerve, and his not excluding the Scots and parliament from the negotiation.

Fully reſolved to take this imprudent ſtep, and without forming any rational ſcheme for the diſpoſal of his perſon, Charles effected his eſcape from Hampton-Court in a dark ſtormy night with more eaſe than could have been expected. He had no other attendants in his flight than Sir John Berkley, Mr. Aſhburnham, and Mr. Legg, all gentlemen of his bed-chamber. The difficulties they encountered on the way, and in paſſing through the foreſt in a diſmal night, muſt have diſcouraged any perſon, but one in Charles's ſituation, who thought no danger ſo dreadful as that he had eſcaped. Early in the morning he reached Titchfield, a ſeat belonging to the earl of Southampton, where the counteſs dowager reſided, a woman of great honour, to whom the king knew he might ſafely intruſt his perſon. But he could not hope to continue long concealed at Titchfield: and it was not eaſy to determine what meaſure it was moſt prudent to embrace. Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, and who had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, was governor of the Iſle of Wight, which lay in the neighbourhood of Titchfield. Very little ſurely could be expected from a man devoted to the chiefs of the army; yet, becauſe he was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, it was thought proper to have recourſe to him in this alarming exigence. Aſhburnham and Berkley were accordingly diſpatched, with orders not to inform Hammond where the king was concealed, unleſs he would promiſe not to deliver him up to any perſon whatever; or if he could not protect him, to reſtore him to his liberty. The very nature of the negotiation itſelf ſufficiently demonſtrates that the king was under the greateſt anxiety of mind when he ſent his ſervants into the Iſle of Wight: for what ſecurity could be expected from Hammond? or how could Cariſbrook-caſtle, weak and unprovided with military ſtores, be ſufficient to defend the perſon of his majeſty againſt the joint efforts of the parliament and army? Notwithſtanding this, had Aſhburnham, who alone was acquainted with Hammond, acted conformable to the inſtructions he had received, he might, at leaſt, have eſcaped the ſnare into which he fell. But without exacting any promiſe from Hammond, he treacherouſly, or at leaſt imprudently, brought the governor to Titchfield; and Charles, diſtracted and amazed at this wrong ſtep of his ſervant, paſſed over with Hammond to the Iſle of Wight, and took up his quarters in Cariſbrook-caſtle.

The king's eſcape from Hampton-Court was not diſcovered for near an hour after his departure; when ſome perſons, entering his chamber, found on the table ſeveral letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. The parliament were confounded at the news of the king's eſcape, and voted it high-treaſon, and death without mercy, in any one to conceal his perſon. But they were ſoon relieved from their terror, by letters from Hammond, on the receipt of which it was reſolved, that the king ſhould be confined in Cariſbrook-caſtle, and that none of his friends or adherents ſhould be either ſuffered to viſit him, or even continue on the iſland.

Charles being thus in a place of ſafety, and the parliament incapable of reſiſting the army, Cromwell applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell the diſorders among the troops, which had been at firſt artfully fomented by himſelf, but which were now riſen to a height that ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of all order and government. The members of the republic eſtabliſhed in the army thought themſelves fully qualified to

---

Orrery, in the time of his greatneſs with Cromwell, juſt after he had ſo ſeaſonably relieved him in great diſtreſs at Clonwell, riding out at Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into diſcourſe about the king's death. Cromwell thereupon ſaid more than once, that if the king had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but truſty ſervants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a mind to have cloſed with him, but, upon ſomething that happened, fell off from that deſign. Orrery, finding them in good humour, and being alone with them, aſked, if he might preſume to deſire to know, why they would once have cloſed with his majeſty, and why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would ſatisfy him in both his queries. The reaſon, ſaid he, why we would have cloſed with the king was this: we found that the Scots and preſbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were like to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. For this reaſon we thought it beſt to prevent them, by offering firſt to come in upon reaſonable conditions: but while our thoughts were taken up with this ſubject, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that very day; that he could not poſſibly learn what it was, but we might diſcover it, if we could but intercept a letter ſent from the king to the queen, wherein he informed her of his reſolution; that this letter was ſown up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with the ſaddle upon his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar in Holborn, where he was to take horſe for Dover. The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, though ſome in Dover did. We were at Windſor, continued Cromwell, when we received this letter, and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I reſolved to take one truſty fellow with us, and go in troopers habits to that inn. We did ſo, and leaving our man at the gate of the inn (which had a wicket only open to let perſons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with a ſaddle, we went into a drinking-ſtall. We there continued drinking cans of beer till about ten o'clock, when our centinel at the gate gave us notice, that the man with the ſaddle was come. We roſe up preſently, and juſt as the man was leading out his horſe ſaddled, we came up to him with drawn ſwords, and told him, we were to ſearch all that went in or out there; but as he looked like an honeſt man, we would ſearch his ſaddle and ſo diſmiſs him. The ſaddle was ungirt; we carried it into the ſtall where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the ſkirts, we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, we delivered the man (whom we had left with our centinel) his ſaddle, told him he was an honeſt fellow, and bid him go about his buſineſs; which he did, purſuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he had ſuffered. We found in the letter, that his majeſty acquainted the queen, that he was courted by both factions, the Scots preſbyterians and the army; and that thoſe who bade the faireſt for him ſhould have him; but he thought he ſhould cloſe with the Scots ſooner than with the other. Upon this we returned to Windſor; and finding we were not likely to obtain good terms from the king, we from that time vowed his deſtruction".

to ſettle the kingdom, and various ſchemes for that purpoſe were every day debated by theſe military legiſlators. It was on all hands determined to aboliſh royalty, and ſet nobility aſide: all ranks of men were to be levelled, and an univerſal equality of property, as well as of power, was to be introduced among mankind. They ſaid that the ſaints were the ſalt of the earth; that an entire equality had place among the elect; and that the moſt common centinel, if enlightened by the holy ſpirit, was entitled to the ſame reſpect as the greateſt commander, and equally capable of executing all the offices of government.

Cromwell found it was high time to put a period to thoſe enthuſiaſtic opinions, which would otherwiſe deſtroy his whole ambitious ſcheme of power. He accordingly iſſued orders that the meetings of the agitators ſhould be diſcontinued. But they did not, in this reſpect, chuſe to pay an implicit obedience to their general. They had taſted the ſweets of power, and were unwilling to reſign it. They ſecretly continued their meetings, and made no difficulty of aſſerting, that their own officers, as well as the church and ſtate, ſtood in need of a reformation. Several of the regiments were ſo heated with theſe enthuſiaſtic ideas, that they joined in preſenting ſeditious remonſtrances to their general: they even appointed ſeparate places of rendezvous; and every thing ſeemed to threaten an univerſal anarchy and confuſion. The reſolution of Cromwell only was able to put a ſtop to this alarming appearance of the commencement of the moſt dreadful diſorders. He choſe the time of a review for ſtriking terror into the levellers; and as ſoon as the troops were drawn up in order, Cromwell ſeized the ring-leaders in the preſence of their companions; held a council of war upon the ſpot; and cauſed one of the mutineers to be ſhot directly. Struck with terror at the boldneſs of the action, the reſt of the levellers threw down the ſymbols of ſedition, which they had carried before them, and returned immediately to their duty.

While Cromwell was employed in quelling the diſorders of the army, a committee of lords and commons, with the earl of Denbigh at their head, was ſent to the king with four bills, to which he was deſired to give the royal aſſent. The firſt was for ſettling the militia of the kingdom: the ſecond for recalling all declarations, oaths, and proclamations againſt the parliament, and their adherents; the third for diſabling thoſe lords, created ſince the great ſeal was carried to Oxford, from ſitting and voting in the houſe of peers; and the fourth for giving power to both houſes of parliament to adjourn themſelves as they may think proper. The king was required to give his anſwer in four days; but the Scottiſh commiſſioners preſented a ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the four bills, and inſiſted on a perſonal treaty with his majeſty at London. This occaſioned great uneaſineſs to the independents at Weſtminſter, and ſeveral ſpirited papers paſſed between them. The Scots reproached the Engliſh parliament with having broken all the fundamental articles of the agreement between the two kingdoms. This breach gave great pleaſure to the king, and the Scots were indeed now ſo well diſpoſed to ſerve him, that they offered, if he would make his eſcape to Berwick, to ſupport him with the whole force of their kingdom. Whether this quarrel induced Charles to flatter himſelf that the parliament would be obliged to offer him more reaſonable conditions, or whether he hoped that the army would inſiſt upon more equitable terms, is uncertain, but the king thought proper to reject the bills.

Cromwell, having reduced the agitators to obedience, now determined to carry the ambitious ſcheme he had formed into execution. He did not, however, think proper to intruſt the whole of his deſign to any but Ireton, and two or three particular favourites. From the ſuggeſtion of Ireton, Cromwell called at Windſor a ſecret council of the chief officers of the army, in order to deliberate on the moſt proper methods for ſettling the kingdom, and the future diſpoſal of the king's perſon. Before the council began, Cromwell poured out divine prayers, when the minds of the members were ſufficiently elevated by enthuſiaſtic raptures, the conferences were begun, and the black deſign of bringing the king to juſtice, and puniſhing their ſovereign, under the ſanction of a judicial ſentence, was firſt propoſed, and the execution reſolved on by the principal part of the aſſembly.

When the committee from the Iſle of Wight reported to the houſe, that the king had abſolutely refuſed to paſs their bills, inſiſting that all the terms on both ſides ſhould be adjuſted before any conceſſions ſhould be inſiſted on, the republican party took fire at the refuſal: they openly inveighed, in the moſt virulent terms, againſt the perſon and government of the king, whoſe name, hitherto, in all debates, had been mentioned with ſome degree of reverence. Sir Thomas Worth had the boldneſs to move, that the king ſhould be removed, and committed cloſe priſoner to ſome inland caſtle; that articles of impeachment ſhould be drawn up againſt him, he himſelf deprived of all ſhare in adminiſtration, and a new form of government eſtabliſhed. This motion was ſeconded by Cromwell and Ireton with great warmth, but in general terms. The former deſired them to ſettle the nation without having any farther recourſe to the king, who had rejected all their propoſitions; promiſing that the army, who had hitherto defended the parliament at the expence of their blood, would ſtill continue, with fidelity and courage, to protect them againſt all oppoſition, in this vigorous meaſure.

In conſequence of this, the queſtion was put, "that no more addreſſes ſhould be preſented to his majeſty;" which was carried by a majority of forty-nine. This vote, in reality, dethroned the king, and formally overturned the whole conſtitution. But it was not enough to reſolve on ſo violent a meaſure; it was determined to ſupport it by a declaration equally violent. The king was accuſed of the blackeſt crimes, however improbable, in order, by blaſting his fame, to prevent the populace from uniting in his favour. Not only government, but even ſociety itſelf, ſeemed to be overturned. The people looked with contempt upon the parliament, and with execration upon the army. Cromwell enjoyed theſe national clamours; as his whole ſcheme depended on preventing the people from uniting againſt the army.

Hammond now received orders to treat the king with great ſeverity. All his ſervants were removed, his correſpondence with his friends cut off, and no perſon allowed to viſit him. An old, decriped man, employed to kindle his fire, was the beſt company he enjoyed during the interval of this rigorous confinement, which laſted ſeveral months. At the ſame time, new proſecutions were carried on againſt his friends. Hollis and Maynard, together with moſt of the eleven commoners lately impeached by the army, had reſumed their ſeats in the houſe, and ſpoke with great boldneſs and freedom againſt the violent meaſures purſued by the independents. It was therefore neceſſary to ſilence theſe oppoſers, whoſe ſpeeches had the moſt alarming effect among the people. The impeachments were accordingly re-aſſumed, and a vote paſſed for rendering them incapable of ever ſitting again in that parliament.

A. D. 1649. The mutinies and ſpirit of levelling, which ſtill prevailed among the ſoldiers, notwithſtanding the attempts of Cromwell to reduce them to obedience, afforded now the only gleam of hope to the royaliſts. The Scots, indeed, who were highly exaſperated at the meaſures purſued by the independents, were proceeding vigorouſly in their endeavours for invading England; but their late conduct had been ſo deteſtable, that very few of the royaliſts joined them. But amidſt this gloomy night of deſpair, a propitious ray unexpectedly appeared, which ſeemed to revive the ſpirits of his majeſty's friends. For though Cromwell was maſter of the king's perſon, the general, the parliament, the city, and the army, the nation in general thought as freely as ever, and beheld with impatience and indignation the handful of fanatics who held them in chains. But great art was requiſite to unite into one common cauſe ſo many people differing in their principles, their characters, their actions, and their intereſts. The greater part of the preſbyterians were well diſpoſed to join the royaliſts, and were headed by the earl of Holland, Sir William Waller, the generals Poyer and Langhorne, and other officers and perſons of diſtinction. General Goring, the earl of Norwich, lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and a few others, directed the royaliſts, and undertook to raiſe the ſouthern provinces; while Sir Marmaduke Langdale engaged for the northern, together with Berwick and Carliſle. The Scots were to be commanded by the duke of Hamilton, and the Welſh by Langhorne and Poyer. But the chief dependance of the royal party reſted on an intrigue now carrying on for putting the fleet under the command of the prince of Wales. The ſeamen had been for ſome time neglected, ſo that very little art was neceſſary to prevail upon them to deſert a party that ſeemed to treat them with contempt. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king; and putting Rainſborough their admiral aſhore, ſailed over to Holland, and took on board the prince of Wales.

Langhorne and Poyer were the two firſt who declared themſelves: theſe having a conſiderable body of Welch troops under their command, diſplayed the royal ſtandard, and were joined by a great number of perſons. They were already maſters of Chepſtow, Pembroke, and ſeveral other places of ſtrength in that county, and their army exhibited a formidable appearance. Hales, a young gentleman of fortune in Kent, put himſelf at the head of the royaliſts in that county with ſurpriſing ſucceſs. Sandwich, Dover, Graveſend, Canterbury, and almoſt every place of ſtrength in the county, declared for the king. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle and other gentlemen of fortune, excited commotions in Eſſex; while the earl of Holland raiſed forces in Surry. Langdale and Muſgrave were in arms, and maſters of Berwick and Carliſle in the north; and Pomfret-caſtle in Yorkſhire was ſurprized by Maurice.

The parliament at Weſtminſter beheld theſe commotions with terror, and ſhuddered for the event. The independents in the army quartered in the neighbourhood of London made no ſecret of their deſign to plunder the capital as ſoon as the Scottiſh forces entered England, in order to prevent the citizens from joining their preſbyterian brethren. This declaration ſtruck the wealthy inhabitants with horror. The whole city was in a ferment, and the people ſo much exaſperated, that they attacked and overpowered a party of the trained bands, and advanced in a body to Whitehall, where they were met by Cromwell, at the head of two regiments of horſe, who drove them back into the city; but thinking it would be imprudent to purſue the blow, the tumult encreaſed to ſo violent a degree, that the lord-mayor was obliged to take ſhelter in the city. The next morning Cromwell perſuaded Fairfax to give him leave to enter the city with two regiments of horſe. This produced the deſired effect. Struck with terror at the appearance of that victorious general, the people diſperſed, and tranquillity was once more reſtored in the capital. This was the only attempt made by the Londoners in ſupport of the royal cauſe: the terror of the army kept the citizens in ſubjection. They were obliged to bear the humiliating yoke of being governed by the dregs of the people; and to ſee hypocrites exerciſing iniquity under the maſk of religon.

Advice was now received that the loyaliſts were in motion, and that the number of forces in Wales were daily increaſing. The eſtabliſhment of the army at this time was 26,000 men; but by enliſting ſupernumaries the regiments were greatly augmented, and in general conſiſted of more than double their ſtated compliment. Cromwell was ordered to march into Wales, at the head of two regiments of horſe, and three of foot, to relieve colonel Horton, who commanded in that principality, while Fairfax himſelf undertook the ſervice in the north. Langhorne, who had formed an engagement with the Scots, declared himſelf too ſoon; for before Cromwell reached the borders of Wales, and even before Langhorne had procured arms for his men, Horton found means to put himſelf between the horſe and foot of Langhorne's army. A battle enſued, in which the Welſh forces were completely routed; and major-general Stradling, with 26 captains, 150 ſubalterns, and near 3000 ſoldiers, were made priſoners. This defeat, however, did not ſubdue the whole party; they were ſtill maſters of ſeveral ſtrong places, and ſeemed determined to defend them to the laſt extremity. Cromwell therefore ſat down before Chepſtow-caſtle; but finding it too well fortified to be ſoon reduced, he left a ſmall party to block up the fortreſs, and marched with the main body of his forces into Pembrokeſhire. On the eleventh of June he took the town and caſtle of Pembroke, and obliged Langhorne, Powel and Poyer to ſurrender at diſcretion. Theſe three generals were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to draw lots for their lives; and the fatal chance falling on Poyer, he was accordingly ſhot at the head of the army.

Cromwell next took Chepſtow, by which the principality of Wales was ſufficiently reduced, and that intrepid general made diſpoſitions for leading his forces into the north, in order to oppoſe the Scots and royaliſts, the inſurrections in Kent, Surry, and Suffolk, having prevented Fairfax from marching into that country, as he had firſt intended.

Petitions from ſeveral of the principal countie were now preſented to the parliament in favour of the king; and the inhabitants of Surry were ſo exaſperated at not receiving an immediate anſwer, that they attacked and killed ſeveral of the ſoldiers who were guarding the houſe. The Kentiſhmen, who were on their march towards London, in order, as they pretended, to preſent a petition to the parliament, made choice of the earl of Norwich for their general. The commons were alarmed, and the earl of Pembroke was diſpatched with terms to the inſurgents. He offered indemnity to all who ſhould lay down their arms, and free liberty to preſent their petitions after they had delivered up the towns, magazines, and ſtores they had ſeized. His offers were rejected and the Kentiſhmen marched to Blackheath, where they drew up their forces, and prepared to make an attack upon the capital, fully perſuaded that the citizens would open their gates upon the firſt ſummons. By this time Fairfax had collected his army, and the Kentiſhmen were informed by the parliament that they muſt treat with their general. This greatly diſpirited the inſurgents, and perceiving no motion wa made by the citizens in their favour, they retreated with great precipitation to Maidſtone, where a part

w

was attacked and cut to pieces by Fairfax. The earl of Norwich now thought that a fair opportunity offered of giving the parliament's general the ſlip, and of advancing again towards the capital; fully perſuaded that the citizens being delivered from the terrors of the army, would declare in his favour. He accordingly returned with the main body of his forces to Blackheath, where he hoped to be joined by the inhabitants of Suſſex and Surry. But he was deceived in all his expectations; and a ſudden panic ſeizing his ſoldiers, they deſerted their general, and returned to their reſpective habitations. Upwards of 2000, however, ſtill kept together, and it was determined, if poſſible, to paſs over into Eſſex, where, they were informed, the county were in arms for the king, under the command of lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, and other officers of courage and experience. Not more than a thouſand of them paſſed the river, where they were obliged to cut their way through a regiment belonging to the Tower Hamlets, and afterwards to ſkirmiſh with the parliament's forces, during their march to Chelmsford, where they were joined by lord Capel, and the other officers already mentioned. Their army now amounted to three thouſand men; but being in no condition to fight Fairfax, they purſued their march to Colcheſter, and made themſelves maſters of that place.

In conſequence of this, Fairfax croſſed the Thames with his army at Graveſend, and marched with great expedition to Colcheſter, from a perſuaſion that the town was wholly deſtitute of fortifications, and that the royaliſts muſt ſurrender priſoners of war. But in this he was greatly miſtaken. The enemy made a noble defence: few ſieges in hiſtory are ſo remarkable as that of Colcheſter. Fairfax in perſon led his troops to the charge, which was at once both brave and deſperate; but they were beaten off with loſs by the beſieged. The charge was again and again repeated, but without ſucceſs; and Fairfax, unwilling to expoſe his troops to inevitable deſtruction, changed the ſiege into a blockade.

The whole kingdom was now in a blaze, which was likely to be quenched only by the blood of its inhabitants. Beſides Kent, Eſſex, Wales, and the northern counties, the Corniſhmen were in arms, but were ſoon defeated by Sir Hardreſs Waller, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of Exeter. The inhabitants of Rutlandſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Nottinghamſhire, and the neighbouring counties, alſo took up arms, and were defeated by colonel Waite, near Stamford. Sir John Owen renewed the war in Wales, and beſieged Carnarvon-caſtle, but his forces were routed and he himſelf taken priſoner by Colonel Carter. The moſt determinate enemies of the parliament were thoſe who, in the beginning of the war, had been the moſt active againſt Charles. They were therefore conſidered as apoſtates by the army, and puniſhed with much greater ſeverity than even the royaliſts themſelves.

During theſe troubles in different parts of the kingdom, by which the army was divided, the parliament regained its liberty, and again acted with its wonted ſpirit and courage. The members who had withdrawn through fear of the army returned, and infuſing boldneſs into their companions, reſtored to the preſbyterian party that aſcendancy it had formerly enjoyed. The eleven impeached members were recalled; and the vote by which they were expelled was reverſed. The vote alſo of "Non Addreſſes" was repealed; and five lords and ten commoners were ſent to Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, in order to treat with his majeſty, who was allowed to have ſeveral of his friends and old counſellors, that he might have their advice on this important buſineſs.

No ſight, perhaps, was ever more moving and mortifying than the ſituation and appearance of Charles, when he entered the apartment where the parliament's commiſſioners were aſſembled. The moment his ſervants had been removed, he laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had ſuffered his hair and beard to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected. His hair was become almoſt entirely grey; either from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows under which he laboured, and which, though borne with almoſt unexampled conſtancy, had preyed greatly on his heart. But though he had paid no attention to his perſon, he had aſſiduouſly cultivated the talents of his mind. His faculties were ſtrong and active; his judgment clear and penetrating; his prudence and patience invincible. He ſuffered not the ſmalleſt ſpark of indignation he felt at his unworthy treatment to eſcape him. The parliamentary commiſſioners would not ſuffer any of his council to be preſent; they refuſed to enter into debate with any but himſelf. He alone, during the tranſactions of two months, was obliged to ſupport the argument againſt fifteen men of the greateſt parts and capacity in both houſes, and no advantage was ever obtained over him. This was indeed the ſcene in which, of all others, he was qualified to excel. His conception was quick, his underſtanding clear, his elocution chaſte, his manner commanding; theſe accompliſhments rendered him capable of triumphing in all diſcuſſions of cool and temperate reaſoning. The parliamentary commiſſioners, who were before ſtrangers to the king's abilities, were aſtoniſhed. "The king is much changed," ſaid the earl of Saliſbury to Sir Philip Warwick: "he is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip, "he was always ſo: but you are now at laſt ſenſible of it."

The firſt propoſition the commiſſioners preſented him was that of revoking all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament and their adherents, and acknowledging that they had taken up arms in their own defence. This was touching Charles in the ſenſible part. He made no difficulty of granting the former, but for ſome time oppoſed the latter with all his ſtrength of reaſoning. The king, during the whole courſe of the war, had aſſerted, that the parliament and their adherents were fundamentally in the wrong, and had they not obtained from him an acknowledgement that he himſelf was ſo, what ſecurity could they expect hereafter; as no conſequence could be valid from erroneous principles? But Charles was now in their power, nor were the commiſſioners to be diverted from their purpoſe by his moſt pathetic repreſentations of the wounds ſuch a conceſſion muſt inflict, both upon his judgment and his conſcience. But finding that peace could be obtained on no other terms, he yielded to neceſſity. It was, however, agreed, that no part of the propoſitions ſhould be binding, prejudicial, or made uſe of, unleſs the treaty was finally concluded.

The next propoſition was that which regarded the abrogation of epiſcopacy, and the liturgy of the church of England, and the total alienation of all church lands. This demand brought on a ridiculous diſpute between the king and ſome ignorant preſbyterian teachers, with regard to the divinity of epiſcopal government. Charles, even by his enemies, is allowed to have obtained the victory: but the more important part of the queſtion, the policy, or rather the neceſſity of it, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, was never debated. He at laſt conſented to ſuſpend epiſcopacy for three years, and, at the expiration of that period, to name twenty divines, who ſhould conſult with others named by the parliament, with regard to the future form of church-government:

that all who were willing might take the covenant, and uſe the directory of the preſbyterians, provided he himſelf was at liberty to uſe the common prayer book in his own chapel; and that money ſhould be raiſed on the ſale of the church-lands, and only old old rents reſerved to the owners and their ſucceſſors.

The next ſubject of debate was, the future diſpoſal of the militia. The parliament required not only to have an unlimited power of raiſing what men they thought proper, both for the land and ſea-ſervice, and of employing them as they pleaſed during twenty years, but alſo that of paſſing bills to pay them, which were to have the force of laws, even though the king ſhould refuſe the royal aſſent. Charles oppoſed theſe exorbitant demands with all the force of reaſon and eloquence: but all his endeavours were in vain: the commiſſioners had no power to recede one tittle from their inſtructions. Even this did not diſcourage the king from purſuing the work of peace: he granted their demands; but, at the ſame time, he laid the three following demands before the commiſſioners, that they might be communicated to the parliament. 1. That he ſhould be reſtored to his liberty. 2. That he ſhould enjoy his revenue. 3. That an act of oblivion ſhould be paſſed. Theſe demands were ſent to the parliament, where it was voted, that they ſhould be granted, on the king's conſenting to the deſire of the two houſes.

With reſpect to the other points of the treaty, they admitted of leſs debate. Charles agreed that taxes ſhould be levied for the payment of the army, and for diſcharging the debts of the public; that all the chief officers of ſtate ſhould be nominated by the parliament for ten years: that the militia of the city of London, the government of the Tower, and the appointing the chief officers in theſe departments ſhould be conſigned to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, for ten years; and that the king ſhould receive 100,000l. annually, as a compenſation for giving up the court of wards.

Theſe debates took up ſo much time, that the parliament thought it neceſſary either to break off the treaty, or allow the commiſſioners a longer time to compleat it; ſeveral of the king's conceſſions, particularly that relating to religion, having been voted unſatisfactory. The latter was choſen, and the time was enlarged to fourteen days longer. The parliament now demanded that the earl of Newcaſtle, the lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Judge Jenkins, Sir Francis Doddington, and Sir John Winter, ſhould be excepted from pardon, both with regard to lives and eſtates. This was a demand which Charles abſolutely refuſed; he declared he would never agree to give up his friends to puniſhment. The ſevere repentance which he had undergone for abandoning Strafford had doubtleſs confirmed him in the reſolution never again to be guilty of a ſimilar error. He, however, conſented that the royaliſts ſhould pay ſuch compoſitions as they and the parliament ſhould think reaſonable; he only begged that they might be as moderate as poſſible: he alſo offered that the perſons excepted by the parliament ſhould be baniſhed for a limited time.

Although it was ſo evidently the intereſt both of the king and parliament to finiſh this treaty, while Cromwell and Fairfax were employed againſt the royaliſts and Scots, yet the fear of the army on the one hand, and of the king's inſincerity on the other, continued to have ſo great an effect on many of the members, that they ſtrengthened the hands of the Independents till it was too late to prevent inevitable ruin. The inſurrections were every where quelled before the treaty was finiſhed; and the army had leiſure to carry into execution the violent and ſanguinary projects they had formed.

After Cromwell had reduced the Welſh inſurgents, he marched with great expedition in order to meet the Scottiſh army, who, under Hamilton, had entered England, and were advancing forward without meeting with any oppoſition. But religious diſputes rendered their expedition abortive, and deſtroyed that cauſe they entered England to ſupport. They refuſed to join the royaliſts, becauſe they had not taken the covenant; ſo that the two armies purſued the ſame route, but at ſome diſtance; nor could even the approach of the parliamentary army under Cromwell oblige the bigotted covenanters to conſult their own ſafety, by a cloſe union with the royaliſts. The two armies, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale, amounted to twenty thouſand men; yet theſe not being joined, Cromwell ventured to attack them at the head of eight thouſand only. He fell upon the royaliſts by ſurpriſe near Preſton in Lancaſhire, and though they made a brave reſiſtance, were almoſt entirely cut to pieces. Cromwell had now an opportunity of taking vengeance on the Scots, whom he had long deteſted. He attacked Hamilton, put his army to the route, and purſued the fugitives to Utoxeter, where the Scottiſh general ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. No forces now remained in the field to oppoſe the progreſs of Cromwell, who, purſuing his victory, marched into Scotland, and having joined Argyle, and ſuppreſſed the earl of Laneric and Munro, he placed the power in the hands of the violent party among the preſbyterians.

The ſiege of Colcheſter was now drawing to a criſis. The garriſon, after enduring the utmoſt extremity of famine, were at laſt obliged to capitulate. No terms, however, could be procured from Fairfax: he inſiſted on their ſurrendering at mercy; and gave ſuch an explanation of that term, as to reſerve to himſelf the power of putting them all to the ſword if he thought proper. The officers of the garriſon were very unwilling to ſurrender, unleſs they were promiſed that their lives ſhould be ſafe, and endeavoured to perſuade the ſoldiers to make one glorious attempt on the enemy, and either cut themſelves a a paſſage, or ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. But they had ſuffered too much during the ſiege; ſo that this propoſal, which would, perhaps, have been embraced with alacrity, was now refuſed: and they ſurrendered the town to Fairfax.

At the inſtigation of Ireton, to whom Cromwell had conſigned over the government during his abſence, the paſſive Fairfax was perſuaded to take an unmanly revenge on the principal officers who had made ſo noble a defence; though that circumſtance ſhould have recommended them to the regard of every lover of military greatneſs. Accordingly Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle were ſeized, and ordered to be ſhot immediately. Exaſperated at ſo ungenerous an action, lord Capel reproached Ireton with this unmanly behaviour in the boldeſt terms, and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the ſame honourable cauſe, to execute on all the ſame impartial vengeance. Lucas was firſt ſhot, and was ſo far from being intimidated, that he gave, himſelf, the order to fire, with the ſame alacrity as if he had been at the head of his own platoon of ſoldiers. Liſle ran and kiſſed the dead body, and then preſented his own breaſt with the ſame undaunted reſolution. The lords Goring, Capel and Loughborough, with the other officers of diſtinction, 8 lieutenant-colonels, 9 majors, 30 captains, 65 gentlemen, 72 lieutenants, 61 en ensigns, 183 ſerjeants, and 3067 private men, wer ſent to different priſons.

After the ſiege of Colcheſter, Fairfax led h troop troops back to St. Alban's, and renewed his complaint to the parliament of the want of pay for his ſoldiers. The army alſo renewed their cabals, and almoſt every corps petitioned the general that juſtice might be executed upon criminals. Ireton's regiment, in particular, demanded, that the ſame fault might have the ſame puniſhment, from the king to the commoner; and that all ſuch might be proceeded againſt as traitors, who ſhould ſpeak in behalf of the king, till he was acquitted of the charge of innocent blood. Theſe demands ſo plainly indicated the dreadful cataſtrophe which ſoon after followed, that all who wiſhed well to his majeſty, both in and out of parliament, adviſed him to make his eſcape, which was conceived to be very eaſy: But Charles having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks after, he could not be prevailed upon to hazard the reproach of violating his promiſe.

On the 20th of November colonel Ewer, at the head of ſeven other officers, preſented a remonſtrance from the council of the army to the parliament. It began with a demand that the treaty with the king ſhould be laid aſide, and that the prince of Wales and duke of York ſhould be declared incapable of government; that the army be ſatisfied out of the eſtates of the delinquents; that juſtice be done to the capital cauſes of the war; that a period be put to the preſent parliament; that there be a more equal repreſentation of the people in the houſe of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king ſhould be diſabled either for voting or being elected to ſerve in parliament; that the ſupreme power of government ſhould be veſted in the repreſentatives of the people, among whom there ſhould be a liberty of entering diſſents; that all future kings ſhould be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general ſettlement ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the general contract of the people; but that none ſhould have a ſhare in it, who ſhould oppoſe the matter of this remonſtrance.

Though the parliament well knew they were in no condition to withſtand the force of the army, yet they were determined to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of their power, and rather bring on a ſubverſion of government, than give their conſent to ſuch ſanguinary meaſures. They accordingly reſolved to pay no regard to the remonſtrance of the army. But this oppoſition tended only to haſten the execution of the project formed by the counſel of officers. Hammond received an order from Fairfax to attend him, and to reſign to colonel Ewer the cuſtody of the king's perſon. In this emergency Charles conſulted his friends, who were permitted ſtill to remain about his perſon, and all of them adviſed him to make his eſcape, which was ſtill very practicable. But Charles, from a delicacy in point of honor, thought his royal word ſo far engaged, that he refuſed to conſent, and ſtill continued under the fatal deluſion, that the preſervation of his perſon was neceſſary both to the parliament and the army. But the earl of Lindſay, with great judgment, replied, "Take heed, ſir, leſt you fall into ſuch hands as will not ſteer by the rules of policy. Remember Hampton-court, where your eſcape was the beſt ſecurity." Charles, however, continued obſtinate; and the next morning the officers of the army, detached for that purpoſe, ruſhed into his apartment, and carried him over to Hurſt-caſtle, where he was again a cloſe priſoner, and none of his friends ſuffered to viſit him.

When the parliament were informed of this tranſaction, they voted that the ſeizing the king's perſon was done without their knowledge and conſent; and ſent a meſſage to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize was undertaken. They alſo iſſued orders that the army ſhould not advance any nearer to London. They next voted, "That the anſwers of the king to the propoſitions of both houſes are ſufficient ground for the houſe to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom." It was alſo propoſed by Hollis, the preſent leader of the preſbyterians, a man of the moſt unconquerable intrepidity, that the generals and principal officers of the army ſhould be deemed traitors to their country by the parliament, for their diſobedience and uſurpations."

Theſe ſpirited proceedings of the parliament ſoon brought matters to a criſis. Fairfax marched the army to London, and placing guards at Whitehall, the Mews, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, ſurrounded the parliament. The next day, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, blocked up the paſſage to the houſe at the head of two regiments; and being directed by the lord Gray of Groby, he ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room, which paſſed under the denomination of Hell, whence they were afterwards carried to ſeveral inns. Beſides theſe, above 160 members more were excluded, and none ſuffered to enter the houſe but the moſt furious and moſt determined of the independent party, which was ſo ſmall, that their number did not exceed ſixty. This egregious invaſion of the rights of parliament was generally known under the name of "Colonel Pride's Purge;" ſo ready were the people to turn into ridicule the dethroning a party who had governed the nation with a rod of iron, and overturned the conſtitution of their country.

The ſecluded members having publiſhed a paper, containing a narrative of the violent manner in which they had been prevented from entering the houſe, together with a proteſtation againſt all acts, which ſince that moment had been tranſacted by the commons, the paper was voted to be falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious, tending to deſtroy the viſible and fundamental government of the kingdom, and therefore ought to be ſuppreſſed. While the commons were employed in paſſing this vote ſo contrary to what every member in the houſe knew to be true, the army preſented a ſcheme of government in conſequence of their former declarations and remonſtrances. But it was ſo wild and impracticable, and was ſo ſtrongly tinctured with that fanatical ſpirit ſo prevalent throughout the kingdom, that it is probable Cromwell ſuffered them to form ſo ridiculous a ſcheme, merely to keep them in employment.

The only difficulty Cromwell now had to ſurmount, in order to bring on the cataſtrophe of his deteſtable plot, conſiſted in diſguiſing its horrid form from Fairfax. The force that had been laid upon the parliament, and the army continuing almoſt ſingle, in oppoſition to the whole nation, together with ſome tenderneſs for the king, ſtartled Fairfax. He began to fear he had gone too far; nor could all the arts of Cromwell quiet the fears with which his breaſt was agitated. The ſoldiers themſelves proved aukward executioners of Cromwell's vengeance; they had ſuffered ſeveral of the ſecluded members to eſcape; and about ſixteen of them were ſet at liberty by Fairfaix. This ſeemed to be a kind of apology for the force put upon the houſe: but Cromwell prevented him from going any farther, by procuring a multitude of addreſſes from the independents reſiding in various parts of the kingdom.

In the mean time the king was ordered to be brought under a ſtrong guard to Windſor, by colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and the moſt furious enthuſiaſt in the whole army. Charles himſelf was now convinced, that the period of his life was approaching;

proaching; but could not be perſuaded that they intended to proceed againſt him by a formal trial, and make him fall a victim to what they called the ſtroke of juſtice. He every moment expected a private aſſaſſination, a cataſtrophe ſo frequent with dethroned princes: there was not an inſtance to be found in hiſtory where a ſovereign was put to death by the laws of his country. Harriſon aſſured him that his fears were groundleſs, and that whatever was intended againſt him would be done before the ſun. On his arrival at Windſor, all ſymbols of ſovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to treat him in no other manner than that of a private gentleman.

On the 25th of December the commons appointed a committee to bring in a charge againſt the king, and other capital offenders. This committee was impowered to take informations with regard to facts, on which the charge againſt the king was to be founded; and on the twenty-eighth an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the houſe of commons by Scot an independent member. This ordinance met with very little difficulty in the houſe. Some ſpeeches were indeed made againſt it, but they ſeemed rather calculated to ſave appearances, than prevent it from receiving the ſanction of the commons.

The ordinance, having almoſt unanimouſly paſſed the commons, was, on the 2d of January, carried up to the peers by lord Gray, of Groby. The upper houſe had long been conſidered as of little weight in the legiſlature, and ſince the king's impriſonment had become totally contemptible. It happened however to be fuller than ordinary when the ordinance was preſented: ſixteen of the peers were aſſembled, and they all expreſſed the greateſt anxiety to know the contents of the charge, which was conceived in the following terms: "That Charles Stuart had acted contrary to his truſt in departing from his parliament, ſetting up his ſtandard, making war againſt them, and thereby been the occaſion of much bloodſhed and miſery to the people, whom he was ſet over to protect; that he had given commiſſions to Iriſh rebels, and was ſince the occaſion of a ſecond war; that he had invaded the rights of the ſubject, and endeavoured to deſtroy the fundamental laws and liberties of this kingdom." The peers looked upon each other with aſtoniſhment, and ſeemed deprived of the power of ſpeech. The earl of Mancheſter firſt broke the awful ſilence, in a ſpeech at once pathetic and conſtitutional. He affirmed it to be a palpable abſurdity to ſay, "that the king could be a traitor againſt the parliament." The earl of Northumberland declared that the greater part of the people of England were far from being ſatisfied whether the king or parliament were the firſt aggreſſors; and that even if it ſhould be granted that the king firſt began the war, there was no law in being that declared ſuch an action to be treaſon; and for the parliament to declare it treaſon before the matter of fact was proved, and without any law to countenance ſuch a proceeding, would be highly unreaſonable." All the reſt of the lords were of the ſame opinion, and the vote of the lower houſe was rejected without one diſſenting voice. They alſo adjourned themſelves for ten days, hoping, by this means, to reſtrain the furious proceedings of the commons.

But ſo ſmall an obſtacle was very inſufficient to divert the independents from their purpoſe. They voted to proceed in trying the king, and eſtabliſhing all other meaſures, without the concurrence of the lords: and accordingly paſſed the following votes, which ſufficiently indicate the purpoſes they were calculated to ſerve:

"Reſolved, that the commons of England in parliament aſſembled do declare, that the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power.

"That the commons of England, in parliament aſſembled, being choſen by and repreſenting the people, have the ſupreme power in this nation.

"That whatſoever is enacted or declared for law, by the commons, in parliament aſſembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the concurrence of the king and the houſe of peers be not had thereunto."

Theſe votes being paſſed, the ordinance for the trial of the king was read, and aſſented to unanimouſly. Nothing leſs could be expected; the balance of government had been long deſtroyed, and the quarrel now was only about its ſpoils. The parliament had before declared, that they had a right to impoſe laws without the conſent of the king; and the army had juſt as much right to give law to the poor remains of a parliament that now aſſumed the legiſlative power.

The fate of Charles was now to be precipitated on many accounts. The army might feel remorſe if the fervors of fanaticiſm were ſuffered to ſubſide. The people might recover from their conſternation. The Scots might interpoſe. Foreign nations might declare in the king's favour. The ſtates-general had already named an ambaſſador to negotiate a peace between his majeſty and the parliament. The court of France appeared to be deeply concerned at the fate of Charles; the king of Denmark was fitting out armaments for his relief; and all Europe beheld his fate with pity and indignation. Cromwell knew this, and ſat late every night in conſultation with his officers. He had too ſound a judgment to think of entering upon any vindication of the late proceedings: he knew they would not ſtand the teſt of reaſon; and thought it would be more eaſy to juſtify the blow after it was given than before.

On the 6th of January information was brought to the houſe, that the king might eaſily make his eſcape; and Fairfax was ordered to confine him more cloſely, and not to ſuffer any of his friends to viſit him; and on the thirteenth of January it was voted to leave the king's name out of all public papers. Nor was the government of the city of London leſs unhinged than the conſtitution. The independent faction, in the name of the common-council, preſented an addreſs to parliament, without the conſent of the lord-mayor and aldermen, who had all of them abſented themſelves. The addreſs was, however, voted to be regular, and the thanks of the houſe were accordingly returned. No member was found intrepid enough to oppoſe theſe proceedings, Cromwell having made no ſecret of his intention to expel every one who voted againſt the meaſures he propoſed. The whole kingdom beheld theſe proceedings with ſilent horror. The queen wrote to the parliament in favour of her huſband, and deſired leave to attend him, but this letter was inhumanly thrown aſide by the commons.

The only man in England that dared to face theſe flames of ſedition was Prynne, who had ſuffered ſo deeply by the tyranny of the ſtar-chamber. He had been elected a member of parliament, and was ſo honeſt as to ſpeak, vote, and write, agreeable to his own opinion; and had been, with other members, excluded from his ſeat in the houſe, and kept priſoner at a common inn. But though his perſon was confined, he wrote ſtrongly in defence of the principles he profeſſed. He appealed to the public againſt the proceedings of the independent faction, and boldly printed a pamphlet, intituled, "A brief memento to the preſent unparliamentary junto to depoſe and execute Charles Stuart, their lawful king." This pamphlet gave ſo much offence to the party, that a committee was appointed to demand of Prynne, whether he would own it. Prynne readily replied, “ I will not anſwer till I am commanded by a lawful authority.” The preſbyterian members approved this anſwer, and made another weak attempt to try their ſtrength with the army, but were defeated.

It required no great length of time to adjuſt the neceſſary preparations for the trial, and to conſtitute what was termed “ The High Court of Juſtice.” This court conſiſted of 133 perſons, as named by the commons, but never more than ſeventy met: ſo difficult was it found, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice, and the allurements of intereſt, to prevail upon perſons of any name or character to engage in ſo criminal a meaſure. It may, perhaps, be thought ſtrange, that as a great number, nearly the majority, of the commiſſioners, who were empowered to act on this occaſion, deteſted the guilty deſigns of the court, they did not attend, and endeavour to prevent the ſentence. But the truth is, they were intimidated by the fierceneſs of the army. They knew, that if any difficulty occurred in completing this ſanguinary meaſure, the independent faction among the officers would purge the court, as it had already done the parliament. The twelve judges were at firſt appointed in the number; but on their affirming, that it was contrary to all the ideas of Engliſh law to try the king for treaſon, by whoſe authority all accuſations for that crime muſt neceſſarily be conducted, their names, as well as thoſe of ſome peers, were afterwards ſtruck out. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and the chief officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, were judges, together with a few of the members of the lower houſe, and ſome citizens of London. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident; Coke was appointed ſolicitor for the people of England; and Doriſlaus, Steel and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants.

Fairfax now ſeemed as one awakened from a lethargy, and ſtartled at the guilt that was every day committing under the ſanction of his name. He never, knowingly to himſelf, had profeſſed independency, though he had in fact been the tool of Cromwell to eſtabliſh it. His wrong notions, with regard to the army, occaſioned all his miſcarriages. He was perſuaded that the profeſſion of a ſoldier ought to be governed by ſeverer maxims and principles of honour than thoſe that fell within any civil ſyſtem; and was always jealous of government, becauſe he feared it wanted to make a property of the army. After he was made general in chief, he conſidered himſelf as anſwerable to the ſoldiers, with regard to their treatment from the parliament. Such military notions, greatly augmented by religious ſincerity and fervour, rendered it very eaſy for Cromwell to mould Fairfax to his purpoſes; and it happened, that, in ſome particulars, he had juſtice on his ſide. The parliament had, for inſtance, violated ſeveral articles of capitulation granted by the army, which Fairfax conſidered as highly criminal. They were undoubted truths; and Cromwell perſuaded Fairfax, that the hardſhips of the ſoldiers proceeded from the notorious avarice and wicked policy of the members. The former induced them to evade all demands of money; the latter to abandon the ſoldiers, ſo that they were obliged to live upon free quarter, whereby they were become hateful, and an intolerable burden to the people.

Fairfax, being once convinced of theſe truths, was led to believe every thing that was reported of the parliament; and his ill opinion was increaſed on ſeizing, in the cuſtody of their committees, when he marched his troops into the city, more money than would have been ſufficient to quiet the clamours of his ſoldiers. But when his troops were ſatisfied, and his preſbyterian friends laid before him the conſequences that muſt reſult from the ſcheme formed by the army, he was ſtruck with horror at the proſpect, and would fain have prevented the dreadful effects of that power he had been ſo inſtrumental in promoting.

The High Court of Juſtice for trying the king ſat in Weſtminſter-hall; and, at their firſt meeting, an incident happened of the moſt remarkable nature. Lady Fairfax, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury, having been ſeduced by the violence of the times, ſeconded all the ardour of her huſband againſt the royal cauſe; but being now convinced of her error, ſhe joined with her huſband in bewailing the miſeries which threatened her country, and, with the friends of Fairfax, diſſuaded him from being preſent at the trial. Curioſity, however, prompted her to attend; and when her huſband's name was called in reading over the liſt of commiſſioners, a voice was heard from one of the ſpectators, ſaying aloud, “ He has too much wit to be preſent.” And when the charge was read againſt the king, in the name of all the people of England, the ſame voice exclaimed, “ Not a tenth part of them.” On this orders were given to Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, to fire into the box whence the voice proceeded; but the ſoldiers being informed that it was their general's lady, they refuſed to obey. This circumſtance ſufficiently proves, that Fairfax was now convinced of his having been abuſed, and that Cromwell was then conſidered as the hypocrite, who had inſtigated the army to inſiſt on this deteſtable trial.

It is almoſt impoſſible to conceive a more affecting ſcene than was now exhibited in the High Court of Juſtice: the delegates of a free people ſitting in judgment on their ſupreme magiſtrate, and trying him for his miſ-government and breach of truſt; and the pomp, the dignity and the ceremony were equal to the conception.

The charge againſt the king was read by the ſolicitor, in the name of the commons; in which it was declared, “ That Charles Stuart, being admitted king
“ of England, and intruſted with a limited power;
“ yet, nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect an
“ unlawful and tyrannical government, had traiter-
“ ouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent
“ parliament, and the people, whom they repre-
“ ſented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant,
“ traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable ene-
“ my to the commonwealth.”

Charles, even in this hour of diſtreſs, loſt not the majeſty of a king. On the preſident's telling him, that the court expected his anſwer; he aſked by what authority he was brought thither? The queſtion had been expected by Cromwell, and the preſident, by his direction, anſwered, “ In the name of the commons of England.” The king denied the authority of the court, and refuſed to ſubmit to their juriſdiction. He obſerved, that being born their lawful hereditary king, all his ſubjects united could have no power to bring him to a trial; that having often expoſed his life in defence of the liberties and fundamental laws of the kingdom, he would not now deſert them, but was ready, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights for which he had ſo long, though in vain, contended: That in the court which pretended to ſit in judgment on his actions, he could not perceive the leaſt appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; and had learned from ſufficient authority, that the commons, with whoſe power the court pretended to be inveſted, had been ſubdued by lawleſs force, and entirely deprived of their liberty: That thoſe who arrogated the power of being his judges were born his ſubjects, and ſubjects of thoſe laws, which declare, “ That the king can do no wrong;" but that without having recourſe to that general maxim, which ſcreens even the worſt of princes, he was ready to juſtify his conduct by the evidence of reaſon: and that if he were called upon in another manner, he ſhould be deſirous of demonſtrating to them, and all the world, the juſtice of that war he was unfortunately, and contrary to his inclinations, engaged in his own defence: but in his preſent circumſtances he muſt not enter on the apology he was ſo deſirous of making, leſt, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pirates, he ſhould be conſidered as the betrayer of that conſtitution he was ſo deſirous of eſtabliſhing even by his blood."

This anſwer had no effect. Bradſhaw, in the moſt atrocious and inſolent language, told him, that the court over-ruled his objections, and derived their authority from the people, the only ſource of genuine power. Thrice was Charles brought before the court, and as often denied their juriſdiction. The commiſſioners therefore proceeded to examine ſome witneſſes, who depoſed, that the king had appeared in arms againſt the troops of the parliament. Upon which, after another inſolent ſpeech made by Bradſhaw, the following ſentence of death was paſſed on the unfortunate prince:

"That he, Charles Stuart, king of England, having been convicted and attainted as a tyrant, traitor, "murderer, and public enemy, ſhould be put to "death, by ſevering his head from his body." This ſentence was ſigned by the whole court, except nine members.

The king, during his laſt appearance before the court, ſeemed very deſirous of being admitted to a conference with the two houſes of parliament; but this was denied. The independents intended not to gratify any requeſt he might make; they had already determined to aboliſh the power of the houſe of peers, and it would have been dangerous on this occaſion to acknowledge them as a branch of the legiſlature. Their denial was accompanied with the moſt brutal inſolence. The ſoldiers were ſuffered to uſe every mark of diſreſpect, and ſome of them even ſpit in his face. But even this inſult could not ſhake the tranquillity of his ſoul, a ſentiment of piety was the only effect it excited. He was more nearly affected by the ardent prayers and wiſhes offered up for his ſafety by the people who thronged about him, and which even the rod of lawleſs power was not ſufficient to reſtrain.

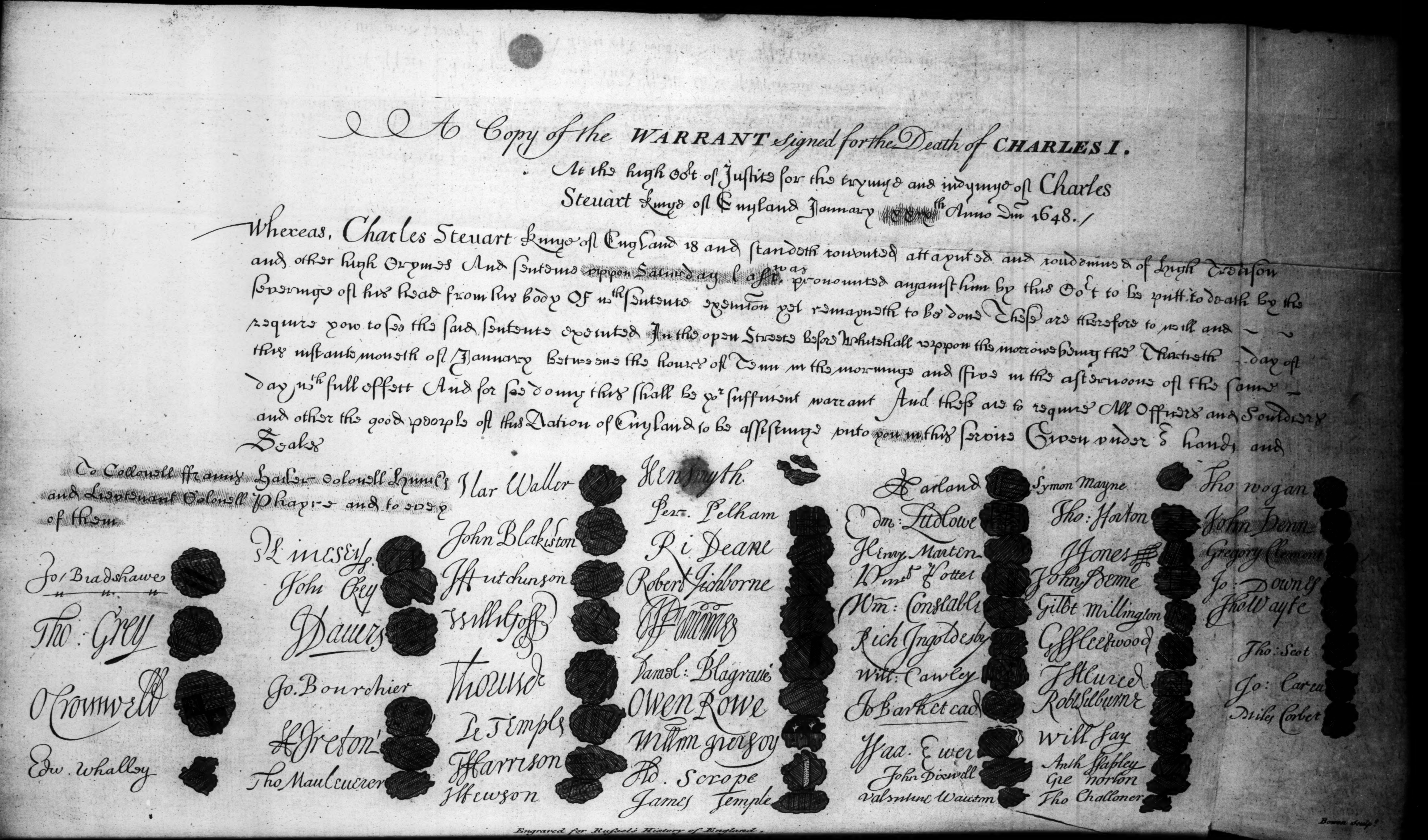
The ambaſſadors of France, Holland and Scotland interpoſed to ſtop theſe horrid proceedings, but in vain. Every nation in Europe exclaimed againſt this example as the moſt egregious inſult on law and juſtice. But all their exclamations and interpoſitions had no effect: the fate of the king was fixed and irrevocable. Four of the chief and moſt illuſtrious friends of his majeſty, Richmond, Holland, Southampton and Lindſey, repaired to the houſe of commons, and repreſented, that, in quality of his counſellors, they alone were guilty of the meaſures imputed to him as crimes; and deſired to ſave, by their own puniſhment, that precious life, which the commons themſelves were ſo much intereſted to defend. This generous offer had no other effect than that of increaſing the animoſity of the court. For the more bad men ſee their conduct reproached by the virtue of the good, the more eager they are to conſummate their baſe deſigns.

Three days only were allowed the king between his ſentence and execution, during which ſhort interval he chiefly employed his time in meditation and prayer. All his family that remained in England were allowed to viſit him. The duke of Glouceſter was little more than an infant; but the advanced judgement of the princeſs Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her tender years, rendered her ſenſible of all the miſeries ſhe was doomed to ſuffer. The king, after giving her the moſt prudent advice, and endeavouring to fortify her mind with pious conſolations, charged her to tell the queen, that he had never, during the whole courſe of his life, failed in conjugal fidelity towards her, not even in thought; and that his tenderneſs for her ſhould only end with his life. Holding the duke of Glouceſter on his knee, he ſaid, "Now they will "cut off thy father's head." So unexpected a ſentence ſeemed greatly to affect the child, who looked ſtedfaſtly upon him. "Mark! child what I ſay; "They will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee "a king: But mark what I ſay: Thou muſt not be "a king, as long as thy brothers Charles and James "are alive. They will cut off thy brothers heads "when they can catch them! And thy head too they "will cut off at laſt! And therefore I charge thee "do not be made a king by them!" The duke replied, fetching a deep ſigh, "I will be torn in pieces firſt." The king's eyes were filled with tears of joy and admiration at hearing ſo determined an anſwer from one of ſuch tender years.

Fairfax, overwhelmed with grief, uſed all the intereſt, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal ſentence; and even employed perſuaſion with his regiment, though none elſe ſhould follow him, to reſcue the king from his murderers. Cromwell and Ireton, being informed of his intention, endeavoured to convince him, that God had rejected the king; and exhorted him to ſeek by prayer ſome directions from heaven on this important occaſion. The fanatic Harriſon was ordered to join with him in this pious office, and he took care to prolong the farce, till a perſon came and whiſpered him, that the king was no more. Then riſing with the air of a prophet, he aſſured Fairfax, that the lord had heard their prayers, and made known his holy will in a very marvellous manner.

On the 30th of January, which was the day appointed for the tragic ſcene, the king roſe early, and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. He then received the ſacrament from the hands of biſhop Juxon, and continued in his devotions till noon, when he drank a glaſs of wine and ate a bit of bread. Immediately after this he went through the Banquetting-houſe to the ſcaffold, which was erected in the ſtreet directly oppoſite to that building, it being intended, by making choice of a ſpot adjoining to his own palace, to diſplay, in a more evident manner, the triumph of popularity over the power of royalty.

As ſoon as the king came upon the ſcaffold, he beheld the apparatus of death with great compoſure, and aſked if there was not a higher block: he then addreſſed himſelf to the colonels Tomlinſon and Hacket, and ſome other perſons on the ſcaffold, to whom he proteſted his innocence, but, at the ſame time, acknowledged that his death was juſt in the eyes of the Supreme Being, and that he was puniſhed for not having oppoſed an unjuſt ſentence (meaning, undoubtedly, that of Strafford.) He forgave all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his ſon and ſucceſſor as their lawful ſovereign. While he prepared himſelf for the block, biſhop Juxon ſaid to him, "There is, "Sir, but one ſtage more, which, though turbulent "and troubleſome, is yet a very ſhort one. Conſider it will ſoon carry you a great away; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you ſhall "find, to your great joy, the prize to which you "haſten, a crown of glory." "Yes," replied the king,



A Copy of the WARRANT signed for the Death of CHARLES I.

At the high Cort of Justice for the tryinge and judginge of Charles Steuart Kinge of England January [illegible]th Anno Dni 1648.

Whereas Charles Steuart Kinge of England is and standeth convicted attaynted and condemned of High Treason and other high Crymes And sentence uppon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Cort to be putt to death by the severinge of his head from his body Of wch sentence execucon yet remayneth to be done These are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed In the open Streete before Whitehall uppon the morrowe being the Thirtieth day of this instante moneth of January betweene the houres of Tenn in the morninge and Five in the afternoone of the same day wth full effect And for soe doinge this shall be yor sufficient warrant And these are to require All Officers and Souldiers and other the good people of this Nation of England to be assistinge unto you in this service Given under or hands and Seales

To Collonell Francis Hacker Collonell Huncks and Lieutenant Collonell Phayre and to every of them

Jo. Bradshawe
Tho: Grey
O Cromwell
Edw. Whalley

M. Livesey
John Okey
J Danvers
Jo. Bourchier
H Ireton
Tho Mauleverer

Har Waller
John Blakiston
J Hutchinson
Willi Goff
Tho Pride
Pe Temple
T Harrison
J Hewson

Hen Smyth
Per. Pelham
Ri Deane
Robert Tichborne
H Edwardes
Danel: Blagrave
Owen Rowe
Willm Purefoy
Ad. Scrope
James Temple

A Garland
Edm: Ludlowe
Henry Marten
Vinct Potter
Wm: Constable
Rich Ingoldesby
Will: Cawley
Jo Barkstead
Isaa Ewer
John Dixwell
Valentine Wauton

Symon Mayne
Tho: Horton
J Jones
John Moore
Gilbt Millington
G Fleetwood
J Alured
Robt Lilburne
Will Say
Anth Stapley
Gre Norton
Tho Challoner

Tho Wogan
John Venn
Gregory Clement
Jo Downes
Tho Wayte
Tho: Scot
Jo: Carew
Miles Corbet

Engraved for Russel's History of England.

Bowen sculp.

king, " I go from a corruptible to an incorrruptible " crown, where no diſturbance can have place." Then delivering his George to the prelate, he ſaid, " Remember," and laying his head on the block, he ſtretched out his hands as a ſignal, when, at one blow, his head was ſevered from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner. Another, in the ſame diſguiſe, held up the head ſtreaming with blood, and exclaimed, " This is the head of a traitor." The ſpectators teſtified their ſorrows in ſighs, tears, and lamentations; and ſeveral attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of their murdered king.

The body was put into a coffin, covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall, where it was embalmed, and then expoſed for ſeveral days at St. James's. But at length the duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindſey, obtained permiſſion to bury it in the church of Windſor.

Thus fell Charles I. by the murderous decree of his own ſubjects, and the ignominious hand of a common executioner. The character of this prince is ſtrongly delineated through the whole courſe of his reign. Every impartial judge will own, that his virtues greatly out-balanced his imperfections. Aiming at more power than the conſtitution allowed, was the firſt cauſe of his misfortunes; but it may be pleaded, in his defence, that the precedents of many former reigns favoured ſtrongly of deſpotiſm, and he unhappily followed thoſe examples. Every ſtep he took to put a ſtop to, only ſerved to encreaſe the diſorders of his people, and his own misfortunes; owing to the fury of a bigotted faction, and the claſhing intereſt of parties violent and furious in their oppoſition to each other; and to theſe he fell a ſacrifice, in the 24th year of his reign, and 49th of his age.

Charles, by his queen Henrietta, had nine children, four ſons and five daughters, viz.

Charles James, who died an infant. Charles, Prince of Wales, who ſucceded him. James, duke f York, and Henry duke of Glouceſter, who died fter the reſtoration.

His daughters were, Mary, who married William f Naſſau prince of Orange. Elizabeth, confined y the regicides in Cariſbrook-caſtle, where ſhe died grief. Ann and Catherine, who died in their fancy, and Henrietta Maria, who married Philip ke of Anjou and Orleans.

A few days after the execution of Charles, a book publiſhed, intituled, " Icon Baſiliké," ſaid to e been written by that prince. This work, ſo full piety, meekneſs and humanity, publiſhed at ſo ical a juncture, excited, in a moſt remarkable nner, the compaſſion of the people for the murdered prince. The ſale of it was ſo rapid, that it d through fifty editions in leſs than a year. have not even ſcrupled to aſcribe to that work ſubſequent reſtoration of the royal family. It ted, ſays Milton, like the will of Cæſar, when by Mark Antony to the tumultuous Romans. doubtleſs, the beſt proſe compoſition in the language at the time of its publication. have denied the compoſition to have been the , but the arguments brought to prove that theſe meditations really flowed from the royal pen much ſtronger; and it is now the general opi- that they were actually written by that unfortu- prince.

only remarkable occurrences that happened king's reign were the following:

ſecond year a proclamation was iſſued, com- the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter to preſerve their urine for one year, in order to make ſalt-petre.

In his tenth year a law was made, whereby every Britiſh ſubject, who was deſirous of travelling to foreign parts, was obliged to purchaſe a licenſe for that purpoſe, the money ariſing from which was paid to the crown.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon in literature who lived during the time of James and Charles I. was Ben Johnſon, who was born at Weſtminſter in 1574. He was firſt educated at a private ſchool in the pariſh of St. Martin's in the Fields, from whence he was removed to Weſtminſter ſchool, where the famous Camden was maſter. His mother, who married a bricklayer to her ſecond huſband, took him from ſchool, and obliged him to work at his father-in-law's trade; but being extremely averſe to that employment, he went into the Low Countries, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery. On his return to England he purſued his former ſtudies, and was admitted into St. John's College Cambridge, where he continued for ſome time. On his leaving the univerſity, he entered into an obſcure playhouſe, where he acquitted himſelf with ſome reputation as an actor. Shakeſpeare is ſaid to have firſt introduced him to the world, by recommending a play of his to the ſtage, and at the time when one of the players had rejected his performance, and told him it would be of no ſervice to their company. His firſt dramatic performance was a comedy, entitled " Every Man in his Humour," acted in the year 1598, which being ſoon followed by ſeveral others gained him ſo high a reputation, that in October 1619, upon the death of Mr. Samuel Daniel, he was made poet laureat to king James I. and on July 19, the ſame year, he was created maſter of arts at Oxford, having reſided for ſome time at Chriſt-church in that univerſity. He once incurred his majeſty's diſpleaſure for being concerned with two others in writing a play called " Eſtward-Hoe," wherein they were accuſed of having reflected on the Scotch nation. On the acceſſion of Charles I. he wrote a petition to that prince, craving, that as his royal father had allowed him an annual penſion of 100 marks, he would make them pounds. In the year 1629 Ben fell ſick, and was then poor and lodged in an obſcure alley: his majeſty was ſupplicated in his favour, who ſent him ten guineas. When the meſſenger delivered the ſum, Ben took it in his hand and ſaid, " His majeſty has ſent me ten guineas " becauſe I am poor and live in an alley; go and tell " him that his ſoul lives in an alley." He had a penſion from the city of London, from ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, and particularly from Mr. Sutton, the founder of the Charter-houſe. In his laſt ſickneſs he often repented of the profanation of ſcripture in his plays. He died the 16th of Auguſt 1637, in the 63d year of his age, and was interred three days after in Weſtminſter-abbey, where there is now a monument to his memory; in the front of which is the following conciſe inſcription:

" O RARE BEN JOHNSON!"

He wrote above fifty ſeveral pieces, which may be ranked under the ſpecies of dramatic poetry. But the moſt remarkable are, " The Alchymiſt, The Fox, and The Silent Woman:" theſe have been oftener acted than all the reſt of his plays put together, and have been always received with univerſal applauſe.

During the above period likewiſe flouriſhed thoſe diſtinguiſhed painters Reubens and Vandyke; as alſo that unparalleled architect Inigo Jones, who has left ſtanding monuments of his ingenuity in ſeveral parts of the metropolis.

This great man was born in 1572 in London, where his father was a citizen and clothworker. His natural inclination leading him to the ſtudy of the arts of drawing and deſigning, the earl of Pembroke took him into his patronage, and ſent him, at his own expence, into Italy, and other polite parts of Europe. He ſpent many years in completing his education, and reſided a conſiderable time in the city of Venice; from whence Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark ſent for him, and appointed him his architect-general. He returned home in 1606, and was made architect to prince Henry; ſoon after which the king gave him the reverſion of the place of ſurveyor-general of his works. In 1612 he made a ſecond tour to Italy, and continued ſome years there till the ſurveyor's place fell to him. A ſhort time after his arrival, the office of works being found ſeveral thouſand pounds in debt,
he voluntarily gave up his own dues, and prevaile
with the comptroller and paymaſter to do the lik
whereby the whole arrears were entirely cleared.
1620 the king ordered him to take a ſurvey of th
ſurpriſing group of ſtones on Saliſbury Plain, con
nonly called Stonehenge, and to draw up an accou
of it. The ſame year he was appointed one of t
commiſſioners for repairing the cathedral of St. Pau
London. He formed that ſtately and elegant pavilio
the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, which was at fi
deſigned for the reception of foreign ambaſſado
To him alſo we owe the church and piazza of Cove
garden, as well as ſeveral other buildings in differe
pars of the capital. He ſuffered in his fortune by
loyalty to his royal maſter Charles I. He died
1652, and was interred in the chancel of St. Be
net's, Paul's Wharf, London.

BOOK XII.

The REPUBLIC, *or* COMMONWEALTH, *containing a period of Eleven Year* *from the Death of* Charles I. *to the Reſtoration of* Charles II.

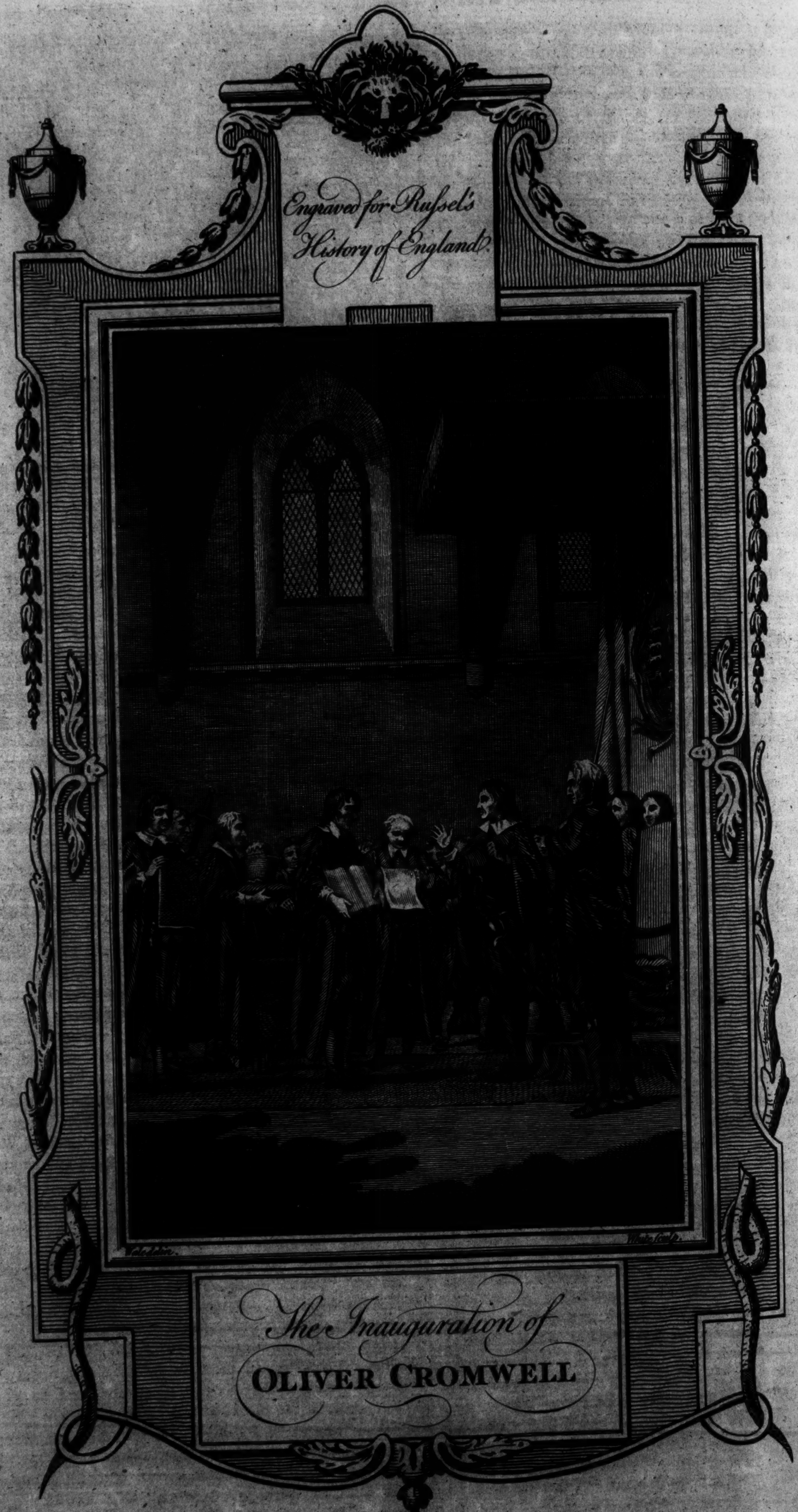
THE death of Charles was not more deſtructive to his family than to the conſtitution. For ſeveral days, even before his condemnation, the commons were employed in preparing acts for aboliſhing monarchy, and erecting a republican government on its ruins; and on the very day of his execution they publiſhed the following proclamation:

"Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, being, for the notorious treaſons, tyrannies and murders, committed by him in the late unnatural and cruel wars, condemned to death; whereupon, after execution of the ſame, ſeveral pretences may be made, and claims ſet on foot to the kingly office, to the apparent hazard of the public peace; for prevention whereof be it enacted and ordained by this preſent parliament, and by the authority of the ſame, that no perſon or perſons whomſoever do preſume to proclaim, declare, or publiſh, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, the ſon of the ſaid Charles, commonly called the prince of Wales, or any other perſon, to be king, or chief magiſtrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or either of them, by colour of inheritance, ſucceſſion, election, or any other claim whatſoever, without the free conſent of the people in parliament firſt had, or ſignified by a particular act or ordinance for that purpoſe; any ſtatute, law, uſage, or cuſtom to the contrary hereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

"And be it farther enacted and ordained, and it is hereby enacted and ordained, that whoſoever, contrary to this act ſhall proclaim, publiſh, or any way promote the ſaid Charles Stuart the ſon, or any other perſon, to be king, or chief magiſtrate of England, or of Ireland, or of any of the dominions belonging to them, or to either of them, without the ſaid conſent in parliament ſignified as aforeſaid, ſhall be deemed and adjudged a traitor to the commonwealth, and ſhall ſuffer the pains of death, and ſuch other puniſhments as belong to the crime of high-treaſon. And all officers, as well civil as military, and all other well-affected perſons, are hereby authorized and required to apprehend all ſuch offenders, and to bring them in ſafe cuſtody to the next juſtice of
peace, that they may be proceeded againſt acc
ingly."

The houſe of peers continued yet ſitting, an
the commiſſions of the judges were determined
the king's death, they ſent to the commons for a
ference about that and other matters relating to
ſafety of the government; but the commons deig
not to take the leaſt notice of their meſſage, and
few days paſſed a vote, by which they declared
kingly office to be unneceſſary and burthenſ
Another vote was likewiſe paſſed, that they ſh
make no more addreſſes to the houſe of peers,
receive any more from them; and that that houſe
uſeleſs and dangerous, and was therefore to be
liſhed. But that they might not be entirely excl
from government, it was declared that they mig
capable of being elected into the houſe of comm
The lords, enraged at this inſult, publiſhed a p
tation in the name of all the peers and barons o
realm, in which they proteſted againſt all acts,
and orders of parliament, that ſhould be
during their excluſion. This made little impr
on the commons; and, to prevent the aſſembl
the lords, they ſet a guard upon the door o
houſe; after which they paſſed an act for the ex
dation of the royal line, and the abolition o
narchy, by which it was decreed, that the
ſhould be henceforth governed by the repreſen
of the people, under the form of a commonw
But this ſubverſion of the conſtitution was diſa
ble to the people in general, and the parli
thinking it neceſſary to give them ſome ſatiſf
publiſhed a declaration, in which they endea
to ſhew the reaſons of their proceedings, and
plauſible pretences were urged: among other
made a promiſe of deliverance from the bond
troduced by the Norman conqueſt, and of
taining the antient laws, which they extolled f
excellency and equality, adding, that they mi
conſiſt with the preſent government of a r
upon ſome eaſy alterations of form, only leav
ſubſtance entire, and reforming the abuſes
They alſo promiſed the eſtabliſhment of a f

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England

The Inauguration of
OLIVER CROMWELL

ſafe peace; the advancement of the true proteſtant religion, and the liberal maintaining of a godly miniſtry; the ſettling of treaties and alliances with foreign princes and eſtates; the encouragement of the manufactories, for the increaſe and flouriſhing of trade, and the maintaining of the poor in all places of the land.

To render the model of their government perfect, they aboliſhed all the antient forms of ſovereignty in the ſtyle and teſts of writs, commiſſions, and other public inſtruments; and ordered for the future all of them to be iſſued, “ in the names of the keepers of “ the liberties of England, by authority of parlia“ ment.” They then formed a new great ſeal, having on one ſide a red croſs and harp quartered, as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription, The Great Seal of England; and on the other, the repreſentation of the houſe of commons aſſembled, with this legend, In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, MDCXLVIII. And, as another enſign of their power, they appointed that all the money, which from that time was to be coined, ſhould, inſtead of the impreſſion, bear the croſs and harp, with this motto, God with us. The clauſes in the firſt of Elizabeth, and the third of James I. which enjoined taking the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance to the king and his ſucceſſors, were now repealed, and a new oath called the Engagement, was enjoined to be taken by all who were put into places of public truſt “ to be “ true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, “ without king or houſe of peers.” The antient, judicial and legiſlative power of the king and both houſes of parliament they aſſumed to themſelves, but the executive part of government they committed to a council of ſtate conſiſting of thirty-nine perſons; to theſe all addreſſes were to be made, and by theſe orders were given to all generals and admirals; and they digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into parliament.

The landmarks of the conſtitution being thus removed, no man knew upon what foundation his property ſtood; and moſt of the judges, together with many of the ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, refuſed to act under the new government. Cromwell was not diſpleaſed at their refuſal, becauſe it enforced the neceſſity of keeping up a numerous army, and of proceeding by martial inſtead of municipal law. Hewſon, one of the colonels, very properly obſerved, that the ſoldiers could hang twenty with leſs difficulty than the magiſtrates could hang one. This introduction of martial law rendered Cromwell abſolute in the government: he took poſſeſſion of the king's rooms of ſtate at Whitehall; he diſpoſed of civil property by his warrant; and he had his officers always at command, to preſent to the houſe ſuch forms and alterations, both in the civil and military departments in government, as he thought proper; and whatever he pleaſed to preſcribe was always approved of by the commons and the council of ſtate. He met, however, with a very ſtrong oppoſition from lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, a very abuſive and turbulent man, and he was ſent immediately to priſon. The women aſſembled in troops, and demanded his enlargement. They were told to take care of their families, and leave the government of the ſtate to the men. The preſbyterians, the peers, and the ſecluded members alſo joined in the oppoſition, and filled the kingdom with the moſt ſevere invectives againſt the new government; and ſome had even the boldneſs to diſperſe papers, proclaiming the prince of Wales to be king of England, under the title of Charles II. an appellation by which we muſt now diſtinguiſh

In the month of March came on before the High Court of Juſtice, (of which Bradſhaw was preſident) the trials of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Norwich and Holland, the lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; when they were all found guilty, and received ſentence of death. Hamilton and Capel made their eſcape, but were retaken: the former might have ſaved his life, but was honeſt enough to refuſe it, as it was only offered at the expence of his honour. Great intereſt was uſed to ſave them all. Capel had joined early in oppoſition to the king; Hamilton had ſerved the parliament; and Holland had been, by turns, the friend and ſlave of the faction: the other two had no merits to plead; yet the three former ſuffered, while the two latter were ſaved. Hamilton died becauſe he refuſed to betray his friend; Holland, on account of his apoſtacy in deſerting the cauſe he had ſo long defended; and Cromwell frankly ſaid, Capel had ſo many virtues, that his life was incompatible with the ſafety of the new government.

During the diviſions of the ſtate, after the death of the king, the Scotch commiſſioners had entered a ſtrong proteſt againſt the proceedings of the commons, with regard to the trial of their late ſovereign, and they now received orders to quit England, without taking leave of the faction. In conſequence of this, they wrote a ſpirited letter to the commons, who voted, that it was a ſcandalous and reproachful libel againſt the juſt proceedings of parliament, intended to lay the foundations for a new and bloody war; and that all who ſupported them ſhould be conſidered as traitors and rebels to their country. But Cromwell, willing to avoid, if poſſible, a rupture with Scotland, at that critical juncture, procured a vote in parliament, that the commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to Scotland under a guard. The fate of that kingdom was now deplorable. Rent with factions, and diſtracted with fanatical enthuſiaſm, no meaſure founded on reaſon and the rules of policy could be taken. The body of the people abhorred the Engliſh faction, who had put their king to death, and were unanimous for proclaiming his ſon, and placing him on the throne of his anceſtors; but they differed with regard to the terms on which the ſovereignty ſhould be offered. The violent preſbyterians, headed by Argyle, were for obliging him to obſerve every article of the covenant, and even previous to their ſending any invitation, to oblige him to ſign it, to ſubmit implicitly to their church cenſures, to renounce the ſins of his father's houſe, the iniquity of his mother, and to ſubmit to ſeveral other mortifications that even a private gentleman would have refuſed. The covenanting royaliſts, as well as the epiſcopalians, were for proclaiming the king without obliging him to ſign any conditions. The earls of Lauderdale and Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, were at this time with Charles at the Hague, where he kept up the appearance of a court, though his affairs were in a deſperate condition. The prince and princeſs of Orange wiſhed well to his intereſt, but the ſelfiſh maxims of the Dutch republic rendered it impoſſible to ſerve him effectually.

The higheſt expectations were formed of Charles, who was now about nineteen years of age. He had behaved with the utmoſt tenderneſs towards his father and his family; he had, with a prudence far above his years, reconciled to his ſervice all the different members of his council; and had ſhewn great ſpirit on all occaſions, as well as a cloſe application to buſineſs. He had hitherto enjoyed very few opportunities of improving himſelf by reading, and the perſons intruſted with his education by his father were but ill qualified to improve him by their converſation, and ſtill leſs by their inſtructions.

Intimation had been ſeveral times given by the ſtates-general, that their affairs would not permit them to come to a rupture with the ruling powers of England; and Charles knew not where to retire for protection. During this diſagreeable ſuſpence, the gallant marquis of Montroſe appeared, with magnificent equipages, and a ſmall number of choſen friends, at the court of Charles. His ſentiments were very different from thoſe of the other counſellors. He thought all treaties with rebels to be diſhonourable; that the king ought to throw himſelf upon the friendſhip of his brother monarchs and the affections of his loyal ſubjects; undertaking himſelf, with very ſmall aſſiſtance, to ſeat him on the Scottiſh throne. The great actions Montroſe had already performed, his majeſtic deportment, and his unmerited ſufferings for the royal cauſe, inſpired all who approached him with impreſſions of awe, of love, and of pity. Though he was almoſt ſingle in his ſentiments, none ventured to oppoſe him; and his own countrymen regarded him as the genius of injured majeſty.

Farther intimation being given to Charles that it was the deſire of the ſtates-general he ſhould leave the Hague, it was reſolved in council that he ſhould retire to France, as he might from thence, with the greater facility, paſs over into ſome part of his own dominions. He accordingly left Holland in the month of April, and proceeded to St. Germains, where his mother then reſided. He was received with great politeneſs in all the towns of Flanders through which he paſſed, and with as much ſtate by the young king of France, as if he had been actually in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown. But theſe civilities flowed entirely from a commiſeration of his misfortunes, which was ſo ſtrong with the public, that cardinal Mazarine, and the queen regent of France, did not think fit to reſtrain them. No effectual aſſiſtance, however, could be obtained; an aſylum was the only protection that could be expected by the fugitive monarch.

The affairs of Ireland ſeemed to diſplay a dawn of ſucceſs to the royal cauſe. The marquis of Ormond was at the head of a conſiderable party devoted to Charles; and though the Iriſh, at the inſtigation of the pope's nuncio, had again taken up arms againſt the Engliſh, they were now ſincerely united with the royaliſts. Had Charles appeared at the head of his army, there is no doubt but the whole kingdom would have declared in his favour; but the want of his preſence and money were great obſtacles to the ſucceſs of Ormond. That ſpirited general, however, made himſelf maſter of Drogheda, with other conſiderable garriſoned towns, and laid ſiege to Dublin, where Jones, the general of the parliament's forces, had been obliged to ſhut himſelf up.

The Engliſh government was now ſufficiently alarmed, and Cromwell, at his own requeſt, was appointed to command the troops intended to be ſent againſt the royaliſts in Ireland. Prince Rupert, ever ſince the fleet deſerted to the prince of Wales, had commanded a conſiderable ſquadron, and taken ſeveral rich prizes. Dunkirk and Oſtend alſo ſwarmed with privateers that acted under commiſſions granted by Charles. The natural remedy for this evil was to fit out a ſuperior fleet; but it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould command it. At length, after various debates and conſultations, it was reſolved to give it to Blake, Popham and Deane. The navy was ſoon in ſo reſpectable a condition, that the Engliſh channel was cleared of thoſe privateers that had ſo greatly obſtructed the commerce of the kingdom; and prince Rupert himſelf was blocked up in the harbour of Kinſale, by a ſquadron under the command of Blake and Deane.

It appears rather ſtrange that Cromwell ſhould undertake to head the expedition againſt the Iriſh in perſon, before the affairs of government were ſettled on a ſolid baſis. But his conduct was directed by wiſe maxims. He knew that power could only be maintained by the ſame meaſures by which it had been acquired. The dangerous ſpirit of levelling was far from being deſtroyed in the army; and this, with all other cautions, could only be cured by finding full employment for the ſoldiers. Cromwell promiſed himſelf great advantages from the ſpirit and temper of his ſoldiers returning from foreign conqueſt, when they had loſt all tenderneſs for their mother-country, and regarded no will but that of their general. He was ſenſible that it was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce Ireland, as it lay very convenient for receiving aſſiſtance and ſupplies from the Roman catholic powers, particularly from Spain, whoſe friendſhip the parliament had as yet great reaſon to diſtruſt. Beſides theſe motives, Cromwell flattered himſelf with extending the fame of his military atchievements, and of revenging himſelf on the marquis of Ormond, and other royaliſts in Ireland, who had accuſed him of being the ſole cauſe of the king's death.

Before, however, Cromwell led his troops againſt the Iriſh, he was determined to deſtroy that ſpirit of levelling which was now ſo prevalent in the army, and which, if not cruſhed in the bud, muſt undermine the baſis of his authority. One Thompſon, a bold, intrepid trooper, headed the levellers, who appointed their rendezvous to be held at Banbury in Oxfordſhire. Some of the regiments that had been appointed to go to Ireland mutinied about the ſame time, particularly thoſe commanded by Ireton, Scroop and Reynolds. Thompſon ſoon found himſelf at the head of two hundred horſe, and expected daily to be joined by ſo large a body of mutineers, as would enable him to ſet the government at defiance.

The artful Cromwell prevailed upon Fairfax to accompany him in the diſagreeable ſervice of reducing the levellers. They reached Banbury ſoon enough to prevent the mutineers from uniting into a body, and Fairfax, directing his march to Burford, made 4000 of them priſoners. This ſucceſs rendered the whole deſign of the levellers abortive, Thompſon himſel being killed in the conflict.

The mutiny being quelled, the parliament paſſed an act, declaring it treaſon in any one "to affirm that the preſent government is tyrannical, uſurped o unlawful, or that the commons in parliament are no the ſupreme authority; or to endeavour to alter th preſent government; or to affirm the ſame of th council of ſtate; to contrive the death of the gene ral or lieutenant-general of the army; to raiſe mutiny among the ſoldiers; to join with thoſe wh invade England or Ireland; to level war againſt th parliament; to counterfeit the great ſeal; or to ki any member of parliament, judge, or miniſter justice."

About the middle of May the army under Crom well was ready to embark for Ireland. The news this expedition determined the king, who was by th time heartily tired of the court of France, to reti to Jerſey, the only ſpot he now inherited of all h large paternal dominions, and where he had alrea been proclaimed by the loyal governor Sir Georg Carteret. This was, doubtleſs, placing his fortu on a very ſlender foundation; but it was the wiſe meaſure he could purſue in this critical conjunctur when the courts of France and Spain, notwithſtan ing all their pretended deteſtation of the rebels pr ceedings, only ſought to make the beſt advanta they could of their being poſſeſſed of his perſo The king of Denmark, and a few of the Germ princes, were, indeed, ſincere in their endeavours to ſerve him; but they wanted money ſufficient to fit out a fleet to face the Engliſh.

The marquis of Ormond had carried on the ſiege of Dublin with great vigour, and the garriſon was now reduced to the moſt abject diſtreſs. Cromwell knew the importance of ſaving the capital, and ſent over immediately 3000 of his beſt troops, who landed under the favour of a ſquadron commanded by Sir George Aſkew, juſt at a time when Jones was going to capitulate. This reinforcement, together with a large quantity of proviſions and ſtores landed at the ſame time, animated with new vigour the parliamentary garriſon. They made a furious ſally upon the royaliſts, drove them from their trenches, and obliged them to retreat over the river with great precipitation.

Ormond now fortified his camp, and reſolved to wait the arrival of ſome reinforcements he every day expected. But the fortune of Cromwell bore down all oppoſition. Being inveſted with the ſole command, both civil and military, in Ireland, the very magic of his name brought thouſands of ſoldiers to his ſtandard; ſo that in a few days after his coming to his camp, he found himſelf at the head of a large army of veterans, from whoſe courage and experience he promiſed himſelf a plentiful harveſt of glory. His military cheſt was well furniſhed with money, his ſoldiers with arms, and his camp with artillery, ſtores and proviſions; while the confidence of the ſoldiers in the abilities and intrepidity of their general rendered them almoſt invincible.

Cromwell embarked his forces at Milford-haven; but, for want of a ſufficient number of tranſports, he was obliged to leave three regiments behind him. He landed at Dublin, after a ſhort paſſage, at the head of 15,000 men, and immediately diſpatched a letter to England for a reinforcement.

Ormond had made Sir Arthur Aſton, who formerly commanded at Reading, governor of Drogheda, one of the ſtrongeſt places in Ireland, and garriſoned the place with the flower of his troops, hoping it would be able to hold out for a month at leaſt; during which he propoſed to march his army from the neighbourhood of Dublin, in order to re- ruit his forces. But before Ormond could aſſemble is different diviſions, Drogheda was inveſted with n army of 12000 men. Cromwell knew that the royaliſts depended chiefly on the defence of this lace, and therefore exerted all his power to take it. The garriſon made a very obſtinate defence, but the own was at laſt taken by ſtorm, and every one that ppeared in arms put to the ſword. This ſucceſs was hiefly owing to the perſonal courage of Cromwell, ho perceiving his men diſheartened by the gallant ſiſtance of the garriſon, and the death of colonel aſtle, one of their beſt officers, repaired to the reach, and led his troops to the attack with ſo much ry, that the Iriſh were ſeized with a panic, and ed with a deſpondency that would have diſhonoured omen; they made no farther reſiſtance, but tamely ffered themſelves to be put to death by the ſwords the Engliſh, who conſidered it as impiety to ſuffer of them to live. The whole war, indeed, was rried on with a cruelty which reflects eternal diſce on the victors: the Iriſh were treated with innal barbarity; no quarter was given them, either ſea or land; and they were generally excepted out all treaties and capitulations.

The royaliſts were ſo intimidated at the loſs of ogheda, that they abandoned Trym and Dundalk. nalis was taken by ſtorm; Wicklow ſubmitted; Cromwell marched his army into Munſter, where met with very little oppoſition. The dreadful cution at Drogheda ſtruck all his oppoſers with deſpair. Lord Inchiquin's officers and ſoldiers deſerted in great numbers; and the city of Cork was baſely ſurrendered by the governor at a time when Cromwell was in no condition to have undertaken a ſiege.

But notwithſtanding Cromwell's ſucceſs, a very ſtrong ferment was excited againſt his principles in the Engliſh parliament. Fortunately for him, the marquis of Ormond, by forming a kind of coalition with the Iriſh papiſts, and taking many of them into his ſervice, rendered the royal cauſe in Ireland unpopular, even among the Engliſh preſbyterians, and tended to increaſe the importance of Cromwell's ſucceſs. They, however, took advantage of his abſence to paſs ſome votes in parliament for moderating the exceſſive ſeverities propoſed againſt the delinquents. The army remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt theſe proceedings, but in vain; even their threats were diſregarded.

The loyaliſts ſtill continued under the infatuation that they ſhould yet be able to reſtore the king to his rights, and place him on the throne of his anceſtors. They were even weak enough to imagine, that the ſpirit of levelling, which ſtill continued in the army, might be uſeful to their cauſe; and accordingly diſperſed themſelves in different parts of the nation, joined the levellers, and ſpirited them up againſt the government. The effects of this prepoſterous conduct were ſome childiſh inſurrections, in which ſeveral of them periſhed for a cauſe, they, in their hearts, deteſted.

Colonel Pride, who had been remarkably active in all the mad, fanatical actions of the times, now became the head of a party, who inſiſted that to put any man to death for theft alone was abſolute murder. This ridiculous opinion was carried to ſuch a height, that they preſented petitions to the council of ſtate againſt all executions of that kind; and ſuch regard was paid to their interceſſions, that the lord mayor and his independent brethren were impowered to change the ſentence of death into that of baniſhment, and many felons were accordingly ſent to the American colonies.

A. D. 1650. The Scots, from a retroſpective view of the diſtractions that had prevailed in England ſince the captivity of the king, were very deſirous of being again governed by a prince deſcended from their antient kings. The demerits of the firſt Charles were almoſt forgotten, and his ſon had done nothing to induce them to believe he inherited his father's inflexibility with regard to religion. Even the marquis of Argyle, and his violent covenanters, were not averſe to monarchical government, provided the king embraced their tenets of religion. Argyle well knew that the reſtoration of Charles was incompatible with the engagements he had entered into with Cromwell, on whom he chiefly depended for protection againſt the ſeveral factions formed in his country; but he hoped that if Charles was reſtored he would be nothing better than the ſhadow of a king, a mere name without authority; or that ſome incident might happen to prevent his landing in Scotland, notwithſtanding the preſſing invitations he had received from the inhabitants of that kingdom. The ſpies maintained by Cromwell at the court of Charles informed him thoroughly of the ſtate of parties formed among the king's friends; and that he wiſhed rather to be reſtored by Montroſe, and the epiſcopal royaliſts, than by either the preſbyterian or independent party.

Charles, convinced that Ireland could now afford him no aſſiſtance, turned his whole thoughts towards Scotland, as the only part of his dominions where he could hope to be protected. The terms offered by the rigid covenanters were, indeed, highly diſagreeable; but he thought proper to open a conference with Winram, who had been ſent from Scotland to Jerſey with the following propoſitions:

1. That the king ſhould ſign the covenant, and paſs an act for giving liberty to all that pleaſed to ſign it, and for ratifying all that had been done in Scotland on that ſubject.

2. That he ſhould give the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts which had been ratified in the two laſt ſeſſions of the Scottiſh parliament; and that the kings of Scotland ſhould, for the future, have no negative voice in that aſſembly.

3. That he ſhould recall his commiſſions given to Montroſe, for raiſing forces to be ſent into Scotland, and put a final ſtop to his proceedings.

4. That he ſhould put away all papiſts from about his perſon, and let known proteſtants only have ſeats in his council.

5. That ſome place, either in or near Holland, ſhould be appointed to treat with commiſſioners from the ſtates of Scotland, who would be ſent thither, where every thing be provided neceſſary for him in a legal manner.

6. That a ſpeedy anſwer ſhould be given to theſe deſires.

This is the mildeſt form of the Scottiſh conditions; for they were afterwards loaded with many odious particulars againſt the friends of the royal family in both kingdoms, and with many intolerable indignities to the perſon of Charles himſelf. In matters of religion, the young king was the very reverſe of his father. He conſidered the different forms of worſhip and church-government among chriſtians as ſo many different faſhions of the ſame cloak. He was, indeed, fondeſt of epiſcopacy, but merely becauſe he thought it better adapted to monarchy. His education had not greatly contributed to fix his principles with regard to any one ſect. During his infancy, he he had been chiefly inſtructed by the perſons about the queen, who treated the church of England with more contempt than even preſbytery itſelf. They ridiculed, in private, the moſt celebrated divines of the church of England: while the pomp of their own worſhip, and their irregularity of their lives, implanted prejudices in the mind of Charles which were never obliterated, though they ſeldom carried him farther than to prefer the form of worſhip practiſed in the Roman to that uſed in the Engliſh church. But though he was not ſtrongly prejudiced againſt any religion, yet every thing contributed to give him the greateſt averſion to the covenant. He, however, determined to receive the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and the city of Breda was appointed for that purpoſe.

During theſe tranſactions the marquis of Montroſe haſtened his preparations for landing in Scotland, and determined to exert all his power to place the king on the throne of his anceſtors, without his ſigning any conditions. He had been encouraged by great promiſes of aſſiſtance from the courts of Denmark and Sweden, where many excellent Scotch officers, well affected to the king, had ſerved with great reputation; but his impatience and loyalty would not ſuffer him to remain any longer inactive; and he landed, in the beginning of April, in the northern parts of Scotland, accompanied only by a ſmall number of German ſoldiers. He had flattered himſelf with being joined by a number of his countrymen, but he was diſappointed; no forces appeared to join his ſtandard; and he was ſoon after ſurpriſed and taken priſoner by his countrymen. The fanatical Scots looked upon this great man only in the light of an impious excommunicated perſon, who was a rebel to the covenant. He ſuffered the moſt horrid indignities, and was condemned to be hanged. The ſentence ran, that his head ſhould be nailed to the door of the priſon, his legs and arms fixed up in the four principal towns of the kingdom, and his body interred with malefactors, unleſs his repentance induced the Scotch divines to take off the excommunication. "I am more proud," ſaid he to the preſbyterian miniſters, "to have my head nailed to the place mentioned in the ſentence, than I ſhould to have my picture hung up in the king's chamber. Far from being diſturbed at having my legs and my arms ſent to the four principal towns of the kingdom, I wiſh I had limbs enough to diſperſe through all the towns in Chriſtendom, in teſtimony of the cauſe for which I am condemned." In the evening he put theſe ſentiments into verſe, and died, as he had lived, like a hero. He was in the flower of his age when the jaws of fanaticiſm ſnatched him from his king and his country.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, the conferences were opened at Breda. Charles diſputed every propoſition offered by the Scottiſh commiſſioners, till he was informed of the defeat and death of Montroſe, when he no longer made any oppoſition, but agreed at once to all their demands. The treaty being thus concluded, Charles embarked on board a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and purſued his voyage towards Scotland. Before they reached their intended port, the Scottiſh commiſſioners produced freſh articles, by which they inſiſted on ſtill greater ſacrifices than any Charles had hitherto made. This gave Charles ſo much uneaſineſs, that he threatened to land in Denmark, rather than make ſuch degrading ſubmiſſions. His wiſeſt counſellors were, however of a different opinion; and Charles, fearing he might be intercepted by ſome of the parliament's ſhips, purſued his courſe, and landed ſafely in an obſcure part of Scotland.

Charles was immediately given to underſtand tha he muſt expect no aſſiſtance in that kingdom, unle he ſigned the covenant, and diſmiſſed from his pre ſence all perſons who were obnoxious to their parlia ment. Charles was obliged to comply. The Scotc covenanting royaliſts retired from the ſtorm. Som of the Engliſh fled back to the continent; and othe were lodged in the houſes of the king's friends, bu at a diſtance from his perſon. Buckingham alon for whom the king entertained the ſincereſt friendſhi was ſuffered to be with him. Notwithſtanding the precautions, the people in general ſhewed a ſurpriſin alacrity for his ſervice; they flocked to his ſtandar in every part of the kingdom. Argyle was care that Charles ſhould want nothing of the reſpect attendance that had been paid to his anceſtors, a endeavoured to give him juſt notions of his ow intereſt; but, at the ſame time, ſuffered him to e ercife no perſonal acts of power, nor to have a voice in the management of public affairs.

All parts of England were now filled with proaches againſt the conduct of parliament, and ſome places inſurrections actually happened whi were not ſuppreſſed without difficulty. Charles, b fore he left Holland, had ſigned many commiſſio for officers and agents to act for him in England, a theſe were ſo active, and their endeavours ſo impr dently bold, that the council of ſtate thought no ti ſhould be loſt in recalling the general from Irela Cromwell had by this time ſo fully eſtabliſhed his putation, that he made no difficulty in accepting invitation, and, having made Ireton his deputy, returned to England. He was received by the p liament with all the honours due to his eminent vices, and as no time was to be loſt, the affairs of Sc land were immediately taken into conſideration. T preſbyterian party had made ſeveral attempts to o a correſpondence with their brethren in Scotlan but their meſſengers had always been intercepted the troops who were ſtationed on the confines of the two kingdoms.

Fairfax had ſtill great intereſt, both in the army and parliament, but Cromwell was unwilling to truſt either his principles or ambition in the Scottiſh war; and he accordingly procured a vote in parliament, that both himſelf and Fairfax ſhould command againſt the Scots; and that Fairfax ſhould receive a new commiſſion from the houſe for that purpoſe. In the mean time the council of ſtate received orders to prepare every thing neceſſary for the immediate march of the army. Fairfax, however, thought proper to refuſe the offer, and to reſign his commiſſion. This was, in reality, what Cromwell wanted; he had now no ſuperior in the army, and he feared no oppoſition in parliament. He, however, thought proper to publiſh a declaration in order to remove the ſcruples of the preſbyterians, who loudly exclaimed againſt the pretended invaſion of Scotland. This paper declared, that though it was intended to carry the Engliſh arms into Scotland, a defenſive war only was deſigned; and that this method was taken merely to prevent an invaſion of England.

On the 29th of June Cromwell left the Engliſh capital and directed his march towards Scotland: he had no doubt of beating the Scotch if he could induce them to fight, but he thought the whole difficulty conſiſted in bringing on a general engagement. But though he looked with contempt upon the forces of Scotland, he knew that it was abſolutely neceſſary to drive Charles out of that kingdom; becauſe while he reſided there in a royal capacity, his party in England continued to increaſe, and others were preparing to raiſe an inſurrection in England as ſoon as his army ſhould paſs the borders.

As the royal party were ſtrenuous for the reſtoration of the king, Argyle knew that ſuch a meaſure would be inconſiſtent with his own ſafety, unleſs the king greatly reformed his diſpoſition. He therefore endeavoured to give Charles right notions with reſpect to government, and to his own intereſt; but the heart of the young king was already debauched, and his prejudices againſt the covenanters had taught him to conſider them only as a company of mad enthuſiaſts. The king was, indeed, charmed with the politeneſs of Argyle's behaviour, his elegant manners, and inſtructive converſation; but he could not digeſt his confinement; nor did Argyle think it prudent to truſt him with the management of himſelf. But the mortifications he met with from Argyle were nothing when compared to thoſe he was obliged to ſuffer from the zealots. The general aſſembly, and afterwards the committee of eſtates, together with the army, who were entirely govrned by the aſſembly, publiſhed a declaration, in which they proteſted, "That they did not eſpouſe any malignant quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former grounds or principles; that they diſclaimed all the ſins and guilt of the king and his houſe; nor would they own him or his intereſt, otherwiſe than with a ſubordination to God, and ſo far as he owned and proſecuted the cauſe of God, and acknowledged the ſins of his houſe, and of his former ways."

No annotations were neceſſary to this declaration. The king knew he was entirely at their mercy, and muſt ſubmit to every thing they propoſed. He iſſued a declaration in the very terms they required; he gave thanks for the merciful diſpenſations of providence, by which he was recovered from the ſnare of evil councils, had attained a full perſuaſion of the righteouſneſs of the covenant, and was induced to caſt both himſelf and his intereſt wholly upon God. He deſired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit, becauſe of his father's following evil councils, oppoſing the covenant, and the work of reformation, and ſhedding the blood of God's people in every part of his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's houſe: a matter of great offence, he ſaid, to all the proteſtant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the fathers upon the children. He profeſſed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he deteſted all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm and profaneneſs; and was reſolved not to tolerate, much leſs to countenance, any of them in any part of his dominions. He declared that he would neither love nor favour any who have ſo little conſcience as to follow his intereſts, in preference to the goſpel and kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. And he expreſſed his hope, that whatever ill ſucceſs his former guilt might have drawn upon his cauſe, yet having now obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and to acknowledge his own cauſe ſubordinate to that of God, the Divine Providence would crown his arms with victory.

The pride of the king being thus vanquiſhed, and the crown placed in ſubordination to the altar, the Scottiſh clergy pointed their ſpiritual inſtruments againſt the invaders of their country. They repreſented Cromwell as an incarnate devil, and his ſoldiers as ſo many monſters of blood and cruelty, who were ordered to put all the Scots to the ſword without any regard to age, condition, or ſex. This had the deſired effect. The ſouthern parts of Scotland were in an inſtant depopulated, the inhabitants flying to the northward for ſhelter and protection. Cromwell was aſtoniſhed when he paſſed the borders to find he was going to enter a deſolate wilderneſs, where it would be impoſſible to procure proviſions for his army. He was, indeed, attended by a fleet, but ſupplies from them were difficult and precarious. The only method that ſeemed to offer ſucceſs was to publiſh a declaration, that he was not to come to deſolate the country, but to ſupport them in their civil and religious rights and privileges. He alſo was very careful to treat all the Scots that fell into his hands with unuſual kindneſs. But all his attempts to gain the favour of the inhabitants were in vain: they fled from him, as from a peſtilence, and he advanced towards Dunbar under infinite difficulties. For by this time a conſiderable party of Scots had put themſelves between his fleet and army, ſo that he ſaw himſelf in danger of periſhing by famine.

The Engliſh army conſiſted of about 18,000 men; and that of the Scots, which was commanded by general Leſley, of about 20,000, beſides a great multitude of irregulars. The Scots were poſſeſſed of Edinburgh, and their army poſted ſo advantageouſly near that city, that it could not be attacked. Cromwell ſaw this and was fearful for the event; he perceived only but a diſmal proſpect of famine; for the ſtormy weather prevented him from receiving any proviſions from his ſhips. He ſtill endeavoured by acts of humanity to the Scots who fell into his hands, and by doing juſtice to his own ſoldiers, who were fond of plundering the country, to make a party among the enemy, but without ſucceſs; and their preachers began already to triumph from the pulpits, that the Engliſh army was on the point of being deſtroyed.

Cromwell now advanced towards the Scottiſh camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to provoke Leſley to a battle; but that general well knew, that though his army was much ſuperior in numbers, his forces were far inferior to the Engliſh in diſcipline and experience; and therefore carefully kept himſelf within the intrenchments of his camp. He, however, endeavoured to confirm the ſpirits of his ſoldiers by ſmall ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, and was generally ſucceſsful. His army increaſed daily both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp, and having exerted himſelf in one of theſe rencounters, gained extremely on the affections of the ſoldiery, who were far more deſirous of ſerving under a young prince of ſpirit, than a committee of preaching gownſmen. This produced a fatal effect, they cauſed the king to leave the camp; and at the ſame time purged the army of near 4000 malignants, whoſe zeal for the royal cauſe had led them to attend their prince, and were all of them ſoldiers of credit and experience. They ſaid they had no need of the aſſiſtance of the ungodly, their army being entirely compoſed of ſaints, who could not be conquered by the arm of fleſh.

Finding there was no likelihood of bringing the cautious Leſley to a battle, Cromwell retired to Dunbar. Leſley immediately followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. The Engliſh general hoped he ſhould now be able to accompliſh his purpoſe of forcing the Scots to leave the heights; but he ſoon perceived that this was impoſſible, and that Leſley had taken poſſeſſion of all the difficult paſſes between Dunbar and Berwick. Theſe diſcoveries almoſt drove Cromwell to deſpair. His army was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, and he was on the point of forming a reſolution of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of breaking through with his horſe the different poſts poſſeſſed by the enemy in his route to Berwick. But the madneſs of the Scottiſh miniſters prevented him from putting this reſolution into practice; and of loſing at once all the honours he had acquired in ſo many campaigns.

The Scottiſh miniſters now fancied they had obtained the victory. They ſaid, Revelations had been made them from heaven, that the ſectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, their leader, would be delivered into their hands. The ſoldiers catched the flame of enthuſiaſm, and forced their general, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, and gather the laurels of victory promiſed their miniſters by the voice of heaven. Cromwell could hardly believe his eyes when he firſt perceived the Scottiſh camp in motion, and ventured to foretel, without any revelation from above, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into his hand.

The battle began in the morning of the 3d of September, and ſoon became general; but the diſpute was unequal. The Scots, though much more numerous than the Engliſh, were ſo far from ſtanding the ſhock of Cromwell's veterans, that they ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces, almoſt without reſiſtance. One regiment of Highlanders only behaved with reſolution: they were very little affected with the enthuſiaſm of their brethren, and did not rely on the miraculous interpoſition of heaven for aſſiſtance. They exerted their whole power, and for ſome time ſtopped the career of the Engliſh. But being abandoned by their friends, they were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force, and leave the field of battle to the enemy. Upwards of 4000 Scots were ſlain, and 10,000 taken priſoners; together with all their arms, ammunition, tents and baggage.

Cromwell, having thus obtained a complete victory, purſued his advantage, and took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith; while the remnant of the Scottiſh army fled to Stirling. But the approach of winter, and an intermitting fever with which he was ſeized, prevented him from advancing farther into the kingdom.

A. D. 1651. While Charles continued at the head of an army in Scotland, his ſervants and ambaſſadors abroad were treated with reſpect; and all the language of foreign courts, eſpecially that of France and Spain, expreſſed their deteſtation of the Engliſh rebels and regicides. But in reality, theſe two courts neither wiſhed nor endeavoured his reſtoration. The grand duke of Muſcovy, at once more barbarous and more generous, received Colepepper as an agent from Charles, and ſupplied him with a large ſum of money. The duke of Lorrain, though he had not a foot of land he could call his own, ſupplied Charles and his family with conſiderable ſums. The prince of Orange continued to be his faithful and uſeful friend, and a few of the German princes threw their mites into his treaſury. The king of Denmark aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, but his kingdom was poor, and being inſulted by the Swedes, he was obliged to live in a precarious dependence on the Dutch. Chriſtiana, queen of Sweden, who cheriſhed the moſt diſtinguiſhed paſſion for every thing that was extraordinary either in war or literature, was now ſo charmed with the exploits of Cromwell, that ſhe entertained a kind of Platonic paſſion for his perſon, and recommended it to her council, and to the prince ſhe intended for her ſucceſſor, to avail themſelves of the friendſhip of England.

The Engliſh fleet was ſtill commanded by Blake, Dean and Popham, and was increaſed to more than double its former number; but the parliament was very uneaſy that prince Rupert and his ſquadron had found a kind reception in the harbours of Portugal. The truth is, the Portugueſe had at this time ſeveral very rich ſhips coming from the Brazils, which they were afraid might be intercepted by the fleets of the Engliſh parliament. The ſhips under the command of prince Rupert therefore promiſed to be of ſignal ſervice to the Portugueſe, and he had actually been invited thither before he left Ireland. In his paſſage, he loſt two or three of his beſt ſhips in a ſtorm; but he took a great many rich prizes, which he ſold, and generouſly remitted the money to Charles. Vane, who reſided at the court of Portugal, as agent from the Engliſh parliament, made vigorous remonſtrances on this ſubject; but they were not much regarded, and, at laſt, the court of Portugal declared itſelf a friend to Charles. Upon this the parliament ordered Blake to ſail immediately, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to the coaſt of Portugal, and demand that the fleet of prince Rupert ſhould be given up, as they were nothing better than rebels and pirates, and conſequently entitled neither to protection nor neutrality. If this was denied, Blake had inſtructions to deſtroy them where he could find them. On his arrival at the mouth of the river of Liſbon, he demanded the fleet of prince Rupert; but the court of Portugal was ſo far from complying, that the king declared he would ſuffer no more Engliſh ſhips to enter his ports or harbours, and Blake found himſelf in no condition to force his entrance. He was ſoon after joined by Popham; and the Portugueſe finding themſelves unable to ſupport the prince any longer, orders were ſent to him for quitting the Tagus, and he was fortunate enough to make his eſcape. Blake revenged this diſappointment on the king of Portugal, by taking twenty ſhips of his Brazil fleet; and it was not without great difficulty, and making many ſubmiſſions, that he obtained a peace with the Engliſh republic.

Though Cromwell had obtained a complete victory over the Scots, and had publickly ridiculed th Scottiſh miniſters, yet they were far from being cure of their fanatical madneſs. They had been very open in declaring, that they had taken up arms in defence of the covenant, not for the crown, and wer therefore equally hated by the royaliſts and independents. Thoſe jarring diſpoſitions had fatal effects o the royal ſervice. It was now ſufficiently evident that the covenanters neither could nor would reſtor the king; and the beſt officers he had to depend upo were royaliſts, who diſdaining the meanneſs and ſelf ſufficiency of the Scotch preſbyterians, refuſed t

ſubmi

ſubmit to their diſcipline. The marquis of Argyle, would he have truſted the royaliſts, might have retrieved the late defeat; but the longer he converſed with Charles, the more reaſon he ſaw to diſtruſt him, and to keep a very watchful eye over his conduct. Charles had in his converſation ſomething bewitchingly ſoft: he talked to the Scots in their own language: his addreſs was eaſy and inſinuating; his perſon beautiful; and his underſtanding far ſuperior to what Argyle expected. But the marquis was convinced that he both deſpiſed and hated the covenanters; that all he did was from convenience or neceſſity; that he was tinctured with arbitrary principles; and that the misfortunes of his family had only taught him the art of diſſimulation, in order to re-eſtabliſh his power. Argyle could not avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of either the epiſcopal or preſbyterian royaliſts: his bloody proceedings againſt Montroſe and his friends, who acted under the king's commiſſion, had ſtruck all mankind with horror. He ſaw the conſequences of his conduct, and trembled for the event, whenever the king ſhould be intruſted with the powers of royalty. He therefore treated Charles with more condeſcenſion, and removed ſeveral particulars which had rendered him very uneaſy.

Charles was not inſenſible of the cauſes that produced this relaxation, and began to exert ſome power with regard to his own affairs. His principal reſource lay in the affections of his friends: for when the revenues of the kingdom of Scotland were ſtated, they amounted to no more than 17,600l. to defray all the charges of his court and government. This poverty was owing to the rapaciouſneſs of the Scots themſelves, who, ever ſince the acceſſion of the Stuart family to the crown of England, had been in a manner quartered on the royal revenues, and had raiſed both fortunes and families from what they had extorted from the crown. But this was no time for reſumption; and Charles, at preſent, enjoyed a decent ſtate, and had about him the proper officers of the Scottiſh court. Charles now ventured to propoſe, at the council-board, proper perſons for commiſſions in his army; and ſeveral of the counſellors, knowing the king's inclinations, reſumed courage ſufficient to ſecond him, even without applying to Argyle for leave.

This coalition rendered the conqueſt of Scotland a work of more difficulty than Cromwell before imagined, conſidering the complete victory he had obtained at Dunbar. The caſtle of Edinburgh ſtill held out. Charles was in poſſeſſion of the paſs at Stirling, and behind him lay the moſt populous and beſt affected counties in Scotland; while the country where Cromwell lay had been eaten up, and the inhabitants looked upon his men as infernal dæmons. The king's levies were going on with great ſucceſs, and there was no doubt but he would ſoon be at the head of a much ſtronger army than that which had been defeated at Dunbar. Theſe circumſtances, and the increaſing averſion of the country towards his army, gave Cromwell infinite uneaſineſs. He endeavoured to reconcile the people to his perſon, by treating them with uncommon humanity in his marches. He ſent a meſſenger to the governor of Edinburgh caſtle, inviting the preachers to take again poſſeſſion of their pulpits, provided they meddled not with the civil affairs of the kingdom in their ſermons. This invitation was rejected with diſdain; and they treated his offers with the moſt diſtinguiſhed contempt.

While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, the independent faction at Weſtminſter were extremely careful to make every ſucceſs, either of their arms or councils, a kind of teſt for diſcovering their enemies. They ordered a thankſgiving to be obſerved for the advantages gained over the Scots at Dunbar. Many of the preſbyterians refuſed to obſerve it, and on that account were perſecuted with great ſeverity; but they were unfortunate in their proſecutions; hardly a jury could be found that would bring in their verdict, guilty. Another High Court of Juſtice was therefore eſtabliſhed for the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and the Iſle of Ely. Orders were alſo iſſued, by Cromwell's direction, for raiſing new bodies of horſe and foot in every part of the kingdom: The pay of the officers and ſoldiers, both by ſea and land, was augmented; and the greateſt induſtry and punctuality obſerved in procuring ſupplies both for the fleet and army.

In conſequence of theſe augmentations it became neceſſary for the parliament to increaſe the revenues of the kingdom, and contributions were accordingly levied on the public to the amount of 100,000l. per month. They encouraged the importation of bullion: they impoſed a teſt, called An Engagement, upon all the people who lived under their government; by which they were obliged to ſwear fidelity to the commonwealth, as conſtituted without a king or houſe of lords. They alſo paſſed ſeveral other acts, all of them tending to encourage their friends, and terrify their enemies.

During theſe tranſactions in the Engliſh parliament, Cromwell was but very indifferently ſituated in Scotland. He was unable to attack Charles, whoſe army lay beyond the Forth, and who ſtill continued to keep poſſeſſion of Stirling. Cromwell's men began to be ſickly, he himſelf was in a very indifferent ſtate of health, the country round him was a deſart, and he had no opportunity of performing any remarkable action, that might revive the drooping courage of his ſoldiers.

Charles and the royaliſts had now attained a great aſcendancy in Scotland, and he had been crowned at Scone, with as much magnificence as the temper of the times and the impoveriſhed ſtate of the revenues would admit. The marquis of Argyle ſtill ſhewed great reſpect to his perſon, and had aſſiſted at his coronation, where the king was obliged again to take the covenant, and to liſten to many long ſpeeches and prayers from the pulpit. The duke of Hamilton was, however, now admitted to court; and both the parliament and general aſſembly declared, that in a time of ſuch imminent danger, there ſhould be no exception of perſons. This gave encouragement to the royaliſts, who now flocked from all quarters to the Engliſh ſtandard. The duke of Hamilton commanded under Charles, Leſley was lieutenant-general, Middleton major-general of the horſe, and Maſſey general of the Engliſh.

Cromwell, finding the royal army ſtill increaſing, ordered colonel Overton to croſs the Forth, at the head of 1600 foot and 300 horſe. Theſe were followed by major-general Lambert and colonel Okey, with another body of 1500 foot and 800 horſe; while he himſelf marched towards Stirling, in order either to bring the Scots to a battle, or force them to divide their army. But when he came in ſight of the Scottiſh camp, he found it too ſtrong to be attacked, and their officers too cautious to be drawn from their ſituation.

While both the main armies thus lay in ſight of each other, an engagement happened in Fiſe between the forces that had paſſed the Forth under Lambert, and a ſtrong detachment of the royaliſts, greatly to the diſadvantage of the latter, five of their regiments of foot, and the ſame number of horſe, being cut to pieces, and 1500 taken priſoners. Cromwell had foreſeen great advantages from Lambert's paſſing the Forth: it was, indeed, one of the moſt maſterly actions he ever performed; for he had imperceptibly ſtrengthened Lambert's party to ſeven thouſand men, by which he not only ſecured all the paſſes on the Forth, but put himſelf between the king and the northern provinces, on which the royaliſts chiefly depended.

The only alternative Charles now had was that of fighting Cromwell, or marching into England. He thought proper to chuſe the latter; by which means Cromwell became, as it were, maſter of Scotland, and his conqueſts in that kingdom were rapid and important. He made himſelf maſter of Perth, with all the adjacent country, and detached Lambert to hang on the rear of the king's army. But he thought the march of the royaliſts into England of too much importance to truſt the management of the war to any but himſelf; and accordingly, leaving general Monk to command in Scotland, he began his march in purſuit of the king, at the head of the main body of his army.

The king's beſt friends now entertained very melancholy preſages of the conſequences that would probably attend this march; and, from an excellent letter wrote by the duke of Hamilton to his niece, it appears to have been conſidered as a deſperate ſtep, and that the royaliſts daily deſerted from the army. But the preſbyterian party at Weſtminſter either conſidered, or affected to conſider, this matter in a very different light. The conduct of Cromwell was blamed; he was accuſed of forcing an enemy into the bowels of England, and of having trifled away his advantages in Scotland, till it was too late to retrieve them. Cromwell paid little regard to theſe calumnies; he left his actions to ſpeak for themſelves. His abſence, however, gave ſome advantage to his enemies; and they made great intereſt to ſave Love, a preſbyterian preacher, who had for ſome time continued under ſentence of death for being engaged in the ſervice of the king. But Cromwell, who well knew that one inſtance of ſeverity would have more effect upon the preſbyterians than twenty of lenity, refuſed their requeſt, and Love was accordingly executed. This ſeverity increaſed the hatred of the preſbyterians againſt Cromwell, and ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made againſt him in parliament, for ſuffering the royal army to enter England. Ignorant of the effect theſe prepoſſeſſions might have on the parliament, Cromwell, in his letters, very freely owned, that he had ſuffered the king to march into England, from a perſuaſion, that if the parliament did their parts in defending the moſt tenable paſſes, his whole army muſt be ruined; whereas a winter campaign in Scotland might have ruined that of the parliament.

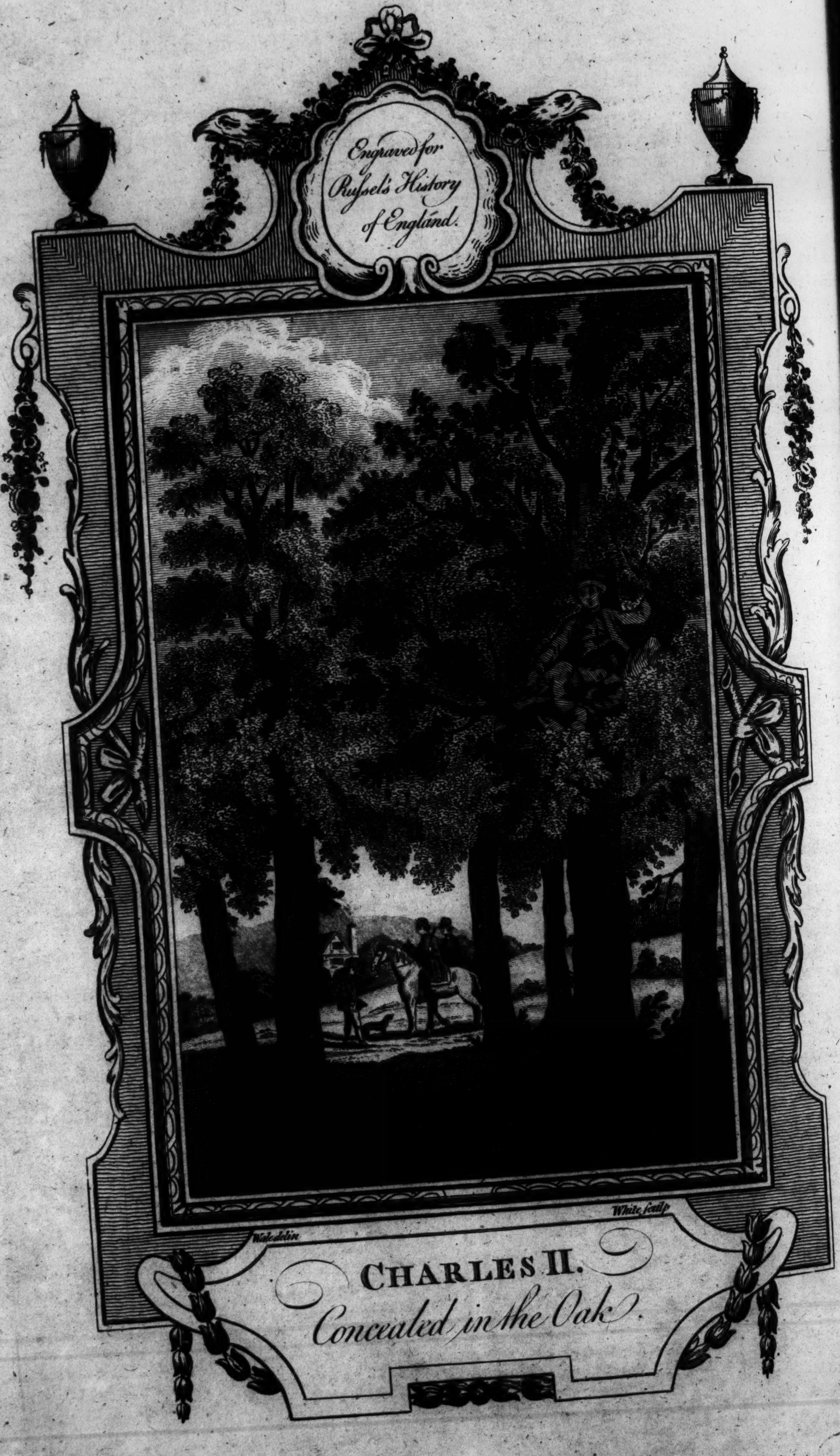
Charles had flattered himſelf with obtaining conſiderable reinforcements on his entering England; but he now found himſelf greatly diſappointed. Terrified at ſo dangerous an enterprize, the Scots loſt their uſual courage, and deſerted in great numbers; while the Engliſh preſbyterians, having received no intelligence of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. This meaſure was full as unexpected to the royaliſts; nor were they very deſirous of joining the royal ſtandard, as the Scottiſh miniſters, even in this deſperate extremity, had iſſued orders not to admit any who refuſed to take the covenant. The earl of Derby had exerted all his intereſt to raiſe troops for the king's ſervice; but before he was in a condition to march, his recruits were diſperſed by a party of the parliamentary forces; ſo that when Charles reached Worceſter, he found his army no more numerous than when he firſt left Scotland.

In the mean time Cromwell purſued the king with the utmoſt expedition; and being joined by the militia of the different counties through which he paſſed, he inveſted Worceſter with an army of 40,000 men. On the third of September he attacked the royaliſts, and the engagement ſoon became general, and very bloody. Charles led on his men in perſon, with an intrepidity which amazed even Cromwell himſelf; while the Scottiſh infantry behaved ſo gallantly, that they obliterated the mean opinion that uſurper had always entertained of their courage. By this time Cromwell had brought up ſome field-pieces, to make good the paſſes he had gained; but theſe were attacked with ſo much impetuoſity by the duke of Hamilton's regiment, that the artillery was, for ſome time, in the power of the royaliſts. Charles endeavoured to improve this advantage, and charged, at the head of ſome of his battalions, with ſo much ſpirit, that Cromwell was obliged to bring up his veterans, whom he had hitherto ſpared. The diſpute was now no longer equal; for Leſley, the Scottiſh general, remained in the city with his horſe, as if they had been unconcerned ſpectators of the engagement. The parliamentary army now made a general attack on all the poſts of the royaliſts, and were every where ſucceſsful. The brave duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded. General Maſſey was alſo wounded, and taken priſoner. Charles, however, ſtill made a noble defence: he had two horſes killed under him, but he was always foremoſt in every poſt of danger. Had Leſley done his duty, Cromwell muſt have purchaſed his victory very dear; but he continued totally inactive, notwithſtanding the dreadful carnage of his countrymen. The king made another effort to lead his broken troops to the charge; but neither his actions, his words, nor his preſence, could prevail. The tide of victory became irreſiſtible, and Cromwell entered Worceſter ſword in hand; nor could Charles prevail on the Scottiſh cavalry, who were ſtill unbroken, to make one attempt to retrieve the fortune o the day. The king muſt now have fallen into the enemy's hands, had not the brave colonel Drummond, and a few battalions of foot, ſtopped the victors a Sudbury-gate, while Charles made his eſcape throug the gate of St. Martin's, in the duſk of the evening He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, th earls of Shrewſbury, Cleveland, and Derby, and abou ſixty horſe.

The loſs which Charles ſuſtained by this defeat wa in ſome meaſure compenſated by the pity, the eſteem and the tenderneſs that now touched the hearts of th people. The Engliſh ſeemed to be aſhamed of thei own triumphs; and ſome who had been remarkabl forward in oppoſing his progreſs, were now the fir in commiſerating his misfortunes. His unmerited ſu ferings, his courage, his conſtancy, were the gener topics of diſcourſe; while his eſcapes from the unre mitted vigilance of his inveterate enemies, were con ſidered as ſo many miraculous indications that he wa deſtined to ſway the Engliſh ſceptre.

It was not reaſonable to imagine that the king, a tended by ſo many of his friends, could long eſcap from his purſuers; and it was therefore thought pr dent that he ſhould ſeek for that protection alo which was deſpaired of with his companions. O their arrival at Kidderminſter, Charles, purſuant the advice of the earl of Derby, retired to Boſcob a lone houſe on the borders of Staffordſhire, inh bited by one Penderell, a farmer. This man was unſhaken friend to the royal party; and thou death was denounced againſt all who concealed t king, and a large reward promiſed to any who ſhou betray him, Penderell preſerved an incorruptible i tegrity. He had, indeed, a dignity of ſentiment ſuperior to his condition; and was more pleaſed w having it in his power to conceal his royal maſter, th to have enjoyed all the advantages Cromwell w able to beſtow. He had four brothers equally lo with himſelf, and theſe all joined in aſſiſting their d treſſed ſovereign. The king was cloathed in the d

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin

White sculp

CHARLES II.

Concealed in the Oak.

of a peaſant, and carried into the woods with a bill in his hand, where they pretended to be employed in making faggots. Colonel Careleſs only, of all his attendants, was now his companion, except the five faithful Penderells. He ſometimes lay on ſtraw in the houſe, and ſometimes in the fields. But even this manner of life was expoſed to the utmoſt danger. Two ſtrangers continuing ſome time at Boſcobel could not be concealed from the ſervants, and parties of the parliament's army were diſperſed all over the neighbourhood in ſearch of his majeſty. It was therefore thought prudent that the king and Careleſs ſhould continue conſtantly in the woods; and, for the better ſecurity, they mounted up a large oak, the leaves and branches of which ſheltered them from the ſight of the enemy. While they continued in this retreat, they ſaw ſeveral ſoldiers paſs by in ſearch of the king; and ſome of them expreſſed, in their hearing, their earneſt deſire of ſeizing him. This tree was, for many years after, held in great veneration; and, for having concealed his majeſty from the ſight of his enemies, was called, The "Royal Oak."

Though theſe precautions had hitherto proved ſucceſsful with regard to the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon, yet it was now found impoſſible to conceal him any longer at Boſcobel; and it was propoſed by lord Wilmot, who had now joined him, to repair to the houſe of Mr. Whitegrave, a catholic gentleman, who lived at ſome diſtance from Boſcobel, and where lord Wilmot had, before he joined his royal maſter, been concealed. They accordingly paſſed thither with the ive Penderells, and met with a very kind reception. During the whole time, the parliament's officers were ery aſſiduous in their enquiries after all ſtrangers that ere lately arrived in theſe parts; and, perhaps, all he fidelity of his friends would not have been ſufficint to have ſaved him, had not the houſes, whither he tired, generally belonged to Roman catholics, and ntained ſeveral ſecret hiding-places in the walls and ainſcot, where they concealed their perſecuted rieſts, when their houſes were ſearched by the officers juſtice.

At a place called Bentley, a few miles from Whiteave's houſe, lived colonel Lane, a zealous loyaliſt, ho was now made acquainted with the king's treſs, and the neceſſary precautions were taken for rrying him thither. But his majeſty's feet were ſo rt by walking about in heavy boots, or countryen's ſhoes, which did not fit him, that he was forced mount on horſeback; and in this manner he tralled to Bentley, ſtill attended by the five Penderells, faithful companions. After ſome conſultation, it reſolved that the king ſhould repair to Briſtol, ere it was hoped a ſhip might be found to carry him er to the continent; and, in order to prevent any covery being made during the journey, it was proed to make uſe of a paſs that had been procured Mrs. Jane Lane, the colonel's ſiſter, for herſelf ſervant to viſit Mrs. Norton, a near relation, who d within three miles of Briſtol. Charles was acrdingly dreſſed in the habit of a ſervant, and rode ore the lady, lord Wilmot, with a hawk on his d, paſſing for a ſtranger who had joined them by ident.

On their arrival at Norton's houſe, Mrs. Lane preded that her ſervant had been taken ill on the , and deſired that he might have a private room, re he might be quiet. In this chamber Charles himſelf concealed; but he was known by one the butler, at his firſt entering the houſe. He, ver, prudently concealed the diſcovery, but took firſt opportunity of throwing himſelf on his knees re the king, and praying for his life and preſer. This incident greatly alarmed Charles, who gly enjoined the butler to keep inviolably the ſecret, which he faithfully promiſed, and punctually performed.

After Charles had been a few days at Norton's houſe, his friends were informed that no ſhip was expected to ſail from Briſtol either to France or Spain in leſs than a month. This rendered their ſcheme abortive; and it was agreed that the king ſhould intruſt his perſon to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, a gentleman who had always been a zealous partizan of the royal family. Before he received the king, Windham aſked leave to intruſt the ſecret to his mother, his wife, and four ſervants, on whoſe fidelity he could depend; and not one of them proved wanting either in honour or diſcretion. Here the king continued nineteen days, and all his friends in every part of Europe were kept in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to his ſafety. It was indeed generally imagined that he was dead, and this notion prevailing ſtrongly among his enemies, operated greatly in his favour, by relaxing their diligence. After leaving Windham's houſe he repaired to Charmouth, where he was in the utmoſt danger of being diſcovered by the ſagacity of a blackſmith, who declared that the horſe on which his majeſty rode had been ſhod in the north, and not, as he pretended, in the weſt of England. This intelligence of the ſmith rendered it neceſſary for Charles to leave the place immediately, and he was fortunate enough to reach Windham's houſe, before the neighbourhood was informed of the diſcovery.

The friends of Charles now determined that he ſhould paſs into Suſſex, where it was hoped a veſſel might be found to carry him over to the continent. He accordingly went to Hale near Saliſbury, and thence to Brighthelmſtone, where he continued till a ſhip could be provided for his paſſage. This was at laſt accompliſhed, and on the fifteenth of October he embarked in a ſmall veſſel at Shoreham, and was landed at Feſchamp, in Normandy, after having been concealed no leſs than two and forty days in England. His eſcape was truly wonderful, and ſome of the royaliſts even termed it miraculous. But the moſt extraordinary part of the whole is, the inviolable attachment which all, who either diſcovered him, or to whom he diſcovered himſelf, expreſſed for his perſon. Tho' no leſs than forty perſons of both ſexes were intruſted with the ſecret, and though every method was uſed by Cromwell for diſcovering where he was concealed, yet not one of them ever wavered in their affection, though their vanity ſometimes got ſo much the better of their loyalty, that all his party in the neighbourhood knew the houſe where he was ſheltered.

The deſtruction of the royal party was completed by the great ſucceſs of Monk in Scotland. He took the ſtrong caſtle of Stirling, where he found forty pieces of cannon, five thouſand ſtand of arms, the regalia and records of Scotland, and other rich booty. He afterwards ſurprized and made priſoners the earls of Leven and Crawford, with the principal nobility and gentry, whom he either knew or ſuppoſed to be enemies to the Engliſh parliament. He ſtormed Dundee, and put the governor and garriſon to the ſword. The plunder of this town was very conſiderable. Whitlock ſays the common ſoldiers had five hundred pounds to their ſhare; fifty ſail of ſhips were taken in the harbour, and thirty pieces of ordnance in the town.

Theſe diſtinguiſhed conqueſts, joined to the victory obtained by Cromwell at Worceſter, rendered that general abſolute maſter of the kingdom. He called the deſtruction of the royal army at Worceſter, his "crowning mercy;" and was ſo elated with his ſucceſs in that deciſive battle, that he intended to have conferred the honour of knighthood on two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood, in the field; and it was not without great difficulty that his friends diſſuaded him from exerciſing that act of regal authority. His power and ambition were both too great to brook ſubmiſſion to the empty name of a republic, which ſubſiſted merely by his influence, and was ſupported by his victories. According to Whitlock, he now communicated to his moſt intimate friends the views he had formed on the crown itſelf; and expreſſed a deſire of aſſuming the regal power, which he had ſo long and ſo effectually laboured to aboliſh. He well knew that the members in parliament, who at preſent governed the nation, were deſpiſed by the people, and their views too much confined to qualify them for legiſlators. Their whole attention was engroſſed by ſelfiſh aims and fanatical bigotry. Their rigid auſterity was carried to the greateſt height; and they had hardly made any progreſs in the important work of fixing a new plan of government.

Theſe circumſtances were favourable to Cromwell's ſcheme of power: the army was at his devotion, and he had no competitor in authority. The only perſon that ſeemed capable of making any oppoſition to his ambitious ſcheme was Ireton, who commanded the troops in Ireland; but he ſoon after died of the plague, and left Cromwell at full liberty to proſecute the plan he had formed.

A. D. 1652. The parliament, no longer fearing any oppoſition either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, now turned their thoughts towards the affairs of the continent; and the Dutch were the firſt who felt the vigour of their arms. The ſtates had obſerved an exact neutrality with regard to the civil wars of England, during the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange; but after his death, when his ſon William, who married an Engliſh princeſs, ſucceeded him in power, they were accuſed of betraying an inveterate prejudice againſt the Engliſh parliament, and of aſſiſting the royal party. After the death of William, which was attended with the depreſſion of his party, it was hoped that a kind of coalition might be effected between the two republics, and St. John, lord chief-juſtice, was ſent to the Hague for that purpoſe. But he ſoon perceived that the ſtates entertained a contemptible idea of a government whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious to the people. They offered indeed to renew the former alliances with England, but refuſed any nearer connection.

Diſguſted with this refuſal, and incenſed at many affronts offered him with impunity, the haughty St. John returned to England, and exerted all his intereſt to excite a war between the two republics. He had a great aſcendency over Cromwell, and by that means ſoon accompliſhed his deſigns. He repreſented to the parliament, that the Dutch ſought nothing ſo much as to diſpute with England the government of the ſeas; that in all their papers they mentioned Charles II. which was a tacit recognition of his authority; that in all their profeſſions they were inſincere, and that it was neceſſary for the Engliſh to depreſs thoſe, whoſe friendſhip they could not gain. Theſe repreſentations had the deſired effect, and under pretence of providing for the intereſt of commerce, the parliment embraced ſuch meaſures as they knew would ſufficiently diſguſt the ſtates. They formed the famous act of navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their own bottoms, any commodity not the growth and manufacture of their own country. Though the terms in which this ſtatute was conceived were general, yet the Dutch were principally injured; becauſe their country produced few commodities, and they ſubſiſted chiefly on being the general factors and carriers of the world. Several merchants complaining of injuries they pretended to have received, obtained letters of repriſa against the ſtates, and about eighty of their mercha ſhips were taken by the Engliſh.

The States were ſo alarmed at theſe proceedings that they immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors t London, in order, if poſſible, to renew the treaty o alliance that had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. They repreſented that famou republican as a perſon whom it was impoſſible t pleaſe; and that they either granted, or were willin to grant, every thing that he had aſked. But th parliament giving credit to St. John in preference t the Dutch, all neceſſary preparations were made fo commencing hoſtilities, and carrying on a briſk an vigorous war.

A ſhort time after this an Engliſh man of war fa ling in with a fleet of Dutch fiſhermen, demande the uſual acknowledgement; which being refuſed t captain ſunk one of the Dutch veſſels, and the who crew periſhed. All negotiations were now ſuſpende The Dutch followed the example of the Engliſh iſſuing letters of repriſal, and in a few days appea ed before Portſmouth with a fleet of 45 ſail.

The Engliſh marine was not immediately in a co dition to reſent this inſult, but their motions we watched by commodore Brown till Blake's ſquadr was in a condition of meeting them on the open ſ This required no great length of time; ſuch diſpat was uſed in the different departments, that in leſs th ſix weeks Blake ſailed with a conſiderable fle About the middle of May, he diſcovered the Du ſquadron commanded by their celebrated admi Van Tromp, and immediately made a ſignal for paying reſpect to the Engliſh flag. The ſignal be diſregarded, Blake, though his ſquadron conſiſted o ly of twenty-ſix ſhips, formed the line of battle, a advanced towards the enemy. Before he came wi in gun ſhot he was joined by eight ſhips, and ſo after the action began with great fury, and laſted night put an end to the battle. Blake's ſhip being c ſiderably a-head of the reſt, was expoſed, for ſo time, to the whole fire of the enemy, but his o ſhips coming up, the attention of the Dutch was d ded. One of the Dutch ſhips was taken, and ano ſunk by the Engliſh, who loſt only fifteen men in engagement. The next morning the Dutch fleet peared at four leagues diſtance, ſteering towards coaſt of France; but as neither of the admirals orders to fight, except from neceſſity, they did think proper to renew the engagement.

It was pretended by the Dutch, that their adm Van Tromp had exceeded his commiſſion, and he had been forced upon the Engliſh coaſt by of weather. But the Engliſh parliament affecte diſbelieve their moſt ſolemn aſſurances, and vot letter of thanks to Blake for his behaviour. C well himſelf repaired to Dover, and encouraged B and the ſeamen, by aſſuring them that nothing ſh be wanting on his part to induce them to act aſſiduity and vigour in the defence of their count

The Dutch now found themſelves greatly miſ in the notions they had formed with regard to Engliſh commonwealth; and Paw, their amba extraordinary at London, received orders to all his power for putting a ſtop to hoſtilities; b his endeavours were in vain. The parliament in behaved with politeneſs both towards Paw an maſters; but at the ſame time redoubled their cations to encreaſe the power of their navy. George Aſcue received a commiſſion independe that of Blake, and ſoon after deſtroyed about ſail of the St. Ube's fleet; while Blake, in leſ a month ſent upwards of forty ſail of rich prize the Thames. He now ſtood to the northward, der to aſſert the right of his country to the Britiſh fiſhery. This ſervice he nobly performed; he took their whole convoy of 12 men of war, one only excepted that was fortunate enough to eſcape. He might alſo have deſtroyed all their fiſhing veſſels, but he ſuffered them to continue their occupation on their promiſing never to return to the Engliſh coaſt without leave, and on their paying him one tenth of all their fiſh.

Though Blake's expedition was attended with the greateſt ſucceſs, yet it had nearly proved fatal to the ſquadron of Sir George Aſcue, who was left in the Downs: for Van Tromp, whoſe fleet was far ſuperior to that of Aſcue, was then at ſea, and attempted to take advantage of Blake's abſence. He ſtood accordingly towards the Engliſh coaſts, but was overtaken by ſo dreadful a ſtorm, that he was obliged to return to Holland to repair the damages his ſhips had received. His fleet was now increaſed to 150 ſail, and his appearance ſo formidable, that it was thought neceſſary to erect a platform and mount it with cannon, between Deal and Sandown-caſtle, and to line the ſhore with militia. Aſcue lay as near as poſſible to the Strand, but his whole ſquadron, which conſiſted only of 15 ſhips, muſt have been deſtroyed had not the wind immediately changed, and prevented the Dutch from reaching the Engliſh ſhore; and the Dutch merchant ſhips being impatient for a convoy to the northward, Van Tromp took them under his protection, hoping he ſhould be fortunate enough to meet with Blake in the north ſea. He was, however, diſappointed, but greatly diſtreſſed the Engliſh trade to Newcaſtle, while Blake took two of the Dutch Eaſt India ſhips. The weather proving extremely tempeſtuous, Tromp found it impoſſible to keep the ſea, and accordingly returned once more to Holland with no more than 40 ſhips, ſome being loſt, and the remainder diſperſed.

In the mean time Aſcue ſent ſome of his ſhips to convoy home a rich Eaſt-India fleet, while he himſelf cruiſed between Dover and Calais, where he took ten Flemiſh ſhips, and forced twenty to run aſhore. The famous de Ruyter was now appointed to command a ſquadron of about fifty Dutch men of war, and ſent to convoy home a large fleet of merchantmen. Aſcue, whoſe ſquadron amounted only to 38 ſhips, fell in with this convoy on the 16th of Auguſt; and though his force was ſo far unequal, he attacked de Ruyter, and deſtroyed ſeveral of the Dutch ſhips: but ſome of his captains not ſeconding the attack of their leaders, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after the fight had continued with the utmoſt fury near four hours. Captain Peck, who acted as rear-admiral, was mortally wounded, and moſt of the ſhips that charged the enemy were greatly ſhattered. Aſcue, however, renewed the attack in the morning, but with no better ſucceſs. He made another effort on the third day, but his ſhips were ſo ſhattered in their rigging that he was again obliged to deſiſt, and he returned to Plymouth in order to repair the damage he had ſuſtained by theſe fruitleſs attempts.

Though Aſcue had done the public more eminent ſervice at ſea than even Blake himſelf had hitherto performed, yet the council of ſtate, from ſome unknown reaſons, thought proper not to employ him again in their ſervice. They, however, preſented him with 300l. in money, and ſettled on him an eſtate in Ireland of 300l. per annum.

The Engliſh parliament were not ignorant that the Dutch were ſoliciting all the princes in Europe to join them againſt the Engliſh. At the ſame time, they knew the Dutch had above 100 ſail of ſhips ready for the ſea, and had reaſon to think the French would ſoon aſſiſt them; but notwithſtanding this, they would not hearken to any reaſons for putting an end to hoſtilities. Elated with the numerous ſucceſſes they had obtained over their domeſtic enemies, they were perſuaded that nothing could ſtand before their victorious arms. Blake, who was now returned from the north, carried his fleet into different harbours to refit; and as ſoon as every thing could be got ready, he was ordered to put to ſea, and take or deſtroy all the Dutch or French veſſels he met with in his cruize.

A. D. 1653. The whole naval power of the Dutch was now at ſea, under the command of de Wit and de Ruyter; and Blake uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring them to a deciſive engagement. But the Dutch admirals, having a rich fleet of merchantmen under their convoy, avoided a battle, which they knew muſt be fatal to ſome of their ſhips. They had, however, no ſooner ſecured their convoy, than they ſtood towards the Engliſh, drawn up in a line of battle. Blake, though his fleet was greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, advanced to engage them. He divided his ſhips into three ſquadrons; the firſt commanded by himſelf, in the Sovereign, the largeſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy; the ſecond by Penn, and the third by Bourn. He began the battle himſelf; but there being a ſand-bank between the two fleets, the Sovereign, the Reſolution, and the St. Andrew, all firſt rates, ſtruck upon the ſhoal. Perſuaded that theſe three ſhips were now rendered unſerviceable, the Dutch admirals ſtood farther off to ſea, in order to bring on a cloſer engagement. The largeſt ſhip in the Dutch fleet, followed by two more, bore down upon the Sovereign, on board of which Blake's flag was hoiſted, and attacked her with the utmoſt fury. But they had ſoon cauſe to repent of their temerity. The firſt broadſide of the Sovereign ſent the headmoſt ſhip to the bottom; and the others, intimimidated by the dreadful incident, retreated back to their fleet. Night at laſt put an end to the engagement, but not before the Dutch rear-admiral was taken. De Wit took the advantage of the night to bear away from the Engliſh, whoſe ſhips were ſo ſhattered in their rigging, that they could not follow him.

Van Tromp now ſailed with a fleet ſufficiently numerous to recover the honour the Dutch had loſt in this engagement. It conſiſted of 110 ſail of men of war, beſides 17 which joined him, a few days after, from Zealand. The Engliſh had unwiſely conjectured, that as Van Tromp had been laid aſide ſince his engagement with Blake, he would not be any more employed during the war; and that it would be impoſſible for the Dutch to fit out a fleet of any great ſtrength that ſeaſon. In conſequence of this opinion, Blake had detached twenty ſail of his ſhips to convoy the colliers from Newcaſtle; twelve were laid up at Plymouth, and fifteen ſent up the river Medway to refit. The admiral had, therefore, only thirty-ſeven ſail of ſhips with him in the Downs when Tromp appeared in the Engliſh channel. He had under his convoy a great number of merchantmen; but he had no ſooner conducted them to a place of ſafety, than he ſtood directly for the Downs, with a fleet of 80 ſail of men of war. Blake perceived the Dutch admiral advancing towards him in the morning of the 29th of November; and though his ſquadron was ſo far inferior to that of the enemy, he determined not to refuſe the engagement. The fight accordingly began about eleven in the morning, and laſted till ſix in the evening, but with infinite diſadvantage to the Engliſh. The great force of the engagement fell upon Blake's own ſhip, the Triumph, and two others, the Victory and the Vanguard, which were attacked by twenty of the Dutch ſhips, and fought them all for a conſiderable time before any other ſhips could come to their aſſiſtance. Towards the evening, the Garland, commanded by captain Batton, and the Bonadventure, commanded by captain Hookſton, attacked Van Tromp's own ſhip, and would have taken her, had not ſeveral of the Dutch fleet come to her aſſiſtance. They, however, paid dear for their attempt; they were both killed, and their ſhips taken. Blake, deſirous of ſaving theſe two ſhips, puſhed forward, and by that means brought himſelf into ſo deſperate a ſituation, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he was ſaved by the aſſiſtance of the Vanguard and the Sapphire. Fortunately for the Engliſh, night ſoon after put an end to the engagement: two hours longer of day-light would have proved the deſtruction of their whole fleet. Blake retired firſt to Dover, and then to the mouth of the Thames, having loſt, beſides the two ſhips already mentioned, the Hercules, and two merchantmen. Blake himſelf was dangerouſly wounded; and a great number of his men, and ſeveral of his officers, killed. Tromp was ſo elated with this victory, that he fixed a broom at his main-top-maſt-head, intimating, that he intended to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels.

But this defeat only tended to animate the Engliſh to wipe off the diſgrace. The utmoſt efforts were made to fit out a fleet ſufficient to recover the loſſes ſuſtained in the late engagement. Among other encouragements, the pay of the ſeamen was increaſed; a larger ſhare of the prizes taken from the enemy was allotted them; and Monk, at Blake's particular requeſt, was ſent for from Scotland to aſſiſt him in the command. The true reaſon for this ſeems to have been the death of Popham, who was buried with a profuſion of honours, and the neceſſity of having a land officer on board the fleet to command the ſoldiers in time of action, but without any ſeparate command at other times. So much expedition was uſed, that by the 11th of February, Blake was at ſea, with a fleet of ſixty ſail of men of war. Several of his ſhips were new, and all of them much better manned than before. That nothing might be wanting to encourage the ſeamen and ſoldiers, hoſpitals for the reception of their ſick and wounded were erected all along the coaſts; and Blake's fleet was ſo ſtationed off Portland, that Tromp, who had upwards of 150 merchantment under his convoy could not avoid an engagement.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th of February, the fight was begun by Blake in the Triumph, ſeconded with about twelve other ſhips; among which was the Fairfax, commanded by captain Lawſon, and the Vanguard, by captain Mildmay. The impetuous courage of Blake had its uſual conſequence; it expoſed him to the moſt imminent danger: for this ſmall ſquadron bore the whole fire and fury of the Dutch, till the reſt of the fleet could come up to their aſſiſtance, which was not till ſome time after. This battle far exceeded all that had been hitherto fought between the two republics. Amazed and confounded with the ſtrength, the order and the diſcipline of the Engliſh, the Dutch exerted all their force to deſtroy Blake's fleet; while Blake, ſtung with his late misfortune, collected all his force to be revenged on the Dutch. The ſea was covered with wrecks, and the fire from the ſhips ſo quick and violent, that, for ſome time, there was a dead calm. In the mean time, the fury of the combatants was aſtoniſhing; they bore down cloſe to one another, and received the whole of every broadſide: it ſeemed as if the diſpute had not been for victory, but which ſhould firſt go to the bottom. The Triumph bore the whole fury of this dreadful fire; and muſt have been either ſunk or taken, had ſhe not been relieved by Lawſon. Blake was wounded in the thigh; Mildmay in the Vanguard, and Ball in the Triumph, were killed. The admiral's ſecretary was killed by his ſide. The Proſperous, a 44 gun ſhip, was boarded by the Dutch, but ſaved by the Merlin frigate. The Aſſiſtance and the Advice were both diſabled, and obliged to put into Portſmouth. The Fairfax loſt 100 men, the Triumph as many; and captain Batten, in the Sampſon, after ſinking one of the enemy's ſhips, found it impoſſible to keep his own above water, and was obliged to go, with his crew, on board other ſhips. But this was far from being equal to the loſs ſuſtained by the Dutch. Three days was the battle continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, obtained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. He made ſo ſkilful a retreat, that he ſaved the greater part of his convoy, which was very large, thirty only of his merchantmen falling into the hands of the Engliſh. He, however, loſt 11 ſhips of war, had 2000 men killed, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were dreadfully ſhattered, loſt only one. Their ſlain were not much inferior to that of the enemy; but they gained the immortal honour of filling their rival republic with the terrors of their power and valour.

The ſucceſs of the Engliſh was in a great meaſure owning to the ſize of their ſhips; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate. But the misfortunes the Dutch met with in battle were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe which their trade ſuffered from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off; and even that with the Baltic ſuffered greatly by the Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. Above 1600 of their ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Nor did this diſtreſs ariſe from any public intereſt or neceſſity; but from vain points of honour and national reſentments.

Though theſe triumphs of the parliament highly pleaſed the people in general, yet they operated in a very different manner on the mind of Cromwell. The remembrance of his exploits was now but faint, and one farther ſtep to glory muſt have placed the republicans ſuperior to every thing but envy. He knew not how ſoon his ſoldiers, infected with a paſſion for increaſing the glory of their country, might declare for the parliament; and ſhould that happen, one ſingle vote would be ſufficient to deſtroy at once his greatneſs and his power. No time had yet been fixed for the diſſolution of the parliament; and while he was a ſubject, and conſequently accountable, it was the ſame to him whether the preſiding power was a monarchy or a commonwealth. He indeed commanded the army, and the troops were at preſent at his devotion; but theſe triumphs at ſea ſeemed greatly to leſſen their regard for their favourite general; they deſired to ſhare in the honours of their countrymen. On the other hand, the zealous republicans ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and celebrated, with uncommon demonſtrations of joy, the ſucceſſes of their naval armaments. They even ventured to urge the neceſſity of diminiſhing the number of the land forces, which they repreſented as no longer neceſſary to ſupport the domeſtic peace of the nation.

Cromwell now plainly ſaw that the republicans entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambitious deſigns, and were reſolved to render him ſubordinate to their authority. But this he determined to prevent; and the only method of effecting it was, by diſſolving the parliament. He accordingly ſummoned a general council of officers, and ſoon found that they were ready to join him in any attempt he might think neceſſary. Moſt of them were his own creatures, owed their advancement entirely to his favor, and depended on him for their future preferment. Some of them, indeed, were men of principle, but guided by notions ſo fanatically extravagant, that they were eaſily deluded into the moſt violent and criminal meaſures.

The firſt ſtep taken by the council of officers was, to vote a remonſtrance to the parliament. It began with complaining of the arrears due to the army; and after applauding the parliament for their zeal and enterprizes, repreſented to them, that it was now time to reſign their ſeats, and leave to other members of the commonwealth the cares of government; and that they would now, by eſtabliſhing a free and equal adminiſtration, perform the promiſe they had long ſince made to the people.

The parliament was at once alarmed and exaſperated at theſe proceedings of the army; and after a violent debate, a ſharp reply was returned to their remonſtrance. This perfectly anſwered the wiſhes of Cromwell, for as the harſh anſwer of the parliament gave the higheſt offence to the council of officers, ſo he found it more eaſy to inſpire them with thoſe ſentiments that might effect the completion of his long-concerted project.

While the council of officers were engaged in conſulting what methods to purſue, colonel Ingoldſby entered the apartment, and informed Cromwell, that the parliament had juſt voted not to diſſolve themſelves, but to fill up the houſe by new elections; and that the manner of carrying this expedient into execution was the ſubject on which they then were deliberating. Exaſperated at this intelligence, Cromwell left the council of officers; and taking with him 300 ſoldiers, repaired to the houſe, leaving ſome of his men at the foot of the ſtairs, ſome at the entrance of the lobby, and ſome at the door. He advanced to his ſeat, and told his friend St. John, that he was come to do an act which grieved his very ſoul, and had beſought the Lord, with prayers and tears, not to impoſe it upon him, but that the glory of God, and the good of the nation, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. He, however, ſat ſtill, and liſtened to the debates for ſome time; and then told colonel Harriſon, that he thought the parliament was now ſufficiently ripe for a diſſolution. Harriſon warned him of the danger that might attend a ſtep of that nature, and deſired him to conſider the conſequences before he attempted it. Cromwell accordingly ſat ſtill for ſome time longer; but when the ſpeaker was juſt going to put the queſtion, he ſtarted from his ſeat, accuſed the parliament, in the moſt opprobrious language, of tyranny, ambition, rapine, and injuſtice. Then ſtamping violently with his foot, the ſignal he had given the ſoldiers for entering the houſe, he cried out, "Get you gone for ſhame; give place to honeſter men, to thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge their truſt. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, you are no longer a parliament; the Lord hath caſt you off; he hath choſen other inſtruments for carrying on his work." Then taking Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaſter," ſaid he. To a ſecond, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton." And to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner." The ſpeaker, fond of his power and dignity, ſeemed unwilling to leave the chair, and kept his ſeat till he was in a manner pulled out of it by Harriſon. Cromwell, pointing to the mace that lay on the table, ſaid to one of the ſoldiers, "Take away that fool's bauble." Then turning himſelf to the houſe, he ſaid, "It is you that have forced me upon this. I have ſought the Lord, night and day, with ſtrong prayers and tears, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this work; but he would not hear me." The ſoldiers ſoon cleared the houſe, and it was ſufficiently evident, from the furious manner in which Cromwell behaved, that he would, in caſe of oppoſition, have put every man of them to death. Sir Peter Wentworth and Sir Henry Vane were the only members that had the courage to upbraid him with his conduct, which they did in the ſevereſt terms, accuſing him of ingratitude and treachery. He took no notice of what was ſaid by the former, but interrupted the latter, by crying out with a terrible voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" As ſoon as the ſoldiers had cleared the houſe, Cromwell ſeized all the journals and public papers, ordered the doors to be locked, and carried the keys with him to Whitehall.

Thus, by one bold effort of power, Cromwell in a few minutes effected a work, which would have coſt a common plodding politician his whole life to have brought about, and perhaps in the end might have fell a victim to his own intrigues. But Cromwell alone was capable of properly forming and executing ſo bold a deſign. At firſt he intended to have been the ſole diſpenſer of juſtice himſelf, and not to ſhare his power with another; but, upon more mature reflection, he determined to ſatisfy the expectations of the people by governing them under the appearance of a republic. He accordingly ſummoned one hundred and twenty-eight Engliſhmen, ſix Iriſh, and five Scots, to meet at London. To each of theſe he ſent a written order, requeſting them to come and take upon them the ſovereign power, and to govern the nation. The manner and form of this order, or writ, was as follows:

"Foraſmuch as, upon the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, it became neceſſary that the peace, ſafety, and good government of this commonwealth ſhould be provided for; in order whereunto divers perſons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honeſty, are by myſelf, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and truſt of ſo weighty affairs is to be committed, and having good aſſurance of their love to and courage for God, and intereſt of his cauſe, and of the good people of the commonwealth:

"I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, within this commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you (being one of the ſaid perſons nominated) perſonally to appear at the council-chamber in Whitehall, on the 4th day of July next enſuing the date hereof, to take upon you the ſaid truſt, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to ſerve as a member for the county of——; and hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and ſeal the 6th day of June, 1653.

Oliver Cromwell."

This aſſembly met agreeable to the above ſummons, when Cromwell delegated to them, during fifteen months, the legiſlative authority; after which they were to transfer it to one hundred and thirty four others, to be choſen by themſelves.

On the diſſolution of the late parliament, the Dutch had flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſucceeding in their negociations for a peace; and it muſt be owned that Cromwell was far from being averſe to put a period to hoſtilities. But ſeveral reaſons prevented him from putting his deſign into execution. He knew that nothing could render him more popular than carrying on the Dutch war with vigour; and the Engliſh were now more capable of diſputing the empire of the ſea with the enemy than they had ever been before. This was, in a great meaſure, owing to the friendſhip of Sweden, by which, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the Dutch and Danes, the Engliſh had been furniſhed with materials for ſhip building.

The Dutch, finding the Engliſh determined to proſecute the war, fitted out a powerful fleet, which ſailed from Holland about the middle of June, under the command of Van Tromp, de Wit, and de Ruyter. Blake, with his diviſion of eighteen ſail of ſhips, had ſtood to the northward, and not yet joined the fleet commanded by Monk and Dean. But his abſence did not prevent the Engliſh from advancing againſt the enemy. Their fleet conſiſted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ſhips; and the Dutch of ninety-eight men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips. The engagement began in the morning of the ſecond of July, ſoon after which, Dean, one of the Engliſh admirals, was killed. Monk, with great prudence and preſence of mind, concealed this misfortune from the ſeamen, by immediately dropping his cloak over the dead body of that able officer. The fury of the contending fleets ſeemed to be increaſed in proportion as the officers had learned experience. Lawſon, the Engliſh rear-admiral, charged with the blue ſquadron, conſiſting of 40 ſhips, through the whole Dutch fleet with amazing execution, and would have taken de Ruyter's ſhip, had he not been relieved by Van Tromp, who, in his turn, was charged by Monk, and the battle continued to rage with the moſt violent fury till three in the afternoon, each party ignorant of the loſs they had ſuſtained, both fleets being involved in an impracticable cloud of ſmoak. At laſt the Dutch fury gave way to the well directed courage of the Engliſh. The faintneſs of their fire gave the firſt intimation of their loſs, and the wind being favourable they withdrew from the engagement; but were cannonaded in their retreat by the lighter ſhips of the Engliſh. Van Tromp performed all that could be expected from the braveſt and moſt experienced commander. He endeavoured to keep his ſhips in a line of battle; but three or four of them being ſunk, and one of his flag-ſhips blown up, his whole fleet was thrown into confuſion, and he was obliged to retire from the Engliſh. This engagement happened off the north Foreland, and during the night Blake joined Monk with his diviſion. The next morning the attack was renewed; but the Dutch were ſo diſheartened by the preceding engagement, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty their admirals could prevail upon their men to fight. But the conteſt was now unequal. Tromp was twice boarded by vice-admiral Penn, but diſengaged by de Ruyter and de Wit. Six capital Dutch ſhips were ſunk, two blown up by fire-ſhips, and eleven taken. The whole was now a diſorderly flight; nor could the Dutch captains, either by perſuaſions or menaces, be brought to face the Engliſh; and the remainder of their fleet muſt have been inevitably deſtroyed, had they not taken ſhelter on the flats between Dunkirk and Calais, where it was dangerous for the Engliſh to follow them.

When the news of this defeat reached Holland, it not only threw the ſtates, but all ranks of people into the utmoſt conſternation. They now ſaw that fleet, which, but a few days before, they thought invincible, blocked up in their harbours by a victorious enemy, which was every moment ruining their trade, on which their very being, as a maritime power, depended. Tromp, in his letter to the ſtates, complained bitterly that his ſhips were not ſufficiently ſupplied with powder and ball, and that his whole misfortune ought to be imputed to his want of ammunition. The common people, from whom theſe complaints were not long a ſecret, were enraged to the higheſt pitch of fury. They ſaid, that a deſign had been formed to betray their fleet into the hands of the enemy, that the republic might be under the neceſſity of making peace upon their own terms. The ſtates were alarmed, and purſued the only method in their power to ſilence the clamours of the people; they uſed the utmoſt diligence and expedition in repairing and refitting their fleet; they recalled their ſhips from the different ſtations, in order if poſſible to wipe off the diſgrace of the late defeat.

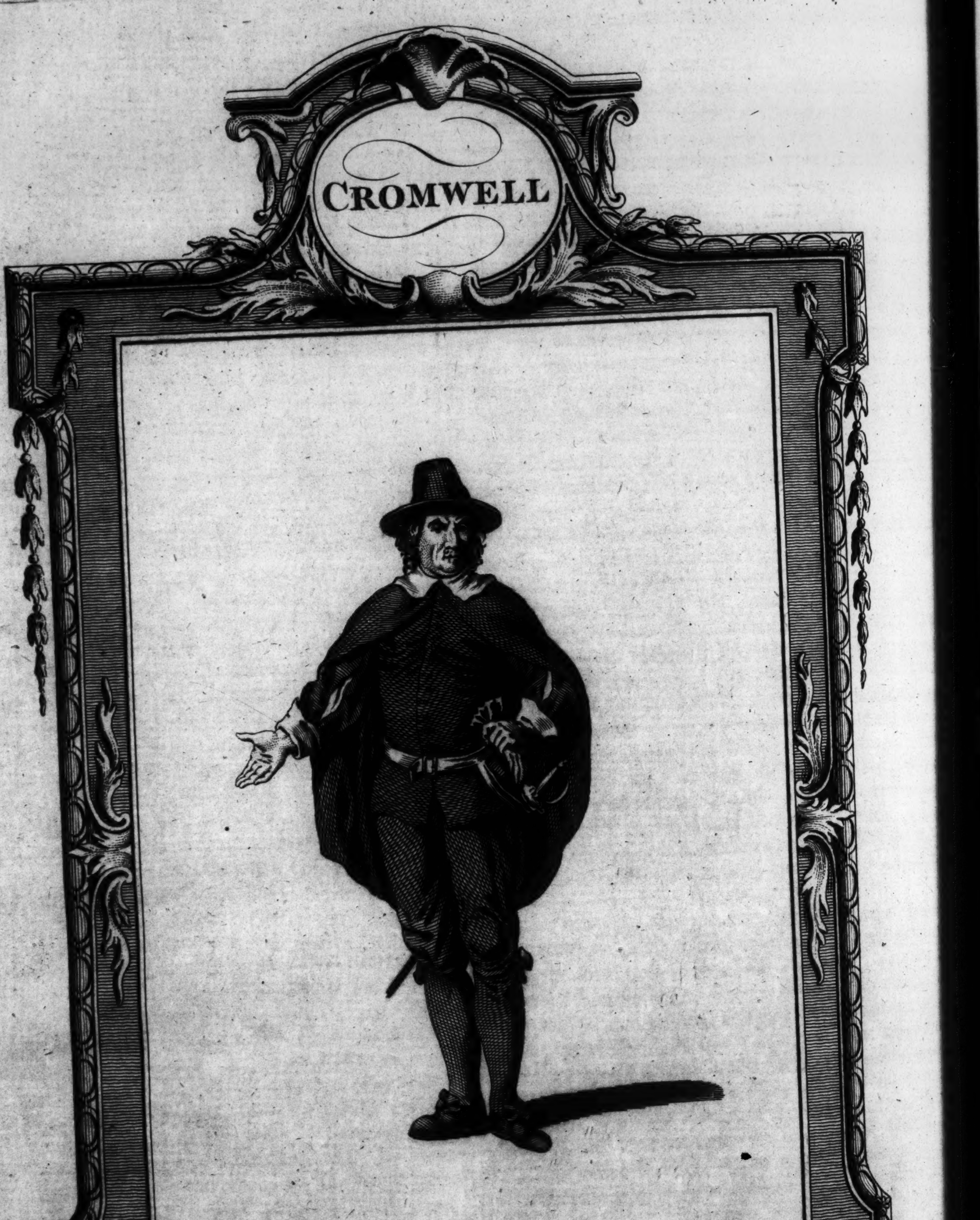
The Engliſh were ſo animated at their repeated conqueſts, that they would not liſten to any terms of peace, unleſs the Dutch would agree to diſarm their ſhips, pay all the expences of the war, and make full ſatisfaction for the damages the Engliſh merchants had ſuſtained. Cromwell, however, hinted to the Dutch ambaſſadors, that peace might be concluded on much eaſier terms, but did not think it prudent to explain himſelf farther at preſent on ſo delicate a ſubject. He was, however, perſuaded, that if the Dutch were totally ruined, he ſhould never be able to obtain the ſummit of his wiſhes, the ſupreme power in England, which perhaps he would have been glad to purchaſe even by a defeat at ſea. To this perſuaſion the Dutch owed their ſafety. The late victory, however complete, was not proſecuted with all the vigour that might have been expected. The enemy were incapable of ſending five men of war to ſea, their beſt admirals refuſed to act, and a rich Eaſt-India fleet was every day expected. Yet no advantages were taken of this diſtreſſed ſtate of the enemy. Blake, indeed, continued cruiſing on the coaſt of Holland; but he made no attempt on their harbours, and the Eaſt-India fleet arrived in ſafety.

In the mean time the Dutch were exerting all their efforts to repair and increaſe their navy. Nor were their attempts in vain; their fleet was ſoon in a better condition than ever, both with regard to the largeneſs of the ſhips, and the number of ſeamen. Van Tromp, de Ruyter, and other famous admirals, had now no longer the leaſt pretence for abandoning the public ſervice. Young Tromp, who had taken an Engliſh man of war in the ſtreights, was ordered home with his ſquadron, and ſome very large Eaſt-India ſhips were converted into men of war; ſo that about the latter end of July, Van Tromp's ſquadron conſiſted of ninety ſtout ſhips, manned with able ſeamen, and well provided with ammunition and ſtores.

Van Tromp left Holland on the 30th of July, and immediately ſailed to the Texel. Here he was joined by de Ruyter and de Wit; and by this junction the whole fleet amounted to 120 ſail. The Engliſh fleet, which was commanded by Monk, Lawſon, and Penn, amounted only to 90 ſail; but they were determined to give the enemy battle. The engagement accordingly began on the 31ſt of July, in the morning, with the utmoſt fury. The Dutch had now obviated all the diſadvantages under which they laboured in their former engagements: they worked their ſhips with wonderful addreſs, and fought with the moſt ſurpriſing reſolution. Monk, on the other hand, gave his orders with that calmneſs and preciſion which characteriſes the conſummate commander. The battle continued to rage with the utmoſt violence till near noon, when the brave admiral Van Tromp was killed with a muſquet ball, as he was encouraging his men. As ſoon as his death was known, the Dutch retired towards their own coaſts with the utmoſt precipitation. They loſt in this engagement 24 of their men of war, about 4000 of their men were killed, and 1000 taken priſoners. The Engliſh loſt three men of war, ſix captains, and 500 ſeamen. Eight hundred were dangerouſly wounded, and the whole fleet ſo ſhattered, that they were obliged to return home.

The parliament choſen by Cromwell had now ſat about five months, during the greateſt part of which time they had had been expoſed to the ridicule and contempt of the public. Among the fanatics that compoſed this aſſembly was a very active member, remarkable for long prayers, ſermons and harangues. He

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


CROMWELL
Wale delin.
Taylor sculp.
Common Wealth

He was a leather-ſeller in London, and known by the name of "Praiſe-God Barebones," a ridiculous appellation formed by ſome poet to expreſs the meagre figure of ſo ſtrange a perſon. The populace were pleaſed with the thought, and gave the aſſembly itſelf the name of "The Barebones Parliament."

Though this aſſembly had received all their authority from Cromwell, they now began to pretend they had been favoured with ſupernatural power, and that they ſhould act in conformity to ſo diſtinguiſhed a commiſſion. The friends of Cromwell perceived that they meant to purſue meaſures contrary to his intereſt, and therefore determined to put a period to this ridiculous parliament. Accordingly, they met early at the houſe; and one of them moved, that the ſitting of this parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. This motion was carried almoſt unanimouſly, on which they immediately haſtened to Cromwell, with Rouſe, their ſpeaker, at their head; and, by a formal deed, reſigned back into his hands that authority which they had ſo lately received from him.

In conſequence of their reſignation the machine of government was once more ſtopped; and it was now propoſed, in a council of officers, to introduce a new ſcheme of adminiſtration, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be diſtinguiſhed under the appellation of Protector. Lambert, one of the creatures of Cromwell, accordingly produced a paper, called, "The Inſtrument of Government," containing the plan of this new legiſlature; and as it was ſuppoſed to be approved of by the general, it was readily agreed to by the council.

This Inſtrument of Government conſiſted of forty-two articles, the chief of which were in ſubſtance as follow: A council of ſtate was appointed, which was not to conſiſt of more than twenty-one, nor leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members were to name three, out of whom the protector was to chuſe one. The protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth: in his name all juſtice was adminiſtered; from him all magiſtracy and all honours were derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, except murder and treaſon; and to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, was veſted in him; but with regard to theſe particulars, he was to act entirely with the advice and conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation or diſſolution. The bills they paſſed were to be preſented to the protector for his conſent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to have the force of laws by the authority of the parliament only. A ſtanding army for England and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, and funds were eſtabliſhed for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without the conſent of the protector, and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative voice. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and councils had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the firſt meeting of the parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both benches, were to be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death the place was to be filled by the council.

Such was the Inſtrument of Government enacted by the council of officers, and ſworn to by Cromwell, who, on the 16th of December was inſtalled into that high office, by the title of "His Highneſs the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" and the principal perſons that attended were, the judges, the council of ſtate, and the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London. *

Cromwell's firſt care was to nominate a council of fifteen perſons. This council was compoſed of ſuch men as he knew were entirely devoted to his ſervice; and at the ſame time they were ſo very oppoſite in their opinions with regard to the principles of civil and religious liberty, that there was not the leaſt danger of their uniting againſt the intereſt of their maſter.

The government being thus ſettled, the new council immediately publiſhed the following proclamation:

"Whereas the late parliament diſſolving themſelves, reſigned their power and authority; the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a lord protector, and ſucceſſive triennial parliaments, is now eſtabliſhed. And whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this commonwealth, is declared lord protector of the ſaid nations, and hath accepted thereof; we have therefore thought it neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and command, all and every perſon or perſons, of what quality or condition ſoever, in any of the ſaid three nations, to take notice hereof, and to confirm and ſubmit themſelves to the government ſo eſtabliſhed. And all ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. are required to publiſh this proclamation, to the end that none may have cauſe to pretend ignorance in this behalf."

Thus did a private gentleman, by an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocriſy, riſe to the kingly power, though under another name. Cromwell was near 55 years of age when he attained the ſovereign power, 42 of which he had paſſed without having had any employ, either civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commiſſion of horſe in the army they levied againſt the king. From this beginning he roſe, by the ſteps we have ſeen, to be maſter of that houſe; and, after having humbled and ſubdued Charles I. and his ſon, he now ſtepped into the royal ſeat, and, without being king, reigned more abſolute and fortunate than any king had ever done.

The Dutch, overwhelmed with the expences of the war, and mortified by their defeats, now puſhed the negotiations for a peace with the utmoſt aſſiduity. It was known that the greateſt obſtacle to a pacification conſiſted not in any animoſity conceived by the Engliſh

---

* A few days after the inſtallation, the corporation of London invited his Highneſs to dine with them at Grocer's-hall; which being accepted, he was received by the citizens with all regal honours: the city companies in their ſtands lined the ſtreets through which he paſſed; and he was met and attended by the lord-mayor and aldermen, the former of whom carried the ſword before him bare-headed, and the latter rode on horſeback in their formalities. Before his departure from the hall, he, in virtue of his ſovereign character, conferred the honour of knighthood on the lord-mayor, and thanked the citizens for their diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect ſhewn to his perſon and government.

liſh againſt the Dutch, but in a deſire of a cloſe union and confederacy. Cromwell had formed the commercial ſcheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, intereſts, and councils. It is no wonder that a ſcheme built on ſo deluſive a foundation ſhould appear abſurd to the States-general: they were aſtoniſhed that any man in his ſenſes ſhould entertain ſuch romantic notions, and abſolutely refuſed to enter into any negociations on ſo impracticable a ſcheme of accommodation. At length, however, a peace was made, and ſigned by Cromwell, the principal conditions of which were theſe: That the Dutch ſhould pay him 300,000l. ſterling: That the ſhips of the States-general ſhould pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag: and that they ſhould never reſtore the young prince of Orange to the office of Stadtholder.

A. D. 1654. The peace with the Dutch brought great credit to Cromwell's adminiſtration. Moſt of the powers in Europe ſent ambaſſadors to court his alliance; and an incident that happened about this time ſufficiently evinced his intentions of governing with ſpirit and juſtice. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion, thinking himſelf affronted in the ſtreets of London, repaired the next day to the Exchange, and ſeeing a merchant, whom he thought reſembled the author of the injury, he immediately killed him, and took ſhelter in the houſe of his brother, who had connived at this baſe action. Cromwell paid no regard to his aſylum; he ſent a company of ſoldiers, who took Don Pantaleon from his brother's houſe, and committed him to priſon. He was ſoon after tried, and being condemned, was executed on Tower-hill, * notwithſtanding his brother, and all the foreign ambaſſadors then in London uſed their utmoſt endeavours to obtain a pardon. The ſituation of Portugal at this time was ſuch, that they could not reſent this tranſaction; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce.

On the third of September, according to writs iſſued by Cromwell for that purpoſe, the parliament met at Weſtminſter. He went in great ſtate, and opened it with a ſpeech, in which he informed them of the ſteps he had taken for modelling the new government; aſſured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them that he had convoked a free parliament, and that he did not pretend to be their maſter, but their fellow-labourer.

The parliament, having with great attention liſtened to his ſpeech, and, by Cromwell's recommendation, choſen Lenthall for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of the Inſtrument of Government, and of that authority which Cromwell, under the title of protector, had aſſumed over the nation. They arraigned his new dignity with the greateſt freedom, and even his perſonal character and conduct did not eſcape without cenſure. The protector, enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, ſent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed againſt their proceedings, telling them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title; ſince the ſame inſtrument of government which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new government were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were the government of the nation by one perſon and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which in the other circumſtances of government, he confeſſed himſelf in no wiſe entitled. When the members returned to the houſe they found a guard at the door, which would not ſuffer any one to enter till he had firſt ſigned a recognition, by which he promiſed to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland: and that he would never conſent to a change in the government eſtabliſhed under a protector and parliament. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition; but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit, which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The Inſtrument o Government was examined article by article, wit the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy. The general approbation of the houſe was given thoſe who advanced th freeſt topics; and during the whole courſe of thei tranſactions, they neither took any notice of the protector, nor ſent him a ſingle bill for his approbation.

Cromwell was highly diſguſted at this behaviour o the parliament; and being informed that many o the members had joined in a conſpiracy with the diſcontented officers of the army, he determined t diſſolve an aſſembly ſo dangerous to his power. Ac cording to the Inſtrument of Government, fiv months were allowed every parliament to ſit befor it could be diſſolved; but Cromwell pretended tha a month contained only twenty-eight days; and th full time, according to this method of reckonin being elapſed, they were again ordered to attend th protector in the painted chamber, where, after a lon and angry harangue, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

The meeting of a diſcontented parliament is alway a ſure ſign of a diſcontented nation: the haſty an abrubt diſſolution of ſuch a parliament never fails inflame the diſcontent to a higher degree of mali nity. The members of this aſſembly returning their ſeveral counties, carried along with them th ſpirit of diſaffection which they had diſcovered in t houſe. The royaliſts ſeeing this took advantage it, and could no longer be held in ſubjection: th raſhly imagined that every one who was diſpleaſ muſt, like them, have adopted the ſame views a intereſt. This falſe notion urged them on to prac ces which, in the end, ſubjected them and th friends to the ſevereſt vengeance.

A. D. 1655. In the beginning of this year a co ſpiracy was formed in various parts of the kingdo and a day for a general riſing was appointed. Cro well was informed of the deſign. Thurloe, his cretary had ſpies in every part of the kingdom; a the protector's government was extremely vigila Many of the royaliſts were apprehended and thro into priſon. Others, as the day appointed approac ed, were ſeized with terror, and abandoned the p ject. In one place only, the conſpiracy broke into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and ot gentlemen in the weſt, entered Saliſbury at the v time when the ſheriff and judges were holding aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners, and proclaim the king. But, contrary to their expectations, fi ing the people not diſpoſed to join them, they march farther weſtward, and being purſued by a troop horſe, they were defeated, and moſt of them ta priſon

---

* On the ſame day (July 10, 1654.) were executed two gentlemen of the names of Gerard and Vowel, who had been condemned for high-treaſon in conſpiring the death of the protector. The former was beheaded on the ſame ſcaffold with the Po gueſe ambaſſador's brother, and the latter was hanged at Meuſe Gate.

priſoners. The leaders of the conſpiracy were put to death; and the reſt were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

The failure of this attempt of the royaliſts only tended to eſtabliſh the power of the protector; the people were fearſul of oppoſing a man, who was ſo conſtantly attended with ſucceſs. Cromwell even regarded the inſurrection itſelf as a fortunate event; becauſe it demonſtrated the reality of theſe conſpiracies, which his enemies always repreſented as mere fictions, invented ſolely to varniſh over his ſeverities. It ſerved another purpoſe: it enabled him to extort large ſums from the royaliſts, under pretence of making them pay the expences incurred by their mutinous diſpoſitions. He iſſued an edict for exacting the tenth penny on all their eſtates: and in order to collect an impoſition at once ſo oppreſſive and iniquitous, he inſtituted ten major-generals, and divided the kingdom into ſo many military juriſdictions. Theſe men, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, were impowered to lay any perſon they pleaſed under the tax of decimation, to levy all the impoſts ſettled by the protector and his council, and to impriſon any perſon whom they ſhould ſuſpect to be enemies to the government. Nor was there any appeal from their arbitrary judgment but to the protector himſelf in council. Deſpotiſm now appeared openly to preſide over the Engliſh; the very maſk of liberty was thrown aſide. Veſted with ſuch unlimited power, theſe major-generals became ſo many tyrants, and oppreſſed the people to ſuch a degree, that Cromwell thought proper firſt to reſtrain, and afterwards totally to aboliſh them; but not till they had fully anſwered his purpoſe on the royaliſts, not one of whom durſt publicly avow his principles.

While Cromwell was thus reigning abſolute in England, the royal family ſuffered the utmoſt diſtreſs at Paris. The queen had, indeed, a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill paid, and her credit ſo low in that capital, that ſhe complained one morning to cardinal de Retz, that her daughter, the princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to be a-bed for want of a fire to warm her. Cromwell, deſirous of humbling the pride and power of France, pretended to reſent the protection which the royal family received in that kingdom, though ſurely ſuch treatment deſerved not his anger: it muſt have excited pity in an ingenuous breaſt. Cromwell, however, thought otherwiſe; and the merchants having complained that ſome of their ſhips had been ſtopped and ſearched by the French, he iſſued letters of repriſal; and Blake ſeized a whole fleet of merchant ſhips, loaded with proviſions and ſtores for Dunkirk, then beſieged by the Spaniards.

The court of France were greatly alarmed at theſe hoſtile proceedings; and in order to remove every cauſe of complaint, they treated Charles with ſuch neglect that he thought it prudent to withdraw, in order to prevent the indignity of being deſired to leave the kingdom. He firſt retired to Spaw, and afterwards to Cologne, where he reſided two years on a ſmall penſion paid him by the king of France, and a few ſubſcriptions ſent him by his friends in England. His chief friends and confidents were Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond. This puſillanimous behaviour in the court of France produced at laſt the deſired effect, and the protector ſigned a peace with that kingdom.

The Spaniſh court had paid every ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh government, and even endeavoured to form an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the protector; but failing in the attempt, endeavours were uſed to make a breach between England and France. Cromwell was no ſtranger to theſe intrigues, but made no complaints to Cardenas, the Spaniſh miniſter. A powerful fleet was, however, fitted out, and all Europe were held in ſuſpence with regard to its deſtination. The Spaniards ſeemed not the leaſt alarmed; thy never ſuſpected that it was intended to attack their ſettlements in the New World. At laſt two ſtrong ſquadrons ſailed from England, one commanded by Penn, and the other by Blake. The former was deſtined to the Weſt-Indies, the latter to act in the Mediterranean. And what is ſtill more remarkable, Blake had orders to aſſiſt the Spaniards in Europe, and Penn to diſtreſs them in America.

When Blake arrived in the Bay of Gadiz, he undertook to ſerve the Spaniards againſt the duke of Guiſe, who then threatened to make a deſcent on Naples, and was fortunate enough to eſcape the Engliſh fleet.

Blake ſoon after directed his courſe towards Africa, in order to demand ſatisfaction from the piratical ſtates of Barbary for the inſults and depredations they had committed on the Engliſh. On his arrival at Trepano, he detached ſeveral frigates to block up the Tuniſine ſhips at Porto Farino. Terrified at the appearance of Blake, the Dey of Algiers deſired to make a peace with the protector, and agreed to reſtrain his piratical ſubjects from committing any farther violences on the Engliſh. But he was treated in a very different manner by the Dey of Tunis. On preſenting himſelf before that port, and making the ſame demands, the Dey, pointing to the caſtles of Porto Farino and Goletto, dared him to do his worſt. The courage of Blake needed not this bravado to rouſe it into action: he laid the broadſides of his ſhips almoſt cloſe to the caſtles, and ſoon tore them in pieces with his artillery. While this furious attack was carrying on, he ſent a ſtrong detachment of ſeamen in their long boats up the harbour, and burnt every ſhip that lay there. Terrified and aſtoniſhed at an action hitherto conſidered as impoſſible, the Tuniſines were convinced that they had acted very imprudently; they agreed to make the required ſatisfaction, and courted the friendſhip of a man whoſe valour had filled the African ſtates with wonder and aſtoniſhment.

Penn's expedition, however, was far from being equally ſuceeſsful. His fleet conſiſted of 30 ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports, on board of which were 5000 land forces under the command of colonel Venables. They were joined by about 5000 more at Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's. But the two commanders, though they both favoured monarchy, were of very different tempers. The troops were ill provided with arms, ammunition, and proviſions: they were the refuſe of the whole army, and thoſe inliſted in the Weſt-Indies the moſt profligate of mankind. Before the fleet and army ſailed from St. Chriſtopher's, a proclamation was publiſhed, by which it was declared, that neither the ſoldiers nor ſailors were to have any ſhare of the plunder; but, as an equivalent, to receive a fortnight's pay. This was certainly a very imprudent ſtep, as it deprived them of the only incentive to courage and reſolution.

On the 20th of April the fleet arrived at the iſland of Hiſpaniola; and it was determined by the admiral and general to attack St. Domingo, the capital, and indeed the only place of ſtrength in the iſland; but this was over-ruled by the commiſſioners whom the protector had ſent on board the fleet, to regulate its operations, and act as ſpies on the conduct of both commanders. This oppoſition of the commiſſioners proved the ruin of the expedition. A ſmall part of the fleet was ordered to lie before the capital, to amuſe the enemy, while the main body of the forces were landed at Baſſado-bay, where the proclamations againſt plundering was again renewed. This threw ſuch a damp upon the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, that all the courage and intrepidity of their officers could not remove. In the mean time, colonel Buller had landed about ten miles from St. Domingo, at the head of the troops that had been left on board the ſhips to amuſe the enemy. It had been agreed, that Buller ſhould wait till he was joined by Venables, in order to attack a fort ſituated between them and the capital. But the enemy abandoning the fortreſs at the appearance of the Engliſh, Buller purſued his march towards St. Domingo, and encamped at ſome diſtance from a ſtrong fort, which formed the principal defence of the place. While Buller continued in his camp, Venables was obliged, during four days, to purſue a very fatiguing and diſcouraging march of near forty miles through an unknown and deſart country; and his men were ſcarce able to ſupport themſelves from the heat of the climate and the want of water.

By this time the Spaniards had recovered from their conſternation; and having drawn together a conſiderable body of forces, lined the woods with ſtrong ambuſcades, by which great numbers of the Engliſh were cut off in their march. Notwithſtanding this, the Engliſh attacked them with ſuch intrepidity, that they were driven from their faſtneſſes into the fort; and had not the Engliſh, through thirſt and faintneſs, been obliged to defer the attack of the fort, both that and the town itſelf muſt have fallen that very night into their hands. Nor could they continue on the ſpot where Buller was encamped for want of water; but were obliged to march to the place where that commander landed, where they continued till the 25th of Auguſt, under inexpreſſible hardſhips. Captain Cox, their principal guide, was ſlain; their bread was mouldy and ſcarce; their proviſions ſalt and rotten; their arms in very bad condition; one of their regiments gave evident ſigns of mutiny; no harmony ſubſiſted between their two principal commanders; and a peſtilential diſeaſe raged both in their fleet and camp. They, however, marched on the 26th of April, to attack the fort; captain Jackſon, who commanded the van, led his men, either incautiouſly or treacherouſly, into a defile, lined on each ſide by the enemies troops. The Engliſh had advanced ſo far before they perceived their danger, that they were expoſed to the whole fire of the Spaniards, without being able to return it with any effect; and every man of them muſt have been cut off, had not colonel Haynes at the head of a detachment of his regiment, puſhed into the wood, and diſlodged the enemy by attacking them in flank. Haynes himſelf was killed after diſplaying amazing efforts of valour, together with moſt of the officers, and 500 ſoldiers. The diverſion of Haynes enabled Venables to attack the enemy with advantage, and drive them into the fort. But the next morning it was found, that the only mortar-piece in the army was unfit for ſervice, and without a bombardment there were no hopes of ſucceſs. It was therefore determined to abandon the enterprize, and re-embark the forces.

In order to make ſome amends for this miſcarriage, the fleet ſailed to Jamaica, which they conquered almoſt without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Engliſh republic on the ſecond of June. Having left ſome troops on the iſland, they returned to England about the beginning of September; and the Protector was ſo exaſperated at their having failed in their attempt on Hiſpaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be ſent to the Tower; but they were ſoon after releaſed. In the mean time care was taken to reinforce the garriſon of Jamaica, which ſoon after became what it ſtill continues, a flouriſhing and wealthy colony.

A. D. 1656. When the Spaniards were informed of the depredations made by the Engliſh in the West-Indies, they immediately declared war againſt the Protector, and ſeized all the goods and ſhipping belonging to the Engliſh merchants in the territories of Spain. The commerce with that kingdom, ſo advantageous to the nation, was now entirely at an end, and near 1500 merchantmen fell into the hands of the enemy.

In conſequence of this, Blake received orders to begin hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, and exert al his abilities to intercept their Plate fleet. He cruized for ſome time off Cadiz, in expectation of meeting with it; but being at laſt diſtreſſed for want o water, he was obliged to ſail towards Portugal, in order to procure a ſupply. Soon after his departure captain Stayner, whom he had left off the Spaniſ coaſt with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, came in ſigh of the galleons, and crowded all the ſail he coul carry, in order to come up with them; but befor this could be effected, the Spaniſh admiral ran hi ſhip aſhore, and was followed by two others. Th reſt were following the example, but were taken b the Engliſh, and valued at near two million of piec of eight. The two galleons on ſhore were ſet o fire; and the marquis of Bajadox, viceroy of Per with his wife and daughter, periſhed in the flames.

This ſucceſs greatly contributed to increaſe the p pularity of Cromwell's government; and he too care to diſplay all the advantages of the acquiſition, b ordering the treaſure taken in the galleons to b brought up from Portſmouth to London by land. B fore this welcome ſupply arrived, Cromwell had bee reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of money, a ſeverely laſhed in ſeveral pamphlets by ſome of t members of the long parliament. He had, indee laid exceſſive impoſitions on the royaliſts, and pu liſhed ſeveral rigorous edicts for collecting the publ taxes; but all theſe reſources were not ſufficient to d fray the expences of government.

Blake had not been long returned from the co of Portugal, before he received adviced that Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than former, had taken ſhelter in the bay of Santa Cr in one of the Canary iſlands. Blake immediat ſailed thither; and ſoon found that his intelligence h not deceived him; but he perceived that every p caution had been taken to render any attempt up the galleons abortive. The ſmaller ſhips were moo cloſe to the ſhore, under the numerous cannon o ſtrong caſtle, and ſeven ſmaller batteries well moun with artillery, and a line of communication runn between them all. Six large galleons lay near entrance of this harbour, a ſtrong boom being dra acroſs its mouth, fitted up like floating batteries, their broadſides towards the Engliſh. Blake ſurvey the batteries with the cloſeſt attention, but was ra animated than daunted by the danger. He calle council of war, and it was unanimouſly determine burn the Spaniſh galleons. Blake himſelf underto the attack of the large ſhips and forts, while Stay attempted to force his way into the harbour.

Accordingly, as ſoon as the morning appea Stayner, in the Speaker frigate, ſtood into the with his ſquadron, while Blake attacked the forts galleons. The dreadful ſcene that followed is e imagined than deſcribed. The Spaniards themſe believed it to be the effect of fiends rather than of m and thanked heaven they could loſe no part of t honour in the action, as they were born to fight men, and not with devils. Every circumſta tended to confirm them in that deluſion. The t dering of Blake's cannon; the fury of his ſai who ruſhed amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy's fir if they had been invulnerable, and ſeemed to their ſafety in the mouth of danger; the ſhouts of aſſailants, and the groans of the wounded, hear the ſhort intervals between the roaring of the artill and, at laſt, the flames of their own ſhips, burſting through the clouds of ſmoak, and lighting up the dreadful ſcene of death and ruin, convinced the Spaniards that all oppoſition was in vain; they thought it would be madneſs to oppoſe force and courage to a ſupernatural power. The fire from their forts abated; their troops were driven from their intrenchments; their harbour was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and their ſhips totally abandoned; ſo that not one of them eſcaped the flames, except two which had been ſunk in the action.

But the greateſt danger ſtill attended the Engliſh; the wind blew right into the bay; and their eagerneſs had carried them ſo near the ſhore, that their ſhips muſt have been deſtroyed, had not the wind, by ſuddenly ſhifting, removed all their fears, and carried them beyond the reach of danger. Though this action was remarkably ſevere, and though the Engliſh expoſed themſelves to the thickeſt of the enemy's fire, they had only 48 men killed, and 110 wounded. The loſs of the Spaniards, both in men and ſhips, was very great; and the latter, for ſome time, irrepairable.

This was at once the greateſt and laſt action of the intrepid Blake. His health had been, for ſome time, declining, and he now obtained permiſſion to return; but he unfortunately died on his paſſage. He was always conſidered as one of the greateſt men this country ever produced. Though a ſtrict republican in principles, he always enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell. "We ſhould fight for our country, ſaid he, into whatever hands the government may fall." The ſtrongeſt proof of his merit is, that, in the midſt of ſo many jarring, and even hoſtile factions, he was univerſally eſteemed. His remains were interred with great funeral pomp in Henry the VIIth's chapel, the expences of which were defrayed by the Protector.

As Cromwell had always been deſirous of giving the power he had uſurped the ſanction of a legal eſtabliſhment, he now determined to make another attempt to effect it. He accordingly aſſembled a parliament compoſed of the repreſentatives of the three kingdoms. Ireland and Scotland, reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, nominated ſuch members as were conformable to his wiſhes. But the ſpirit of the Engliſh was not yet ſufficiently ſubdued to ſubmit to his arbitrary directions. He ſoon perceived that many of the diſſatisfied members in the laſt parliament were again returned, and began to fear they would be too powerful for his friends. In order, therefore, to ſecure a majority, he excluded an hundred ſuſpected members; and thus made himſelf maſter of the parliament.

A. D. 1657. Every thing now went on to the wiſhes of Cromwell; for though there was ſtill a ſtrong oppoſition, the majority was on the ſide of the Protector's friends. The firſt material buſineſs executed was, the abrogating all the titles of Charles Stuart and his family. This being effected, it was moved that the Protector ſhould have the title of king; and after a very warm debate it was carried that a bill ſhould be brought in for that purpoſe. It was urged that the Engliſh conſtitution neceſſarily ſuppoſed a royal authority; that the laws admitted not of a Protector except during a minority, and had not fixed the prerogatives of the functions of that office; that to remove all appearance of arbitrary power, the only method was to have recourſe to a title which the nation had always reſpected; and that this was the more practicable, as an expreſs law of Henry VII. had provided for the ſecurity of thoſe who defended the reigning prince; a ſufficient proof that the legiſlation depended more on the form of government, that on the birthright of the ſupreme magiſtrate.

This bill was violently oppoſed by Lambert, the major-generals, and all the republican party. But being unable to anſwer the above arguments, they had recourſe to a very tumultuous behaviour, which ſufficiently convinced Cromwell, that unleſs he could prevail with the officers of the army to join with the majority in parliament, he muſt renounce the honour he ſo ardently wiſhed to obtain. No arts were left untried to bring Lambert over to his purpoſe, but in vain. Fleetwood and Deſborough were alſo averſe to his accepting the title of king; and declared, if the bill paſſed, and received the aſſent of the Protector, they would immediately reſign their commiſſions.

Notwithſtanding, however, this oppoſition, the houſe proceeded in their deſign; and at laſt, after a long and violent debate, it was voted, "That his highneſs will be pleaſed to aſſume the name, ſtile, title, dignity, and office of king of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the reſpective dominions thereunto belonging, and to exerciſe the ſame according to the laws of theſe nations." A committee was now appointed to reaſon with the Protector, and, if poſſible, overcome thoſe ſcruples, which he pretended he entertained againſt accepting ſo diſtinguiſhed an honour.

Though the reaſons urged by the committee were of the moſt forcible nature, they were ſtrongly oppoſed by Cromwell. But his oppoſition proceeded not from the impropriety of his accepting the offer. He was well pleaſed with the ſolidity of their arguments; and his inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the ſide of the committee. But the oppoſition of his friends, and that of the army, terrified him. He knew the office of king had been painted in ſuch horrid colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling the ſoldiers to it ſuddenly, even though beſtowed upon their general, to whom they were ſo remarkably devoted. He knew that the tranſition between coldneſs and averſion was very ſmall; that they who had loved with the greateſt affection, hated with the moſt deadly rancour; and it was impoſſible to foreſee what diſappointment and deſpair might occaſion. Some already talked of dividing England into a new heptarchy, to be governed by the chief officers of the army. Even this ſtrange deſign the republicans would rather have adopted, than agree to Cromwell's accepting of the royal dignity. He was alſo fearful, that when the queſtion regarded only perſons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the antient royal family and an ignoble perſon, who had waded to the throne through a torrent of blood.

Suſpended between theſe fears and his own ardent deſires, Cromwell protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſons of the committee, hoping that he might be able, by artifice, to reconcile the minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity. His elocution was always confuſed; but now, when he reaſoned in contradiction to his own judgment and inclination, it was in tenfold darkneſs. At length, however, after much perplexity, occaſioned by a long and tedious ſeries of doubts, he was obliged to refuſe that crown he ſo ardently wiſhed to receive, and which the repreſentatives of the nation had tendered him in the moſt ſolemn manner.

On this refuſal, the parliament found it neceſſary to retain the name of Commonwealth and Protector; but as the government had hitherto been a manifeſt uſurpation, it was thought neceſſary to give it a parliamentary ſanction. To effect this, it was proper to ſet aſide the Inſtrument of Government, which had been drawn up by the general officers only, and ſubſtitute another in its ſtead. This was accordingly done, and a new inſtrument of government was framed, under the title of "An Humble Petition and Advice;" by which Cromwell was confirmed in his dignity of Protector, and his authority legally aſcertained.

By this deed, which conſiſted of forty-two articles, the authority of the Protector was in ſome things augmented; but in others it was conſiderably diminiſhed. He was empowered to name his ſucceſſor: he had a perpetual revenue ſettled on him of 100,000l. a year, a million a year for the fleet and army, and 300,000l. for the civil government, beſides what ſums ſhould be occaſionally raiſed by the parliament. He was allowed to appoint another houſe, the members of which ſhould enjoy their ſeats during life, and exerciſe ſome functions of the former houſe of peers. On the other hand, his power of framing laws with the conſent of his council, during the receſs of parliament, was abrogated; and it was eſtabliſhed, that no member of either houſe ſhould be excluded but by the conſent of that houſe of which he was a member. The other articles received very little alteration, remaining the ſame in ſubſtance as in the firſt Inſtrument of Government.

Cromwell having obtained this parliamentary ſanction of his authority, reſolved to conſecrate his title by a new inaguration, which was performed with great pomp and ceremony in Weſtminſter-hall, on the 26th of June; and on the ſame day he prorogued the parliament to the 20th of January.

The ſituation of Cromwell was now very critical. He had, indeed, obtained the diſpoſal of a very large revenue; but great difficulties attended it. His acceptance of the office and title of Protector had not leſſened them, and the force he put upon the parliament, by excluding ſo many of the members, was univerſally condemned. Even thoſe who were moſt deſirous of a ſettlement, upon almoſt any terms, and would have been contented, for the ſake of a permanent government, to have ſubmitted to his authority, either as king or protector, entertained many ſcruples with regard to the legality of the proceedings of a parliament, which ſat under a viſible force. Cromwell found that theſe ſcruples were invincible, and his enemies having already felt his ſeverity, he was now determined they ſhould taſte his clemency. Lambert was allowed a penſion of 4000l. a year. Ludlow was ſuffered to reſide in his own houſe; Sir Henry Vane was releaſed from his confinement in Cariſbrook-caſtle, and he determined to ſuffer the ſecluded members to take their ſeats the next ſeſſion of parliament.

In the mean time Cromwell applied himſelf cloſely to the formation of his upper houſe of parliament, which was to conſiſt of 60 members, among whom were five or ſix antient peers, and ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction; the reſt were officers of the army, who had riſen from the dregs of the people; all the antient peers, however, refuſed to accept a ſeat, which they muſt ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them.

The parliament met according to its prorogation, when the Protector, in order to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate, removed the guards from the doors of both houſes. The firſt ſubject of deliberation among the commons was, the illegality of excluding ſo many of their members during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. In this debate it was confidently affirmed, that there could be no free parliament under ſuch a force, and therefore, that the Humble Petition and Advice, together with all that had been done in conſequence of it, were invalid; nor were they obliged to take any notice of the other houſe. Cromwell, by taking ſo many of his friends and adherents from the lower houſe, in order to form the upper, had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. The enemies of the Protector were ſoon ſenſible of their power; they made and carried a motion not t acknowledge the juriſdiction of the other houſ which Cromwell had eſtabliſhed.

A. D. 1658. While the commons were thus oppoſing the arbitrary proceedings of the governmen a petition was preparing in the city for taking th power of the militia out of the Protector's hands Exaſperated at theſe meaſures, Cromwell ſent a very ſharp meſſage to the commons, acquainting them that he expected they would give the ſame appellation, and pay the ſame attention to the lords, a had been given or paid to any houſe of peers in England. But the commons, inſtigated by Lambert and Haſlerigg within doors, and by Harriſon and the fift monarchy-men without, paid no regard to his threat or his authority.

Cromwell was now ſufficiently exaſperated, and without conſulting any perſon, took a common coach and with no more than four or five of his guards and attended by his nephew and a lieutenant colone hurried to the houſe of peers, where he whiſpere Fleetwood, that he was come to diſſolve the parliament. Fleetwood, who ſeems to have acted in conſort with the malecontents, uſed every argument i his power to diſſuade Cromwell from his purpoſe He deſired him to reflect a moment on the dreadfu conſequences that had generally attended a haſty diſſolution of the parliament. But Cromwell, withou paying any attention to his arguments, laid his han upon his breaſt, and ſwore by the living God the ſhould not ſit a moment longer. He accordingly ſen a meſſage to the commons commanding their attendance in the houſe of peers, where, after a very reproachful ſpeech, he diſſolved the parliament.

This precipitate action, which in any other perſo would have been conſidered as an indication of madneſs, was, in this extraordinary man, a meaſure a once both bold and neceſſary, and prompted by tha genius which ſeldom or never forſook him But notwithſtanding all his power, his abilities, and the terror of his name, he was now ſurrounded with danger both open and ſecret. The fifth monarchy-men ha long been his avowed enemies. They pretended t aboliſh all taxes, cuſtoms, tythes, and every othe burthen laid upon the people. They held their meetings at Mile End, and though they were in genera perſons of the loweſt condition, they were bold bloody and deſperate. They depended greatly o major-general Harriſon, admiral Lawſon, and th colonels Rich, Danvers and Okey, to head them They had even their cabals and correſpondents i every part of the kingdom. But Cromwell's intrepidity, and Thurloe's excellent intelligence, rendere all their ſchemes abortive; and about ten of the mo deſperate among them being ſeized in the midſt o their conſultations, were tried, condemned, and executed.

This well-timed action, however, did not put a end to the cabals. Cromwell perceived that the po ſon had reached much farther than he expecte Several of the officers of the army, and even ſom of them who ſerved about his perſon, became ſulle and gloomy: a ſure indication that they were forming ſome dangerous deſign. The Protector therefo aſſembled all the officers near London, among who major Packer, and moſt of the captains of his ow regiment were chiefly ſuſpected. Cromwell repaire to the meeting, and in a very authoritative tone o voice demanded whether they were willing to ſerv him againſt his enemies? Over-awed by the preſenc of their general, they continued ſilent for ſome tim at laſt they ſaid, they were ready to ſerve him upo the footing of "the good old cauſe." Cromwell trea ed that expreſſion with great contempt, and after aſkin what they meant by uſing it now, he immediately di

miſſe

miſſed them from their poſts in the army, and gave their commiſſions to others whom he knew he could truſt. This inſtance of firmneſs and ſeverity produced the deſired effect; the reſt of the officers promiſing to obey him with great alacrity.

During theſe tranſactions the Spaniards, who were deſirous of diſtreſſing the Engliſh government, invited Charles to Bruges, where he appeared at the head of 4000 men, cheifly Engliſh, formed into four regiments. This revived the hopes of the royaliſts, and a general inſurrection was projected. Ormond was ſecretly diſpatched to England, in order to concert meaſures for the execution of this deſign. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and ſeveral more of the leaders of the preſbyterian party had ſecretly entered into the engagement. The army was ſtill infected with the general ſpirit of diſcontent; and, after the Protector's violent breach with the late parliament, no hopes remained of founding his power on the baſis of legiſlative authority.

But notwithſtanding all theſe promiſing circumſtances, the coſpiracy of the royaliſts was rendered abortive. Cromwell was informed of their deſign before it was ripe for execution. The marquis of Ormond was obliged to fly to the continent; and great numbers of the royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Sir Henry Slingſby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded; and Mordant, brother to the earl of Peterborough, eſcaped the ſame fate merely by the accident of colonel Pride's being abſent, till the ſentence was pronounced in his favour. For the numbers were equal, and Pride, who was his declared enemy, entered the court juſt as the preſident had finiſhed his determination.

Nor was Cromwell free from the fears of aſſaſſination. Sindercombe, one of the fifth monarchy-men had undertaken to murder him, and it was only by the intervention of the moſt unaccountable accidents that he was prevented from executing his bloody purpoſe. His deſign was at laſt diſcovered; but though the cleareſt proof of his guilt was apparent to the jury, and though every man held the crime of which he was accuſed in the utmoſt deteſtation, it was not without the greateſt difficulty they could be prevailed upon to find him guilty; ſo much were they diſſatiſfied with the Protector's right of ſupreme government of the nation.

This incident gave great uneaſineſs to Cromwell, more eſpecially as Sindercombe refuſed to diſcover any of his accomplices. He was in continual dread of being aſſaſſinated by the hands of fanatical or intereſted perſons, and felt ſuch a perturbation of ſpirit as left him not a moment's eaſe. He wore defenſive armour under his cloaths, always kept a loaded piſtol in his pocket, and never lay twice in one room.

Theſe diſtreſſes of his mind were farther increaſed by the death of his beloved daughter Mrs. Claypole, a lady endued with every humane virtue, and the moſt amiable accompliſhments. She had entertained the higheſt regard for Dr. Huet, and made the moſt preſſing ſolicitations to her father to ſave his life; but being refuſed his pardon, her temper, which was always inclined to melancholy, preyed upon her health; and after uſing the moſt preſſing remonſtrances to awaken the protector into a compunction for the henious crimes into which his ambition had betrayed him, ſhe paid the debt of nature amidſt the tears of all who were friends to virtue. Her death moſt ſenſibly affected Cromwell; and her words now obtained their full force; for they embittered, in the moſt feeling manner, the ſmall remainder of his life. This tyrannical uſurper began to perceive, when it was too late, that the purſuits of ambition are not the purſuits of peace. His compoſure and tranquillity of mind were now fled for ever. He ſaw that all his neareſt and moſt beloved friends, Fleetwood, Deſborough, Claypole, and Falconbridge, abhorred his principles; and he who had ſo lately the whole army at his call, could now hardly find five men in the whole nation to ſecond his favourite deſigns. He was become a bankrupt both in his government and his private fortune; and notwithſtanding all the mighty things he had done, he found himſelf no better than a ſplendid wretch ſurrounded with misfortunes, which the ſmalleſt grain of genuine virtue in his former career of glory might either have prevented or removed. His diſſimulation was at once ſo groſs and odious, that had he now actually returned to the paths of virtue, not a man in England would have thought him ſincere; even his profeſſing it could only have tended to heighten the general contempt of the people.

About the middle of Auguſt Cromwell was ſeized with the gout, which confined him for ſome days, and ſhifted from his foot into his body. On the 24th of the ſame month he had a ſlow fever, which ſoon after changed in a tertian ague. No dangerous ſymptoms, however, appeared for ſome time, and he was even able to walk abroad during the intervals between the fits. But the fever, as well as the force of the paroxyſm of the diſeaſe, increaſing at every return, Cromwell himſelf began to be apprehenſive that his end was approaching. His thoughts were now turned towards a future ſtate, which had formerly been the conſtant ſubject of his contemplations; but which the continual wars and affairs of government had for ſome time totally interrupted. Goodwin, one of his enthuſiaſtic preachers, conſtantly attended him, and endeavoured to remove from his mind that deſpondency in which he was now involved. One day, when he was cloſely engaged in this pious converſation, Cromwell aſked him, with great emotion, “whether it was poſſible for the elect to fall, or ſuffer a final reprobation?” “Impoſſible,” replied the preacher. “Then,” cried Cromwell, with an air of ſatisfaction, “I am ſafe; for I am ſure I was once in a ſtate of grace.”

The phyſicians, ſenſible of the dangerous condition of the Protector, were continually intimating to thoſe about him, and even often to himſelf, that they thought it highly prudent to ſettle the affairs of government. On the other hand, his chaplains by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, inſpired him with ſuch hopes, that he believed he was no longer in danger. “I ſhall not die of this diſtemper,” ſaid he one day to his phyſicians; “I am well aſſured of my recovery. My ſupplications have prevailed; I am promiſed from the Lord.” Thoſe ſtrange enthuſiaſtic notions ſeem to have prevailed among all his friends. “The lord,” ſaid Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, “will ſoon reſtore him, and bring him forth with more vigour, life and zeal. His highneſs has himſelf had very great diſcoveries from the Lord. He hath received aſſurances of his being reſtored, and of being farther ſerviceable in the great work he hath begun.” Goodwin was ſo thoroughly convinced of his being in no danger of death, that he uſed the following expreſſion in his prayer: “Lord we beg not for his recovery, for that thou haſt already granted and aſſured us of, but for his ſpeedy recovery.” Even when the phyſicians abſolutely deſpaired of his being able to ſupport the next fit of his diſeaſe, Thurloe has the following expreſſion in his diſpatch to Henry Cromwell, “That which is ſome ground of hope is, that the Lord has, as on ſome former occaſions, given to himſelf a particular aſſurance, that he ſhall yet live to ſerve him, and to carry on the great work he hath put into his hands.”

At length, however, the phyſicians unanimouſly declared that there were no hopes. This information ſufficiently alarmed the council; and a deputation was ſent to know his pleaſure with regard to the ſucceſſion. But before they reached his apartment, he was ſpeechleſs and almoſt inſenſible. They aſked whether he did not intend that his eldeſt ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him; and a ſimple affirmation was, or ſeemed to be, extorted from him. He lived only a few minutes after, paying the debt of nature on the 3d of September, in the 60th year of his age, and 5th of his Protectorſhip*. He was buried with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey.

With reſpect to the character of Cromwell, it has been in a very particular manner diſplayed both by his friends and enemies. That drawn by the former ſeems dictated by panegyric, and the latter by invective. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that both carry the ſtrongeſt air of probability, becauſe they are ſupported by ſtriking circumſtances in his conduct and fortune. ‘What, ſay his friends, can be more extraordinary, than that a perſon, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body which have ſometimes, nor ſhining talents of mind, which have often raiſed men to the higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage to attempt, and the abilities to execute ſo extraordinary a deſign as the ſubverting one of the moſt antient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world? That he ſhould have the power and boldneſs to put his prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? Should baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? Cover all theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience to a parliament, in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their turn, and ſcornfully expel them as ſoon as they gave him ground for diſſatisfaction? Erect in their place the dominion of the ſaints, and give reality to the moſt viſionary idea, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppreſs that monſter in its infancy, and openly ſet up himſelf above all that ever attained the appellation of ſovereign in England! Overcome firſt his enemies by arms, and afterwards all his friends by artifice? Served all parties patiently for a while, and command them victoriouſly at laſt? Over run each corner of the three nations, and ſubdue with equal facility, both the riches of the ſouth and the poverty of the north? Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to gods upon earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and ſcatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented nation, by means of a mutinous army? Command a mutinous army by means of ſeditious and factious officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a year, to be hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of three nations as much at his diſpoſal as was once the little inheritance of his father, and be noble and liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no end of enumerating his glory) with one word bequeath all his power and ſplendor to his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at home and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with more than regal ſolemnity? And leave a name behind him not to be extinguiſhed but with the whole world; which, as it was too little for his praiſe, ſo it might have ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns?’

On the other hand, his enemies have placed the actions of this extraordinary man in the moſt odious point of light. ‘What, ſay they, can be more ſuperlatively wicked than for a perſon to endeavour not only to exalt himſelf above, but to trample upon all his equals and ſuperiors? To pretend freedom for all men, and under the cloak of that pretence, to make all men his ſervants? To take up arms againſt taxes amounting to ſcarce 200,000l. a year, and to lay himſelf upon the nation the enormous load of above two millions? To quarrel for the loſs of three or four ears, and ſtrike off three or four thouſand heads? To fight againſt an imaginary ſuſpicion of two thouſand guards for the king to be fetched from no body knew were, and keep up for himſelf no leſs than forty thouſand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to diſſolve all, even thoſe of his own calling, and almoſt of his own chuſing? To undertake the reformation of religion, and on that pretence to ſtrip to the ſkin, and then to expoſe it naked to the rage of every ſect? To eſtabliſh councils of rapine and courts of murder? To fight againſt the king under a commiſſion for him? To take him out of the hands of thoſe for whom he had conquered him? To deceive him by proteſtations and vows of fidelity, and when he had effected his purpoſe, to put him to death, in the face of the world? To receive a commiſſion from the king and parliament, and murder the one and deſtroy the other? To fight againſt monarchy, when he declared for it, and to declare againſt, when he wiſhed to acquire it in his own perſon? To defame perfidiouſly, and ſupplant ungratefully his own general, and afterwards moſt of thoſe officers, who, with the loſs of their honour, had raiſed him to the ſummit of his unreaſonable ambition? To break his faith equally with his enemies and with his friends? To make as frequent uſe of the moſt ſolemn perjuries, as the common people of cuſtomary oaths? To uſurp three kingdoms without the leaſt ſhadow of pretenſions, and govern them as unjuſtly as they were acquired? To ſet himſelf up as an idol, and make the ſtreets of London reſemble the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men, as a ſacrifice to himſelf? To endeavour to entail this uſurpation upon poſterity, and with it an endleſs war upon the nation? And laſtly, by the ſevereſt judgment of the Almighty, to die hardened, mad, and without repentance, with the curſes of the preſent, and the deteſtation of all ſucceeding ages?’

Such are the different characters given of Cromwell, and both are founded on facts and circumſtances that cannot be controverted. But from the whole we may ſafely conclude, that he wanted nothing but honeſty to make him one of the greateſt men in the world†.

* * * * * * * * * *

It was expected that Cromwell's death would have produced ſome ſudden and diſtinguiſhed revolution in the

---

[*] On the day Cromwell died there was ſo dreadful a ſtorm all over Europe, that it ſeemed a great wreck of nature. This tempeſt happening at ſo critical a moment gave occaſion to many reflections both of his friends and enemies. The day on which he died was alſo ſingular for being the anniverſary of his great ſucceſſes at Dunbar and Worceſter, which he always conſidered as the moſt fortunate events of his whole life.

[†] Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family of Welſh extraction, their name being originally Williams; but one of his anceſtors marrying the ſiſter of the famous Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Henry VIII. a ſon by that marriage took that name, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity. Oliver married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir James Bourchier, by whom he had two ſons, Richard, who ſucceeded him, and Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He had alſo four daughters, viz. Bridget, married to lieutenant-general Ireton; Elizabeth, to John Claypole, eſq; of Northamptonſhire; Mary, to the lord viſcount Falconbridge; and Frances, to the honourable Robert Rich; all of them ladies poſſeſſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments.

the ſtate; but this was far from being the caſe. The council, the army, the navy, and even the whole country at once, acknowledged Richard Cromwell, his ſon, Protector of the Commonwealth. He was a plain, indolent, good-natured young man, brought up in the country, at a diſtance from buſineſs and intrigue, and neither formed by inclination, inured by habit, nor aſſiſted by talents ſufficient to enable him to ſupply the place of his father. Henry Cromwell, who governed Ireland with great popularity and applauſe, inſured to his brother the obedience of that kingdom; and general Monk, whoſe authority was well eſtabliſhed in Scotland, proclaimed the new protector in the principal towns of that kingdom.

Addreſſes now flowed from all parts of the nation, and Richard was treated with the ſame reſpect as his father. But this external complaiſance among the fanatical leaders of the different parties was nothing better than a deceitful calm which ſuited the views of all, as a breathing-time for concerting plans to promote their own intereſts. No perſon could have been found more unexceptionable for this purpoſe than Richard. The republicans did not fear him, nor the royaliſts hate him; and his advancement was of the utmoſt conſequence to thoſe who were in the preſent poſſeſſion of the government. But a queſtion was ſoon ſtarted in the council, whether Richard, according to the tenor of the Humble Petition and Advice, was to be conſidered as general of the army. This was ſtriking at the very baſis of all his power, and the ſecret cabals againſt him were indefatigable in forming plans for his deſtruction.

A. D. 1659. As ſupplies were now wanting for the affairs of government, it was thought neceſſary to call a parliament. The Upper Houſe, or Houſe of Peers, conſiſted of the ſame perſons who had been nominated by Oliver himſelf, and thence conſidered as friends to his family. And in order to inſure a majority in the commons, it was thought neceſſary to reſtore to the old boroughs their former right of ſending members to parliament; while the counties were allowed no more than their accuſtomed members. By this means the miniſtry procured a majority in the lower as well as in the upper houſe, and all the members ſigned, without heſitation, an engagement not to alter the preſent mode of government.

In order more firmly to eſtabliſh the Protector's authority, ſecretary Thurloe preſented to the commons, "an act of recognization of his highneſs's right and title to be protector and chief magiſtrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging." This act was very artfully drawn, the recognitory part being expreſſed in general terms; but it contained a very particular and ample abjuration of the royal family. A ſmall debate only enſued on the firſt reading, but the republicans determined to oppoſe it with all their power when it came to be read a ſecond time. They ſaw that it virtually contained a recognition of the Petition and Advice, which they were determined, if poſſible, to ſet aſide, and conſequently deſtroy the baſis of the protector's government. Beſides the republican and miniſterial parties, there were two others in the houſe, who had views of their own, and though directly oppoſite to each other, agreed in one point, that of embarraſſing both the others. The firſt was compoſed of men of deſperate fortunes, and who wiſhed to ſee Fleetwood commander in chief of the army, hoping that the government would once more fall into the hands of the military, and both king and protector be excluded. The miniſterial party had, however, ſtill a majority in the houſe. But the proceedings of this parliament afford a memorable inſtance, that a dead majority in an Engliſh houſe of commons may carry their queſtions, and yet loſe their purpoſes. The republicans were much bolder and far better ſpeakers than their antagoniſts. In oppoſing this bill, they founded their arguments on the conſtitution ſettled immediately after the death of the late king, and Sir Henry Vane very pertinently obſerved, that if the government founded at that period was illegal, they were guilty of the blood of their late prince. The miniſterial party, on the other hand, went no farther back than the inſtrument of Petition and Advice, which they contended to be the laſt, and only legal conſtitution of government. But even admitting that poſition, they found themſelves embarraſſed with another difficulty, that of proving that the privileges and authority granted by that inſtrument to the protector were not perſonal, and terminated with his life. Even if they did not, the republicans contended, that a free parliament ought to have no regard to the whole, or any part of that inſtrument, becauſe it was voted by a power deſtructive of that conſtitution, which gave their aſſembly an exiſtence as a parliament. Their arguments had great effect upon the people, eſpecially as the anſwers given to them by the miniſterial party were far from being thought ſufficient.

Fleetwood, who had concealed his ambition under the veil of an obſequious behaviour to the new protector, could not help obſerving, that the army, by joining the republicans, might retrieve at once their power and popularity. But the greateſt art was neceſſary to form this connection, as the protector's influence among the troops was very powerful. It was therefore contrived between him and Deſborough, to introduce Lambert once more on the ſtage. That general ever ſince he had been deprived of his commiſſion, had lived retired at Wimbleton in Surry; but he no ſooner ſaw a proſpect of regaining his former authority, than he reſumed all his ambitious proſpects. Many of the principal officers in the army thought he had been ungenerouſly treated by the late protector, and his ſufferings had, in ſome meaſure, rendered him popular. Fleetwood therefore ſecretly made uſe of Lambert to ſtrengthen the diſcontented party among the officers, while Deſborough declared openly and violently for a republic. The meetings for carrying on their deſtructive ſchemes were held at Wallingford houſe, where Fleetwood reſided, and hence the aſſembly was called, "The Wallingford-houſe Cabal."

During theſe conſultations among the officers of the army, the debates in parliament were carried on with great vehemence by both parties. The republicans exerted all their power to have the militia and negative voice ſettled in the repreſentatives of the people, while the miniſterial party ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on recognizing the protector. Many expedients were propoſed for reconciling the two parties, but in vain; both continued firm to their principles. After the queſtion had been debated for ſeveral days with the utmoſt warmth and freedom, the miniſterial party carried their point, by a majority of 191 againſt 168. The republicans were not, however, diſcouraged. They procured the following reſolution to be agreed to by the houſe, viz. "That before the bill of recognization be committed, this houſe doth declare ſuch additional clauſe to be part of the bill, as may limit the power of the chief magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the right and privilege of parliament, and the liberties and rights of the people; and that neither this, nor any other previous vote, that is, or ſhall be paſſed, in order to this bill, ſhall be of force or binding to the people, till the whole bill is paſſed."

In the mean time Fleetwood had ſo far reconciled the differences that ſubſiſted between Lambert and Deſborough, that it was reſolved to preſent a remonſtrance to the protector on the preſent ſtate of affairs.

The inſtrument was accordingly preſented under the title of "The humble repreſentation of the general council of officers of the armies of England, Scotland and Ireland." In this remonſtrance the army complained, "that large arrears of pay were due to the ſoldiers, by which they were reduced to the greateſt neceſſity: that thoſe who had borne the burthen of the war, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers attending it, were now diſregarded, divided and laid aſide. That the good old cauſe was treated with contempt, and traduced by malignant and diſaffected perſons, who grew every day more inſolent, becauſe their numbers were every moment increaſing, by the return of their friends from foreign parts, and had now ſeveral meetings in the city of London: that the names of all thoſe who ſat as judges upon the late king had been printed and ſcattered in different parts of the kingdom, intimating that they were all conſigned to deſtruction: that many ſuits were commenced at common law againſt honeſt men, for what they had tranſacted in the wars as ſoldiers: that thoſe famous acts which had been performed by the long parliament, and the late Protector, were cenſured, railed at, and vilified. By theſe means, they ſaid, the good old cauſe, which they were reſolved to ſupport, was viſibly declined. And therefore they beſought his highneſs to repreſent their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and ſpeedy remedies."

Richard immediately referred this petition to the commons, who affected to treat it with great contempt. They imagined that while they continued united with the Protector, their joint intereſt in the army would be abundantly ſufficient to ſilence the factious officers; but the puſillanimity of Richard rendered all their hopes abortive. For ſome time they took no notice of the petition; but upon receiving repeated accounts that the officers continued their meetings, and that it had been propoſed to ſeparate the military from the civil power, the commons voted "that during the ſitting of parliament, there ſhall be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army without the direction, leave and authority of his highneſs the lord protector, and both houſes of parliament. That no perſons ſhall have or continue any command or truſt in any of the armies or navies of England, Scotland or Ireland, or any of the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, who ſhall refuſe to ſubſcribe, that he will not diſturb or interrupt the free meetings of parliament, of any of the members of either houſe, or their freedom in their debates or councils."

The cabal of Wallingford-houſe were greatly incenſed at this reſolution of the commons; and they now ſeemed determined to carry things to extremity. Lord Broghill, aware of the conſequences, prevailed upon Richard to repair to one of their meetings, and command them to diſſolve. Surprized at this unexpected exertion of power in Richard, they immediately withdrew, but did not diſſolve. Fleetwood and Deſborough were now ſufficiently alarmed, and upbraided lord Broghill with his conduct in the houſe of peers, and even threatened him with an impeachment. But this did not in the leaſt intimidate Broghill; he threatened to move the houſe to know who had conſented to the calling of a council of war, without the knowledge and approbation of parliament.

Broghill's ſpeech was ſo well recived by the houſe, that the officers deſpaired of carrying any thing in parliament; and therefore renewed their ſecret conſultations with the greateſt diligence. Their deſigns, however, being known to thoſe officers who were attached to the Protector, they offered, if Richard would promiſe to ſupport them, to anſwer with their heads for the ſucceſs; and to bring before him Fleetwood, Deſborough, Vane, and other leaders of the oppoſition, dead or alive. Howard, who was one of Oliver's diſtinguiſhed favourites, was among the foremoſt to puſh Richard to take this vigorous reſolution, which might have been eaſily effected. But he declined the offer, and choſe rather to purſue peaceable than violent meaſures. Nor did he poſſeſs any of thoſe arts which were neceſſary to gain the love of an enthuſiaſtic army. Some diſguſt being taken at the promotions he had made, he anſwered, "Would you have me prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby, who can neither pray nor preach, yet I will truſt him before you all." This imprudent ſpeech ſo highly offended the fanatics, that they vowed his deſtruction.

The council of officers, conſcious of their own ſtrength and the weakneſs of Richard, now reſolved to compel him to diſſolve a parliament which they found would oppoſe them in every meaſure they ſhould think proper to purſue. To effect this they brought up their forces to Whitehall; and having ſtopped up all the avenues, Deſborough, attended by a ſtrong guard, demanded an audience of the Protector, which being granted, he required him, in the name of all the officers, to diſſolve the parliament, and threatened him if he ſhould refuſe. This terrified Richard into a compliance; and the parliament at this time having adjourned for three days, he publiſhed a proclamation, declaring them diſſolved.

In conſequence of this meaſure the Protector was conſidered by every one as effectually depoſed; and he ſoon after ſigned his diſmiſſion in form. His brother Henry followed his example, and peaceably reſigned his command in Ireland; though, had he been poſſeſſed of any ambition, he might have created the cabal much uneaſineſs, for he had great influence among the troops in that kingdom, and was beloved by the people for his juſt and mild adminiſtration.

Thus fell the family of Cromwell! the principal of which, in an aſtoniſhing manner, obtained more than regal power, exerciſed a greater than papal authority, and when he paid the debt of nature, was interred with even imperial dignity. But his ſucceſſor having a leſs aſpiring, but more tranquil ſpirit, reſigned with eaſe what his father had acquired with peril; and gave up with pleaſure the blood-ſtained laurels of his predeceſſor, for the peaceful bays of retirement.* And in our opinion, by ſacrificing the ſword of ambition to the olive of contentment, the ſon was more deſerving of fame than the ſire: for

Glory by few is rightly underſtood,
What's truly glorious muſt be greatly good.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The council of officers being now poſſeſſed of the ſupreme command, they applied themſelves to the eſtabliſhment of ſome form of government; and, after many deliberations, it was determined to recall the Long Parliament, which had dethroned Charles, and was afterwards diſmiſſed with diſgrace by Oliver Cromwell. That aſſembly, it was aſſerted, could only be diſſolved by their own conſent; and though violence had interrupted, it could not deſtroy their rights to government.

---

* Richard retired into the country, where he poſſeſſed a ſmall eſtate, and where he remained unmoleſted: his peaceable diſpoſition defended him againſt the malignancy of every party. After the reſtoration of monarchy, Richard travelled for ſome years. The prince of Conti, governor of Languedoc, ſaw him at Prezenaz, without knowing him. They were talking of Engliſh affairs, and the prince highly extolled the courage and talents of Oliver Cromwell. "But the poor, weak Richard, (added he) *what is become of him? How could he be ſo great a blockhead as not to profit more by the crimes and fortunes of his father!*" The poor, weak Richard, however, lived happy in a middle ſtation, to a good old age. The time of his death is not certainly known, but it was about the latter end of the reign of queen Anne.

This parliament now conſiſted of no more than 40 members, who, with their old ſpeaker Lenthall at their head, proceeded immediately to buſineſs. The officers were perſuaded that this parliament would govern wholly by their directions, and act in ſubordination to the general council of the army. But in this they were miſtaken, their firſt votes ſufficiently ſhewed that they were reſolved to exert themſelves the ſupreme authority. They were, however, held in the higheſt contempt, both by the royaliſts and preſbyterians, and ſtiled the Rump, by way of reproach. A ſecret reconciliation therefore took place between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that laying aſide former enmities, every effort ſhould be uſed for the overthrow of the rump parliament. The preſbyteterians, notwithſtanding their religious prejudices, repented of that violent zeal by which they had been hurried away. They ſaw that, by carrying the love of liberty too far, they were brought into ſlavery; and were now as deſirous as others to reſtore the crown to the royal family, which they had ſnatched from it, without increaſing their own happineſs. The nobility and gentry concurred in the ſame deſign, and a general conſpiracy was formed in the nation, the ſucceſs of which ſeemed infallible, and would in all probability, have proved ſo had not Sir Richard Willis betrayed the common intereſt before the deſign was ripe for execution.

As ſoon as the republican party were informed of the above deſign, they ordered Lambert to prevent its execution. He was remarkably active in obeying their commands, and the jails were ſoon filled with priſoners of birth and fortune. But this ſucceſs proved the ruin of the parliament. The officers, at the inſtigation of Lambert, preſented a petition concerning wounded ſoldiers, and the widows of thoſe who had periſhed in the ſervice. They alſo complained that they themſelves were greatly neglected, notwithſtanding the ſervices they had done their country, and deſired that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborough lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Monk major-general of the foot. They likewiſe preſſed for the puniſhment of thoſe who had been concerned in the late inſurrection, and that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his employment but by the ſentence of a court-martial.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the republicans, and they determined to make one bold attempt in ſupport of their power: they voted that Lambert, Deſborough, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelſey and Corbet ſhould be caſhiered; that Fleetwood's commiſſion ſhould be vacated, and the command of the army veſted in ſeven perſons, viz. Fleetwood, Ludlow, Monk, Haſlerigg, Walton, Morley and Overton, with powers to diſpoſe of the forces in ſuch a manner, that they might preſerve the peace of the common wealth, and the ſafety of the parliament. They alſo declared it high treaſon to levy any money without the conſent of parliament.

It was now evident, that either the parliament or army muſt fall; and it required no great degree of penetration to foretel which would obtain the victory. Lambert, at the head of a party of his ſoldiers, marched into the ſtreets of Weſtminſter leading to the parliament-houſe; and when the ſpeaker came in his coach, they very civilly turned his horſes, and conducted him back to his houſe. The other members were interrupted in the ſame manner; and the Rump Parliament was diſſolved with as much eaſe by Lambert, as it had been before by Cromwell.

By this ſudden diſſolution of the parliament, all government was at an end, the conſequence of which was, that an univerſal anarchy prevailed throughout the kingdom. Both the magiſtrates and officers of the revenue refuſed to act; and the ſoldiers were under a neceſſity of either returning to their former ſituations, or procuring themſelves ſubſiſtence by their ſwords.

In this diſtreſſful ſituation, the eyes of the whole kingdom were directed to Monk, who, it was now foreſeen, muſt be the arbiter of the fate of England. That general, at firſt attached to the royal party, afterwards employed by Cromwell, and appointed governor of Scotland, had now, by his politeneſs, his integrity, and other virtues, obtained the love of the ſoldiers, and the confidence of the people. Whether he meant only to oppoſe the views of the ambitious Lambert, or ſecretly meditated the reſtoration of the king, is not known; but he declared in favour of the parliament againſt thoſe who had diſmiſſed it. His prudence, however, kept his intentions an impenetrable ſecret; but deeper deſigns, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, ſuſpected to be the motive of his conduct.

The council of officers, in order to preſerve ſome appearance of government, elected a committee of 23 perſons, of whom 7 were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with the ſupreme authority, and called them a Committee of Safety. They promiſed to ſummon a free parliament, but took no ſteps to carry it into execution. On the contrary, they made ſome progreſs towards aſſembling a military parliament, compoſed wholly of officers, elected from every regiment in the ſervice. Nothing but a dreadful proſpect of ruin and ſlavery preſented itſelf to the people. They were ſufficiently convinced that the diviſions or union of theſe ſanctified robbers tended equally to extirpate from the Britiſh dominions all private morality, as well as civil law and juſtice.

During theſe diſtractions in England, the king, diſheartened by the miſcarriage of every enterprize that had been yet undertaken in his favour, determined to try the weak reſources of foreign aid. He accordingly repaired to the Pyrenees, where the miniſters of France and Spain were at this time engaged in conference for compoſing all diſputes between the two crowns, by a final treaty. Don Lewis de Haro, the Spaniſh plenipotentiary, gave the young monarch a very kind and cordial reception, and expreſſed his inclination, had the low condition of Spain permitted him, to furniſh aſſiſtance to the unhappy king. The politic Mazarine, pretending the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth, would not ſo much as deign to give him an interview. But fortune is always capricious: while every thing wore ſuch an unfavourable aſpect, blind chance, by a ſurprizing revolution, was preparing the way for Charles to mount the throne of his anceſtors.

Monk's deſigns were ſtill unknown, and Charles, being deſirous of diſcovering his real ſentiments, ſent Dr. Monk, his brother, to ſolicit his ſervices. The general aſked him, if he had truſted any perſon with the ſecret of his commiſſion. "No perſon (replied the doctor) but Brice your chaplain, in whom I know you confide." Brice was worthy of the higeſt confidence, and a zealous loyaliſt. But Monk thought proper to break off the converſation, and diſmiſſed his brother, without diſcovering his intentions; perſuaded, that in an affair of ſuch importance, a ſecret entruſted to a third perſon is no longer a ſecret.

The proceedings of Lambert in London ſo highly exaſperated Monk, that he determined to march from Scotland, in order, if poſſible, to reſtore the Rump Parliament. He wrote letters to Fleetwood and Lambert, wherein he complained "of their violation of faith to the parliament, and declared his "reſolution of endeavouring to reſtore them to their "power, againſt all oppoſition whatſoever." Fleetwood and Lambert were aſtoniſhed at this reſolution. They immediately ordered colonel Talbot and Clarges, brother-in-law to Monk, to go into Scotland, and, if poſſible, prevail on the general to enter into a treaty, which might prevent the effuſion of blood.

In the mean time Monk was indefatigable in carrying his deſigns into execution. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion, he caſhiered. He drew together the ſeveral ſcattered regiments. He ſummoned an aſſembly ſomewhat reſembling a convention of eſtates in Scotland, and having communicated his intention of marching into England, he received from them a ſmall but ſeaſonable ſupply of money. Clarges and Talbot being arrived in Scotland, were well received by Monk; who, by their advice, and in order to gain time, conſented to a negotiation, and ſent Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, three of his officers, to treat with the committee. They met Lambert at York, with a body of forces to oppoſe the progreſs of Monk. He told them he was ſufficiently authorized to treat with them; but upon their demanding the reſtoration of the parliament, he acknowledged he had no inſtructions on that head, and they proceeded to London, where the ſame demand being made to the committee, they immediately aſſented to it. And the treaty, by which both ſides engaged to act vigorouſly againſt Charles, was ſigned on the fifteenth of November.

During theſe tranſactions, the nation had fallen into a ſtate of perfect anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt diſtreſs. While Lambert was collecting his forces at Newcaſtle, Haſlerigg and Morley entered Portſmouth, and declared for the Parliament. A party, ſent to quell the inſurrection, were induced, by their commander, to embrace the ſame intereſt. The city apprentices roſe in a body, and inſiſted on a free parliament: and though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, a man who was once a cobler, but now enjoyed a conſiderable rank in the army, the city ſtill retained its oppoſition, and diſcovered marks of the higheſt diſſatisfaction. The magiſtrates even erected a kind of ſeparate government, and exercifed the ſupreme authority within their walls. About the ſame time admiral Lawſon entered the river with his fleet, and declared for a free parliament. Alarmed at theſe events, Haſlerigg and Morley left Portſmouth, and haſtened towards London. The regiments quartered in the neighbourhood of that city, were perſuaded by their old officers, who had been diſmiſſed by the Committee of Safety, to eſpouſe, once more, the cauſe of the Rump parliament. Deſborough's regiment, which had been ſent to Lambert to aſſiſt his friends, no ſooner reached St. Alban's, than that officer declared for the ſame aſſembly.

Lenthall, the ſpeaker, at the deſire of the officers, reſumed his former authority, and on the 26th of December aſſembled the parliament, which had, with ſo much contempt and ignominy, been twice expelled. Their firſt act was, to repeal the bill againſt the payment of the exciſe and cuſtoms. They next choſe commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the ſoldiers; and without taking the leaſt notice of Lambert, they enjoined the forces under his command to repair directly to the reſpective garriſons allotted them.

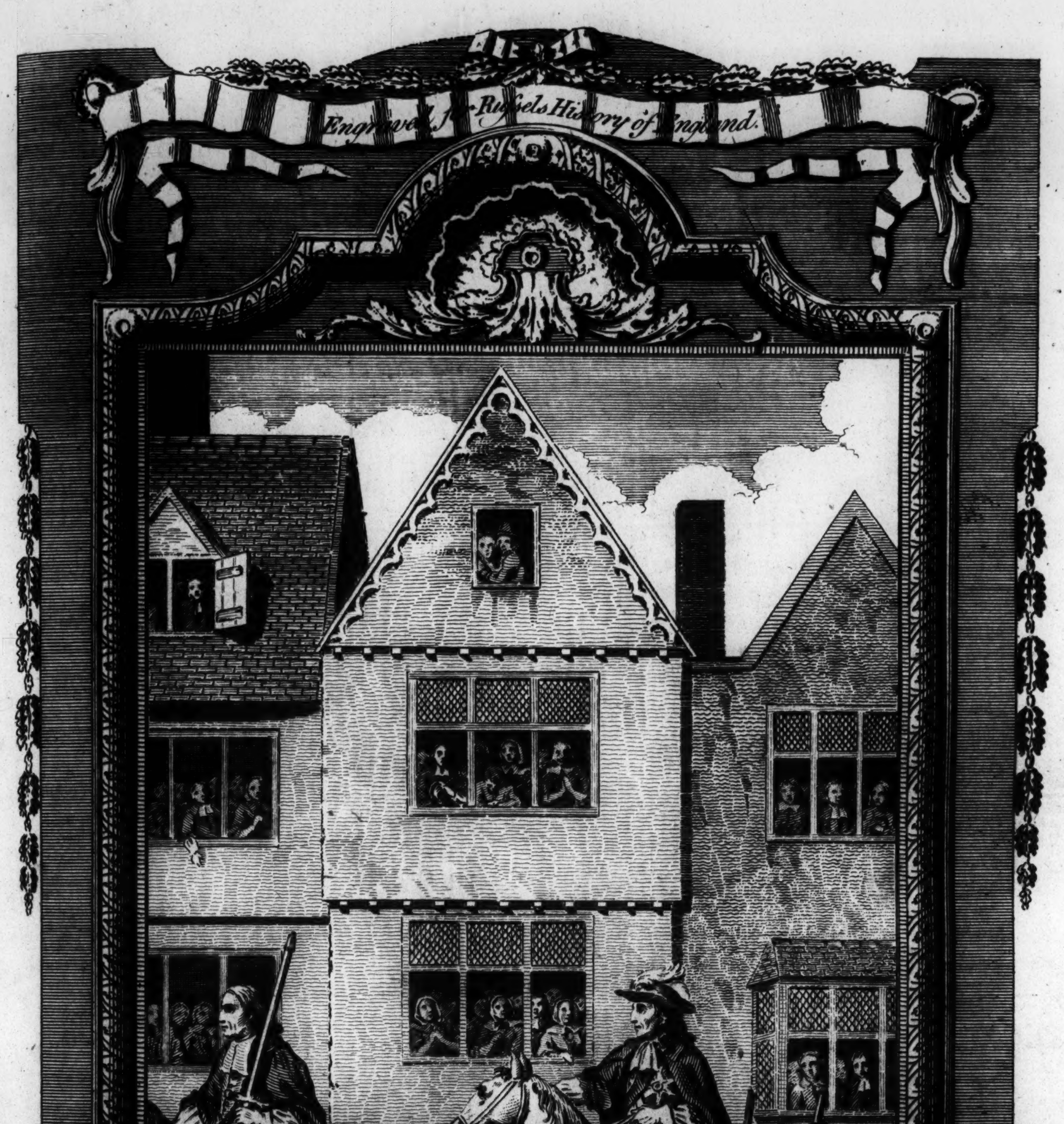
Lambert's ſituation was now truly deſperate: his army was rendered entirely uſeleſs to him; and, what was ſtill worſe, the few troops that remained with him, thinking to make their court to thoſe in power, or, perhaps, to gratify ſome pique of their own, put their general under an arreſt, and ſent him to London, where he was committed a priſoner to the Tower.

A. D. 1660. In the mean time Monk, having received a ſupply of 30,000l. from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the 2d of January. During his march he received information of the diſbanding of the army, and alſo that lord Fairfax, with ſome of the principal gentry in Yorkſhire, were in arms, demanding a free parliament. This was going a ſtep farther than Monk had yet propoſed. He was, however, received with open arms by the lord Fairfax and all his friends, who had taken poſſeſſion of the city of York. The rump parliament now became greater objects of deteſtation than the army had been before: and the general received, as he advanced to the ſouthward, continual accounts of ſome freſh declaration or aſſociation of the counties for a free parliament.

Theſe circumſtances greatly alarmed the Rump Parliament, who now thought they had made the breach between themſelves and the Wallingford officers too irreconcileable. They began to apprehend that Monk had ſomething more in view than the reſtoring them, and would have been better pleaſed had he continued in Scotland. They, however, ſent him a letter, informing him that they were re-aſſembled, and attributed the reſtitution of their authority wholly to his fidelity, care, and courage. This meſſage was ſo far from being pleaſing to the general, that he conſidered it as one of the moſt unfortunate events that could have attended him. He was under a thouſand perplexities how to act; for by the parliament's precipitate reſumption of thei power, aſſiſted by a numerous army newly returned to their obedience, he deſpaired of being able to compaſs his deſigns, and thought it prudent not to continue any longer in arms, than a favourable opportunity ſhould offer for laying them down; for he ha been perſuaded that they would not have though themſelves ſafe till his arrival in London with his army, when he intended to reſtore all the other members with them, without paying the leaſt regard t their difference of opinions. He, however, continue his march, and in all the counties which he paſſe through, the chief people flocked to him with addreſſes, wherein they expreſſed their earneſt deſire that he would do the utmoſt to reſtore the nation t peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of tho liberties, of which they had been, for ſuch a number of years, ſo unhappily deprived. At Lancaſte he was met by a deputation from London, with a addreſs praying the reſtoration of the members wh had been excluded in 1648. The preſbyterians ſee to have had the principal ſhare in all theſe addreſſe for the ſecluded members were moſtly of that perſuaſion.

The parliament, finding it was not in their pow to prevent the progreſs of Monk, thought it m prudent to conſent to it. They accordingly paſſed vote to juſtify Monk's march into England; and few days after they voted 1000l. a year to be ſettl on him for life. Scot and Robinſon, two of th members, were ſent under pretence of compliment him on the road, but in reality as ſpies on his condu

Monk's army did not amount to more than 6 men; but this force was ſufficient to deſtroy a fact divid


Engraved for Russels History of England.

KING CHARLES *the Second's public Entry into* **LONDON,**
at the time of his Restoration.

Wale delin Grignion sculp

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

divided againſt itſelf; and the city of London was ſo confident of his declaring for a free parliament, that they ſent a committee of the council to congratulate him on his approach to the capital. On his arrival at St. Albans, he was informed that near 9000 ſoldiers were then in London, diſpoſed in different regiments; but the moſt of their officers were confined by the parliament. He therefore imagined there would be no great difficulty in removing theſe troops; and accordingly wrote a very preſſing letter to the houſe, that room might be made for his regiments. Had the members of parliament been united among themſelves, or dared to truſt the experienced officers that ſerved under them, they would not, probably, have ſubmitted to Monk's requeſt; but their power was ſo precarious by their diviſions, that they made no difficulty of complying, and orders were given for their own regiments to retire. Four of them, however, ſcrupled to obey: a mutiny enſued; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they were prevented, either from joining with the royaliſts in the city, or marching out againſt the army of Monk.

On the 4th of February, Monk entered London; two days after which he was introduced to the houſe, and thanks were given him, in the name of the members, by Lenthall their ſpeaker, for the eminent ſervices he had done his country. Monk returned an anſwer in ſuch ambiguous terms, as ſtill kept every one in ſuſpence. But it was impoſſible for the nation to remain long in this doubtful ſituation; and the people, as well as the parliament, were deſirous of bringing matters to ſome determined iſſue.

During the late diſtractions the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, as ſoon as they were reſtored, had given orders for all collections and impoſitions, yet ſo little authority did they poſſeſs in the nation that the people obeyed their commands very ſlowly and with great reluctance. The common-council of London abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment required of them; and declared, that till a free and lawful parliament impoſed taxes, they never ſhould think it their duty to make any payment. This peremptory denial gave the parliament a fair pretence of making a trial of their own power, and the general's fidelity. Accordingly, on the 9th of February, Monk received orders to march into the city, to ſeize twelve perſons the moſt obnoxious to the parliament, to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets, and to take down and deſtroy the portcullices and gates of the city. Theſe orders Monk complied with in part only, and, after ſome ſecret conferences with the citizens, he began to throw off the maſk which he had ſo long worn. He ſent a letter to the parliament, acquainting them with what he had done, and begging they would mitigate the ſeverity of their order; which they refuſing to do, he made many public apologies to the city for his conduct in the affair, declaring it to have been entirely in compliance with the orders of the rump, whom he now found to be a ſet of mercileſs unrelenting tyrants. He then wrote a letter to the houſe, reproaching them with ſome new cabals they had formed with Vane and Lambert, and alſo with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition, preſented by Praiſe-god Barebones, wherein he deſired, that every individual of the kingdom ſhould be compelled to take the oath of abjuration. He concluded with requiring them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers and people, to iſſue writs immediately for filling up their houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution, that a new and free parliament might be aſſembled.

Monk waited not for an anſwer to this letter: he marched immediately into the city, at the head of his army, and ordered Allen, the lord-mayor, to ſummon a common-council to meet at Guildhall. As ſoon as the citizens were aſſembled, he repaired thither, and aſſured them that he was extremely ſorry for the indignity he had ſo lately put upon the city, in complying with the orders of the parliament, and was now come to make them all the reparation in his power. He declared that he would always perſevere in the meaſures he had adopted; and wiſhed a firm union might be eſtabliſhed between the city and army for their mutual defence, and for promoting the happineſs and ſettlement of the kingdom.

This ſpeech from the general was received with univerſal applauſe. It was ſoon ſpread through the whole city, and excited the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy. Every individual promiſed himſelf, that the dreadful ſcenes of horror and confuſion were over, and thoſe of happineſs and tranquillity would ſoon ſucceed. Even the rage of party was forgotten; the royaliſts and the preſbyterians joined in the common joy. The populace, who in the gratification of their paſſions regard neither honour nor decency, roaſted rumps at every bonfire, and where theſe could not be procured, pieces of fleſh cut in the ſame ſhape were uſed as ſubſtitutes; in order, as the people expreſſed it, to celebrate by thoſe ſymbols of hatred and deriſion, the funeral of the rump parliament.

The diſpirited parliament, foreſeeing the approaching ſtorm, heartily wiſhed to reconcile themſelves to Monk and his officers. They diſpatched a committee to the general, to endeavour, by every precaution, to bring him over to their intereſt; and even went ſo far as to offer him the ſupreme authority. But Monk refuſed to hear them except in the preſence of ſome of the ſecluded members. He then marched into the city, where he formed a new and well-regulated militia, which he entruſted to men whoſe fidelity could be relied on. This done he returned with his army to Weſtminſter, and purſued every proper meaſure for the ſettlement of the nation, ſtill concealing his real deſigns under the appearance of republican principles.

Intimation having been given to the ſecluded members that it was Monk's deſire they ſhould reſume their ſeats, they, on the 21ſt of February attended him in a body to Whitehall; from whence, after receiving their promiſe to call a free parliament, and then diſſolve themſelves, he gave them a guard to the parliament-houſe, where they took their ſeats. The leaders of the independent and republican party, amazed at the ſudden appearance of the excluded members among them, retired from the houſe. The reſtored members immediately repealed all the votes that had been paſſed for their excluſion; releaſed the royaliſts from their confinement, and reſtored them to their eſtates. They renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion. They fixed a neceſſary aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army. And having paſſed theſe votes for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom they, on the 16th of March, diſſolved themſelves, having firſt ordered writs to be iſſued out for the immediate aſſembly of a new, full and free parliament.

Theſe proceedings gave the higheſt ſatisfaction. The long parliament had been for ſome time the grand object of deteſtation, and their diſſolution occaſioned a general joy throughout the kingdom. A new council of ſtate was alſo choſen, which obtained the approbation of the people, as it conſiſted of men of dignity, moderation and virtue: and their credit was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that the city of London immediately advanced them 60,000l. for the uſe of the army.

Before the new parliament met, Lambert found means to eſcape out of the Tower. This accident alarmed Monk and the council of ſtate, who knew Lambert's great popularity in the army. Colonel

Ingoldſby was immediately diſpatched after him, and overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled but four troops of horſe; two of which deſerted him; and he, endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, and again committed to the Tower.

Monk ſtill continued to purſue the plan he had formed with equal firmneſs and prudence. He did not yet openly declare that he had adopted the king's intereſt. Among the friends of that prudent general was Mr. Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, remarkable for a ſedentary, ſtudious diſpoſition, and a ſound judgment. With this friend only Monk deliberated concerning the great enterprize he had formed, and hitherto conducted with ſo much ſucceſs. Sir John Granville, who was ſent with a commiſſion from the king to Monk, applied to Morrice, in order to obtain acceſs to the general. He was deſired to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice; but Granville refuſed every importunity, nor would he divulge his buſineſs to any one whatever, but the general himſelf in perſon. Monk was now convinced that Granville might be truſted, and therefore not only admitted him to his preſence, but alſo communicated to him his whole deſign. But he ſtill refuſed to commit any thing to writing: he only charged Granville with a verbal meſſage, aſſuring his majeſty of his ſervices, and exhorting him immediately to quit the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. Charles fortunately took his advice: had he ſtaid a few hours longer, he had certainly been detained under pretence of honour and reſpect, by the Spaniards, who would not have releaſed him till the Engliſh had agreed to deliver up Jamaica.

The election for the approaching parliament (which had been carried on greatly in favour of the king's party) being completed, and every thing appeared ripe for the reſtoration, the new parliament aſſembled on the 25th of April. The commons choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone for their ſpeaker. This gentleman, with many others, had gone great lengths in contributing to the ruin of the late king, but ſtopped when his death was under conſideration. On the firſt day of their meeting, the commons received a meſſage from the lords; and on the ſecond, Grimſtone, by order of the the houſe, returned thanks to Monk for ſubduing all their, and the nation's enemies without the effuſion of blood. They then adjourned till the firſt day of May. When the houſe re-aſſembled, the great dangers incurred under the former uſurpations, and the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and no one dared for ſome days to make any mention of the king. But Monk, finding, by their bitter invectives againſt the memory of Cromwell, and execrations upon thoſe who had murdered their late ſovereign, that they were diſpoſed as he could wiſh, ordered Anneſley, preſident of the council to acquaint them, that one Sir John Granville, a ſervant of the king's, had been ſent to England by his majeſty, and was now at the door with diſpatches from the prince. The whole houſe was in an extaſy. Granville was introduced. He preſented a declaration from Charles. The declaration was well calculated to ſupport the ſatisfaction inſpired by the proſpect of a public ſettlement. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons whatever, and that without any exceptions, but ſuch as ſhould afterwards be made by parliament. It promiſed a liberty of conſcience, and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, ſhould be offered for ſecuring that indulgence. It ſubmitted the inquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations, to the arbitration of that aſſembly; and it aſſured the ſoldiers that their arrears ſhould be paid, and that they ſhould, for the future, receive the ſame pay they had hitherto enjoyed. Every one was ſatisfied. The conceſſions of the late king had limited the prerogative too much to give the real friends of liberty any uneaſineſs.

Without one moment's delay, or a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an anſwer to the prince's letter and declaration; and on the eighth of May both houſes attended, while the king was, with great ſolemnity, proclaimed in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, by the title of Charles II. As a convincing proof of their affection for his majeſty, the commons voted him a preſent of fifty thouſand pounds. Ten thouſand pounds were at the ſame time given to the duke of York, and five thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter; and a committee of lords and commons was diſpatched to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of his dominions.

Every ſtep relating to this important event was taken with ſuch zeal and unanimity, that Clarendon, ſpeaking of it, ſays, "One could not but wonder " where thoſe people dwelt who had done all the " miſchief, and kept the king ſo long from enjoying " the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects." The king himſelf alſo obſerved, "That it " muſt certainly have been his own fault, that he " had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, " ſince every body was ſo zealous for reſtoring him " to it."

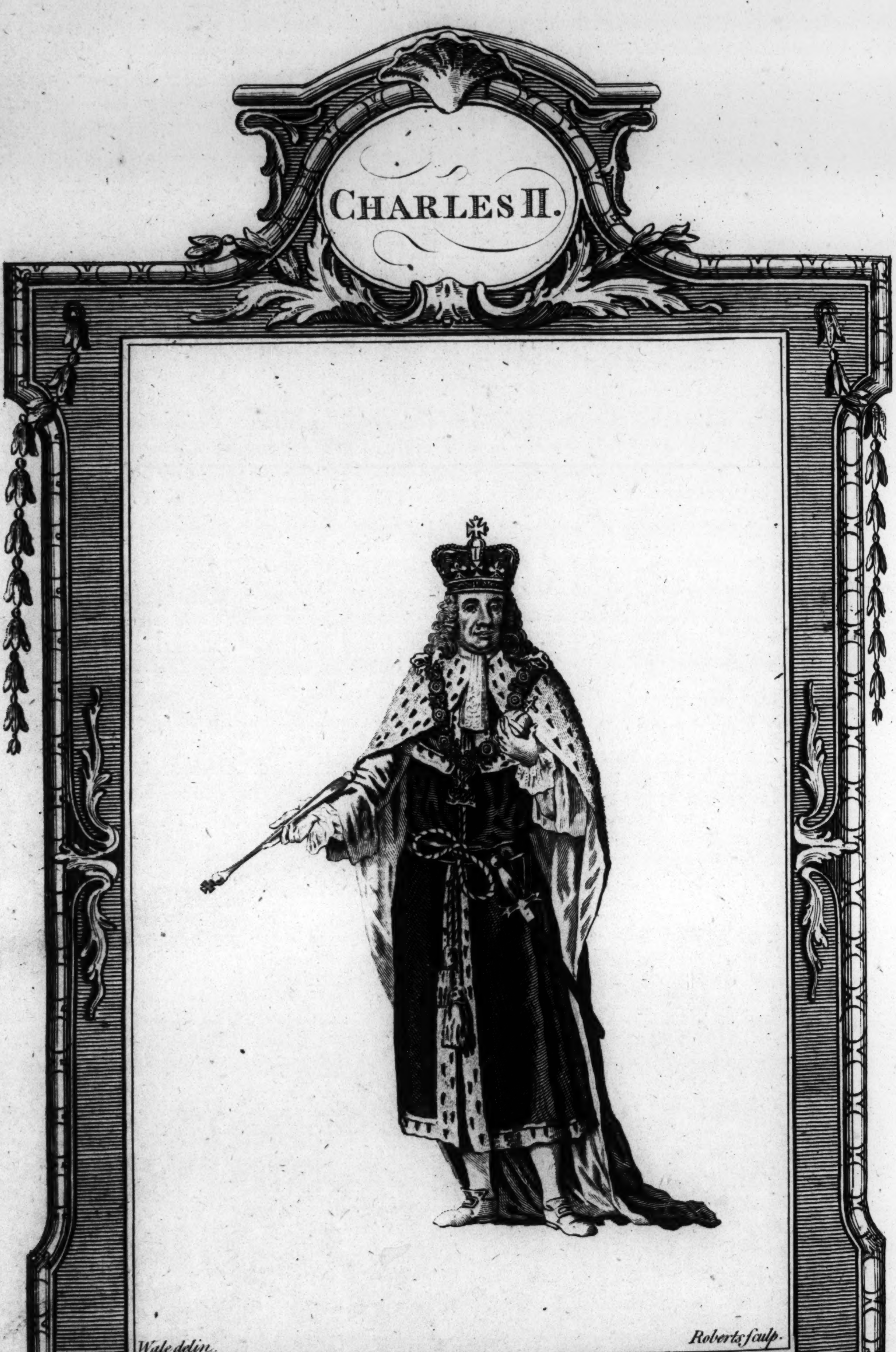
This ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects was ſoon ſucceeded by the reſpect of foreign powers. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark from ſome of their maritime towns, and France offere Calais for the ſame purpoſe. But Charles accepted a third invitation from the ſtates-general, and goin to Holland, where every mark of magnificent reſpec was ſhewn him, he embarked on board the Engliſh fleet, which lay ready to receive him, under the command of admiral Montague.

Monk repaired to Dover to receive the prince whom he had the glory of placing on the throne The king, on his diſembarking, embraced him in the moſt cordial manner, and, perhaps, never ſubje deſerved better of his king and country. Charle made his public entry into London on his birth-day which was the 29th of May; where he was receive with ſuch demonſtrations of joy, and ſuch diſplay o magnificence, as had been ſcarce ever exhibited on like occaſion.

Having thus brought Charles II. to the throne o his anceſtors, it may not be improper here to make ſhort digreſſion, in order to take a view of the perio we have finiſhed. No ſooner did the commonwealt commence, than fanaticiſm lighted up the flames tha involved the ſtate. That epidemical ſcourge viſite the three kingdoms. England in particular was overrun with infatuated ſectaries, determined to ſuppor their abſurdities without law or controul. The republicans were ſo much the more terrible, as thei religious principles enjoined a ſeverity of manne too refined for human nature. Perhaps nothing contributed more to their triumph over the royaliſt whom they called cavaliers, the greater part of the being men of pleaſure, either in conſequence of thei birth and fortunes, or becauſe, from a diſlike of th fanatics, they fell into the contrary extreme of immorality. A parliamentarian ſaying one day to a roya iſt, "Your friends, the cavaliers are very diſſolute " Yes, (replied the other) they have the infirmiti of men; but your friends, the round-heads, have th vices of devils, tyranny, rebellion, and ſpiritu pride."

But amidſt the variety of ſectaries that prevaile during the period we are noticing, none ſtand mor eminently diſtinguiſhed than the Quakers. The founde

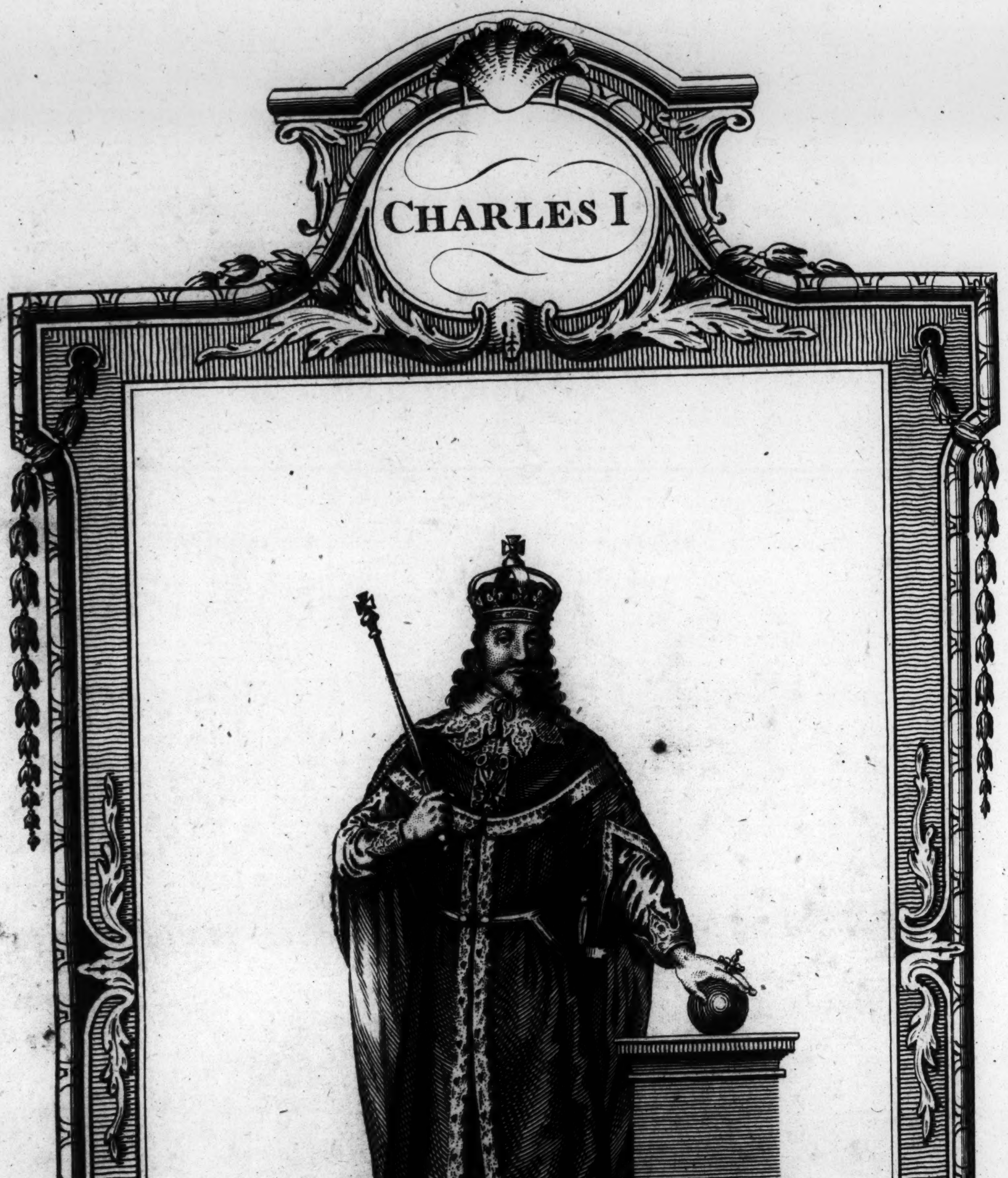
BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



CHARLES II.

Wale delin. *Roberts sculp.*

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


CHARLES I
Wale delin.
White sculp.

founder was George Fox, a ſhoemaker's apprentice: but though enthuſiaſts in the higheſt degree, they made no figure in the general commotions, becauſe their principles forbade the uſe of arms. They thought the practice of civility a worldly refinement unworthy of chriſtianity. They addreſſed themſelves to every body by the monoſyllables *thee* and *thou*; and gave no title but that of 'Friend,' even to people of rank and fortune. Their dreſs was ſimilar to their manners: they rejected all ſuperfluities, not excepting plaits to their clothes, and buttons to their ſleeves and hats, which they thought unneceſſary. Their religious ſyſtem conſiſted in following the letter of the goſpel: they thought an oath blaſphemy, even when taken in a court of juſtice. They allowed no ſacraments, no church-ceremonies, no churches, no prieſts. Every one affected inſpiration, and made ſtrange efforts to receive the holy ſpirit: and, from theſe trembling convulſions, they acquired the name of Quakers. Theſe enthuſiaſts would ſometimes ruſh into churches, diſturb the ſervice, and inſult the miniſters. They were ſentenced to be whipped and pilloried; but in this they triumphed, and their obſtinate patience appeared ſupernatural to the people. Some of them undertook to faſt forty days, in imitation of the Saviour of the world, and actually periſhed in the attempt. All made a point of offering their cheek to them that would ſmite them, and never to return an injury. The conſequence was, that by carrying their religious duties to the moſt extravagant height, they expoſed their virtues to ridicule. Strange ſurely it is, that the goſpel, calculated to inſpire every ſocial virtue, ſhould have afforded ſo many pretences to folly and frenzy, to break the ſacred bonds of ſociety! But ſuch is the weakneſs of the human mind; while men affect to quit the path marked out by the Author of reaſon, they wander through wildneſs and obſcurity, till they loſe themſelves and their way together.

The various follies of theſe fanatical ſects contributed greatly to multiply deiſts, men of raſh and ſuperficial minds, who attributing to religion the exceſſes of fanaticiſm, fell into the contrary extreme of incredulity. Cromwell called them heathens; but when in their company, laughed with them at the fanatics.

Among the learned men that flouriſhed during this æra was the celebrated Milton, whoſe poems do honour to the nation that gave him birth, and, indeed, to human nature. He was Cromwell's ſecretary for the Latin tongue; though his genius ſeems to have been very little known to his employers, for he is mentioned by Whitlock as an obſcure blind man, very unfit for his office.

About the ſame time alſo flouriſhed Sir William Davenant, Sir John Denham, Waller, and Cowley, who, though but indifferent poets, acquired a great ſhare of reputation. The republican principles of the age gave riſe to the Oceana of Harrington, containing the idea of a perfect commonwealth: and the controverſies and abſurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publiſh his Leviathan.

Among the many eminent perſons that died under Cromwell's protectorſhip were, the famous Mr. John Selden, the great antiquarian; the venerable Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, who came over to England a little before the breaking out of the Iriſh maſſacre; and Dr. Harvey, who acquired immortal honour for his diſcovery of the circulation of the blood.

BOOK XIII.

From the Reſtoration of CHARLES II. *to the Revolution.*

SECTION I.

CHARLES II.

CLOYED with political diſputes, and tired of thoſe diſcords which had ſo long diſtracted the nation, the people were happy at the idea of things reſuming their former channel. They found the unbounded licence of a commonwealth much more intolerable than the worſt ſtate of a limited monarchy; and, bad as one tyrant might be, the deſpotiſm of many was certainly more dreadful. Hence the reſtoration ſpread a gleam of joy over the kingdom which diſſipated the clouds of faction. Relations could once more meet without hoſtile intentions; and the ſtreams of blood which had ſo long overflowed theſe realms, ſerved but to fertilize the ſeeds of felicity which began to ſpring up with the return of ancient order and diſcipline.

A round of magnificence and pleaſures ſucceeded the gloomy ferocity which had ſo long taken poſſeſſion of the minds of the Engliſh people. Charles introduced the ſpirit of gallantry into a palace yet ſtained with the blood of his father. The independents were hardly heard of, and the puritans retired from the ſeat of government. The manners of the Engliſh underwent ſo total a change, that the late civil war became a ſubject of ridicule: the auſtere and gloomy ſectariſts, who had filled the kingdom with their enthuſiaſtic notions, were now the ſubjects of raillery to the gay licentious libertines who filled the court, and had the confidence and countenance of the king.

At the time of the reſtoration, Charles II. was about thirty years of age, nurſed in the ſchool of adverſity, acquainted with men and courts, a man of genius, acute, ſenſible, good-natured, polite, never out of temper, and perfectly unaffected; but immoderately addicted to pleaſure.

As the two houſes of parliament met without the conſent of the king, they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Convention, till Charles paſſed an act to confer on them the title of parliament.

The amneſty which the king promiſed before he landed was the firſt object that engaged their attention. The upper houſe, animated partly by reſentment and partly by zeal, were for excluding many perſons from the benefit of this act of oblivion. But Charles deſired them to remember the ſacred promiſe he had made, and to which he thought himſelf in ſome meaſure indebted for his good fortune. He therefore recommened clemency to them in the moſt preſſing manner; an inſtance of the tenderneſs of his diſpoſition, and which gained him univerſal applauſe. This interpoſition had the deſired effect, and only the regicides, and the furious republicans, Lambert and Vane, were excluded. Some others were, indeed, rendered incapable of the benefit of this act, in caſe of their accepting public employments, and ſome were rendered incapable of holding them.

Theſe affairs being ſettled, the two houſes took into conſideration the royal revenue. and it was ſettled at 1200,000l. a year; a ſum greatly ſuperior to that of any former king. But it muſt be remembered, that the expences of the crown were prodigiouſly increaſed, after the courts of Europe had adopted the example of Lewis XIV. in keeping up large ſtanding armies. The maintenance of the navy, with ſome other articles, which formerly amounted to no more than 80,000l. per annum, now required, at leaſt, 800,000l. It is not eaſy to imagine what advantages could be propoſed by ſo great an augmentation of the forces. The people were more heavily taxed, and the prince not at all the more powerful.

The trial of the regicides occaſioned a general joy, as the people were highly exaſperated againſt them. But they firmly defended the cauſe for which they ſuffered: the terrors of death loſt all their force. Harriſon told his judges, that the pretended crime of which he was accuſed, far from loading him with guilt, was an act enjoined by heaven, that in his doubts he had implored the Lord with tears, to enlighten him, and that he had received inconteſtible aſſurances of his will; that human judgments were but darkneſs in compariſon of divine illumination; that being determined not to injure the loweſt man in the world for the greateſt advantage in it, he was ſatisfied he had acted from a good conſcience; that neither ambition nor fear had ever extorted from him the ſmalleſt token of approbation in behalf of the tyranny of Cromwell; that he had always been found firm in his principles of religion and integrity; and that this was not the character of a murderer and a villain. All the reſt, who were ten in number, that were executed, ſhewed the ſame firmneſs and courage to the laſt. They conſidered themſelves as martyrs to what they ſtiled the cauſe of religion. The great lenity of the king reſpited the reſt, and they were retained in different priſons. Lambert was ſent to the iſland of Guernſey. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, were taken up and ſuſpended during a whole day at Tyburn, and then cut down and buried under the gallows. Thus theſe lifeleſs bodies became the ſpectacle of a few hours to thoſe who had formerly dreaded the ſpirits which animated them.

The act of amneſty being paſſed, the king gave the royal aſſent to an act for a perpetual thankſgiving on the 29th of May, the day of his arrival in England. In the mean time the parliament applied themſelves to the neceſſary work of diſbanding the army. It would have been an act of the higheſt imprudence to keep together a body of men ſo formidable by their numbers and valour, and ſo accuſtomed to outrage and violence. An aſſeſſment of 70,000l. a month was therefore impoſed to enable the king to diſband theſe troops.

About this time the duke of Glouceſter died, in the 21ſt year of his age, univerſally regreted; and it is even ſaid, that the king's apathy was ſo much overcome by this incident, that he felt more real ſorrow than any other occurrence ever gave him.

The princeſs of Orange came over to England in October, to congratulate the king on his reſtoration, but died of the ſmall-pox two months after her arrival, leaving behind her an only ſon, viz. William, prince of Orange, who afterwards became king of England, by the name of William the Third.

Sir Edward Hyde had been lately created by the king, earl of Clarendon. He was looked upon by the whole nation as his majeſty's chief counſellor, and while the advice of this great man was attended to by Charles, his conduct, in ſome reſpects, may be ſaid to have been unexceptionable. The army was now to be paid and diſbanded; but when the king reviewed theſe veteran troops, he was ſo charmed with their beauty, diſcipline, and martial appearance, that, thinking it would be an addition to his royalty, he expreſſed a deſire of retaining them in his ſervice. But the chancellor repreſenting to him the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, all the forces, a few guards and garriſons, amounting to 1000 foot, excepted, were immediately diſbanded. This excellent miniſter was now nearly allied to the royal family; the duke of York having married his daughter. But this alliance gave him great uneaſineſs; and he would often ſay, that by being elevated ſo much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more ſudden downfall.

It is proper here to obſerve, that of all the different ſects which ſprung up in the late civil war, there was ſcarce one which did not dread the name of monarchy. It is therefore, no wonder that thoſe who had profeſſed themſelves enemies to the king and his right of government, ſhould, after his coming to the throne, ſuffer their reſtleſs ſpirits to drive them into ſuch attempts as, had not a timely ſtop been put to them, by the prudent and vigilant care of his majeſty and his council, might have once more embroiled the nation in the horrors of a civil war. The firſt alarm of this nature was given by the fifth-monarchy-men; ſixty of whom, under the conduct of one Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſtic, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwell, iſſued forth into the ſtreets of London compleatly armed. They ſaid, that they expected the perſonal reign of Chriſt upon earth, and that they, and the reſt of their ſect, were called by God to reform the world, and make all the earthly powers ſubſervient to the kingdom of king Jeſus; and in order thereunto, they were never to ſheath the ſword till the carnal powers of the world became a hiſſing and a curſe. In their frenzy they alſo taught that one of them was alone ſufficient to ſubdue 10,000 of their adverſaries. In this manner they marched in triumph from ſtreet to ſtreet; but at length the magiſtrates, having notice of their being abroad, aſſembled ſome trained bands, and attacked them. They defended themſelves with great valour and order; and, after killing many of the aſſailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-wood, near Hampſtead. Next morning they were chaſed thence by a detachment of the guards; but they again came into the city, and dividing themſelves into parties, one marched to Leadenhall, and from thence to Little Eaſtcheap, where, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were diſperſed by the trained bands. Venner with the other party went to the lord-mayor's houſe, whom they intended to have taken priſoner, but not meeting with him, they marched into Wood-ſtreet, where they were met by colonel Corbet, and about 20 horſe. They then retreated into a houſe, which they ſhut up, and reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. Being ſurrounded and the houſe untiled, they were fired upon from every ſide, but continued obſtinate.

Finding they ſtill refuſed to ſurrender, the people ruſhed in, and ſeized the few who remained alive. Theſe were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the laſt they perſiſted in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord who had deceived them. The court made uſe of this inſurrection as a pretence for ſuppreſſing the preſbyterians, and all other ſects, who were begun to be confounded under the general names of Diſſenters and Nonconformiſts. The preſbyterians finding themſelves confounded with other ſectaries, whom they abominated, deſired a conference with ſome of the epiſcopal perſuaſion, in order, if poſſible, to effect a thorough accommodation with them.

In conſequence of this requeſt, on the 25th of March, a conference was held in the Savoy between 12 biſhops, and 12 leaders among the preſbyterians. Great hopes were entertained that ſome ſcheme would be fixed on to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties; but this conference had the fate uſual with moſt conferences of the like nature: both parties being too rigidly tenacious of their own way and opinions, they ſeparated more inflamed than ever againſt each other, and more ſtrongly confirmed in their ſeveral prejudices. At the ſame time meaſures had been taken in Scotland to ſuppreſs the Kirk party, and this year epiſcopacy was reſtored in that kingdom, and the parliaments there abrogated the ſolemn league and covenant, and made ſeveral acts in favour of the king's prerogative, and againſt the preſbyterians.

In the year 1661, the loyaliſts became very powerful, ſo that when the parliament aſſembled on the 6th of May, only 56 preſbyterians were found to have been elected into the lower houſe. It was now voted, that an attempt to dethrone the king was high-treaſon. That accuſing him of hereſy or popery, or libelling him, ſhould be puniſhed by a total excluſion of all lucrative employments: and even that it was unlawful for any man to defend himſelf againſt the king. At the ſame time the covenant and other republican acts were condemned to be burnt. After the paſſing of theſe acts, the parliament adjourned to the 20th of November, when it was agreed to acknowledge that neither of the houſes, independent of the king, was poſſeſſed of the leaſt military, or legiſlative authority. An act was then paſſed for enabling the king to appoint commiſſioners for regulating all the corporations in the kingdom, and expelling from thence ſuch magiſtrates as had either obtruded themſelves by violence, or profeſſed principles dangerous to the conſtitution, civil and eccleſiaſtical. Theſe things paved the way for the celebrated act of Uniformity, which ſoon after paſſed.

A. D. 1662. By the Act of Uniformity, it was enacted, That every miniſter, who had not received epiſcopal orders, ſhould now receive them; that he ſhould declare his approbation, without reſerve, of the book of the common-prayer; that he ſhould take the oaths of canonical obedience; and that he ſhould abjure the covenant, and renounce its principles of taking arms, by any pretence whatever againſt the king. This bill was a thunder-bolt to the preſbyterians. Confounded with other nonconformiſts, and even with papiſts, they had the mortification of finding themſelves expoſed to penalties, after having ſeen their ſect predominant during the commonwealth. The church of England was put upon its antient footing; and the penal laws were revived. Liberty of conſcience, ſo expreſly promiſed by the ſovereign, was annihilated. Experience ſhewed the dangers of theſe violent meaſures. They were attributed to the catholics, who were deſirous either of ſharing the benefit of toleration with the preſbyterians, or that they ſhould ſhare with them the rigours of perſecution, or expulſion.

Nevertheleſs, however deſirous the commons might be of reſtoring the prerogative of the crown, they did not exert the ſame activity, where any demand was made by the crown for pecuniary aſſiſtance. In the mean time the king's debts were become intolerable, and the commons ſaw at laſt the neceſſity of voting him an extraordinary ſupply of one millon, two hundred thouſand pounds, to be levied by eighteen month's aſſeſſment. They alſo voted an additional impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth, and ſettled the tax, during life, on the king.

Previous to the putting an end to the ſeſſion, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catharine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who was juſt landed at Portſmouth. The marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp on the 21ſt of May; but the princeſs had neither the graces of perſon or humour to make herſelf agreeable to the king. She had a portion of 300,000l. together with two fortreſſes, Tangier on the coaſt of Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies.

Vane and Lambert were ſtill in priſon: they had not been concerned in the death of Charles I. but their profeſſed hatred to the crown having occaſioned them to be excepted from the amneſty, the royaliſts demanded that they ſhould be brought to juſtice. They were accordingly tried, with great ſolemnity, before all the judges of the kingdom. The impeachment of Vane turned wholly on his conduct ſince the death of the king, in quality of counſellor of ſtate, and ſecretary of the marine department. He alledged, in his defence, the neceſſity of obeying the eſtabliſhed government, however illegal that eſtabliſhment might be. "If that obedience be criminal," ſaid he, "after the government is changed by force, every ſubject in the kingdom may be liable to puniſhment. The uſurpers will puniſh ſome for their fidelity to the depoſed prince, and the prince will puniſh others for their ſubmiſſion to the uſurpers. To prevent theſe diſaſters, and to defend the life and liberty of the ſubject, an act of Henry VII. declares, that no perſon ſhall be held criminal for obeying the reigning prince. It does not belong to individuals to diſcuſs the titles of thoſe who govern. Beſides, as the moſt reſpectable people were divided between the king and the commonwealth, ought a man to be condemned for following the party to which he was bound by the covenant, an obligation then ſacred and indiſpenſable?" Thoſe arguments were not, however, ſufficient to efface the remembrance of Vane's ſeditious conduct. The judges kept to the letter of the law; and though naturally of a timid diſpoſition, he died with all the fortitude of a fanatic. Vane had been noted, in all civil tranſactions, for temper, inſinuation, addreſs, and a profound judgment; in all religious, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inſpiration, he deemed himſelf, to ſpeak the language of the times, a "man above ordinances;" and by reaſon of his perfection, to be unlimited and unreſtrained by any rules which govern inferior mortals. Theſe whimſies mingling with pride, had ſo corrupted his excellent underſtanding, that he ſometimes thought himſelf the perſon deputed to reign on earth for a thouſand years over the whole congregation of the faithful. Vane had been a principal leader in the trial of Strafford, and he was the laſt victim to theſe ſanguinary quarrels. Lambert was condemned at the ſame time, but reprieved at the bar. He lived about thirty years after, happier, poſſibly, in his exile, than he had ever been in the thorny paths of affluence.

A kind of eccleſiaſtical revolution ſucceeded the act of uniformity. It was called the St. Bartholomew Act, becauſe it was to take place on the 24th of Auguſt, the feaſt of that apoſtle. Though it bore no reſemblance to the St. Bartholomew's day in France, it ſhewed the invincible obſtinacy of the enthuſiaſts. In one day, and by a concerted reſolution, above 2,000 preſbyterian miniſters reſigned their livings, becauſe they would not conform to the articles of the act. The church of England now triumphed over her perſecutors. The preſbyterians, in the time of their exultation, had left her at leaſt one fifth of the livings; but they now refuſed the ſame indulgence, though it was ſolicited by the peers. They were even, ſome time after, prohibited from coming within five miles of thoſe places where they had exerciſed their miniſtry, except on journies, under pain of ſix months impriſonment, and paying a penalty of five pounds. This was cutting off their very livelihood; nor were theſe rigorous proceedings by any means agreeable to the king. Though ſtrongly ſuſpected of indifference for all religions, he was ſecretly inclined to popery, which he had, probably, embraced before his reſtoration. He was ſtrongly ſolicited by his brother James to grant a general toleration; and the misfortunes of the preſbyterians afforded a very plauſible pretence. Charles embraced the opportunity: he proclaimed an indulgence to thoſe ſcrupulous conſciences that were afraid of conforming to the eſtabliſhed worſhip; and as the parliament was now prorogued, he gave his royal word, that he would endeavour to procure a confirmation of that indulgence, at the approaching ſeſſion. The principal faults of Charles II. were an exceſſive love of pleaſure, and prodigality in the gratification of his darling paſſion. Prudence and good policy were therefore very neceſſary; but theſe were not in the catalogue of Charles's virtues. The parliamentary ſupplies, together with the portion of his new queen, were all ſquandered away; nor had he yet paid the portion of his ſiſter Henrietta to the duke of Orleans. Urged by neceſſity, he had recourſe to a meaſure which expoſed him to the ſevereſt cenſure, and is ſtill regarded as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of his reign. He offered the French miniſtry to deliver up Dunkirk, on their paying a valuable conſideration. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous miniſters, were concerned in this tranſaction; though there is the greateſt probability to think, that the expedient was firſt propoſed by Charles himſelf. The reſolution being taken, a negotiation was opened with d'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador; and the French monarch purchaſed Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for 400,000l. The annual expence of the garriſon amounted to 120,000l. and the advantages ariſing from it were by no means anſwerable to ſuch a charge.

A. D. 1663. The parliament met on the 18th of February, purſuant to the prorogation, and Charles endeavoured to fulfil his promiſe with regard to the liberty of conſcience. But the parliament, who ſtrongly ſuſpected that he had another, and much deeper deſign in view, determined to defeat his intentions. The avowed deſign of gratifying the diſſenters, and the ſecret reſolution of ſupporting the catholics, were equally diſagreeable. They accordingly drew up a remonſtrance againſt the late declaration of indulgence, which they preſented to his majeſty, and both houſes joined in deſiring him to iſſue a proclamation againſt all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits. To this requeſt the king returned a very obliging anſwer; but in the proclamation afterwards iſſued, the terms were couched in ſo artful a manner as to render it of little or no effect. This ſeeming complaiſance of the king, however deceitful, was ſo pleaſing to the parliament, that upon his application, they voted him a ſupply of four ſubſidies, and this was the laſt time taxes were raiſed in that manner.

A. D. 1664. The parliament met on March the 16th when a motion was made in the lower houſe for repealing the act of triennial parliaments. No great oppoſition was made to this motion: the act was repealed; and thus all the ſecurity of the ſubject againſt the influence of the court was at once deſtroyed; and Charles failed not to take advantage of theſe conceſſions to baffle oppoſition. Nor was the parliament more ſervile in their compliance with regard to the requeſt of royalty, than rigorous and uncharitable with regard to the people. The true ſpirit of perſecution ſeemed to actuate all their proceedings on religious ſubjects. They had, poſſibly, forgotten, that the ſame rigid maxims of intolerance adopted by Laud, had been one of the principal cauſes of the dreadful calamities from which the nation had been ſo lately delivered. They were not contented with the penalties contained in the act of uniformity; they now paſſed the famous Conventicle Act, whereby it was enacted, that if any one ſhould repair to conventicles, the name they gave the meeting-houſes of all diſſenters, he ſhould be fined five pounds for the firſt offence, or ſuffer three months impriſonment; for the ſecond offence, ten pounds, or ſix months impriſonment; but for the third offence, after being convicted by a jury of his peers, he was to pay 100l. or to be tranſported abroad.

England and Holland had for ſome time maintained a commercial diſpute. The royal African company, in particular, had been oppoſed in eſtabliſhing their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea. Sir Rober Holmes had been ſent the preceding year with a fleet of 22 ſhips to the coaſt of Africa, to protect the Engliſh traders, and expel the Dutch from ſome places they had ſeized, contrary to the faith of treaties. Holmes executed his commiſſion with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. After taking from the Dutch Cape Verd, the iſland of Goree, and ſeveral of their trading ſhips, he ſailed to America, where he made himſelf maſter of Nova Belgia, ſince known by the name of New York, where the Dutch had been ſettled ſeveral years. Warm remonſtrances were preſented by the Dutch againſt theſe hoſtilities; but receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, they reſolved to do their ſubjects juſtice by force. De Ruyter was accordingly diſpatched, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to the coaſt of Guinea, where he ſoon re-eſtabliſhed the Dutch in poſſeſſion of the ſettlements from which they had been driven by the Engliſh admiral. He afterwards attempted to take Barbadoes, but without ſucceſs. Theſe hoſtile proceedings, which could only be conſidered as preludes to a rupture between the two nations, were not diſpleaſing to Charles, whoſe growing neceſſities, the natural conſequences of a blind prodigality, induced him to embrace every pretence for drawing money from his parliament. The diſpoſitions of the commons were very favourable to his deſign; for on taking the ſtate of the trade of the kingdom into conſideration, they voted, "That the wrongs, diſhonours and indignities offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of theſe kingdoms: that his majeſty ſhould be humbly requeſted to demand and obtain reparation for thoſe damages; and that in the proſecution of this affair, the houſe would aſſiſt him with their lives and fortunes againſt all oppoſitions whatever." This vote was conſidered as a ſufficient ſanction for thoſe vigorous meaſures which the court had adopted, and the parliament was prorogued till the month of November.

Preparations, particularly of the naval kind, were now made for acting with great vigour, and the whole nation ſeemed deſirous of humbling the pride of the Dutch. But as the parliament had granted no ſupplies, the city of London advanced 100,000l. that no ſtop might be put to the preparations. Charles viſited the ports in perſon, directed the operations himſelf, and animated the workmen by his preſence and liberality. Hence the navy was ſoon in a reſpectable condition; and in the month of September admiral Lawſon ſailed with orders to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips he met with in his cruize. He was ſo ſucceſsful, that in a very ſhort time 135 of their merchant ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and on the 24th of November the parliament aſſembled, and voted 2,500,000l. for carrying on the war.

A. D. 1665. Charles declared war againſt the Dutch in the beginning of March; and ſoon after prorogued the parliament. In this ſeſſion the clergy gave up the right of taxing themſelves in convocation, and have ever ſince been taxed by the parliament, in common with other ſubjects.

The previous preparations made in England alarmed the Dutch, who ſent an ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of England, in order, if poſſible, to prevent an open rupture, ſo deſtructive to the intereſts of a trading people: but finding all their endeavours were in vain, they exerted themſelves in making preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. John de Wit, a miniſter equally diſtinguiſhed for the extent of his capacity and the integrity of his manners, now directed all the meaſures of the Dutch republic, and infuſed ſpirit into that phlegmatic people. Though remarkably modeſt in his private behaviour, he well knew how to ſupport in his public conduct that magnanimity which becomes the miniſter of a powerful people. It was always his opinion, that no independent government ſhould ever make any mean or unreaſonable conceſſions to another; and that all ſuch compliances, inſtead of preventing the miſeries of war, ſerved only to invite farther inſults and indignities. By his management, a ſpirit of harmony was preſerved in all the provinces of the republic; large ſums were raiſed; and a powerful fleet, conſiſting of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever built before, was fitted out with the utmoſt expedition, in order to conteſt with the Engliſh the empire of the ocean. The duke of York, as lord high admiral of England, on the 18th of March ſailed with a fleet of 114 ſail, excluſive of fireſhips and bomb-ketches. He was aſſiſted by prince Rupert, and the gallant earl of Sandwich commanded one of the diviſions. Two and twenty thouſand men ſerved on board this powerful armament. The Dutch navy conſiſted of one hundred and twenty ſail of men of war, beſides fire-ſhips. Opdam, an experienced ſea-officer of undoubted courage, commanded this numerous fleet, and received orders to ſeize the firſt opportunity of giving battle to the adverſary.

On the third of June the two fleets met, and a furious engagement enſued, in which the Dutch were defeated, with the loſs of 20 of their men of war. The ſhip on board of which the brave admiral Opdam had hoiſted his flag was blown up, and he himſelf periſhed with all his crew. The Engliſh loſt only four men of war; but ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were ſlain, and others dangerouſly wounded. A thankſgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and medals of the duke of York were ſtruck on this occaſion. He had indeed diſplayed amazing courage and conduct during the whole fight.

On the arrival of the news of this defeat, the Dutch were ſeized with terror and diſmay; it required all the abilities and conſtancy of De Wit to revive the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen. He viſited the fleet in perſon, rectified all diſorders, and repaired the damages ſuſtained in the late engagement. While he was thus employed in fitting out the navy for another battle with the enemy, a large fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips from Turkey and the Eaſt-Indies, having ſailed north about to avoid the Engliſh cruiſers, anchored in the port of Bergen, in Norway, in order to wait there till a proper convoy could be ſent to bring them into the ports of Holland. This, however, was no ſooner known in England than orders were ſent to Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy at Copenhagen, to perſuade his Daniſh majeſty to ſeize this rich fleet, in revenge for the ſhameful conduct of the Dutch, who had involved him in a troubleſome war with Sweden. Tempted by the value of the prize, his Daniſh majeſty liſtened to the reaſons of the Engliſh miniſtry, but declared he was not in a condition to execute the deſign. Talbot promiſed to procure aſſiſtance from England, if his majeſty would agree to give the captors half the value of what ſhould be taken. The conditions were accepted, and the earl of Sandwich was ordered to ſail immediately to Bergen. Perſuaded that part of his ſquadron would be abundantly ſufficient to ſeize a fleet of merchantmen, Sandwich ſent Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with a few ſhips, on that ſervice. He attacked the Dutch with great impetuoſity; but the governor of Bergen having then received no orders to remain neuteral, joined the Dutch, and gave the Engliſh ſo warm a reception, that Tiddeman was obliged to abandon the enterprize, after having received conſiderable damage. Charles was greatly provoked at this diſappointment: he ordered the earl of Sandwich, to whoſe conduct he imputed the whole cauſe of the miſcarriage, to return to London, where he deprived him of his command, and ſent him ambaſſador to the Spaniſh court.

A dreadful plague raged in the city of London during theſe tranſactions at ſea. It continued eleven months, in which time it ſwept away 68,596 ſouls. The dead were carried out in carts during the night, and buried at Holy-well Mount. Charles, at its firſt appearance, removed to Hampton-court, and afterwards to Saliſbury, and the ſeſſion of parliament was held at Oxford.

The king of Denmark now acted with great duplicity, for, alarmed at the miſcarriage of Tiddeman, and aſhamed of his own conduct, he at firſt concluded an offenſive alliance with England againſt the ſtates; but reflecting on the great power of the Engliſh navy, and the fatal conſequences that might attend the deſtruction of a power, whoſe fleets only were capable of diſputing the ſovereignty of the ocean, he ſent orders to his reſident at the Hague to conclude a defenſive alliance with the ſtates againſt England. He adhered to the laſt alliance, and ſeized and confiſcated all the Britiſh ſhips in his harbours. This was a ſenſible check to the advantages Charles had obtained over the Dutch. The Engliſh commerce was not only affected, but the naval force of the king of Denmark was alſo conſiderable, and there was the greateſt reaſon to imagine that his ſhips would ſoon join the fleets of the republic. Nor indeed was Denmark the only power that was alarmed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh; the king of France could not behold their triumphs without uneaſineſs. He was already engaged in a defenſive alliance with the ſtates; but his naval force was yet in its infancy. He was reſolved to ſupport the Hollanders in the unequal conteſt in which they were engaged, but protracted his declaration, and employed the interval in naval preparations both in his ports on the ocean, and thoſe in the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark was, however, made acquainted with his deſign, and ſtipulated to aſſiſt the Dutch with a fleet of 30 ſail; in conſequence of which he was to receive an annual ſubſidy of one million five hundred thouſand crowns, three hundred thouſand of which to be paid by the court of France.

The Dutch being encouraged by theſe favourable circumſtances, continued to exert all their power in their own defence, and to ſupport that power on the ocean, their fleets had obtained. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from the coaſt of Guinea: their India fleet was returned in ſafety; their harbours were crowded with merchantmen: domeſtic faction was appeaſed: the young prince of Orange had put himſelf under the tuition of de Wit, who executed his office with the ſtricteſt honour and fidelity; and the whole republic was ſo exaſperated againſt the Engliſh, that they thirſted for revenge, and promiſed themſelves that their next enterprize would be attended with better ſucceſs. Their merchant ſhips were not ſuffered to ſail, and even the fiſheries were ſuſpended, that no impediment might retard the manning of their fleet in the compleateſt manner.

The parliament of England aſſembled at Oxford, and declared their intention of ſupporting his majeſty in the war againſt the Dutch. Accordingly they voted him 1,250,000l. to be levied in two years, by monthly aſſeſſments. The independents, anabaptiſts, and republicans, encouraged by the emiſſaries of the Dutch, had formed a ſcheme for a general inſurrection; but their whole plan was rendered abortive. Exaſperated by theſe practices, the parliament brought in a bill, known by the name of the Five-Mile-act, which afterwards gave occaſion to many heavy and juſt complaints. Under the ſpecious pretence of ſupporting the throne againſt the attempts of its moſt inveterate enemies, the church perſevered in her project of wreaking her vengeance on the non-conformiſts. By this bill it was enacted, that no diſſenting teacher, who refuſed to take the oath of non-reſiſtance, ſhould, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had diſcharged the offices of a miniſter after the act of oblivion, under the penalty of fifty pounds. Violences like theſe could only be conſidered as preludes to the moſt furious perſecution; but the ſpirit of the nation had undergone a change, the intolerant ſpirit was nipped in its bud, and the commons rejected the bill for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance.

A. D. 1666. France now declared war againſt England. But the conteſt was unequal. The Engliſh, however, ſtill enjoyed one advantage: their country lay between the fleets of their enemies, and might be able, by ſpeedy, and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But ſuch was the want of intelligence in the miniſtry, or the want of conduct in the commanders, that this favourable circumſtance became rather prejudicial. Beaufort, the French admiral, had received orders to ſail from Toulon with his ſquadron, in order to join the Dutch, and it was ſuppoſed that he was already in the channel. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of 74 ſail, was commanded by Monk, earl of Albemarle, and prince Rupert. The former, from the repeated defeats of the Dutch during the government of Cromwell, had raſhly entertained too deſpicable an opinion of their courage; and it was determined in a council of war, to detach prince Rupert with a ſquadron of 20 ſhips, in order to intercept the French admiral.

At this time the Dutch fleet, commanded by the celebrated admiral de Ruyter, was riding at anchor between Newport and Dunkirk, expecting, as it was ſuppoſed, the arrival of the French ſquadron. Albemarle determined to force them to action, and accordingly ſtood immediately towards them. The Dutch, who did not expect this viſit, prepared for the engagement, and cut their cables, that they might the ſooner be in readineſs to receive the enemy. Sir George Aſcue, who was well acquainted with the bravery of the Dutch, cautioned Albemarle of his danger, but it was now too late. The battle which enſued was one of the moſt remarkable recorded in hiſtory, whether the duration, or deſperate courag with which it was fought, be conſidered. It continued four days, and each was marked with events o the moſt aſtoniſhing nature. Albemarle, conſciou of the miſtake he had made with regard to the courage and conduct of the enemy, exerted all his grea abilities on this memorable occaſion. Though no in the decline of life, he appeared the youthfu hero, and ſeemed to have forgot his years as well a his dangerous ſituation.

The van, which was led by Sir William Berkeley during the firſt day's engagement fell into the thicke of the enemy, and was obliged to yield to ſuperio force. When the victors entered the ſhip, the found the gallant commander dead in his cabbin, an covered with blood. The advantage which the Engliſh had acquired by gaining the weather-gage of th enemy was of very little conſequence, occaſione by the wind blowing ſo high, that they could not u the guns on the lower deck. A diſcovery made b de Wit was of the utmoſt conſequence to the Dutc This was chain-ſhot, which tore the rigging of th Engliſh to pieces. Sir John Harman attacked th Dutch admiral Evertz, and obtained the victory Evertz was killed in the engagement. But the conte was at length terminated by night.

The enſuing morning was conſiderably calme which occaſioned the battle to be at once more ſte dy and more dreadful, and it was now perceived th valour alone is not ſufficient to compenſate for a defect of ſuperiority, when the enemy is not wantin either in courage or conduct. De Ruyter and Va Tromp, at once enemies from faction, and rivals i glory, exerted themſelves in this memorable battl The latter being ſurrounded by the Engliſh, was relieved by the former, when reduced to the laſt extremity. During the action ſixteen freſh ſhips joine the Hollanders. This addition was deciſive. Th Engliſh, whoſe ſhips were dreadfully ſhattered, an reduced to twenty-eight, found themſelves obliged retreat towards their own coaſts, whither they we followed by the Dutch, and their whole fleet mu have been taken, had not a ſudden calm, which happened a little before night, prevented the engageme from being renewed.

The Engliſh continued their retreat as ſoon as th morning appeared. The ſhattered ſhips were orde ed to ſet all their ſails, while ſixteen of the moſt e tire, drawn up in order, followed them, and kept th enemy in play. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the re and preſented an undaunted countenance to the en my fluſhed with victory. The admiral confeſſed the young earl of Oſſory, who ſerved a voluntee that he was determined to blow up his ſhip, and peri gloriouſly in the bed of honour, rather than ſtrike the enemy. Oſſory agreed with him, and high applauded this deſperate intrepidity.

Almoſt at the inſtant that the Dutch were comi up with the Engliſh, and were preparing to beg the engagement, a new fleet appeared to the ſout ward, crouding all their ſails to reach the ſcene action, and join in the dreadful conteſt. De Ruyt was perſuaded that Beaufort was arrived to aſſiſt the total defeat of the enemy; while the Engliſh fla tered themſelves that prince Rupert was coming ſnatch the laurel wreath from the brow of the co queror. Albemarle was ſoon convinced that th were the prince's ſhips; and ſtood immediately wards them. The whole fleet followed the admira but Sir George Aſcue, whoſe ſhip carried 100 gu and was the largeſt in the fleet, unfortunately r aſhore upon a ſand called the Galloper, and w obliged to ſtrike to the Dutch.

At length it was determined in a council of war ma make another attempt againſt the Dutch, and accordingly the engagement began the next morning with greater fury than ever. The ſhips were grappled to each other, and the men fought hand to hand, as if on firm ground. In this manner the conteſt continued, till a thick miſt obliged them to ſeperate: when the Engliſh returned to the mouth of the Thames, and, conſequently, gained a place of ſecurity.

The victory, on this occaſion was claimed by the Dutch, who, however, had but very little reaſon to plume themſelves upon the occaſion. The Engliſh fleet was ſoon in a condition to face the enemy; and de Ruyter, having repaired the damages his fleet had ſuſtained, ſtood to the mouth of the Thames, in order to block up the Engliſh, and facilitate his junction with the French admiral. It could not be expected the Engliſh would tamely bear ſo vile an inſult. Albemarle and prince Rupert haſtened to attack the enemy. The two fleets, as well as the courage and conduct of their leaders, were nearly equal; each conſiſted of about eighty-eight ſail. They met on the 24th of July, and the engagement began with incredible fury. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron, attacked the van of the Dutch with ſo much fury that they were entirely routed, and the three admirals who commanded that diviſion were ſlain. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of the action he was ſeparated from the main body, commanded by de Ruyter, who with the utmoſt conduct and valour, maintained the fight againſt the principal force of the Engliſh; and the fight continued till night put an end to the engagement. He propoſed to have renewed the battle as ſoon as the morning appeared, but inſtead of finding his ſhips in a ſituation for attacking the enemy, he ſaw them ſcattered, and unwilling to renew the battle. In this alarming ſituation, neither his courage nor his preſence of mind forſook him. He made ſo noble a retreat, that he gained as much honour by his prudence as he could have done had he gained the victory. But he could not bear the thought of flying from the enemy. He often exclaimed, " What a wretch am I, that among ſo many thouſand ſhot that fly near me, not one will put an end to my miſerable life!" He however perſevered in his duty, and by his amazing efforts the Dutch fleet were conducted into their own harbours. On his return to Holland, he complained loudly of Van Tromp's conduct, and that gallant admiral was diſmiſſed from the ſervice of the ſtates-general.

The Engliſh by this victory were rendered the indiſputed maſters of the ocean; and admiral Holmes was detached with 20 ſail of ſhips to inſult the Dutch coaſts. Accordingly, he entered the road of Ulie, where he deſtroyed 140 ſail of merchantmen, two ſhips of war, and burnt the rich village of Brandorus. Theſe inſults and loſſes exaſperated the people in general, and the merchants in particular, who exclaimed loudly againſt the Dutch adminiſtration.

The French king being alarmed at the ſucceſs of the Engliſh, haſtened Beaufort to join the Dutch, and his friend de Wit might not be able to ſupport himſelf in the adminiſtration. De Ruyter's fleet was ſoon refitted; he put to ſea, and again cruized in the ſtreights of Dover. The Engliſh fleet, now ſtronger than ever, ſailed, under the command of prince Rupert, to attack the enemy. Ruyter thought proper to decline the engagement, as he every day expected to be joined by the French ſquadron, and retired into St. John's road, near Bologne, where he was ſheltered from a terrible ſtorm that ſoon after aroſe. Prince Rupert was not ſo fortunate; his ſhips received conſiderable damage, and he was obliged to retire to St. Helen's to refit. In the mean time the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived. But before he reached the place where he expected to join de Ruyter, that commander had been ſeized with a fever, and the ſtates had thought proper to recall their fleet. Anxious for his fleet, which he had raiſed with ſo much art and induſtry, Lewis ſent orders to Beaufort to make the beſt of his way to Breſt, and to continue as near as poſſible to the French coaſt. Beaufort obeyed, and was fortunate enough to paſs the Engliſh without being perceived. One of his ſhips only, being ſeparated from the fleet, was taken.

During the time of the fleets being thus inactive, the city of London was reduced to aſhes, by a dreadful fire which broke out on the ſecond of September. It began at a broker's houſe near the bridge, and diffuſed itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that nothing could reſiſt the progreſs of the flames. The dreadful conflagration laſted three days and nights; nor did it ſtop till the greater part of the capital was deſtroyed. Eighty churches, ſeveral of the city gates, and 400 ſtreets, containing above 13,200 dwelling houſes, were conſumed. The ruins covered a ſpace of 426 acres, extending along the banks of the Thames from the Tower to the Temple church; and from the north-eaſt gate along the city wall to Holborn-bridge. It was at laſt extinguiſhed by blowing up a number of houſes. Both the king and the duke of York attended, and exerted all their endeadeavors to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the flames.

A calamity ſo dreadful gave occaſion to various conjectures with regard to its cauſe; no perſon being inclined to think it caſual. Some imputed it to the malice of the republicans; but the greater part aſcribed it to the malice of the papiſts; and in order to comply with this popular prejudice, an inſcription engraven by authority on the monument imputed it to that hated ſect. Both theſe ſuſpicions, however, ſeemed to have owed their riſe to the violent animoſities that poſſeſſed the minds of the different parties which divided the people at this period. Their poſterity, who behold this, and other events of that time, through the cooler medium of reaſon, ſee no cauſe for aſcribing this dreadful accident either to treachery or malice. The ſtreets of London were then extremely narrow; the houſes were almoſt all built of timber, or lath and plaiſter; the ſeaſon was remarkably dry; and a violent eaſt wind happened to blow at that time. To theſe cauſes, and to theſe only, the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the flames ought to be imputed.

This misfortune, however dreadful at firſt, was attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences. The new ſtreets were much wider than the old; the houſes were built with brick and ſtone; lath and plaiſter, as well as timber, in the walls, being forbid by authority. By theſe means the city became much more healthy than before; and the plague, which ſo often ſwept the greater number of inhabitants, has not once appeared ſince this dreadful conflagration. The parliament voted a ſupply of 1,800,000l. towards defraying the expences of rebuilding the city.

A. D. 1667. Charles having received a ſupply of money, by the aſſent of parliament, now determined to bring about a peace, and accordingly propoſed the opening conferences for that purpoſe. The Dutch, who by their riches and navigation were on a better footing than the Engliſh, propoſed the alternative that things ſhould be reſtored to the ſituation they were in at the beginning of the war, or that the two nations ſhould retain all their acquiſitions. The laſt was accepted, and no difficulty remained but with regard to the poſſeſſion of the Iſle of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies, once famous for its ſpices. Holles and Coventry, the Engliſh plenipotentiares at the congreſs, propoſed that a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhould be concluded, till the ſeveral claims could be adjuſted; but de Wit refuſed the offer. That ſagacious and enterprizing miniſter, who was no ſtranger to Charles's neceſſities, had planned an expedition, which, if ſucceſsful, he knew would be of more weight in the negociations than any arguments.

Imagining that there was not the leaſt reaſon to fear the ſucceſs of the negociation, and that no attempt would be made by the enemy while the conferences were open, the king had laid up his large ſhips, in order to convert to his own uſe the greater part of the money granted him by parliament. De Wit, who had the beſt intelligence from England, determined to take advantage of the negligence of the Britiſh monarch. He ordered Re Ruyter to ſail with a fleet of ſhips and ſurprize the Engliſh, lulled in fatal ſecurity. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. He entered the mouth of the Thames, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. The mouth of the river Medway was defended by a chain, and ſome fortifications had been added to Sheerneſs and Upnore-caſtle. But the former was ſoon taken, though defended by the brave Sir Edward Sprague. The wind blowing freſh at eaſt, the vice-admiral, Van Ghent, broke the chain drawn acroſs the entrance of the Medway, and burnt the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles V. all capital ſhips, and all taken from the Dutch during the war. He alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh had ſet on fire, and advanced with ſix men of war and five fire ſhips as far as Upnore-caſtle, where he burnt the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all ſhips of importance.

The Dutch now fell down the Medway, and it was apprehended that they would proceed up the Thames next tide, and deſtroy all the ſhips in the river. The capital was in confuſion. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall: platforms were raiſed in ſeveral places, and furniſhed with artillery: the trained bands were called out, and every precaution taken to render the attempt of the enemy abortive. But de Ruyter did not think proper to proceed; the danger he thought was too great, and the hopes of ſucceſs too precarious. He left the mouth of the Thames, ſtood to the weſtward, and made an attempt to deſtroy the ſhipping at Portſmouth and Plymouth, but was repulſed at both places with loſs. He was not, however, intimidated: he returned again to the mouth of the Thames, and advanced as far as Tilbury-fort; but found the Engliſh ſo well prepared for his reception, that there were no hopes of ſucceſs. He next inſulted Harwich, and kept the whole ſouthern coaſt of England in perpetual alarms till the concluſion of the peace, which happened on the tenth of July, when the treaty was ſigned at Breda. Acadia was yielded to the French, who agreed to reſtore St. Chriſtopher's, and ſome other iſlands which they had taken in the Weſt-Indies. The iſland of Polerone remained with the Dutch, and the colony of New-York was the only advantage the Engliſh derived from a war that had coſt the nation ſuch immenſe ſums.

So ruinous a war, and terminated with ſo little advantage, exaſperated the Engliſh, and it was thought neceſſary to make ſome ſacrifice to appeaſe the people, before the meeting of the parliament. Clarendon the chancellor was at this time no favourite with either party. The king reſpected the merit of that great miniſter, but his virtues were troubleſome. The chancellor, incorruptible in the midſt of a diſſolute court, ſtill retained his integrity of manners. He was a reſtraint upon his pleaſures, and oppoſed his prodigalities. The people leſs grateful for the good he had done them, than exaſperated at the circumſtances that diſpleaſed them, were ſo far from thinking themſelves obliged to Clarendon for his conduct, that they conſidered him as the author of their ſufferings. The preſbyterians reproached him with perſecution on one hand, and the Roman catholics with cruelty on the other. Though the war with Holland was undertaken contrary to his advice, yet the misfortunes were wholly attributed to him, becauſe it was determined to find him guilty at all events. The earl of Southampton, high-treaſurer, and the virtuous friend of Clarendon, who had been dead about three months, had done juſtice to his character. "This man (ſaid he in full council) is a true proteſtant and an honeſt Engliſhman; while he enjoys power, we are ſecure of our laws, liberty, and religion: if he is removed, I tremble for the conſequences." But the virtues of Clarendon, inſtead o preventing, occaſioned his fall. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman His enemies were not, however, ſatisfied with hi diſgrace; they were determined to complete his ruin As ſoon as the parliament met, a charge was opene againſt him in the houſe of commons, by Sir Edwar Seymour. It conſiſted of ſeventeen articles: bu the principal, and indeed the only one, that coul affect him, was the adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, an even this amounted to nothing more than an error i judgment. When the charge was carried up to th peers, it was ſo ill ſupported, that they refuſed t put him under an arreſt. But Clarendon perceivin that the tide of popular clamour ran ſtrongly again him, and that he was entirely abandoned by his ma ter, whom he had ſo long and ſo faithfully ſerve withdrew to Rouen in Normandy, and put himſe under the protection of Lewis XIV. The Frenc more judicious and more humane than his countr men, received the illuſtrious fugitive with eve mark of reſpect. He lived ſix years in this reti ment, employing his leiſure time in writing a hiſto of the civil wars, a work worthy of the ſtateſm and the illuſtrious citizen. The early part of life had been ſpent in the ſtudy of the laws. father often exhorted him never to advance the p rogative at the expence of the public liberty, a died of an apoplexy juſt after he had repeated t leſſon to his ſon. This affecting incident imprin it ſtrongly on his memory. His loyalty to Charle was that of an Engliſhman firmly attached to principles of the conſtitution, and he died with character of a nobleman of unblemiſhed virtue, an corruptible judge, and an able miniſter, equ valuable for his attachment and his honeſty.

Charles's miniſtry was now entirely changed; treaſury was put into commiſſion, and Sir Rich Clifford, a declared papiſt, was made firſt comm oner. Sir Henry Bennet, created earl of Arling a concealed papiſt, was made ſecretary of ſtate. duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of ſpirit and mour, but of an abandoned character; and Wil earl of Rocheſter, the lewdeſt, and moſt licen poet of the age, were the king's chief favourites miniſters of his pleaſures.

The fire having laid the Royal Exchange, bui Sir Thomas Greſham, in aſhes, it was determin rebuild it in a moſt ſplendid manner. A mod the intended building was accordingly preſent the king; and it being approved of, Charles lai firſt ſtone in the beginning of October, with gre lemnity.

Lord Clarendon's exile not having fully tented the people, the king had recourſe to an expedient more deſerving of praiſe; and had it ſteadily purſued, would probably have rendere reign happy; at leaſt, it would have rendere memory glorious. This was the triple alliance, a meaſure which gave great ſatisfaction to the people in general.

The French monarch Lewis XIV. as proud as he was powerful, and paſſionately fond of glory, particularly that of conqueſts unworthy of a great prince, filled Europe with uneaſineſs and apprehenſions. Notwithſtanding the renunciation of his queen, Maria Thereſa, of Auſtria, he ſeized Flanders and Franche Comte, pretending he had a legal right to them both. The United Provinces were ſufficiently alarmed. England was enraged at the aſſumed ſuperiority of France; and Charles projected the triple alliance. Sir William Temple was ſent to negotiate the treaty. A philoſophical miniſter could not fail of being agreeable to de Wit. The ſame frankneſs, ſincerity, and greatneſs of mind, diſtinguiſhed them both. It was not between miniſters of ſuch a character that politics degenerate into fineſſe and chicane. They undertook to mediate between France and Spain, and to engage them in a treaty that ſhould leave to Lewis part of his conqueſt, but that he ſhould abſolutely renounce the rights of his queen. Sweden entered into this alliance. According to the laws of the States General, all the towns were to conſent to the treaty: and this it was poſſible the intrigues of Lewis might have power to prevent. His ambaſſador, d'Eſtrades, was ſo ſure of this, that, on being informed of the negotiation, he ſaid, "We will talk of it in ſix weeks." But de Wit, foreſeeing the danger of delay, and perſuaded that in a caſe of ſo much importance to his country, the good of the public ought to over-rule even the laws themſelves, boldly urged the ſtates to ratify the league the very day it was ſigned, and prevailed. Sir William Temple received the moſt flattering encomiums with a degree of modeſty that added to his merit. He anſwered, that to remove things from their element, or their centre, force and labour were neceſſary; but that they would return of themſelves. The triple alliance, ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, put an end to the conqueſts of Lewis XIV. He kept what he had gained in the Low Countries, but Franche Comte was reſtored to the Spaniards.

Philip IV. of Spain had been ſucceeded by his ſon, Charles II. then a minor, and his mother held the reins of government, with the title of regent. The court of Spain, though it was forced to ſubmit to the terms of the triple alliance, by no means approved of that treaty; becauſe certain conceſſions were to be made to France, which were not agreeable to the haughty ſpirit of the Spaniards. That court even declared, that they were ready to relinquiſh all the Low Countries, rather than ſubmit to the articles of the treaty. This was, however, nothing more than a paſſionate declaration; it was found in vain to reſiſt, and the treaty was accepted.

Tranquillity being thus reſtored on the continent, Charles formed a ſcheme for attaching both the preſbyterians and papiſts more ſtrongly to his intereſt. To effect this, he propoſed to incorporate the preſbyterians with the church of England, and to obtain a toleration for all the other ſects of nonconformiſts.

A. D. 1669. The lord-keeper was accordingly directed to procure a conference between ſome of the moſt eminent of the epiſcopal and preſbyterian miniſters, and to offer propoſals for a comprehenſion of ſuch diſſenters as could be brought into communion with the church of England. The epiſcopal divines, either from a ſpirit of chriſtian charity, or a deſire to pleaſe their ſovereign, were very compliable on this occaſion; they made large conceſſions; and nothing was wanting to put a final hand to the accommodation, but the re-ordaining the preſbyterian miniſters. Matters being thus adjuſted, lord chief juſtice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehenſion, and the lord-keeper engaged to ſupport it in parliament. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was not intruſted in the ſecret, determined to render every ſcheme of this ſort abortive. He wrote circular letters to the ſuffragan biſhops in his province, enjoining them to make an exact enquiry into the number of conventicles in each particular dioceſe. Provided with theſe neceſſary informations, he repaired to court, and obtained a proclamation to be publiſhed, for putting the laws againſt diſſenters in execution, particularly the act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from reſiding in corporate towns. But the king ſoon rendered the intentions of the biſhop abortive, by ordering the non-conformiſt miniſters to be told from him, that he was very deſirous of making them eaſy; adding, that if they thought proper to petition the crown, they ſhould be favourably heard. They embraced the offer; a petition was preſented; and the king, in his anſwer, told them, "That he would uſe all his intereſt to get them comprehended in the public eſtabliſhment." The parliament was, however, averſe to any ſuch conceſſions, and when they met in October they preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for his proclamation, and appointed a committee to make a ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of the non-conformiſts. A great number of informations were accordingly laid before them, and they reported, "That ſeveral conventicles and ſeditious aſſemblies were held, even in the neighbourhood of the houſe, tending to inſult the government, and endanger the peace of the kingdom." This report ſet the houſe in a flame; and the following declaration was immediately voted, "that they would adhere to his majeſty, for the ſupport of the government, both in church and ſtate, againſt all adverſaries whatever." They proceeded no farther at that time, and the king prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of February.

A. D. 1670. On the 14th of February when the king opened the ſeſſion of parliament, he demanded a ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms. But the commons, before they complied with the king's deſires, paſſed the conventicle act, by which every member of a conventicle, or aſſembly of non-conformiſts, conſiſting of more than five perſons, excluſive of the family where it was held, was liable to a fine. And contrary to the principle received in criminal matters, what appeared doubtful was always to be interpreted in the leaſt favourable light. This ſeverity of the commons was the more extraordinary, as the ſame ſpirit of perſecution had, a little before, occaſioned a rebellion in Scotland. About two thouſand preſbyterians, after renewing the covenant, took up arms; and the flame which deſpair had kindled was quenched in blood. One Maccail, who had joined in the inſurrection, expired under the torture in a kind of triumph of joy. The moment when his ſoul was taking its flight, he cried out, "Farewell ſun, moon and ſtars; farewell world and time; farewell frail and weak body: welcome eternity, welcome angels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God, the judge of all!" The ſpectators were ſtruck with a fortitude like this; a man expiring under the moſt cruel torments, and rejoicing in the dreadful conflict, was truly aſtoniſhing; it increaſed their hatred againſt ſuch inhuman perſecutors.

Although prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, ſecretary Trevor, and the lord-keeper Bridgeman, on whoſe honour and integrity the people could rely, ſtill continued in office, yet they enjoyed but little power; they were ſeldom admitted to the cabinet council, or conſulted on the moſt preſſing affairs of the nation. Equally ſuſpicious and ſuſpected, a ſlave to pleaſure and a dupe to artifice, Charles neglected the cares of government, and expoſed himſelf to the danger of a fatal revolution. Five miniſters ſhared his confidence, and directed all the affairs of government. Aſhley Cooper, earl of Saliſbury, diſtinguiſhed by his learning, but of the moſt violent paſſions; the duke of Buckingham, with all the advantages of wit, figure and fortune, but without either conduct or principles; the duke of Lauderdale, a man of parts, but opinionated, a ſycophant to the prince, and a tyrant to the ſubject; the bold and impetuous Clifford, and the earl of Arlington, well verſed in buſineſs, and worthy of the place he enjoyed, had his reſolution been ſufficient to follow his own ſentiments, rather than the influence of the court. The miniſtry was called the Cabal, from the five initial letters of their names forming that word.

When Charles had given the royal aſſent to the bill againſt diſſenters, the commons paſſed an act for granting 1,700,000l. to his majeſty; but the money had the ſame fate with other ſums he had already received from parliament: it was ſquandered away upon his miſtreſſes and favourites, and he was ſo far from making good his engagements with the ſtates-general, that he entered into meaſures for forming a cloſer union than ever with the king of France. Deſirous of rendering himſelf abſolute, by ſhaking off the yoke of dependence on the ſupplies of parliament, he determined to ſecure the friendſhip of Lewis XIV. as the only method of executing his purpoſe. To this chimerical project he ſacrificed every ſentiment of honour, juſtice, and humanity. He knew he had nothing to fear from his miniſters; their ſervile flattery, and the licentiouſneſs of their manners, were ill calculated to ſupport the intereſts of their country. They were deſirous of rendering the king independent of the parliament; and thought the only way to effect it, was to enter into a new war with Holland, and depend upon Lewis for aſſiſtance of men and money.

Purſuant to this reſolution, it was determined to renew the war with Holland on the ſlighteſt pretences. The duke of York entered heartily into this ſcheme, which he was perſuaded could not fail, if ſucceſsful, of eſtabliſhing the catholic religion in England. But the alliance with France was to be kept an impenetrable ſecret, till Charles had procured a vote of parliament for arming the nation, under pretence of being ready, at all events, to protect the commerce, and ſupport the independence of the nation againſt the attempts of any power whatever, great preparations being making in the ports of France and Holland.

The triple alliance had put an effectual ſtop to the conqueſts of Lewis, on which occaſion that ambitious monarch was deſirous of revenge. Could the Engliſh be prevailed upon to enter into a new war with the Dutch, the difficulty would be removed; and he flattered himſelf that this was not difficult to be accompliſhed, as the reduction of Holland would remove the object of emulation to the Engliſh, who were jealous of their privileges. Full of theſe ideas he took a journey to Dunkirk, accompanied by his whole court, and the ducheſs of Orleans took that opportunity of viſiting her brother. Lewis was no ſtranger to the addreſs of that amiable princeſs, and the aſcendant ſhe had acquired over the Engliſh monarch, and had prevailed upon her to exert all her intereſt to draw her brother from the triple league. This young princeſs, then only twenty-five years of age, was accordingly ſelected as the plenipotentiary for concluding this important treaty. Charles met his ſiſter at Dover, where they ſpent ten days together in the utmoſt harmony. In their conferences ſhe artfully inſinuated, that nothing was wanting to render him the greateſt monarch in the world, and to recompence him for all the misfortunes he had ſuffered, than that of making himſelf as abſolute in England as the other princes of Europe were in their dominions. This glorious end ſhe obſerved could never be obtained while his ſubjects had any proſpect of being aſſiſted by the Dutch, whoſe republican principles led them to ſupport the liberty of the ſubject. It was therefore neceſſary for him to humble the Hollanders, which would effectually remove the only difficulty of keeping his own ſubjects within the bounds of obedience. She added, that he might reſt aſſured, the king of France would aſſiſt him with men and money ſufficient to quell any commotions that might be raiſed in England, by purſuing this deſign. Blinded with the love he bore his ſiſter, and intoxicated with the deſire of governing with unlimited authority, Charles agreed to every thing propoſed by Lewis, and laid the foundation for the ruin of his allies, in the midſt of convivial entertainments.

The French king, being no ſtranger to the natura inconſtancy of Charles's temper, artfully determine to fix him firm to his engagements by the bands o pleaſure. He ſent over with the princeſs Henriett mademoiſelle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accompliſhments. Charles ha not power to reſiſt her charms. She accompanie him to London; was ſoon after created ducheſs o Portſmouth, and maintained her empire over h heart during the whole courſe of his life. She ke him firm in his engagements with France, and co tinued to be the reigning favourite, while his forme miſtreſs was honoured with the title of a ducheſs, ſome recompence for the favour ſhe had loſt.

The Engliſh monarch's joy, however, was great leſſened by the loſs of his ſiſter, who died ſoon aft her return to France. But this event made no alt ration in the reſolutions of the two monarchs. Th duke of Buckingham was diſpatched to Paris to p a finiſhing hand to the treaty, by which the ſpoils the Dutch, devoted to deſtruction, were to be ſhar between France and England. It was, howeve found impoſſible to keep this treaty a ſecret: t many perſons had been concerned in its executio But though it was generally ſuſpected, and perha known to moſt of the courts of Europe, it occaſio ed no alarm. The emperor was fully employed w ſeditions in Hungary; the Swede lulled aſleep w negotiations; and the Spaniſh monarchy, weak a irreſolute, and always ſlower in its motions, perm ted Lewis to follow the career of his ambition u moleſted.

An irruption was made into Lorrain by the m quis of Crequi. The duke, not dreaming of hoſt ties, was forced to abandon his territories. He fl tered himſelf that he ſhould find a powerful advoc in Charles, in return for the many favours he h received during his exile; but he was miſtaken. envoy was told, "That the king was extremely ſo for the misfortunes of his maſter, but that the p ſent violence, like the misfortunes of a ſudden in dation, had no remedy but patience." This ma feſt partiality in favour of the French alarmed Dutch, who began to fear for the ſafety of their country. Their misfortunes were encreaſed by factions, which divided the commonwealth: compoſed of rigid republicans, to whom the leaſt dow of abſolute authority ſeemed a monſter, c trary to the laws of human ſociety; the other republicans of a more moderate diſpoſition, were deſirous of inveſting the young prince of range, afterwards the famous William III. with poſts and dignities of his anceſtors. The grand ſionary John de Wit was at the head of the rigid republicans, but the party of the young prince began to gain ground in the ſtate. Theſe domeſtic diſſentions were more regarded than the foreign danger that threatened the deſtruction of their liberty.

The king of France had not only gained the Engliſh monarch over to his intereſt, but alſo the famous Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, whoſe delight was war and plunder, and naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly aſſiſted them againſt this warlike prelate; but he now joined him for their deſtruction. The Swedes, having united with the republic to ſtop the projects of a conqueror, who had then no deſigns againſt them, abandoned her when they ſaw ſhe was threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former ſubſidies.

Purſuant to their prorogation on the 24th of October, the parliament met, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the lord-keeper, who repreſented the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ſupply. He told them, "That France and the ſtates-general were collecting powerful armies by ſea and land; were aſſiduouſly employed in building ſhips, and filling their magazines with all ſorts of warlike ſtores and proviſions; that ſince the beginning of the laſt war with Holland, France had encreaſed the ſtrength of her marine more than three times what it was before; and that Holland alſo, ſince the concluſion of the peace, had pplied herſelf diligently to the augmentation of her leets; that in ſo critical a conjuncture, common rudence required that his majeſty ſhould make ſome uitable preparations; that he had accordingly given rders for fitting out fifty ſail of his largeſt ſhips gainſt the ſpring, beſides thoſe which were neceſſa- y for the ſecurity of trade, foreſeeing, that if he eglected to put his navy in a reſpectable condition, might prove a temptation to thoſe who did not now em to intend it, to offer an affront at leaſt, if not o a real injury to the nation." He next expatiated on e ſeveral advantageous leagues he had entered into r the defence of his kingdom, and the benefit of mmerce. He particularly mentioned the triple lliance concluded with the Dutch and Swedes, and oſe with Portugal and Denmark. And concluded th aſſuring them, that the king would prorogue the rliament at Chriſtmas, and therefore wiſhed they uld regulate their proceedings accordingly.

This duplicity and prevarication deceived the mmons, who being either unacquainted with, or t crediting the king's engagements with France, oted him 2,500,000l. a much larger ſupply than had ver been granted by a parliament, and certainly ne- er leſs deſerved. Sir William Temple was ſtill at e Hague, where he had acquired ſo great a reputa- on for honour and integrity, that the Cabal were rſuaded no orders from his majeſty could prevail pon him to promote or countenance meaſures de- uctive of the intereſt of his country. He was erefore recalled. De Wit, who admired the great d noble qualities of the Engliſh reſident, took ve of him with the utmoſt regret. The Dutch through the flimſy veil of pretence made uſe of remove him; and were now fully convinced of inſincerity of Charles. They even ordered their baſſador at London to ſignify to the Engliſh mini- y, that they ſhould look upon their recalling Sir lliam Temple as an undoubted proof of their ing changed their meaſures.

A. D. 1672. At the latter end of January, the liament met again, when the king ſent a meſſage the commons, deſiring that the money-bills might haſtened; but inſtead of paſſing the acts they d with the lords in a ſolemn addreſs to his majeſty, upon the alarming increaſe of popery, and deſired that no papiſt or reputed papiſt might enjoy any office, civil or military. The king, unwilling to give them an abſolute denial, publiſhed a proclamation againſt the catholics, but never intended to carry it into execution. As ſoon as the firſt of the money bills was carried to the houſe of peers, Lucas ſeverely animadverted on the enormous grants made to the crown, and the ſhameful manner in which theſe ſupplies were ſquandered away. "While we are continually giving," ſaid he at the concluſion of his ſpeech, "and the king is continually aſking, it is neceſſary to make ſome eſtimate for ourſelves. Would his majeſty be pleaſed to requeſt a quarter of our eſtates, I would, for my part, chearfully reſign it. Were it half, upon good occaſions, I ſhould reſign it freely; but then let us have ſome aſſurance of quietly enjoying the reſidue, and know what we have to truſt to." The king was in the gallery when Lucas ſpoke with ſuch boldneſs, and was highly offended; but he was ſo exaſperated when he found the ſpeech was printed, and diſperſed through every part of the kingdom, that he ordered it to be burnt by the common executioner.

This, however, had ſuch an effect upon the lords, that they made ſome alterations in the money bill ſent up by the commons. This was highly reſented by the latter, who conſidered it as an infringement on their undoubted right of regulating all acts of ſubſidy. Several conferences were held between the two houſes in order to terminate the affair; but inſtead of coming to an amicable agreement, they carried the diſpute to ſo great a height, that the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament, and loſe the large ſupply that had been voted by the commons.

A tax on plays was propoſed, during this ſeſſion of parliament. But this was objected to by the court party, who ſaid the players were the king's ſervants, and adminiſtered to his pleaſures. Sir John Coventry pleaſantly aſked, "Whether the king's pleaſures lay among the male or female actors?" Charles, who, beſides his other miſtreſſes, entertained two actreſſes, Mrs. Davis and Nell Gwin, was hurt by this ſarcaſm, and took an unworthy revenge. Some of his guards attacked Coventry, and ſlit his noſe. The commons expreſſed their indignation by paſſing what is called the Coventry act, by which maiming and deforming was made a capital crime, and thoſe perſons who had aſſaulted Coventry were rendered incapable of receiving the king's pardon.

Much about the ſame time one Blood, a diſcarded officer who had ſerved under Cromwell, and the moſt daring villain recorded in hiſtory, found means to ſteal the crown, and ſeveral other parts of the regalia, from the Tower. He had ſome time before attempted to aſſaſſinate the duke of Ormond, but failed in his deſign, and eſcaped without being diſcovered. He was not ſo fortunate in his ſecond villainy. He was detected; but by a ſtrange lenity, or rather weakneſs, in Charles, he not only gave him his pardon, but ſettled on him five hundred pounds a year. When he was taken, he confeſſed his crimes, but refuſed to diſcover his accomplices. "I will never," ſaid he, "diſown a crime, nor betray a friend." The king had the curioſity to ſee ſo daring a villain. He was accordingly brought into his preſence, and had the impudence to tell his majeſty, that if he ordered him to be executed, his friends, who were both able and willing, would not fail to revenge his death. Whether this declaration intimidated the king, or whether he thought ſo intrepid a perſon might be of uſe on ſome future occaſion, is uncertain; but Charles took him into his favour, and even treated him with diſtinction, while many of his faithful ſervants, who had loſt their fortunes in his ſervice, were unrewarded and forgotten. Princes are not eaſily forgiven for neglecting thoſe who have ſerved them faithfully, eſpecially when they laviſh their favours on unworthy objects.

This imprudent action, however, was only a prelude to others of a more dangerous tendency. Charles was always in want of money, and the failure of the laſt ſupplies voted by the commons had greatly increaſed his neceſſities. In this exigency, the Cabal adviſed him to ſhut up the exchequer. Their advice was followed; the exchequer was ſhut up, and continued ſo for a year and ſome months, to the great diſtreſs and ruin of many families, who had lent their money upon government ſecurity. No Engliſh monarch had ever before dared to commit ſo flagrant an act of injuſtice; and at any other period he might perhaps have fallen the victim of his own folly. Every part of the kingdom reſounded with complaints. The moſt ſevere libels againſt the king and his miniſters were publiſhed. But Charles was deaf to the complaints of his people. Immerſed in pleaſure, he regarded not the reproaches incurred by his avarice and injuſtice. In particular the celebrated earl of Rocheſter, in one of his court lampoons, plainly, but ironically ſays,

"To ſhut th' exchequer up in thee was great,
"But in a ſubject it had been a cheat.

We have obſerved that Charles had publiſhed a proclamation againſt the papiſts; but he now determined to change his conduct. Accordingly, as head of the church, he iſſued a proclamation for ſuſpending the penal laws, which had been made againſt all nonconformiſts and recuſants whatever; and for granting to the proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, and to the papiſts the liberty of celebrating maſs in private houſes. The lord-keeper Bridgeman refuſed to put the ſeals to the edict for ſuſpending the penal laws. Exaſperated at this oppoſition, the king deprived him of his office, and gave the ſeals to the earl of Shaftſbury.

Many perſons could not, however, ſtill believe the king had entered into a treaty with Lewis for the deſtruction of the Dutch. A yatch had been ſent from England to bring over the lady Temple from Holland. The captain inſiſted that the Dutch admiral Van Ghent ſhould pay the honours due to the Engliſh flag. This the Dutchman refuſed, declaring that it was never known for an admiral in his own harbour to ſtrike his flag to a ſmall veſſel, eſpecially as the commander had nothing more than a captain's commiſſion. Though this reaſon was irrefragable, the Cabal laid hold of the incident to quarrel with the ſtates. Unwilling to enter into a war with England, the Dutch offered to make any conceſſions: but the miniſtry, determined to declare war againſt the republic, purſuant to the conditions ſtipulated in their famous treaty with Lewis, refuſed every ſatiſfaction.

The nation in general now believed, that the vaſt naval preparation making in the different parts of England were intended againſt the Dutch; but before any declaration was publiſhed, a perfidious attempt was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, amounting to 70 ſail, and valued at a million and a half ſterling. The deſign was, however, rendered abortive, by the gallant behaviour of the Dutch, who repulſed all the attacks of the Engliſh during three days ſucceſſively. Theſe hoſtilities were followed by a declaration of war. But ſurely never reaſons more abſurd and ridiculous were employed to cover ſo flagrant a violation of the late treaty. Complaints were made of injuries offered to the Eaſt-India company; a charge which that company diſowned. The detention of ſome Engliſh ſubjects in Surinam was alſo alledged, though it was known that their continuing in tha colony was voluntary. The refuſal of a Dutch flee to pay the honours of the flag to an Engliſh yatch was alſo urged as an unpardonable offence; and t compleat the ridiculous catalogue of affronts, mention was made of ſome abuſive pictures reflecting o the Engliſh nation. It was ſome time before th ſtates could diſcover the meaning of the laſt charg againſt them. At laſt it was found, that the complaint related entirely to a portrait of Cornelius d Wit, brother to the penſionary, who had diſtinguiſhe himſelf in the expedition, when the Engliſh ſhip were burnt in the Medway. On the back ground the picture was a repreſentation of ſeveral ſhips o fire. Such were the injuries which nothing leſs tha the blood of a whole people could obliterate. Lewi with more dignity, though not with more ſolid reaſo alledged nothing but his diſpleaſure with the ſtates.

Every endeavour which ambition could dictate, o prudence deviſe, were now to be put in practice f the deſtruction of a ſtate, whoſe only crime was the oppoſition to the conqueſts of Lewis XIV. Nea 2,000,000 ſterling were expended by that ambitio monarch in making preparations againſt the Dut republic. Thirty men of war, of 50 guns each, joine the Engliſh fleet, which conſiſted of 100 ſail. Th French monarch, accompanied by his brother th duke of Orleans, marched at the head of 120,00 men, towards Maeſtricht and Charleroi, on the fron tiers of Spaniſh Flanders and Holland. The biſho of Munſter, and the elector of Cologne, had abo 20,000 men. The prince of Conde and marſh Turenne were the principal generals of the Frenc army: the duke of Luxemburg commanded und them: and the ſieges were to be conducted by Va ban, the celebrated engineer.

To encounter a force ſo formidable, commande by ſuch conſummate generals, and furniſhed wi immenſe treaſures to bribe the commanders of garr ſons, what had the republic of Holland to oppoſe A young prince of a weak conſtitution, who had nev ſeen a battle, and about 25,000 ill-trained ſoldie who formed the whole military force of the countr In a word, the total annihilation of the republic a peared inevitable.

The king of France ſoon made himſelf maſter all Guelderland, and the towns upon the Yſſel. T inhabitants of Utrecht ſent the keys of their city to conqueror, and the whole province of that name c pitulated. Lewis made a triumphal entry into Utrec on the 20th of June. The provinces of Holla and Zealand only remained to conquer, and Amſte dam itſelf ſeemed but to wait the hour of its ſlave or deſtruction. A little more alacrity on the part Lewis would have put the important fortreſs into h hands. The capital once taken, not only the r public itſelf muſt have fallen, but there would ha been no longer ſuch a ſtate as Holland. Some of t richeſt families, and thoſe who were zealous lovers liberty, were preparing to fly their devoted countr and embark for Batavia, or other foreign parts.

It was not on land only that the Dutch were ſo di treſſed; the combined forces of France and Engla threatened the deſtruction of their marine power, a the total annihilation of their navy. The ſtates had n however, been negligent in fitting out their ſhips; a De Ruyter, with a fleet of 90 ſail was ſent in queſt the Engliſh and French fleets, commanded by t duke of York and the marſhal d'Etrees. They we riding careleſs in Solebay, little expecting the appea ance of a ſhip from an enemy whoſe force was f from being ſufficient to defend their own frontie Cornelius de Wit was on board as deputy from t ſtates. The Engliſh were very near being ſurprize but recovering themſelves, they ſlipt their cables, a

ſto

ſtood out to meet the enemy. A dreadful engagement enſued, in which both the commanders and ſeamen diſplayed the greateſt courage and conduct. The earl of Sandwich, who commanded under the duke of York, led the van, and was ſoon engaged in a cloſe fight with the enemy. Several Dutch ſhips attacked him at once; but he bravely defended himſelf againſt their joint attempts, killed the Dutch admiral Van Ghent, and beat off his ſhip. Aſtoniſhed at the valour diſplayed by this gallant officer, and deſirous of ſilencing the dreadful fire he kept up with ſuch amazing vigour, three fire-ſhips were ſent ſucceſſively to deſtroy him; but he ſunk them all, together with another capital ſhip of the enemy, that had ventured to lay him aboard. At laſt, when his ſhip was almoſt torn to pieces, and 600 of his men were ſlain, another fire-ſhip grappled him, and he periſhed with the remainder of his crew. In the mean time De Ruyter engaged the ſhip on board of which the duke of York had hoiſted his flag, with the utmoſt fury, and one of the fierceſt encounters recorded in hiſtory ſucceeded. At laſt the duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and hoiſt his flag on board another. But he was ſo overpowered by the enemy, that had not Sir Joſeph Jordan brought the Blue ſquadron to his relief, he muſt have been taken, with ſeveral ſhips that were cloſely engaged with the enemy. This reinforcement rendered the conqueſt equal, and it was continued with the ſame fury till night obliged them to ſeparate. The Dutch retired; nor did the Engliſh think it prudent to follow them. Both ſides, however, claimed the victory, and perhaps with equal reaſon. The loſs was great on the ſide of the Engliſh; but the Dutch firſt retired. De Wit, who knew that nothing leſs than a complete victory could ſave his country, thought it prudent to retire when he found that this was impoſſible to be obtained. The Engliſh complained loudly that the French were wanting in their duty; for they ſeparated from the fleet, and fought only at a diſtance. This conduct was aſcribed to ſecret orders given to the marſhal d'Etrees. Nothing could tend more to promote the ambitious projects of Lewis, than the total deſtruction of both the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, while his own ſhips were preſerved.

While the Dutch were thus reduced to deſpair, the ſtate was diſtracted by the diviſions which commonly ariſe among an unfortunate people, who impute to each other the calamities of their country. John de Wit was perſuaded that the only way of ſaving the ſmall remains of the wretched republic was, by making a peace with the conqueror. Full of a republican ſpirit, and jealous of his perſonal authority, which had always been exerted for the good of his country, he dreaded the power of the prince of Orange little leſs than the ambition of the French monarch: while the prince, who was equally attached to the welfare of the ſtate, exerted all his intereſt to induce the ſtates to elect him ſtadtholder, an honour ſo long enjoyed by his anceſtors. He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed a peace with Lewis, as he knew it could now only be obtained on terms that muſt annihilate the power and opulence of the republic. But the intereſt of the penſionary prevailed; and a reſolution was taken in an aſſembly of the ſtates to ſue for peace. Deputies were accordingly ſent to the French camp to implore mercy in the name of the republic, who, ſix months before, looked upon herſelf as the arbiter of kingdoms. Lewis received the deputies with an arrogance that was an inſult upon humanity; but at length deigned to dictate the terms on which he would permit the Dutch to exiſt as a ſtate. His demands however were little better than articles of ſlavery; and a peace on ſuch conditions was abſolutely inſupportable. Inſpired with a deſperate courage by the haughtineſs of the conqueror, it was determined, that if a peace could be obtained on no better terms, to periſh with their liberties of their country.

Purſuant to this reſolution it was reſolved to ſtop the progreſs of the conqueror; and accordingly the ſluices of the province of Holland were opened, whereby the whole country was laid under water. The eyes of the people were now fixed upon the young prince of Orange, whom they conſidered as the deliverer of their country: while the grand penſionary, by having prevailed upon the ſtates to ſend deputies to the French king, was conſidered as the betrayer of the ſtate. The fury of the party zeal now roſe to the greateſt height; and Cornelius de Wit, being accuſed of a deſign to murder the prince, was committed to priſon, where he underwent the moſt cruel torture, in the height of which he repeated thoſe verſes of Horace, which ſo elegantly expreſs the duty of a true citizen. His brother, the penſionary, failed not to viſit him in priſon, determined to ſhare his fate. The outrageous populace followed him, and glutted their brutal fury on the mangled bodies of thoſe illuſtrious citizens. The murder of the de Wits extinguiſhed for a time the party diſtinctions which had divided the ſtate. The prince of Orange was declared ſtadtholder, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of the power with which he was intruſted. He exhorted the citizens to firmneſs, aſſuring them that the other powers of Europe would not fail to ſend them aſſiſtance. He repreſented to them, that it was in vain to flatter themſelves with being able to diſarm, by ſubmiſſion, an enemy whoſe ambition would keep no meaſures: that now was the time to ſacrifice every thing to ſupport that precious liberty which their anceſtors had purchaſed with their blood; that for his own part he would tread in the ſteps of his fathers, and devote himſelf, without reſerve, to the preſervation of the ſtate. Buckingham, the Engliſh envoy, aſking him whether he did not ſee that the republic was infallibly ruined? anſwered, with great vivacity, "I have one ſure method of ſeeing the ruin of my country; I will die in the laſt intrenchment."

The conduct of this gallant prince ſhewed that he ſpoke the real ſentiments of his heart. He exerted all his power againſt the common enemy. He overflowed all the paſſes by which the French could penetrate into the reſt of the country. He ſent envoys to the different courts of Europe; and by his negotiations, rouſed the emperor, the empire, the Spaniſh council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy; and even induced the court of England to be leſs deſirous of ſupporting the ambitious deſigns of the French monarch. Affairs now began to wear a different aſpect. Lewis entered Holland in the month of May; and before September the greater part of the powers of Europe were forming a confederacy againſt him. Montercy, governor of Flanders, ſent privately a few regiments to the aſſiſtance of the States; the emperor Leopold diſpatched Montecuculli, at the head of 20,000 men; and the elector of Brandenburgh took the field with 40,000 troops, whom he paid himſelf. In a word, while the ſubjects of Lewis were every where erecting monuments of his conqueſts, the powers of Europe were forming confederacies for ſnatching them from his hands. They rightly conſidered the reduction of Holland as a prelude to their own ſlavery. It would be impoſſible, they thought, to defend themſelves againſt the exorbitant power of France, ſhould it be increaſed by an acceſſion of ſuch great importance.

A. D. 1673. Charles, for near two years, had been free from the uneaſineſs of parliamentary remonſtrances, but the want of money rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for him to ſummon that aſſembly. His ſpeech to both houſes, at the opening of the ſeſſion, full of confidence and cordiality, diſguiſed the real ſentiments of his heart. Shaftſbury, the chancellor, inſiſted on the neceſſity of carrying on the war againſt a republic ſo eſſentially an enemy to the Engliſh. "The parliament itſelf (ſaid he) acknowledged that Carthage was to be deſtroyed: the preſent hoſtilities therefore may more properly be called the war of the parliament, than that of the king." The commons, however, were of a different opinion, and were determined that his majeſty ſhould purchaſe the ſupplies by particular compliances.

At this time the cabal had uſurped the whole power of the government, and the chancellor, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom, had iſſued writs for electing new members in the room of thoſe who were deceaſed. The firſt vote of the parliament declared theſe elections void, and the members accordingly withdrew. It was now evident that there was a large majority againſt the court, and that without remarkable firmneſs in the king, the whole plan formed by the cabal muſt fall to the ground, and a change in the miniſtry be the conſequence. Shaftſbury, before he communicated his plan to Charles, had determined within himſelf, that if he found the king wanted reſolution to execute it, he would immediately join the country party, in order to prevent a proſecution from the commons, as the adviſer, or at leaſt the promoter of a ſtep that threatened the deſtruction of the conſtitution. The example of the earl of Clarendon was yet too recent to be forgotten, and he doubted not but his ſovereign would as readily ſacrifice him to the indignation of the parliament and people, as he had done that nobleman.

The proclamation of indulgence was now entered into by the parliament; by which the penal laws againſt non-conformiſts and catholics were ſuſpended, and it was voted, that it tended to alter the conſtitution and change the legiſlative power, which the two houſes ſhared with the king. Charles at firſt ſeemed determined to ſupport his declaration, and in caſe of reſiſtance, to apply to France for aſſiſtance. But he now ſaw the danger of his reſolution. He perceived a civil war muſt be the conſequence of his breaking with the parliament; and the remembrance of the miſeries that had attended his family nearly affected him. His natural indolence, his love of pleaſure and repoſe, added to his want of money, were motives too powerful to be withſtood, and he determined to comply with the parliament. He, however, conſulted the peers in order to give an air of deliberation to the buſineſs; after which he broke the ſeals of the obnoxious declaration with his own hand, and promiſed to aſſent to all bills that had a tendency to remove abuſes.

According to his preſages and intentions, Shaftſbury ſaw his danger, and immediately joined the country party, and his great talents ſoon placed him at the head of the oppoſition. The parliament were now determined to put the king's declaration to the proof. They paſſed a bill entitled, "an Act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants," commonly called the Teſt Act, whereby all perſons, enjoying any office, or place of truſt or profit, were required to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and alſo an oath againſt tranſubſtantiation in theſe terms, "I declare that I believe that there is no ſuch thing as tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, either before or after conſecration by any perſon whatever." They were likewiſe to receive the communion according to the rites of the church of England, in ſome pariſh church. Nor were the parliament contented with paſſing theſe bills, they alſo preſented two petitions concerning grievances; and the king having promiſed to redreſs them, they paſſed the money-bill, but without mentioning any thing of the war, which they highly diſapproved; but they added a clauſe to it, importing, That no papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any public employment.

All the popiſh officers, in conſequence of the Teſt Act, reſigned their employments, and among the reſt the duke of York his poſt of lord high-admiral. The lord Clifford alſo reſigned his treaſurer's ſtaff, and died ſoon after. Shaftſbury was deprived of the ſeals, which were given to Sir Heneage Finch: and Sir Thomas Oſbourne, created earl of Danby, ſucceeded lord Clifford in the office of treaſurer.

Some time previous to theſe tranſactions the duke of York had loſt his ducheſs, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and was now determined to marry Mary, ſiſter to the duke of Modena, a princeſs educated in all the ſuperſtition of the Romiſh religion. This alliance was warmly oppoſed by the parliament, who, on this occaſion, preſented a petition to the king, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms, and expreſſive of their apprehenſions of the dangerous conſequences that might reſult from ſuch a marriage. The duke of York, however, paid little regard to their petition. He declared he ſhould not be contradicted in a meaſure he thought ſo eſſential to the happineſs of his life. He accordingly married that princeſs on the 21ſt of November.

Prince Rupert was appointed to be commander in chief of the fleet in lieu of the duke of York; as it was intended ſtill to carry on the war againſt the Dutch. As ſoon as the prince had joined the French admiral, they ſailed in queſt of the Dutch to force them to an engagement; and as the latter were far from declining the offer, a battle enſued, and proved very obſtinate and very bloody; but without either gaining any great advantage. The principal loſs fell upon the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own ſquadrons, and by that means expoſed them to the thickeſt part of the fire of the enemy. This engagement was fought on the 8th of June; and was renewed on the 14th, when the fortune of the day remained as doubtful as before.

England and Holland now exerted all their force, and ſeemed determined to put the whole to the event of a general engagement. The prince of Orange had found means to reconcile de Ruyter and Van Tromp, a ſon worthy of the gallant father from whom he ſprung. Theſe two celebrated admirals now commanded the Dutch fleet, and on the 11th of Auguſt the battle began at the mouth of the Texel. De Ruyter ſingled out prince Rupert, Tromp oppoſed himſelf to Sir Edward Sprague, the Engliſh vice-admiral, and Brankert, the Dutch rear-admiral bore up to attack d'Etres. The engagement was conducted with aſtoniſhing fury and emulation by the Engliſh and Dutch officers; but the French kept at a diſtance and left the Engliſh to ſuſtain the whole fury of the battle. In vain did prince Rupert make a ſignal to d'Etrees to bear down to his aſſiſtance; he took no notice of any thing that paſſed, and kept his whole ſquadron far from the ſcene of action. Sprague, when the battle began, had hoiſted his flag on board the Royal Prince; but ſhe being ſoon diſabled he left her, and diſplayed his flag on board the St. George, while Tromp, for a ſimilar reaſon, quitted his own ſhip, and went on board the Comet; and the fight was immediately renewed with the ſame fury as before. Both the ſhips of theſe gallant commanders were ſoon ſhattered, and Sprague was leaving the St. George in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, when a cannon ball paſſing through his ſhip, ſtruck his boat, and the gallant admiral was drowned. It is worthy of remark, that in all the engagements theſe brave admirals ſingled out each other, as the only antagoniſt worthy of them; and when the brave

Sprague periſhed, Van Tromp generouſly paid him the tribute of a tear.

Had the French done their duty, a total victory muſt have been the conſequence. But by this refuſal in the Frenchman, and his own ſhips having received ſo much damage by the enemy, prince Rupert could not purſue the advantage he had gained by his valour. He therefore ſtood away for the Engliſh coaſt, leaving the victory undecided. The Dutch, however, gained every thing they wiſhed. By the retreat of the Engliſh, a rich fleet of Eaſt-India ſhips, which had been for ſome time expected, arrived unmoleſted in their ports. An expedition which had been planned againſt the coaſt of Zealand was alſo rendered abortive. This was the laſt engagement fought betwixt thoſe rival nations. The Engliſh became very deſirous of putting an end to a war which had exhauſted them of men and money, without the leaſt proſpect of honour or advantage.

On the 20th of October the parliament met, but the king, finding he had nothing to expect from their deliberations, ſent the uſher of the black rod to the commons, commanding their attendance in the houſe of peers. But before they would ſuffer him to enter, they voted, that a ſtanding army is a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be employed in any office of truſt. They had hardly finiſhed theſe votes before the uſher of the black rod entered, the ſpeaker leaped from the chair, and the houſe broke up in the utmoſt confuſion.

The Dutch in the mean time began to recover from their aſtoniſhment. Lewis, by not deſtroying the forts, as Conde and Turenne had propoſed, greatly weakened his own army by the number of garriſons he was obliged to detach. The prince of Orange, by a maſterly piece of military conduct, joined the army of the empire, and the French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them; but not before the inhabitants had paid dear for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raiſed in the ſingle province of Utrecht no leſs than 1668 florins. All the triumphant monuments of Lewis's conqueſt erected in the Netherlands were deſtroyed, and that prince conſidered, by all the powers of Europe, as one who had enjoyed the honours of a tranſient triumph with too much precipitation and pride; which had now involved him in a bloody war with the united forces of the Empire, Spain and Holland.

A. D. 1674. The parliament met agreeable to their prorogation on the 7th of January, and it was ſoon evident that they had not changed their opinions during the receſs. Aware of the dangerous deſigns of Charles, they were determined to exert all their power to render his plans of arbitrary power abortive. They ſeriouſly debated on the grievances of the nation, and both houſes were perſuaded that there was a neceſſity for their being removed. They began with addreſſing the king for a general faſt to implore the bleſſing of the Almighty on their endeavours againſt the dangerous errors of popery; and then reſolved to grant no more ſupplies till the grievances they enumerated were redreſſed, and the proteſtant religion, as well as the liberties and properties of the people, ſecured. Both houſes joined in an addreſs to the king, for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever. The commons examined the duke of Bukingham on ſeveral particulars of government, and not being ſatiſfied with his anſwers, they paſſed the ſame vote againſt him, as they had done againſt Lauderdale. Arlington was next queſtioned; but his anſwers were ſo ſatiſfactory to the houſe, that notwithſtanding an impeachment was prepared againſt him, they thought proper to drop the proſecution.

Charles was intimidated by theſe vigorous proceedings, and, finding it would be impoſſible to carry on the war without ſupplies, he began to liſten to the terms propoſed by the ſtates general, for a ſeparate peace. The French miniſter exerted all his power to keep Charles firm to his engagement, but in vain. The king choſe rather to reconcile himſelf to his people and parliament, by agreeing to a peace they ſo much deſired, than to depend upon France for ſupport. A treaty was accordingly ſigned with the ſtates, by which they again gave up the honours of the flag, and agreed to pay 300,000l. towards defraying the expence of the king's naval armaments. Several attempts were made for concluding an offenſive and defenſive alliance with Holland. Moſt of the European princes ſolicited this meaſure as the only infallible means of putting a ſtop to the alarming progreſs of the French monarch. The two houſes of parliament ſupported theſe ſolicitations with all their power. Their hatred to the French was indeed ſo great, that they would gladly have relinquiſhed the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to ſee their king armed againſt the common diſturber of the tranquillity of Europe; nor would they have thought any ſupplies too great in order to proſecute a war which had ſo evidently tended to increaſe the good of the public. Charles, however, paid no regard to their ſolicitations. Prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of ſtill receiving a powerful aſſiſtance from France, he refuſed to ſacrifice his ally to the reſentment of his enemies. He ſuffered 10,000 of his men to engage in the ſervice of that crown, and made a merit with Lewis of the neceſſity which had drawn him from his alliance, and offered his mediation for concluding a general peace.

Sir William Temple, ſoon after the treaty with the ſtates was ſigned, was again ſent to Holland with the title of ambaſſador, but before he embarked he nobly repreſented to the king the inconvenience which the ſyſtem of the Cabal muſt occaſion; how difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, it was, to eſtabliſh in England the government and religion of France; that the genius and principles of the people were not to be ſuddenly or eaſily changed; that force of arms alone could compel them to ſubmit to a yoke they beheld with horror; that an Engliſh army could never be prevailed upon to promote thoſe ends; that the catholics did not compoſe the one hundredth part of the nation; that foreign troops could not be levied or maintained in any conſiderable number; and that if a few were retained, they could do nothing more than excite the hatred and revolt of the people. He concluded with referring him to the obſervations of Gourville, a French writer, much eſteemed by Charles, who ſays, "A king of England that chuſes to be a man of his people, is the greateſt monarch in the world; but if he chuſes to be ſomething more, he is nothing at all." Though the king was highly diſpleaſed at this diſcourſe, he knew how to diſſemble. "'Tis very well," ſaid he, "I will be the man of my people." Events ſoon ſhewed that he ſpoke not the dictates of his heart.

England's defection was followed by that of the biſhop of Munſter, and even the elector of Cologne. Lewis was, however, ſucceſsful in ſeveral places. Franche Comte was again reduced. Turenne was able, with a much inferior force, to baffle all the attempts of the allied army in Alſace. By a ſudden and unexpected march he attacked and defeated, at Sintzheim, the duke of Lorraine, and Copara, the imperial general. Seventy thouſand Germans invaded Alſace, and took up their quarters in that province. He attacked and routed a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He drove from Colmar the elector of Brandenburgh. He obtained a new victory at Turkheim:

and having cleared the province entirely of the allies, he compelled them to repaſs the Rhine with great loſs and diſhonour. The French were not ſo fortunate on the ſide of Flanders where the prince of Orange commanded. That young general ſhewed himſelf nearly equal to the great Conde, in the bloody battle of Senſſe. "The prince of Orange," ſaid Conde, "has conducted himſelf through the whole action like a great general, except in expoſing his life like a young ſoldier."

A. D. 1675. After a receſs of fourteen months, the parliament aſſembled on the 13th of April, and immediately voted a bill to be brought in for preventing the growth of popery; in which it was declared, that the ſaying maſs ſhould be a ſufficient evidence of a perſon being a popiſh prieſt; and that a penalty ſhould be inflicted on all who aſſiſted at the catholic ſervice. They alſo framed a bill, declaring it treaſon to levy money without conſent of parliament; another for vacating the ſeats of members who accepted of offices; and a third for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubjects, and preventing their being tranſported as priſoners to diſtant iſlands.

The miniſtry on the other hand exerted all their influence in the upper houſe, and paſſed a bill for a new teſt, by which every member of parliament, and all perſons in office, were to take an oath in the following terms: "I declare, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take up arms againſt the king; and that I abhor the maxim, as treaſonable, which holds, that one may take up arms, by the authority of the king, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who act by virtue of his commiſſion; and I ſwear that I will never uſe any effort to change or alter the government in church or ſtate." This bill was vigorouſly oppoſed: ſome maintained that it was founded upon falſe principles; others that it would revive dangerous diſputes: even in the houſe of lords it was carried only by two voices. The oppoſition would have been ſtronger by the commons, had not an unforeſeen quarrel between the two houſes ſuſpended all buſineſs of that kind. Dr. Shirley having appealed to the houſe of lords from a decree in chancery given in favour of Sir John Fagg, a member of the commons, the latter aſſerted, that this proceeding was a violation of their privileges; that none of their members could be cited to appear before the lords; and that the lords could not even receive appeals. On the other hand, the lords reſolved, "That it was the undoubted rights of the lords in judicature to determine, in time of parliament, appeals from inferior courts, where the members of either houſe were concerned, that there might not be a failure of juſtice." Several conferences paſſed between the two houſes, but with ſo much rancour and animoſity, that the king, alarmed for the conſequences, came to the houſe of peers on the 9th of June; and after reproaching both branches of the legiſlature for carrying their differences to ſuch an indecent height, he prorogued the parliament to the 13th of October.

As the coffee-houſes were the reſort of politicians, and the places where ſarcaſms againſt the government were promulgated, the miniſtry was at once alarmed and exaſperated; and a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the coffee-houſes to be ſhut up: a ſtrange method of quieting the fears of the people, by giving them freſh cauſe of complaint. The keepers of the coffee-houſes promiſed not to ſuffer any ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes, and on this condition they were ſoon opened again. But the general diſcontent continued to increaſe.

On the continent the war was ſtill carried on with great vigour, and the French arms were, in general, ſucceſsful. Though Turenne fell by a cannon-ball, and the prince of Conde had left the army; yet the defeat of the marſhal du Crequi, at Conſabrick, near Treves, was the only misfortune of that kind the French had experienced for 60 years.

The king opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſhort ſpeech on the 13th of October, in which, after recommending unity between the two houſes, he demanded a ſupply ſufficient for building ſeveral new ſhips, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons abſolutely refuſed to give any money for paying off the debts of the crown, but voted 300,000 pounds for defraying the expence of building 20 ſhips of war, and appropriated the duties of tonnage and poundage to the ſupport of the navy. But the buſineſs of the nation was ſoon after ſuſpended by the revival of the diſpute between the two houſes, in the caſe of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as reſolute and determined as ever in maintaining their privileges; and the king, to prevent the conſequences that might enſue from theſe alarming diſputes, prorogued the parliament for 15 months.

A. D. 1677. The two houſes, having met purſuant to their prorogation, acted as if they had forgotten theſe unhappy heats and animoſities which had put an end to the two laſt ſeſſions. The commons voted his majeſty 600,000 pounds for the uſe of the navy, and a continuance of the duty of exciſe upon ale and brandy for three years. In a word, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a happy union between the king and both houſes of parliament. But unfortunately, theſe pleaſing appearances were ſoon over; the rapid progreſs of the French on the continent filled the nation with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. At the ſame time it was evident that Charles had it in his power to give peace to Europe whenever he pleaſed, by declaring his intention to join the allies, unleſs Lewis would accept of a peace upon reaſonable terms. The parliament had therefore recourſe to every method to induce the king to take up arms. They promiſed that the moſt affluent ſupplies ſhould be the reward of his compliance. This offer was a powerful motive; he ſeemed willing to comply with the wiſhes of his people. He gave the princeſs Mary, daughter to the duke of York, to the prince of Orange in marriage, and diſplayed ſome proofs of firmneſs with regard to France. He even made preparations for war with the ſupplies he received from parliament. But ever fluctuating and irreſolute, ſometimes gained by the promiſes of Lewis, and ſometimes abſorbed in the charms of pleaſure, he neither fulfilled the expectations of the allies, or of the Engliſh.

A. D. 1678. Tired of the war, and finding there were no hopes of any aſſiſtance from England, the States General ſigned a ſeparate peace with Lewis on the 10th of Auguſt. By this treaty it was agreed, that each party ſhould retain what they were poſſeſſed of, except Maeſtricht and its dependencies, which Lewis was to reſtore to the Dutch, and were indeed all the French poſſeſſed of their conqueſts in the United Provinces; and by a ſecret article, Lewis engaged to reſtore all that belonged to the prince o Orange in France, Franche Comte, Charleroi an Flanders. Spain and the Empire ſoon after accepted the conditions, and peace was reſtored in every par of Chriſtendom. Holland, againſt whom alone th war was undertaken, and whoſe ruin ſeemed inevitable was ſo far from loſing any thing, that ſhe gained barrier; while every other power that had interpoſe to ſnatch her from deſtruction, found themſelves con ſiderable loſers, and obliged to accept the terms pre ſcribed them by Holland. It may, however, wit great truth be affirmed, that it was owing to the fau of the Engliſh monarch alone, that the allies had no a more advantageous peace; ſince the parliament wer both ready and deſirous to furniſh very ample ſupplie

fo

or carrying on the war againſt France, would Charles ave acted agreeable either to the intereſt of Europe n general, or of England in particular. This ſtrange onduct can be aſcribed only to his paſſionate deſire f executing his darling ſcheme, that of rendering imſelf the abſolute maſter of his people. Some have ccuſed him of labouring to introduce the popiſh religion into England; but this is a crime of which he as not guilty. All religions were alike to Charles; nd the conceſſions he often made in favour of the caholics, ſeem rather to have been the effect of his love or his brother, and ready compliance with any couneils he adopted, than his own attachment to that paricular mode of faith. He cared not whether popery or proteſtantiſm was the reigning religion in England f he could but enjoy pleaſure and eaſe.

Scotland had groaned beneath a load of tyranny uring theſe tranſactions. The duke of Lauderdale, n quality of royal commiſſioner, had been ſent into hat kingdom. By his arts and influence, he prevailed upon the Scottiſh parliament to declare, that he whole exterior power of the church was veſted in he crown. He alſo induced them to eſtabliſh a militia of 20,000 men, ready to act in every enterprize where either the power or the grandeur of the ſovereign were concerned. The duke was as fond of perſecution as his maſter was of toleration. The former ſtrained the laws in favour of the firſt, and the latter ſuſpended their force in favour of the ſecond. He did not reflect, that perſecution was the moſt dangerous of all remedies againſt the preſbyterian fanaticiſm diſſeminated through every part of Scotland. It would be endleſs to particularize all the inſtances of oppreſſion in that unhappy kingdom. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that they were at once cruel and impolitic. Becauſe the law for prohibiting conventicles had called them "Seminaries of Rebellion," he treated thoſe counties as rebellious where the conventicles moſt abounded; and the troops he detached into thoſe parts were guilty of the moſt horrid and ſhameful diſorders.

An antient law of Scotland enacts, that every perſon who was accuſed, and did not appear, was liable to be condemned for contumacy, and outlawed; and whoever afterwards held the leaſt communication with them, though only to give them the common aſſiſtances of humanity, was liable to the ſame penalties. This law, too odious to be executed with rigour, ocaſioned a great number of outlawries. Fearful of ppearing in a court where they could expect no ercy, they incurred, perhaps, a greater puniſhment y their abſence. In a word, the whole nation beame a prey to the rapacity of the duke and ducheſs f Lauderdale. Fearing that the complaints of the eople might find a way to the throne, Lauderdale orbad all who were poſſeſſed of lands in Scotland from eaving that kingdom. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that Charles one day ſaid to his friends, "I hear that Lauerdale behaves very ill to my people in Scotland; ut I do not find he has done any thing contrary to y intereſt." It is no wonder, when a prince makes diſtinction between his own intereſt and that of his ople, that the people follow the example.

The oppreſſions of the duke of Lauderdale in cotland; the deſire Charles had always ſhewn with egard to procuring the catholics the free exerciſe of eir religion; and his ſecret connections with Lewis XIV. which even the offer of the largeſt ſupplies ould not induce him to abandon; all tended to conrm the people in an opinion, that he intended to inoduce popery and arbitrary power. At this juncture, conſpiracy for eſtabliſhing the catholic religion was ſcovered by one Titus Oates. This man was orinally a clergyman of the church of England, and of a very indifferent character. At length he turned papiſt, and lived for ſome time with the Jeſuits at St. Omer's. Thence he went to Spain, where he was admitted to the councils of the Jeſuits; but being at length diſcharged from that ſociety, his reſentment induced him to turn informer. He now gave out, that his converſion to popery was a mere pretence, to enable him, to diſcover the ſecrets of the Jeſuits; and the ſubſtance of his depoſitions was, that the pope claimed the ſovereignty of England, and had commiſſioned the Jeſuits to exerciſe his rites. In conſequence of which, the general of the order had, by patents unto the pope's ſeal, diſpoſed of the principal offices, civil and military. That in a council of fifty Jeſuits, held at London, it was unanimouſly reſolved to kill the king; and that father de la Chaiſe, confeſſor to Lewis XIV. had promiſed a reward of 10,000l. to the regicide: that the crown was to be offered to the duke of York, on condition of his ſubmitting to receive it from the pope; but on his refuſing, he was to ſhare the fate of his brother. They (the Jeſuits) had formed a plan for ſetting fire to the city of London, and executing a general maſſacre of the proteſtants in every part of the kingdom. In a word, that they deſigned to overturn the whole conſtitution, and eſtabliſh, by blood and deſolation, the dominion of popery.

The univerſal conſternation which the information of Oates occaſioned cannot be deſcribed. Coleman, ſecretary to the ducheſs of York, being arreſted, copies of his correſpondence with father de la Chaiſe, the pope's nuncio, and ſome other papiſts, increaſed the alarm, and ſeemed to confirm the truth of Oates's narrative. In one of Coleman's letters to the French king's confeſſor, is the following paſſage: "We have a great work on our hands: nothing leſs than the converſion of the three kingdoms: God has given us a prince (meaning the duke of York) who is marvelouſly ambitious of being the inſtrument of this deſign; but as we muſt expect to meet with oppoſition, it behoves us to ſecure all the aſſiſtance poſſible." He therefore deſired de la Chaiſe to furniſh him with 300,000l. which would, he ſaid, engage the king to diſſolve the parliament, whoſe reſolutions were unfavourable to France. A new incident ſeemed to confirm the guilt of the Jeſuits, whoſe known bigotry had before rendered it probable. Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey, the juſtice of peace who had taken the depoſition of Oates, was found dead in a ditch, with his rings on his fingers, and his money in his pockets; a ſufficient proof that he had not been killed by robbers. This aſſaſſination, the author of which was never diſcovered, was conſidered as the act of the papiſts. The whole city was in alarm: every individual thought himſelf in danger, and the ſame precautions were taken as if an enemy had been at the gates. Whether Charles believed the truth of this conſpiracy, or thought the whole a forgery of Oates, is uncertain; but he mentioned it to both houſes, and recommended vigilance to the magiſtrates in diſcovering and proſecuting all who were concerned in ſo black an action. Danby, the prime miniſter, moved, in the houſe of lords, that the affair might be taken into conſideration, and his motion was agreed to. Oates was called before the houſe, and ſtrictly examined; and on his perſiſting that the narrative he had before given to Sir Edmundſbury Godfrey was ſtrictly true, the houſe reſolved, that the popiſh recuſants had formed an infernal plot againſt the king, the government, and the proteſtant religion.

During the time the parliament was engaged in this buſineſs, one Bedloe accuſed ſeveral papiſts, in the ſervice of the queen, of being concerned in the murder

der of Godfrey. He alſo added ſome circumſtances to the depoſitions of Oates. Several noblemen, accuſed by theſe informers, were apprehended, among whom were the earl of Powis, the lord viſcount Stafford, and the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellaſis, who were ſent to the Tower.

The depoſitions of Oates and Bedloe being publiſhed, excited ſuch a ferment in the kingdom, that Charles was obliged to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all popiſh recuſants, under the ſevereſt penalty, to repair to their own houſes, and not venture farther than five miles from thence, without a particular licence. Another proclamation was alſo publiſhed, offering a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend a popiſh prieſt or jeſuit. The teſt, which declared popery to be idolatry, was now inſtituted; and all who refuſed to take it were excluded from parliament. The duke of York, with tears in his eyes, requeſted of the upper houſe an exemption in his favour, declaring, that his religion ſhould be altogether between God and himſelf, and never appear in his public conduct. It was with difficulty he carried his point by two voices. "I would not (ſaid one of the lords) have any thing of popiſh principles here, neither man, woman, dog, nor cat."

The parliament proceeded ſtill farther, for the houſe of commons, finding that Sir Joſeph Williamſon, ſecretary of Scotland, had counterſigned ſeveral commiſſions to popiſh recuſants, and being a member of the lower houſe, they committed him to the Tower. Charles, highly incenſed at this commitment of his ſervant, without making any application to him, immediately ordered him to be releaſed. He however revoked the commiſſions that had given offence, and the commons were ſatiſfied with this inſtance of royal condeſcenſion.

In the interim, Montague, ambaſſador in France, haſtily returned, and laid open a new ſcene. He produced a letter written by the high treaſurer Danby, during the late negotiations for a peace on the continent: by which it appeared, that the king had, in ſome meaſure, ſold the intereſts both of England and the allies. Among other particulars, it imported, that if the conditions of the peace were accepted by the allies, Charles was to be paid 6,000,000 by France within three years after the treaty ſhould be ſigned. Danby, whom it ſeems diſapproved of writing this letter, endeavoured to ſecure himſelf, by procuring it to be authenticated by the king, who had added, with his own hand, "This letter is written by my order, C. R." The commons now no longer doubted that Charles had acted in conſort with France; and though they perceived that the latter reflected greater diſhonour on the king than his miniſter, yet in order to diſcover the whole truth of this provoking myſtery, they impeached Danby of high treaſon, but the lords refuſed to put him under arreſt. The diſpute now became violent between the two houſes, and Charles, to prevent the diſagreeable conſequences that might reſult from a breach between two branches of the legiſlature, firſt prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved the parliament, now juſtly ſuſpicious and diſſatisfied, though at firſt very favourable to the intereſts of the crown. The alteration in the ſentiments of the commons was wholly owing to the conduct of the king, and the ſpirit of the nation.

The conſpirators trials now wholly engroſſed the attention of the public, and Coleman was the firſt that felt the weight of popular indignation. On the 27th of November he was brought to the bar of the King's-bench, where lord chief-juſtice Scoggs preſided. The evidences againſt him were Oates, Bedloe and his own letters. Oates and Bedloe ſwore that he had received a patent from the general of the Jeſuits, to act as ſecretary of ſtate; and that he had agreed to the aſſaſſination of the king. He was accordingly convicted of high-treaſon, and ſuffered on the 3d of December, but declared his innocence to the laſt. Father Ireland alſo ſuffered, though he alledged he was in Staffordſhire at the very time the accuſers ſwore he attended the meetings of the conſpirators in London. Every Jeſuit was conſidered as a villain, and that lying and mental reſervation made part of the principles of their order. Several other perſons were impeached, among whom were Thomas Pickering, a prieſt; John Grove, a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the Jeſuits in England, and who, according to the evidence of Oates, was to have been created archbiſhop of Canterbury; Harcourt, Fenwick, Gaven and Turner, all Jeſuits, and Langhorne, a catholic lawyer. Theſe were all found guilty and executed.

A. D. 1679. On the 6th of March a new parliament met, when it was ſoon evident that a very conſiderable majority was on the ſide of the country party. Charles was alarmed; and in order to ingratiate himſelf with his new aſſembly, he prevailed upon his brother, the duke of York, to ſubmit to an order for his leaving England. He deprived Danby of the treaſurer's ſtaff, and gave it to the earl of Lauderdale; but in order to prevent the former, either through reſentment or fear, from diſcovering ſecrets he wiſhed to be concealed, he granted him a free pardon.

The leaders of the popular party in general, and Shaftſbury in particular, determined to avail themſelves of the popular commotions, and the majority in the commons, to carry into execution the plan they had formed for excluding the duke of York from the throne. Shaftſbury's object was to give the Engliſh crown to the duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's natural ſons. It was already reported, that a marriage had been contracted between the king and Lucy Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother. It therefore became neceſſary for Charles either to diſapprove or confirm this report; and accordingly, he ſolemnly declared in full council, that it was falſe, and that Monmouth was illegitimate. The duke of York, who had obtained aſſurances from the king, before his departure from England, that he would ſupport his ſucceſſion to the crown, took up his reſidence at Bruſſels.

Being diſappointed in this attempt, the commons renewed the impeachment of Danby, notwithſtanding the king had granted him a free pardon, and aſſured the houſe that the miniſter had done nothing but by his particular orders. They inſiſted, that pardon from the crown was no arreſt of judgment with them; and it was voted, that if Danby did not appear on a day appointed, he ſhould be declared guilty. He did not chuſe to provoke farther the indignation of the commons; he appeared, and was committed to the Tower.

Theſe violent proceedings alarmed Charles, and induced him to ſummon Sir William Temple, whoſe virtues he knew were revered by the public, to attend his duty in council. More attracted by the charms of philoſophy than thoſe of ambition, Temple had retired into the country, where he cultivated his favourite ſtudies in a quiet retreat. But he no ſooner received the royal mandate, than he haſtened to court, always prefering the good of his country to his own. He propoſed to form a council, compoſed chiefly of the favourites of the people. By this means, ſaid he, the parliament will be leſs effe… ing, or, at leaſt, we ſhall have a ſtrong party in the houſe againſt the diſcontented and factious. His reaſons were thought to be well founded, and the ſcheme was carried into execution. But, contrary to his advice, Charles appointed Shaftſbury preſident of the new council. The king flattered himſelf that by co…

feri

fering ſo honourable a poſt on that dangerous man, he would become a friend to the meaſures of the court. He was miſtaken. Shaftſbury, perceiving that the king's conduct towards him was leſs the effect of ſincerity than policy, changed not his conduct. He cultivated a ſtill cloſer correſpondence with the leaders of the oppoſition; and by being acquainted with the ſecrets of government, became a more dangerous enemy than ever.

The commons having acquired ſo able a leader, were determined to carry their reſentment to the greateſt lengths. They reſolved, that the duke of York's zeal for popery, and the hopes of ſeeing him on the throne, occaſioned popiſh conſpiracies. The king, who ſaw the deſign of this reſolution, endeavoured to prevent it, by propoſing conciliating meaſures. He offered to paſs a bill for reſtricting the power of a catholic prince, if ever one of that perſuaſion ſhould fill the Engliſh throne. He was not to have the right of conferring church dignities. The members of the privy council, the judges, the lord-lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with all the officers of the navy, were neither to be appointed nor removed, without conſent of parliament. Theſe extraordinary conceſſions, which muſt ſo greatly have limited the prerogative, were not ſufficient to appeaſe the houſe, which was conſtantly enflamed by the cabals of Shaftſbury.

A conſiderable majority therefore reſolved to bring in what was called "The Excluſion Bill," by which it was declared, "That the crowns of England and Ireland belonged to the next heir, the duke of York excepted; that if he appeared in either of theſe kingdoms, he ſhould be declared guilty of treaſon; and that thoſe who defended his title ſhould be deemed enemies and traitors." Nor was this the only popular act of the commons; they expelled all ſuch as poſſeſſed lucrative offices, in order to weaken ſtill farther the influence of the crown. They declared ſtanding armies, and even the royal guards, illegal; and they paſſed the famous Habeas Corpus bill, which is ſtill conſidered as the principal ſecurity of the ſubject. By virtue of this noble act, no perſon can be ſent to priſon beyond the ſea. No judge can refuſe a priſoner his habeas corpus, which obliges the goaler to produce the priſoner before any court the writ ſhall appoint, and there ſhew cauſe for the impriſonment. The priſoner is to be tried at the time appointed; and if he is diſcharged by a court of juſtice, he cannot be impriſoned again upon the ſame account. This bill ſoon after paſſed the upper houſe, and received the royal aſſent.

Theſe bills being paſſed, the commons reſumed the proſecution of Danby; and reſolved that to maintain the validity of the royal pardon in his caſe was an infringement of their privileges. They alſo demanded, that the biſhops, who were conſidered as entirely devoted to the court, ſhould abſent themſelves during this trial. This was oppoſed by the upper houſe; and the commons prepared a remonſtrance. Charles was alarmed at theſe proceedings; and fearful leſt they ſhould preſent a remonſtrance to him, which might have the moſt dangerous conſequences, he repaired to the houſe of lords on the 27th of May; and after giving the royal aſſent to five bills, he prorogued the parliament to the 14th of Auguſt. By this means the excluſion bill was dropped for a time, and the ſchemes of Shaftſbury rendered abortive.

The preſbyterians in Scotland were treated with as much rigour as the catholics in England. They bore their perſecutions for a long time; but at laſt ſeeing no proſpect of an end to their miſeries, they loſt all patience, and determined to take a full revenge on their perſecutors. Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who had made his fortune by deſerting their party, and was now become as great a perſecutor as Lauderdale himſelf, was marked out for deſtruction. A large body of the covenanters accordingly lay in ambuſh for him, and as he was returning in his coach from the council at Edinburgh, they attacked him near a little village called Magus, about two miles from St. Andrews; they immediately dragged him out of his carriage, and regardleſs of the prayers, tears and ſupplications of his daughter, who happened to be with him, put him to death in the moſt inhuman and brutal manner.

A murder ſo exceedingly cruel was a ſignal for the covenanters to fly to arms. They accordingly aſſembled from every quarter, proclaimed the covenant at Rutherglen, ſurprized the city of Glaſgow, iſſued a proclamation, commanding the magiſtrates to drive all archbiſhops, biſhops and curates, out of the kingdom immediately; and inviting all their brethren to join them, and finiſh the good work they had ſo happily begun. They were ſoon joined by a vaſt multitude of people; but inſtead of confining themſelves to the redreſſing of grievances, they fell to plundering the adjacent country. This gave time to the magiſtrates to provide for the ſecurity of Edinburgh. The duke of Monmouth was ſent, at the head of an army, to reduce them, and ſoon executed his commiſſion. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge; and falling upon them with incredible fury, ſoon gained a complete victory. Near 1000 of the inſurgents were left dead on the field of battle, and 1200 taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral of thoſe concerned in the murder of archbiſhop Sharp. Theſe were all hanged up immediately; a few more were afterwards tried and executed; but the greateſt part were ſent to the plantations. Monmouth, deſirous of gaining the affections of the Scots, treated the people with great humanity.

During this rebellion in Scotland, the king was ſeized with a violent fever, which threw the whole kingdom into the utmoſt confuſion. The council aſſembled; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Shaftſbury, and ſeveral other members of the country party, they reſolved to ſend for the duke of York from Bruſſels. He ſoon arrived; but in the interval the king was pretty well recovered. The oppoſition was not, however, idle, during the king's ſickneſs: they demanded that the parliament ſhould be immediately aſſembled; and the court party, as a counterpoiſe to their petitions, preſented the moſt reſpectful addreſſes. This oppoſition in the two parties introduced the names of Whig and Tory. The former, which had been given to the Scotch fanatics, was now given to the oppoſition; and the latter, which had been originally applied to the rebels in Ireland, was now applied to the courtiers. Theſe odious appellations ſerved no other purpoſe than that of foſtering malignity and diſcord, and of widening the breach, already too large, between the two parties.

Monmouth's behaviour in Scotland alarmed the duke of York, who uſed every method in his power to procure the diſgrace of that popular nobleman. He ſucceeded in his attempts, and Monmouth was obliged to retire to the continent; while he himſelf, under pretence of quieting the minds of the Engliſh, obtained permiſſion to retire into Scotland, but made himſelf more enemies than friends in that kingdom. Shaftſbury, whoſe deſigns were now ſufficiently known, was diſmiſſed from his poſt of preſident of the council, and the earl of Radnor was appointed in his room. The earl of Eſſex reſigned his poſt as treaſurer, and Laurence Hyde was appointed in his room. Lord Ruſſel, one of the moſt popular and virtuous men in the kingdom, quitted the board, and Sir William Temple retired into the country.

The proſecutions carried on againſt the Roman catholics exaſperated them ſo much, that they determined to be revenged upon their proſecutors, and turn the late odium from themſelves to the preſbyterians. They had accordingly recourſe to one Dangerfield, a fellow who had ſuffered almoſt every puniſhment that the law could inflict on the moſt abandoned miſcreant. This man, who enjoyed the firſt place in the chronicles of infamy, was tutored for the purpoſe. He was confined in Newgate for debt, when he was pitched upon as the leader in this ſcene of action. The catholics releaſed him, and found him ſufficient employment. He pretended to have been privy to a deſign for deſtroying the king and royal family, and changing the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the information, and rewarded him for his diſcovery with a ſum of money. But certain papers, which he produced as evidences of his aſſertions, appearing to be forged by himſelf, he was ſent to priſon. His character was alone ſufficient to create ſuſpicions; all his haunts were ordered to be ſearched; and in the houſe of one Mr. Collier, a Roman catholic, his particular friend, they found the model of the plot fairly written in a book, tied with a ribbon, and concealed in a meal-tub. From this incident it was called the Meal-tub Plot. Finding the whole diſcovered, the miſcreant made a general confeſſion. He ſaid the ſcheme had been contrived by the counteſs of Powis, the earl of Caſtlemain, and the five lords confined in the Tower, in order to invalidate the evidences of Oates, Bedloe, and others, againſt the papiſts. He added, that he was inſtructed to accuſe the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Eſſex, Hallifax, and others, of being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the king and the duke of York. This diſcovery being made, lord Caſtlemain and lady Powis were committed to the Tower, and the people did not fail to cenſure both the king and his brother with being concerned in this perfidious ſcheme.

A. D. 1680. On the 26th of January the parliament met, when the king endeavoured to inſpire the members with the ſentiments of unanimity ſo neceſſary for the public welfare. "All Europe (ſaid he in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion) has its eyes on this aſſembly, and ſeems to think its fate involved in it, as well as ours. Let us beware of ſtrengthening our enemies, and diſheartening our friends, by unſeaſonable diſputes. Should theſe ariſe, the reproach will not fall upon me, for I have neglected nothing that might keep you in peace while I live, and to leave you ſo when I die." But the commons were far from entering into theſe views. They began with acts of violence againſt the Tories. No reſpect was paid to the habeas corpus bill: arbitrary impriſonments grew ſo common, that the whole nation complained of the violence. One Stowell had the courage to reſiſt an officer of juſtice, who attempted to impriſon him by an order of the houſe. He ſaid, in his defence, that he knew no law by virtue of which he could be deprived of his liberty. The commons did not think proper to proceed any farther; and in order to free themſelves from the embarraſſment, they gave out, that Stowell was ſick, and they had granted him a month for his recovery. They now revived the excluſion bill, and ſent it up to the lords for their concurrence. A violent debate ſucceeded, in which the eloquence of Shaftſbury was eclipſed by that of Hallifax, his nephew, a zealous partizan of the court. At laſt the queſtion was put, and the bill was rejected by a conſiderable majority. This deciſion rendered all the hopes of the commons abortive; and they diſcharged their reſentment on ſome catholic peers, whom they impeached as abettors of the popiſh plot. Five of them had been for ſome time confined in the Tower. The firſt they attacked was the old lord Stafford. Oates depoſed that he had ſeen a commiſſion ſent to him, ſigned by father Oliva, general of the Jeſuits. Two other witneſſes ſwore that he had engaged to kill the king; and Stafford was found guilty by his peers, upon a majority of twenty-four voices. His courage, ſupported by conſcious innocence, did not forſake him in the dreadful trial. Being very old and infirm, on going to his execution, he deſired a cloak: "I may tremble with cold; (ſaid he) but, thank heaven, I ſhall never tremble through fear." He declared, on the ſcaffold, his abhorrence of the corruptions of the church of Rome. "I die (ſaid he) in hopes that the deluſion will ſoon vaniſh, and that truth will oblige the world to do me juſtice at laſt." We believe you, my lord (replied the weeping populace); God bleſs your lordſhip." The executioner was melted into tears, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he performed his duty. The circumſtances of this execution ſhook the general belief of the conſpiracy; and though it ſtill continued to alarm the people, no more blood was ſhed upon that account. The commons perceived the paſſions of the people were turned againſt them, and they began to act with leſs reſolution.

The lower houſe was, however, ſtill determined to purſue the plan they had formed, and flattered themſelves the flexibility of Charles, and his neceſſities for money, would at laſt render them ſucceſsful. They accordingly propoſed ſeveral inflammatory bills; and at laſt voted, that they would grant no ſupplies till the excluſion bill was paſſed into a law. Convinced that nothing was now to be expected, Charles diſſolved the parliament. But though he had thus abruptly parted with one aſſembly, he hoped to have better ſucceſs with another: and accordingly ſummoned a new parliament to meet at Oxford, where the unfavourable diſpoſitions of the capital could have no effect on the members. This meaſure occaſioned the ſtrongeſt reſentment in the citizens. The old members were re-choſen, and thanked by their conſtituents for their enquiry into the popiſh conſpiracy, and for their attempt to exclude the duke of York from the throne: for, (added they) we look upon him as the principal cauſe of that ruin which threatens the nation. The duke of Monmouth, a the head of fifteen peers, oppoſed the deſign o holding the parliament at Oxford; and ſaid in his petition, "that the two houſes would be expoſed to the ſwords of the papiſts and their adherents, ſeveral of whom had crept even into the king's guards." This was followed by a more open attack; the ſpiri of rebellion no longer hid itſelf under the mantle o darkneſs.

A. D. 1681. The heads of the party arrived a Oxford ſtrongly eſcorted; and the repreſentatives o London, in particular, were followed by crouds o cititzens, with cockades, on which which were writ ten, "No popery, no ſlavery." In a word, bot parties endeavoured to make a pompous diſplay o their ſtrength; and the meeting of this parliamen had rather the appearance of thoſe in the diſtracte times of Henry VI. at Clarendon, Oxford, an Coventry, than the peaceable and amicable meetin of the ſovereign and his people.

Charles, being exaſperated at theſe appearance began to exert his authority with a vigour of whic he was thought incapable. He opened the ſeſſio with a noble and elegant ſpeech; in which, afte complaining of the diſreſpectful proceedings of th laſt parliament, which were ſuch, he ſaid, as fe princes beſide himſelf would have borne with equ patience, he declared, that as it was neither his d

fi

ſire nor intention to exerciſe arbitrary power over them, ſo he would not allow it to be exerciſed over himſelf. He again inculcated moderation in their debates, as it was by that means alone the ends of the nation, who had deputed them as repreſentatives, could be anſwered. He told them he was willing to give them every ſatisfaction in his power, with regard to their fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor, by joining with them to eſtabliſh any practical ſcheme for putting the government entirely into the hands of proteſtants, during the reign of ſuch a prince. In a word, that as he would, on his part, perform every thing that could reaſonably be deſired of him, ſo he expected that they ſhould lay aſide their animoſities, and concur with him in that ſalutary intention; and not by a revival of their paſt irregularities inſpire him with a diſguſt to parliaments.

The deſired effect, however, was not produced by this ſpeech. Equally indifferent to the menaces and ſoothings of the king, they elected the ſame ſpeaker that filled the chair in the laſt parliament, and adopted the ſame meaſures, namely, the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popiſh plot, and the bill of excluſion. They were ſo determined to carry the laſt meaſure, that they rejected every expedient. Ernely, one of the king's miniſters, in order to remove all their fears with regard to a popiſh ſucceſſor, propoſed, "that the duke of York ſhould be baniſhed 500 miles from the Britiſh dominions: that the government ſhould be wholly veſted in a regent: that this regent ſhould be the princeſs of Orange; and in caſe of her death without iſſue, in the princeſs Anne: that if the duke ſhould have a ſon educated in the proteſtant religion, then the ſaid princeſſes reſpectively to ſucceed in the regency, during the minority of ſuch ſon, and no longer: that notwithſtanding theſe kingdoms, out of reſpect to the royal family, and for preſerving the right of ſucceſſion, might be governed in the name of James II. yet no man ſhould take arms from him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of being capitally puniſhed: that all officers, civil or military, ſhall take an oath to obſerve this ſettlement of the government: that acts of a ſimilar nature ſhould paſs in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: that if the duke of York ſhould come into any of the three kingdoms, he ſhould be abſolutely excluded, and the government devolve to the regent: that all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name, and their children be educated in the proteſtant religion." But even this propoſal, which amounted very near to an excluſion, was rejected. They were determined on their object, and no palliative expedients would be accepted.

During the time of the parliament's being thus employed, one Fitz-Harris, an Iriſh catholic, had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the court, by giving information concerning the ſchemes of the oppoſite party. He joined with one Everard in compoſing an infamous and injurious libel, apparently with a view of getting money by the information. A traitor never ſpares his aſſociate when it is his intereſt to give him up. Everard impeached Fitz-Harris, and he was immediately arreſted. The priſoner had now no hopes of eſcaping from the hand of juſtice, but by changing his party. He accordingly declared that he had been engaged by the court to write the libel in queſtion, to throw the odium on the partiſans of the excluſion bill. He added ſome other circumſtances concerning the popiſh plot, and pretended he could make very important diſcoveries. The commons, hoping to obtain freſh matter for defamation, afforded him their protection; and their firſt meaſure was to reſcue him out of the hands of juſtice. In order to this, they ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the lords, who thought proper to reject it. Exaſperated at this refuſal, the commons complained of a violation of privilege, and declared, that if any judge ſhould preſume to try Fitz-Harris, he ſhould be held guilty of that violation.

This altercation between the two houſes continued to increaſe, which afforded Charles a very favourable opportunity of putting a period to a parliament whom he found were determined to oppoſe him in every particular. He, however, kept his deſign a ſecret even from his moſt intimate friends; and on the 28th of March, the very day the excluſion bill was to be read the ſecond time, he repaired with the utmoſt privacy to the houſe, and before they had received the leaſt intimation of his deſign, diſſolved the parliament. This reſolute behaviour of the king diſconcerted all the meaſures of the Whigs. He afterwards publiſhed a proclamation, in which he gave his reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments, and accuſed the commons of a deſign to wreſt from him the regal authority, and totally ſubvert the conſtitution of England.

Being from experience convinced, that he had nothing to hope from the commons, he determined not to expoſe himſelf any longer to parliamentary ſtorms. He retrenched the expences of his government, relinquiſhed the town of Tangier in Africa, though the fortifications had coſt him very conſiderable ſums; and ſeemed reſolved to maintain the triumph he had gained over the oppoſition by his vigour. The clergy now boldly propagated the favourite maxims of the crown, and the whigs were repreſented as ſectaries and republicans of the moſt dangerous kind. Doubts were thrown out with regard to the truth of the popiſh conſpiracy; and could the king have maintained the ſame moderation in his conduct he had hitherto done, his triumph would have been worthy of him; but he ſuffered repriſals of too rigorous a nature to be made by the tory party. The ſpies who had ſerved the parliament now offered their ſervices to the court, and were accepted. Fitz-Harris was tried and executed. He declared before his execution that the libel was his own, and that he had compoſed it merely to give it up to the miniſtry for the ſake of a reward. The duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and reſumed his ſeat at the council board.

It is neceſſary here to obſerve, that Ireland had for ſome years been governed by the duke of Ormond, a zealous royaliſt, and a true friend to his country. He profeſſed the principles of the proteſtant religion, but was no bigot to his tenets: he was indulgent to thoſe of other perſuaſions, and, provided they did nothing to diſturb the peace of the government, was willing they ſhould worſhip their Maker in the manner moſt agreeable to their conſciences. Ormond had ſerved Charles faithfully; he never forſook him in his baniſhment; but diſdaining the meanneſs of flattery and adulation, he was long neglected by that prince, who could not number gratitude among his virtues. Dillon, an Iriſh colonel, once requeſted the duke to aſſiſt him on ſome particular occaſion with his intereſt at court, adding, that he had no other dependence but on God and him. "I am heartily ſorry for you, (replied the duke) you could not poſſibly have two friends of leſs credit at court." During his government, his whole ſtudy was to preſerve peace, and render the people happy. But his virtues were not ſufficient to defend him againſt the malice of Shaftſbury. He attacked him in parliament with all the powers of eloquence, and inſinuated crimes of which he was wholly a ſtranger. Ormond's only defender was his own ſon, the earl of Oſſory. He invalidated all the inſinuations of his adverſary, and after many juſt encomiums on the conduct of his father, added with a boldneſs that did him honour, "He never adviſed to break the triple alliance; he never adviſed to ſhut up the exchequer; he never adviſed the declaration in favour of the non-conformiſts; he never adviſed to break with Holland, to preſerve the alliance with France: let my father enjoy the privilege that all honeſt men ought to enjoy; let him be judged by his counſels and his actions." Shaftſbury felt the poignancy of the ſarcaſm, having been the author of thoſe evil counſels which the king had followed. The lords applauded the noble defence of Oſſory, and his true and ſimple narrative of facts prevailed over the artificial eloquence of his adverſary. Oſſory did not long ſurvive this triumph. His father was ſincerely affected with his death, and ſaid on that melancholy occaſion, "I would not change my dead ſon for any living ſon in Chriſtendom."

While the duke of York reſided in Scotland he practiſed all the ſeverities of arbitrary power. He eſtabliſhed a teſt by which the royal perogative, the ſupremacy, and paſſive obedience were expreſsly acknowledged. But the oath was drawn up in ſo prolix and ill-digeſted a manner, that Argyle thought ſome explanations neceſſary, before he could be prevailed upon to take it. This conduct exaſperated the duke, who determined to make him feel the weight of power. Argyle was arreſted and condemned; but found means to eſcape. Above two thouſand preſbyterians were proſecuted on this account with the moſt horrible ſeverity. An inquiſition more cruel than that of Spain was carried on in various parts of Scotland. The people complained, but without redreſs; the duke of York, who now directed the affairs of the kingdom, ſtifled all their applications.

A. D. 1683. Inſtead of being the parent of his people, Charles now openly headed a faction. Very extraordinary meaſures were taken to humble the city of London, whoſe power and political intrigues had given great umbrage to the court. A Quo Warranto, or an order to produce the charters of the city, was iſſued. If it ſhould appear upon ſtrict enquiry, that any of the conditions preſcribed in either of theſe charters had been violated in any eſſential point, the privileges of the city might be taken away. Two facts were cited to prove that the city had actually broken the conditions of the charter. This was denied by the council for the defendants with very ſtrong reaſons; but the judges, devoted to the court, paſſed ſentence agreeable to its intenſions. Struck with conſternation, the common-council aſſembled to conſult the moſt proper meaſures to be taken on this alarming exigency. It was propoſed, that an entire ſubmiſſion ſhould be made to the miniſtry, as the only means of preventing the total extinction of the liberties of the city. This propoſal was ſtrongly oppoſed by the whigs. They repreſented the late action of the court as a moſt notorious violation of their rights and privileges; and added, that they ſhould be in ſome meaſure acceſſary to this act of uſurpation, if, by a daſtardly ſubmiſſion, they acknowledged the unjuſt authority. Fear, blended with intereſt, however, prevailed over that firmneſs and reſolution which might have been expected from the capital of the Engliſh nation. An humble deputation was ſent to his majeſty, requeſting the reſtoration of their charter. Their petition was granted, but not till they had made ſuch conceſſions as in effect annihilated even the ſhadow of liberty.

Alarmed at the example of the capital, all the other corporations in the kingdom tamely reſigned their charters into the king's hands: nor could they obtain a reſtoration of them till they had paid conſiderable ſums; and even then all the places of power and profit were, like thoſe of the capital, left entirely at the diſpoſal of the crown. This may truly be conſidered as the triumph of deſpotiſm. The Engliſh were no longer that bold and reſolute people who, in defence of their antient privileges, had made their monarchs tremble on the throne, they were dwindled into ſlaves, who covered the yoke of oppreſſion, and offered the incenſe of adulation to the tyrant that trampled upon their liberties.

The duke of Monmouth, the earl of Shaftſbury, lord Ruſſel, and ſeveral other noblemen, had formed a plot for an inſurrection. After the diſſolution of the parliament at Oxford, Shaftſbury had been impriſoned, and an indictment for high treaſon had been preferred againſt him; but the bill was rejected by the grand jury. After the ſeizing of the city's charter he found means to renew the ſcheme; and it was propoſed to excite inſurrections in different parts of the country, and even to attack the king's guards. All their meaſures were taken, the time fixed, and a maniſeſto ready for juſtifying the revolt. But ſome unforeſeen accidents occaſioned delays. Shaftſbury, who knew the danger, deſpaired of ſucceſs. He therefore abandoned the enterprize, and retired into Holland, where he died ſoon after, diſregarded both by friends and enemies.

Shaftſbury's defection did not, however, intimidate the conſpirators; they determined to purſue their plan, and hoped for ſucceſs from the univerſal diſſatisfaction that prevailed in every part of the nation. While they were employed in concerting meaſures for carrying their deſign into execution, another plot was formed by a ſet of inferior conſpirators. The principal of theſe were colonel Rumſey, colonel Walcot, both republican officers: Goodenough, under-ſheriff of London; Weſt, Tyler, Norton, Ayloffe, Ferguſon, Rouſe, Home, Keiling, Holloway, Bourne, Lee and Rombald. The laſt, who was a malſter, poſſeſſed an eſtate in the road to Newmarket, called the Rye-houſe farm. Hence the conſpirators frequently met, and from this circumſtance the conſpiracy is generally known by the name of the Rye-houſe Plot. The deſign was to attack the king's guards, and ſeize the perſons of the king and his brother in their return from Newmarket. This being effected, the conſpirators were to have repaired, with the utmoſt haſte to London, in order to join their brethren in the city, aſſemble their forces, and break out into open rebellion.

The whole deſign, however, was diſcovered befor it could be carried into execution, by the confeſſion of Keiling. Orders were immediately iſſued for ſeizing the conſpirators. Terrified at their danger, Weſt and Rumſey ſurrendered with an intention o becoming evidences. The former had been admitted into the ſecret of the plot formed by the noblemen, and orders were accordingly iſſued for arreſting them. Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Sidney, and Hambden, grandſon to the celebrated republican of that name, were apprehended, and ſent to the Tower. Monmouth abſconded. Walcot, Home, and Rouſe were firſt tried; the evidences againſt them were Rumſey, Weſt, an one Bourne, a brewer, who concurred in depoſing that they were all frequently at the meetings held th preceding year on the buſineſs of the plot. Walco in his defence, alledged, and offered to prove by undoubted teſtimony, that he was ill of the gout all th time the king was at Newmarket. The evidenc againſt him was, however, greatly ſtrengthened, b a letter he himſelf wrote, while under confinemen to ſecretary Jenkins; wherein he promiſed to revea all he knew relative to the plot againſt his majeſty provided he might be aſſured of the royal pardon The jury found them all guilty, and they were ſoo after executed at Tyburn.

Lord Ruſſel's trial followed that of Walco Howard, a man of a very profligate character, con deſcended to purchaſe his pardon, by turning ev dence againſt his friends. But his conduct rendered him ſo univerſally odious, that not a man of character or reputation in either party would afterwards admit him into their company. In adhering to the letter of the laws of England on the ſubject of treaſon, it was difficult to conſtitute the crime of the peers. According to the famous ſtatute of Edward III. there are two ſpecies of treaſon, the intention or attempt to take away the king's life, and the actual attempt to make war againſt him. According to a ſtatute of Mary, either of theſe crimes muſt be proved by the concurrent teſtimony of two evidences, with regard to any act tending to ſuch purpoſes. The refinements of the lawyers rendered the definition leſs limited, and, conſequently, the proof more eaſy. This was what condemned Ruſſel, who had long been the idol of the people. Too honeſt to deny that he had any concern in the propoſed inſurrections, he inſiſted only in ſaying, that he had no deſign againſt the life of the king. Monmouth offering to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner, if he thought that action would ſave his life, the earl nobly anſwered, "By no means; I ſhould gain nothing by ſeeing my friend die with me." He alſo rejected the offer of lord Cavendiſh, who was deſirous of changing dreſſes with him, in order to facilitate his eſcape.

Lord Ruſſel, on the morning of his execution, after winding up his watch, ſaid, "We have done with time, we have nothing now to think of but eternity." It was thought he would have been pardoned, could he have been prevailed upon to abandon a principle he had always maintained, and which was thought by the court incompatible with the duty and loyalty of a ſubject. This principle was, that the power of every king of England is limited by the laws; and that if he goes beyond theſe bounds, the ſubjects have a right, in their own defence, to bring him back. But he always declared, that he was incapable of the baſe deſign of aſſaſſinating the ſovereign. He often declared, that he preferred a violent death to any other; becauſe after being expoſed a few minutes to the eyes of the populace, every thing was over; and that there was leſs to be ſuffered than in the drawing of a tooth. He was attended in his laſt moments by Dr. Tillotſon and Dr. Burnet. He ſuffered on a ſcaffold erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on the 21ſt of July; and died like an Engliſhman, without ſhewing the leaſt weakneſs, though ſurrounded by a populace drowned in tears.

The next victim was the celebrated Algernon Sidney, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter. His prodigious genius, his inſuperable courage, and his paſſion for liberty, gave him a diſtinguiſhed place among the republicans. He oppoſed the reſtoration of monarchy with the ſame zeal he had before oppoſed the uſurpation of Cromwell. Finding that his oppoſition would be in vain, he withdrew into Holland; but deſirous of reviſiting his native country, he took the benefit of the act of indemnity, and returned to England. He ſoon joined the country party, and warmly ſupported the bill of excluſion. In a word, he oppoſed, with all his intereſt and eloquence, every deſign and meaſure of the court. Howard was the only evidence againſt him: his papers were therefore produced, in order to ſupply the reſt. Some writings, in which he declared his own ſentiments on the natural contract, on the reſiſtance to tyrants, on the advantages of a republican government, were conſidered as ſupplementary evidences, more than ſufficient to convict him. In vain did Sidney repreſent, that the reſemblance of a hand-writing, a proof rejected in England, was the only evidence that thoſe works were his; that beſides, they had never been publiſhed or communicated to any perſon; that they proved no recent conſpiracy, becauſe it was clear the writing was of an older date. He was, however, condemned: the duke thought him too formidable an enemy to eſcape. His ſentence had, however, no power to terrify him; he gloried in dying for the cauſe he had embraced from his infancy. This illuſtrious man muſt for ever be lamented, as, under a republican government, he muſt certainly have merited the higheſt applauſe.

Lord Eſſex being found dead in priſon, at firſt it was ſtrongly reported that he was murdered by order of the king and his brother; but there were afterwards found ſufficient proofs that he had put an end to his own life. This was the leſs ſurpriſing, as he had always been a ſtrong advocate for ſuicide. The principal friends of the duke of Monmouth being dead, that nobleman wrote two letters to the king, filled with the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive expreſſions. Monmouth was the favourite ſon of Charles, who now felt all his tenderneſs revive. He accepted of the guilty youth's ſubmiſſion, and permitted him to come to court. He even indulged him ſo far, that he was excuſed from giving evidence againſt any of his friends; but was required to ſign a paper, owning the plot in general, and tacitly juſtifying the evidence againſt thoſe who had ſuffered. In a few days, however, Monmouth repented of the ſtep he had taken, and, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, intreated the king to return him the paper. Charles was ſo highly incenſed at his behaviour, that he baniſhed him from court. Monmouth paſſed over into Holland, where the king, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, correſponded with him by letter, unknown to the duke of York, and privately made him conſiderable remittances of money.

The king now enjoyed an almoſt unlimited authority in peace. The plot that had been formed againſt him rendered him dearer to his people, who imputed all the late ſeverities to the duke of York. The doctrine of abſolute ſubmiſſion and paſſive obedience became the prevailing ſyſtem; and the univerſity of Oxford condemned for thoſe propoſitions which before had been eſtabliſhed as principles. Among theſe were the following: "All civil authority is derived originally from the people: the ſovereignty of England conſiſts of three eſtates, the king, the lords, and the commons; and the king has a power equal to that of the two houſes. Self-preſervation is a fundamental law of nature, and over-rules all other laws, when put in competition with it." Theſe propoſitions were now condemned. Such is the inſtability of human opinions!

In order, if poſſible, to recover his popularity, the duke of York relaxed, for a time, the furious meaſure he had embraced; but his attempt was in vain; the veil was too thin to hide the enormity of his late conduct. Charles was more ſucceſsful. He knew the fear of popery had cauſed the moſt alarming apprehenſions in the minds of the people, and was deſirous of diſſipating their terrors. He thought proper to beſtow his neice, the princeſs Anne, daughter to the duke of York, on prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. But though he gratified his people in that particular, he never could be prevailed upon to call a parliament, or truſt the nation with the election of new repreſentatives, who might, in their collective capacity, become formidable to his newly aſſumed deſpotic power. York ſtrongly ſupported this reſolution of his brother; and at the ſame time prevailed upon him to purſue ſuch meaſures, as rendered it highly imprudent to convene that aſſembly.

Lord Danby, who had remained ſeveral years a priſoner in the Tower, was now admitted to bail; the four popiſh lords that ſtill remained in confinement were admitted to the ſame privilege. Lord Petre had died in the Tower about a month before. On his death-bed he wrote a letter to the king, aſſuring him on his hopes of ſalvation, that he was entirely innocent of the plot with which he was charged.

Charles, however, conſcious of being the oppreſſor of a free and generous people, pined beneath the oppreſſion under which the whole nation groaned. He had purſued meaſures he ſecretly condemned, and yielded to counſels which his own heart told him were equally inconſiſtent with his honour, and the happineſs of his people. Naturally of an eaſy temper, and a gentle diſpoſition, he had ſuffered arbitrary, and even cruel proceedings, to receive the ſanction of his authority, and the ſeal of royalty had been ſtamped on actions he never approved. He now ſaw, but it was too late, that while he compelled his people to ſubmit to his deſires through fear, he had loſt their affections as ſubjects. Penetrated with theſe reflections he formed a deſign of changing his conduct, and reſtoring the neglected intercourſe between himſelf and his parliament. The duke of York propoſing ſome meaſures which were extremely diſagreeable to the king, Charles ſaid to him, with ſome vivacity, "Brother, I am now too old to go a ſecond time upon my travels; you may do it if you pleaſe." But he lived not to carry the generous plan he had formed into execution.

A. D. 1684. The king was ſeized with an apoplective fit on the ſeventh of February, and four days after he expired, in the 55th year of his age, and the 25th of his reign, computing from his reſtoration. Some believed that he was poiſoned; but there ſeems very little foundation for that opinion. The papiſts, however, bore the odium of the act, and were ſaid to have perpetrated the execrable deed, in order to prevent his carrying on the reformation he had propoſed.

This monarch would have been more worthy had not indolence, and the indulgence of his paſſions, perverted his natural talents. He was an enemy to labour, forgetful of ſervices, attached to no perſon from eſteem, and negligent of every duty. His conduct gave ſufficient room for the cenſure of one of his intimate friends, that he never uttered a fooliſh ſentence, * nor ever did a wiſe action.

Moſt of his faults as well as his vexations, flowed from one ſource; his exceſſive love of pleaſure. To obtain the pecuniary aſſiſtance of France he formed an alliance with that power, which gave ſufficient room to expect that his real intention was that of making himſelf abſolute. This opinion gave riſe to all the diſputes between him and his parliament, and ſeemed even to threaten him with the loſs of his crown. He was guilty of the ſame miſtake that had involved all the Stuart family in diſtreſs; they thought their authority equal to that of the moſt powerful monarchs on the continent, and thence paid no regard to the Engliſh conſtitution. Their principles and conduct could not therefore fail of alarming a people whoſe liberties were founded on Magna Charta, and were now grown exceſſively jealous of their privileges. Had the Stuarts paid more reſpect to the laws and conſtitution of England their own prerogatives would have been ſecured, and they would have reigned with more honour to themſelves, and advantage to the people. In private life Charles had fewer faults. He was an obliging though negligent huſband, a generous lover, a tender father, a kind maſter; but gratitude was a virtue to which he was totally a ſtranger: the royaliſts ſerved him faithfully from affection; but he remembered not their ſervices; nor took any care to reſtore that fortune they had ſo generouſly ſpent in the ſupport of his family.†

Charles II. had no children by his queen, Catherine

---

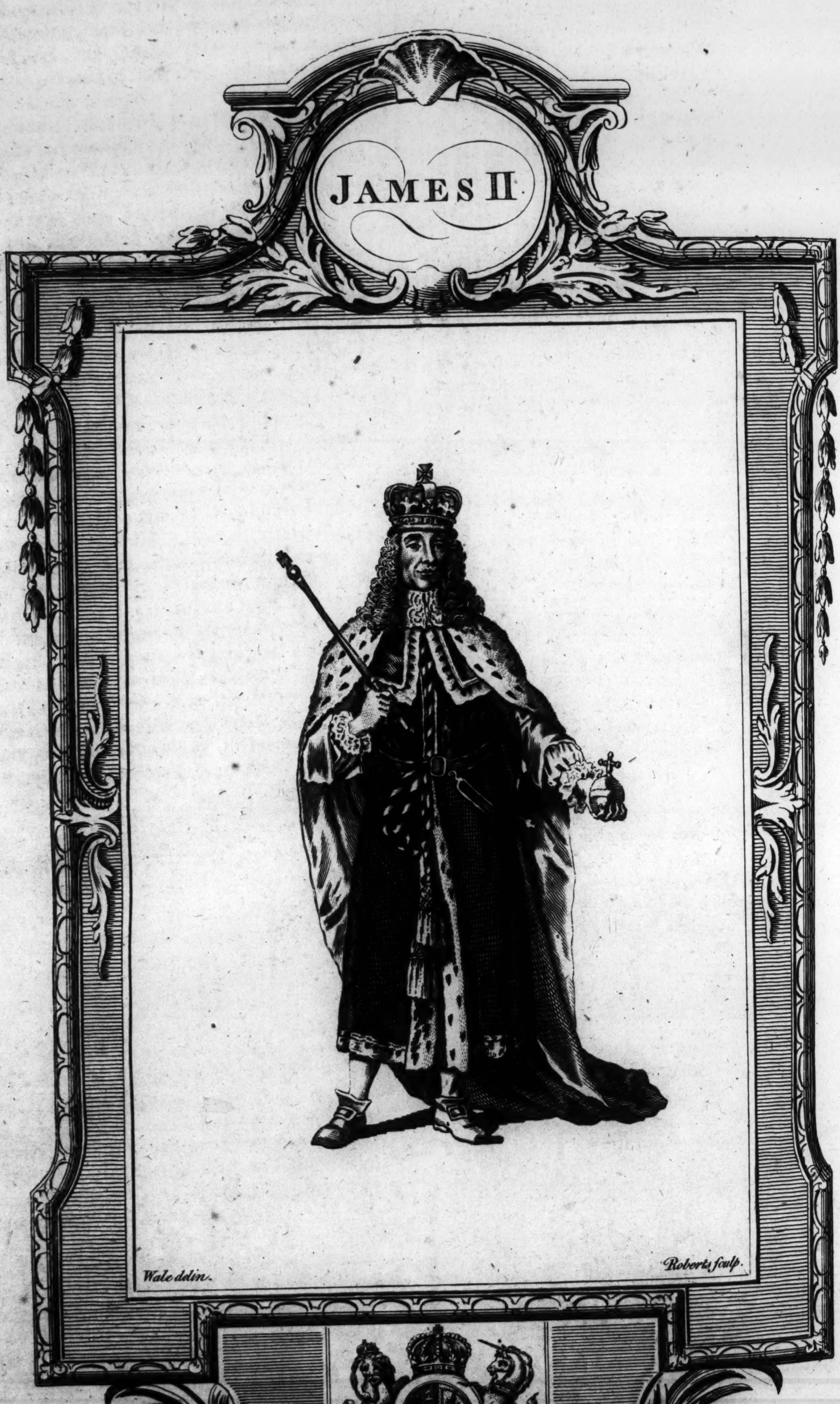
* The earl of Rocheſter, alluding to his faults, and likewiſe his extreme fondneſs for Mutton, wrote the following epigramatic epitaph:

"Here lies the mutton-eating king,
"Whoſe word no man relies on:
"Who never ſaid a fooliſh thing,
"Or ever did a wiſe one.

† Perhaps a character was never drawn with greater energy of diction, ſtronger force of argument, or higher colouring, than that of this monarch by the admirable pen of Churchill. After allowing for the peculiar complexion of the times in which the poet invoked his muſe, it muſt be acknowledged that the principal features are juſtly marked, and the whole portrait finely pencilled. We ſhall therefore, without further apology, preſent it to our readers at full length.

From land to land for years compell'd to roam,
Whilſt uſurpation lorded it at home;
Of majeſty unmindful, forc'd to fly,
Not daring, like a king, to reign or die:
Recall'd to repoſſeſs his lawful throne,
More at his people's ſeeking than his own,
Another Charles ſucceeded.——In the ſchool
Of travel he had learn'd---to play the fool.
And, like pert pupils, with dull tutors ſent
To ſhame their country on the continent,
From love of England by long abſence wean'd,
From ev'ry court, he ev'ry folly glean'd;
And was, ſo cloſe do evil habits cling,
'Till crown'd, a beggar, and when crown'd, no king.
Thoſe grand and gen'ral pow'rs, which heav'n deſign'd
An inſtance of his mercy to mankind,
Were loſt, in ſtorms of diſſipation hurl'd,
Nor would he give one hour to bleſs a world;
Lighter than levity which ſtrides the blaſt,
And, of the preſent fond, forgets the paſt;
He chang'd and chang'd, but, ev'ry hope to curſe,
Chang'd only from one folly to a worſe;
State he reſign'd to thoſe whom ſtate could pleaſe,
Careleſs of majeſty, his wiſh was eaſe;
Pleaſure, and pleaſure only, was his aim;
Kings of leſs wit might hunt the bubble fame.
Dignity, through his reign was made a ſport,
Nor dar'd Decorum ſhew her face at court:
Morality was held a ſtanding jeſt,
And faith a neceſſary fraud at beſt.
Courtiers, their monarch ever in their view,
Poſſeſs'd great talents, and abus'd them too;
Whate'er was light, impertinent and vain,
Whate'er was looſe, indecent, and profane,
(So ripe was *folly, folly* to acquit)
Stood all abſolv'd in that poor bauble---wit.
In gratitude, alas! but little read,
He let his father's ſervants beg their bread;
His father's faithful ſervants, and his own,
To place the foes of both around his throne.
Bad counſels he embrac'd through indolence,
Thro' love of eaſe, and not thro' want of ſenſe:
He ſaw them wrong, but rather let them go
As right, than take the pains to make them ſo.
Women rul'd all, and miniſters of ſtate
Were for commands at toilets forc'd to wait;
Women, who have, as monarchs, grac'd the land,
But never govern'd well at ſecond hand.
To make all other errors ſlight appear
In mem'ry fix'd, ſtand Dunkirk and Tangier;
In mem'ry fix'd ſo deep, that time in vain
Shall ſtrive to wipe thoſe records from the brain,
Amboyna ſtands—— gods! that a king ſhould hold
In ſuch high eſtimate, vile, paultry gold,
And of his duty be ſo careleſs found,
That when the blood of ſubjects from the ground
For vengeance call'd, he ſhould reject their cry,
And, brib'd from honour, lay his thunders by,
Give Holland peace, whilſt Engliſh victims groan'd,
And butcher'd ſubjects wander'd unatton'd.
O, dear, deep injury to England's fame;
To them, to us, to all! to him deep ſhame!
Of all the paſſions which from frailty ſpring,
Av'rice is that which leaſt becomes a king.
To crown the whole, ſcorning the public good,
Which through his reign he little underſtood
Or little heeded, with too narrow aim,
He reaſſum'd a bigot brother's reign;
And, having made time-ſerving ſenates bow,
Suddenly died, that brother beſt knew *how*.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


JAMES II
Wale del in.
Roberts sculp.

rine of Portugal, a virtuous princeſs, who could never engage the affections of her huſband. He, however, left a numerous progeny, the fruits of his illicit love.

By Mrs. Lucy Walters, one ſon, James, duke of Monmouth, born in 1646.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, viſcounteſs Shannon, one daughter, Charlotte-Maria Henrietta Jemima-Maria Fitzroy, married firſt to James Howard, and afterwards to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catherine Peg, one ſon, Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth, born in 1658.

By Mrs. Barbara Villers, ducheſs of Cleveland, three ſons, and as many daughters; Charles Fitzroy, created duke of Southampton, and, after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland: Anne Fitzroy married to the earl of Suſſex; Charlotte Fitzroy, married to the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who took the veil in the nunnery of Pontoiſe in France.

By Loiſe de Querouaille, dutcheſs of Portſmouth, Charles Lenox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gywnn, an actreſs, one ſon, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans. And

By Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the ſame profeſſion, one daughter, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

Independent of Hiſtorical facts, the following are the moſt remarkable occurrences which happened in this reign.

In 1663 news-papers were firſt printed in England.

The year 1665 gave riſe to the Gazette Royal, which was firſt publiſhed at Oxford (the court being there) in a folio half ſheet on the 7th of November. On the removal of the Court to London the title was changed to the London Gazette; the Oxford Gazette was publiſhed on Tueſdays, the London on Saturdays, and theſe have continued to be the days of publication ever ſince.

In 1666 happened the fire of London.

The year 1676 is remarkable for the invention of callico printing, which was firſt executed in London.

In 1678. Tea was firſt brought to England by Lord Oſſory from Holland, and being admired by perſons of rank it was imported from thence, and generally ſold for 60s. per pound, till our Eaſt-India Company took up the trade.

The year 1680 is diſtinguiſhed by St. James's Park being laid open for the uſe of the public, and the game of mall played in it by the nobility. The place ſtill retains the name, and the irons and ſide-guards for the bales were not removed till ſo lately as 1752.

The ſame year (viz. 1680) was firſt printed the votes of the Houſe of Commons.

In 1683 was one of the longeſt and hardeſt froſts that till then had happened in England. It began about the middle of December, and continued till the 5th of February. A fair was kept on the Thames, and oxen roaſted on the ice: the coaches drove from the Temple to Weſtminſter-hall on the river as frequently as in the ſtreets.

During this reign the Scotch pedlars in Poland, amounting to 53,000, were numbered and taxed by the pole, by permiſſion of the Poliſh monarch. The commiſſioners appointed for receiving this tax were Sir John Denham and Mr. Killegrew, who brought home 10,000l. ſterling, beſides defraying the expences of the commiſſion, voyage and journey.

SECTION II.

JAMES II.

NO ſooner did Charles II. pay the debt of nature than his brother James (notwithſtanding the endeavours of the two laſt parliaments to exclude him from the throne) was proclaimed king without the leaſt oppoſition from any of the people. But James himſelf dreaded the conſequences that might reſult from the more zealous part of his ſubjects, on account of his religion, which he was reſolved to ſupport, and, if poſſible, to re-eſtabliſh in England. He therefore thought it would be the moſt prudent method immediately to aſſemble the privy-council, and by delivering a flattering ſpeech, filled with promiſes he never intended to perform, endeavour to diſſipate the fears too many had entertained of the conſequences that might reſult from his religious principles.

Accordingly, when the council aſſembled, James, after beſtowing ſome praiſes on the memory of his predeceſſor, proceeded in the following manner: "I have been repreſented as infatuated with principles of arbitrary power; nor is this the only calumny that has been thrown upon me. But I now declare that I will endeavour to maintain the government both in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed. I am ſenſible that the church of England is favourable to monarchy, and that all the members of it have ſhewn themſelves faithful ſubjects. I ſhall therefore apply myſelf to ſupport and defend it. I am ſenſible, at the ſame time, that the laws of England make me as powerful a prince as I can wiſh to be; and my object is to preſerve the prerogative of my crown without invading the privileges of my ſubjects. I have often expoſed my life in defence of the nation, and am ſtill ready to expoſe it for the maintenance of its juſt rights and privileges."

It is no wonder that a ſpeech, filled with ſuch noble ſentiments, ſhould be received with general applauſe, and that it ſhould revive the ſpirits of the Engliſh, who had formed the moſt alarming apprehenſions of his conduct. James had eſtabliſhed his courage and conduct as a ſeaman, and he was conſidered as one of the moſt able perſons in Europe, with regard to maritime affairs. His friends magnified his probity to the ſkies; and the people readily believed them, becauſe they wiſhed it to be true. Addreſſes were ſent from every quarter of the kingdom, filled with the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and reſpect. Even the quakers followed the general practice, and waited on the king with a congratulatory addreſs, in which was the following remarkable paragraph: "We are come to ſignify our affliction for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy to ſee thee made the ruler of the people. They tell us, thou art not of the church of England any more than we; ſo we hope thou wilt allow us the ſame liberty that thou takeſt thyſelf; and if thou doſt, we wiſh thee all manner of proſperity."

From the general marks of reſpect which James received from his ſubjects he had reaſon to think that, notwithſtanding the violent efforts made by the country party for his excluſion, he was firmly ſeated on the throne of England. But though the generality of the people entertained the moſt flattering hopes from their new monarch, yet the thinking part of the nation, particularly thoſe who were beſt acquainted with his temper, were not to be impoſed upon by ſpecious aſſurances. It was, indeed, a kind of infatuation to ſuppoſe, that he really entertained the ſentiments he profeſſed. They had known him, while duke of York, to be a bigot to the Romiſh religion, and a zealous oppoſer of the reformation: they had been often witneſſes that his diſpoſition was merciless and cruel; and that he totally diſregarded the liberties of the people and the eſtabliſhed form of government. They knew he was the principal adviſer and promoter of all the unpopular and arbitrary meaſures purſued by his brother during the latter part of his reign; and that he himſelf was the ſworn friend of Lewis XIV, whoſe ambition all Europe dreaded; and like that monarch, an inveterate enemy to all whom the Romiſh church ſtiled heretics. Was it therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he would entirely alter his ſentiments when he came to the throne? James was ſenſible, penetrating, and enterprizing; but he was alſo headſtrong, violent, and arbitrary; and his judgment by no means clear. How could it be expected that a king, with this mixture of good and bad qualities, could ever render his people happy?

James did not long keep his ſubjects in ſuſpence with reſpect to his real ſentiments and intentions. The very firſt Sunday after his acceſſion he went publicly to hear maſs, though contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of England; and the prieſts and jeſuits became his principal confidents. He alſo publiſhed a proclamation for levying the duties of exciſe and cuſtoms granted to his predeceſſors, as if given by parliament, though he well knew that the grant expired with the life of his brother. He, however, took care not to ſhew much partiality to thoſe of his own communion, in ſettling the officers of his houſhold; for all who poſſeſſed poſts under the late king were continued in their reſpective offices.

The great number of prieſts and jeſuits, who now baſked openly in the ſun-ſhine of the court, gave great offence to the people; But they were ſtill more irritated when it was known that James had ſent a meſſenger to Rome, in order to make ſubmiſſion to the pope, and to pave the way for a re-admiſſion into the boſom of the catholic church. Innocent XI. who at this time filled the papal chair, very prudently adviſed the king not to be too precipitate in his meaſures, nor raſhly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was abſolutely impracticable. The Spaniſh ambaſſador alſo, knowing the tranquillity of England abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of Spain, uſed the freedom of making the like remonſtrances. He obſerved how buſy the prieſts appeared at court, and adviſed the king not to liſten with too great facility to their dangerous councils. "Is it not cuſtomary in Spain, replied James, for the king to conſult his confeſſor?" "Yes, replied the ambaſſador, and it is for that reaſon our affairs ſucceed ſo ill."

The late king having been interred privately, and at a very little expence (a poor return for the tenderneſs he had ſhewn to his brother all his life-time) James and his queen were crowned by archbiſhop Sancroft, on St. George's day, April the 23d, 1685. The king would not receive the ſacrament, but all the reſt of the ceremony was performed according to the form of the church of England.

James now thought proper to ſhew his reſentment againſt thoſe who were the principal witneſſes for the popiſh plot. Among theſe the moſt conſpicuous was Titus Oates, who was tried in the court of King's-bench on two indictments for perjury, and found guilty of both. He was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, to ſtand five times every year on the pillory, and to be whipped firſt from Aldgate to Newgate, and the ſecond day after from Newgate to Tyburn. But notwithſtanding this dreadful puniſhment, which was executed with ſuch ſeverity that he fainted away ſeveral times, he would confeſs nothing. He continued in priſon till the revolution, when he obtained his liberty, and a penſion of 400l. a year.

Dangerfield, his principal aſſociate, was alſo tried for writing a ſeditious libel, and convicted. He was ſentenced to ſtand twice on the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn another, and to pay a fine of 500l. As he was returning in a coach from his ſecond whipping, he was inſulted by one Francis, a barriſter of Gray's-Inn. Dangerfield reſented the unmanly treatment, and ſpit in his face. This ſo provoked the barriſter, that he puſhed his cane with the utmoſt violence in the face of Dangerfield, and ſtriking him directly on the eye, he died in torture a few hours after. Francis was immediately apprehended, tried for the offence, and executed at Tyburn.

Though James had expreſſed his diſlike to parliaments, and was confirmed in his ſentiments by the queen and his popiſh prieſts, it was abſolutely neceſſary, at the beginning of a reign, to ſummon that aſſembly. The low condition into which the whigs, or country party, had fallen during the laſt years of Charles's reign; the odium under which they laboured on account of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy, cauſed the elections in general to fall on the tories. At the ſame time the general reſignation of the charters had rendered the reſpective corporations abſolutely dependent on the crown; and the recommendations of the court, though, at that period, little aſſiſted by pecuniary influence, were become very prevalent. All theſe motives contributed to fill the houſe of commons with tories and zealous churchmen; and who, from their affections, were ſtrongly biaſſed to concur with the meaſures of the crown.

The parliament met on the 19th of May, when James opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which, after ſolemnly repeating the promiſe he had made before the privy-council, of governing according to the laws, and of preſerving the proteſtant religion, he plainly told them he expected they would ſettle his revenue during his life, as they had done that of his brother. "I might," ſaid he, "uſe many arguments to inforce this demand; the "benefit of trade; the ſupport of the navy; the "neceſſities of the crown; and the well-being of the "government itſelf, which I muſt not ſuffer to be "precarious. But I am confident that your own conſideration, and your ſenſe of what is juſt and reaſonable, will ſufficiently ſuggeſt to you whatever, on "this occaſion, might be enlarged upon. There is, "indeed, one popular argument, which may be urged "againſt complying with my demand. Men may "think that by feeding me from time to time with "ſupplies, as they ſee convenient, they will better ſecure free meetings of parliament: but as this is the "firſt time I have ſpoken to you from the throne, I "muſt plainly tell you that ſuch an expedient would "be very improper to employ with me; and that the "beſt way to engage you to meet me often is always "to uſe me well."

This ſpeech wanted no comment to explain its meaning. It was ſufficiently evident, that James had already formed a reſolution of ſetting parliaments wholly aſide, in caſe he met with any oppoſition. The parliament, however, thought proper to diſſemble their apprehenſions, and voted the king the fixed revenues of his predeceſſor; but added, that they depended upon his royal word for the performance, with regard to his maintaining the religion of the church of England, as it was beneath the dignity of a king to falſify his promiſe.

The obliging diſpoſition of the parliament gave James the higheſt ſatisfaction, and he flattered himſelf with the hopes of a peaceful and happy reign. But he ſoon found himſelf greatly miſtaken. The earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland during the late reign, on an accuſation of his having been concerned in a ſcheme formed by the duke of Monmouth for exciting a rebellion in that kingdom, flattered himſelf that the time was now come, when he might ſucceſsfully ſtir up his countrymen againſt James, whom he conſidered as the ſole author of his diſgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his deſign to Monmouth, who was then an exile alſo in Holland; and that giddy prince immediately conſented to the project.

Accordingly they hired a few ſhips of the Dutch, and got together about 2 or 300 of the Engliſh exiles in Flanders, men of deſperate fortunes, and who had no means of retrieving their affairs but by a change of government at home. This was the whole force the duke and earl had to depend upon, except their hopes of being joined by a formidable number of the whig party, in caſe they could effect a ſucceſsful landing either in England or Scotland.

Theſe meaſures being concerted, the two chiefs ſeparated in order to carry their deſign into execution. Argyle, at the head of a ſmall company, but with arms ſufficient for 5000 men, ſailed from Holland in the beginning of May, and made a deſcent on the coaſt of Scotland. But he ſoon found himſelf deceived in the hopes he had entertained of being joined by a great number of his friends. He was, indeed, fortunate enough to collect about 2000 men, chiefly belonging to his own clan in the highlands. But the government having received advice of his intended enterprize, were prepared for his reception. A conſiderable body of troops were ſent againſt him ſoon after his landing; while he, by the help of his ſhips, tranſported his men from place to place, till two or three of the king's ſhips arrived in theſe parts, when he was compelled to quit the ſea-coaſts, and march into the country, where he was inceſſantly purſued by the royal army. His followers, now perceiving that oppoſition was in vain, abandoned their maſter; and he himſelf was ſoon after ſeized and conveyed to Edinburgh, where he was publickly executed, and his head placed on the Tolbooth. Rombold, the contriver of the Rye-houſe plot, and ſome others who had fled from juſtice, and returned with Argyle, were alſo taken and executed.

Monmouth was no leſs unſucceſsful in his attempt. He ſailed out of the Texel on the 24th of May; and after having been detained nineteen days at ſea by contrary winds, landed at Lyme in Dorſetſhire on the 11th of June, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much larger number. Some of his officers diſperſed themſelves about the country, in order, if poſſible, to engage the people to join him. They were ſo ſucceſsful, that in a ſhort ſpace of time the duke's little army was increaſed to near 2000 men. On his firſt landing he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared, that the ſole intention of his coming was to aſſert his natural right, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of the duke of York, whom he accuſed of being the principal author of that dreadful conflagration which laid the capital in aſhes; of the late popiſh plot for aſſaſſinating the king, and ſubverting the proteſtant religion; of the murder of the earl of Eſſex in the Tower; and of having actually impriſoned the king his brother. He repreſented the duke as being incapable, by his religion, of ſwaying the ſcepire of England, which could never hope for peace and ſafety while a papiſt and a tyrant filled the throne.

This declaration, which upon the whole was fuller of invective than ſound reaſoning, produced very little effect in the duke's favour. Few perſons of any diſtinction joined his ſtandard, and the greater part of thoſe who did were a rude, undiſciplined rabble. On his reaching Taunton his army was increaſed to about 5000 men; but inſtead of marching directly to Briſtol, which was in no condition to reſiſt him, he ſpent ſeveral days in making preparations for a ſplendid proceſſion when he was proclaimed king, which was performed on the 18th of June. This ridiculous piece of oſtentation gave James time to aſſemble his forces, which were now in full march againſt him, under the command of the duke of Albemarle.

Monmouth began now to be ſenſible of the raſhneſs of his project; but it was too late to retreat. A ſingle alternative only remained; he muſt either conquer or periſh. A council of war was called, when it was determined to march and meet the royal army, in order to prevent a ſurprize, which muſt have been fatal. When the duke came in ſight of the royaliſts, he found them drawn up in excellent order on Sedgeley-moor near Bridgewater. Early the next morning (July 6) the fight began. Monmouth's horſe, commanded by lord Grey, fled at the firſt charge, owing to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of their general. He was himſelf taken priſoner, but readily obtained the king's pardon. The foot ſtood firm, and maintained their ground for a conſiderable time with great reſolution; but being deſerted by the horſe, and expoſed to a moſt dreadful fire from the artillery of the royal army, they at length gave way, and a moſt dreadful carnage enſued. Three hundred were killed upon the ſpot, above 1000 in the purſuit, and as many taken priſoners.

The duke, after uſing every method in his power to retrieve the fortune of the day, and diſplaying the moſt noble efforts of valour, was obliged to have recourſe to flight. His aſſumed ſovereignty vaniſhed like a dream, and all his mighty proſpects diſappeared in an inſtant. He fled, attended only by one ſervant, till his horſe dropped under him with fatigue. This incident obliged him to purſue his way on foot, till he reached a poor cottage, where he changed clothes with the peaſant, and continued his flight till he was wholly ſpent. Reduced to this extremity, he laid himſelf down in a ditch, covered with fern. Unfortunately for him, a party of the king's ſoldiers paſſing the next day by the ſame cottage, one of the officers knew the duke's clothes, in which the countryman was dreſſed. He was immediately ſeized; and to extricate himſelf from danger, pointed out the road the duke had taken; and, after a ſtrict ſearch, he was diſcovered in his hiding place, with his pockets filled with green peas, the only food he had eaten ſince his defeat. He was carried immediately to London, and committed to the Tower.

Monmouth, brave as he was in arms, was not proof againſt this cruel reverſe of fortune. On his arrival in London he wrote to the king, his uncle, in the moſt abject terms, humbly imploring his pardon, and proteſting, by the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, that if his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to overlook his former errors, he would endeavour, by his future conduct, to render himſelf worthy of ſo great a favour. All theſe ſubmiſſions, however, were of no effect; for James was inexorable. The duke ſued for an interview: James granted it; but it was only with an intent of making his own advantage by it. He thought his wretched priſoner might be induced, through fear of death and hope of pardon, to impeach his accomplices: but no ſuch infamy dwelt in the heart of Monmoth; culpable and miſtaken as he was, he refuſed to purchaſe life at the expence of honour. He reſigned himſelf to his fate; and James, forgetful of the blood from whence he ſprung, and regardleſs of his brother's recommendation of this unhappy youth to his favour, ordered him for immediate execution.

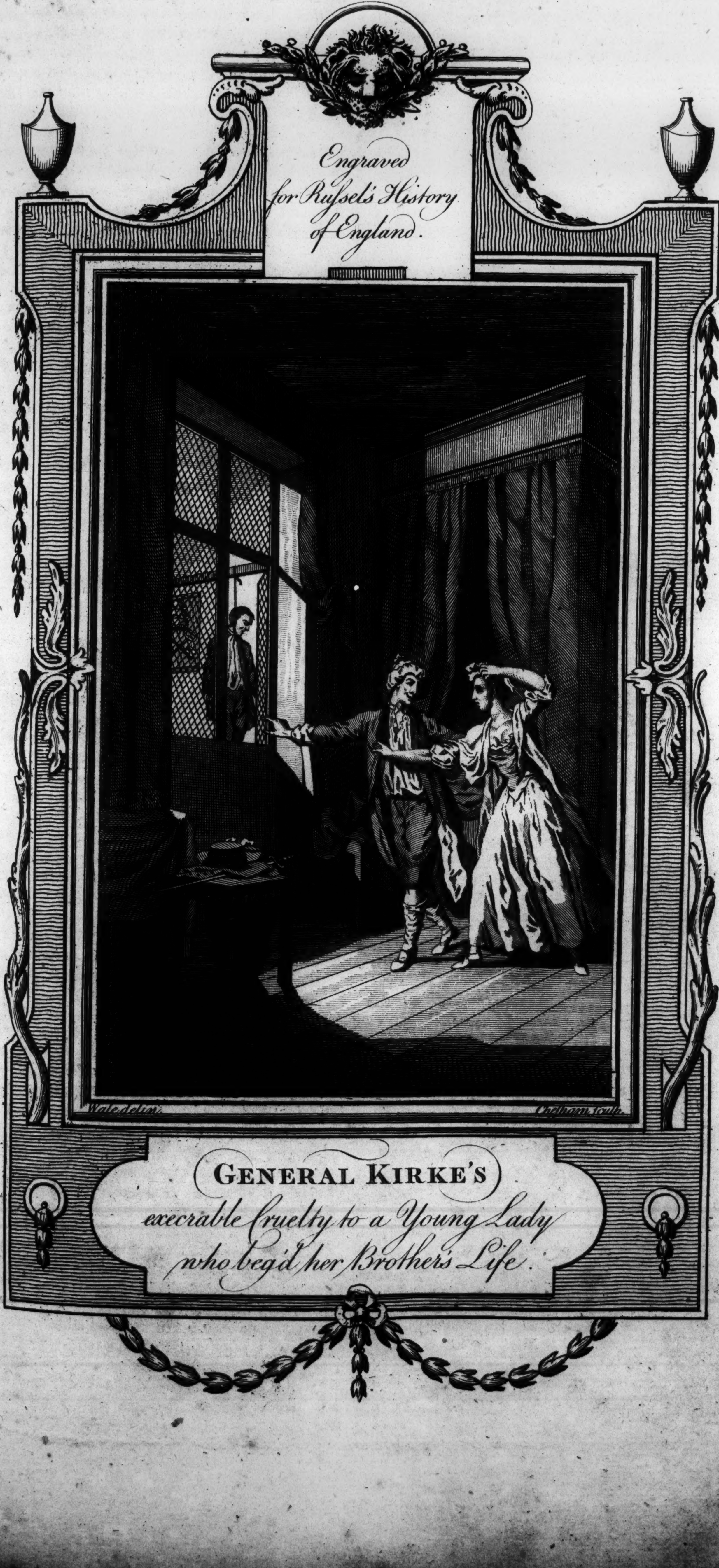
The duke's conduct in his laſt moments proved that his abject behaviour, on his firſt being apprehended, was the mere effect of human nature, oppreſſed by great calamity. He met his death in a manner that became his rank and character. On the 15th of July he was brought to the ſcaffold, attended by the tears of the multitude. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where he was obliged to redouble the blow. But this precaution had not the deſired effect, for it ſo intimidated the man, that he could ſtrike only a feeble blow on the neck of Monmouth, who raiſed his head from the block, and looked him in the face as if reproaching him for his failure. He again laid down his head, and the executioner ſtruck him twice, but without effect; on which he threw aſide the axe, and declared himſelf incapable of finiſhing the bloody office. The Sheriff, however, obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body. Thus died James duke of Monmouth, whoſe character, in many reſpects, was truly amiable: he was brave, gentle, generous, ſincere; but too open to flattery, and too warmly addicted to pleaſure, the effects of his education in a court which was the emporium of debauchery. He was the darling of the people; the conſciouſneſs of which, and the allurement of ambition, had engaged him in enterprizes for which he was of all men the leaſt qualified, and which, in the end, coſt him his life.

The execution of Monmouth was followed by many others of the moſt barbarous nature. The lord chief-juſtice Jefferies (the greateſt tyrant that ever filled the ſeat of juſtice) was ſent into the weſt, to try the unhappy perſons, who had been concerned in the late raſh, and ill-concerted rebellion. Colollel Kirke, a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved at Tangiers, and, from his intercourſe with the Moors, had contracted a diſpoſition more inhuman than any known in Europe, attended him with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by theſe two inhuman monſters is ſufficient to fill the reader with horror. Thirty were hanged at one time, as a diverſion to colonel Kirk and his officers while they were at dinner. One execution was attended with ſuch circumſtances of perfidy, as well as barbarity, that its equal cannot, perhaps, be found in the hiſtory of any other country. A young maid, frantic with grief, repaired to the colonel, to implore pardon for her brother. She threw herſelf at his feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could poſſibly beſtow. Fired with luſt, rather than ſoftened by love and clemency, he promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided ſhe, on her part, would condeſcend to ſatisfy his deſires. The ſtruggle was ſevere between virtue and her affection for her brother. The latter at laſt prevailed; ſhe ſubmitted to the conditions; but after paſſing the night with this inhuman ruffian, he ſhewed her next morning, from the window of the apartment, her brother, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had privately cauſed to be erected for his execution. The ſhock was too great for human nature: rage, deſpair, and indignation, took at once poſſeſſion of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes. All the inhabitants of the country, innocent as well as guilty, were expoſed to the ravages of this barbarian. The ſoldiers were ſuffered to live at free quarters; and his own regiment, inſtructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a more particular manner, by their outrages. By way of pleaſantry, he uſed to call them his "Lambs," an appellation long remembered in the weſt of England with horror.

The chief-juſtice Jefferies was equally cruel, and demands a ſevere reprehenſion, becauſe his office ſhould have taught him humanity. Mercy was a ſtranger to his breaſt; few eſcaped with life that were brought before him. He gloried in cruelty, and boaſted of the numbers he had put to death. A lady of the anabaptiſt perſuaſion was burnt for extending her charity to one of the rebels who had implored her aſſiſtance. The wretch ſhe had entertained was pardoned for turning evidence againſt her. Lady Liſle, though herſelf a loyaliſt, and her own ſon a volunteer in the king's army, was beheaded for entertaining a preſbyterian miniſter in Monmouth's party, though he had not been mentioned in the proclamation. The jury were melted into pity, and thrice refuſed to find a verdict againſt her; but at laſt the menaces of the inhuman Jefferies prevailed; and the lady, who was above eighty years of age, ſuffered on a ſcaffold. Father Orleans pretends, that James diſapproved of theſe cruelties, expreſſed his indignation, and repaired the injuſtice to the utmoſt of his power. But this is a proof that bigotry is capable of ſacrificing the moſt obvious truths to the ſupport of its party. James was ſo far from diſapproving the cruel proceedings of Jefferies, that he created him a peer at his return, and rewarded him with the poſt of chancellor.

Beſides the inſtances of cruelty inflicted on the weſtern rebels, a great many more were exerciſed in London, and different parts of the kingdom, on the proteſtant party, under pretence either of their having been concerned in the Rye-houſe plot, or of favouring Monmouth's attempt. Theſe meaſures were equally influenced by revenge, and the favourite deſign of eſtabliſhing popery in theſe kingdoms. This ſcheme had been long ſince formed by James while duke of York; but never openly attempted till now, when being freed from Monmouth's rebellion, the king thought himſelf capable of carrying it ſpeedily into execution. He accordingly began in Ireland, where he diſſolved the privy-council, appointed a new one, and took care that the majority of the members ſhould be papiſts. The proteſtants in that kingdom were every where diſarmed, while means were found to keep on foot a ſtanding army of catholics. Colonel Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, by caſhiering ſuch officers and ſoldiers as he thought proper, and filling their places with others, ſoon modelled the army to the purpoſes it was intended to ſerve.

The ſituation of James was at this time as proſperous as any ſovereign could wiſh. He had a ſtanding army at his command: a parliament ready to ſecond him in all his deſires; paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were inculcated as articles in the Engliſh creed; while the foreign ſtates were vying with each other in courting the favour of a monarch, who confeſſedly held in his hands the balance of Europe. But James wanted prudence to take the advantage that now offered. Inſtead of inſpiring him with a



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. Chesham sculp.

GENERAL KIRKE'S execrable Cruelty to a Young Lady who beg'd her Brother's Life.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

conduct ſuitable to the ſtation he filled among the princes on the continent, which would not in the leaſt have impaired his power, it ſerved only to intoxicate him.

Perſuaded he had no longer any occaſion for diſguiſing his ſentiments, or ſuffering any reſtraint on his actions, James began to diſcover his deſigns in a manner too plain to be miſtaken. He opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the ninth day of November, with a ſpeech, in which, after congratulating them on the happy ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, he obſerved, that the great reinforcements the rebels had received before they were quelled, had been entirely owing to the want of a regular force to diſperſe them at the firſt breaking out of the inſurrection. He added, that the houſe muſt be ſenſible the militia was very inſufficient for the defence of the kingdom in ſuch exigencies, and, therefore, plainly told them, that he was determined to ſupport the regular troops he had raiſed, amounting to fifteen thouſand men, and demanded a ſupply for their maintenance. At the ſame time he deſired the parliament not to take exception at his having admitted ſome catholic officers into the army, and diſpenſed with the teſt act in their favour. "They are, continued he, well known, "and have ſerved me faithfully during the late commotions: and I will deal plainly with you; having "received the benefit of their ſervices at a time of "ſo much danger, I will neither expoſe them to diſgrace, nor myſelf to the want of them."

The members of this parliament had, ever ſince their election, ſhewn the greateſt approbation of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and given very ſignal proofs of their attachment to the king's perſon. They had increaſed his annual revenues, rendered them perpetual, and, during the rebellion, granted him ſupplies greater than he could have aſked. Could it therefore be ſuſpected, that ſo complying a parliament would have made any difficulty in ſetting aſide ſo trifling a law as the teſt-act? James was perſuaded they would not; but he was miſtaken. This complaiſant, this ſubmiſſive parliament, ſtill remembered, that there was ſuch a thing as liberty entailed on the people of this happy land; and that they were the ſworn conſervators of that ineſtimable treaſure in behalf of the people. They would have gone any decent lengths rather than come to a rupture with the king, or incur his diſpleaſure: but this open declaration on his part to govern without the laws, and even to act repugnant to them, rouſed them from their lethargy; and ſome who had been the warmeſt oppoſers of the excluſion bill, began to be alarmed at the large ſtrides the king had made towards eſtabliſhing arbitrary power. The motion for an addreſs of thanks to the king for his ſpeech met with great oppoſition in the houſe of lords; and though it paſſed by a ſmall majority, the houſe reſolved to take the ſpeech into further conſideration. But it was different in the houſe of commons; for when lord Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate, made a motion for thanking the king for his ſpeech from the hrone, ſeveral of the members refuſed it; and a motion being made for an addreſs to the king againſt employing popiſh officers in the army, contrary to he known laws of the land, it was carried in the ffirmative, and the addreſs was accordingly pre-nted.

James was ſo highly offended at this liberty taken y the commons, that he ſent them a very ſharp reprimand; and abſolutely told them that he was fixed n his reſolution both with regard to keeping up a nding army, and employing catholic officers. Terrified by this haughty meſſage, the commons connted to indemnify the officers already employed; d to paſs a new act for qualifying a certain number whom the king ſhould name. But ſo imperious was James's temper, ſo lofty the idea he had entertained of his own authority, ſo violent the ſchemes ſuggeſted by his own bigotry and that of his prieſts, that, without any delay, or waiting for any farther provocation, he immediately prorogued the parliament; and a ſhort time after diſſolved that aſſembly.

A. D. 1686. Theſe arbitrary proceedings of the king ſtruck the whole nation with terror. The church, which had hitherto ſupported the monarchy, was terribly alarmed, and even the army, by whoſe aſſiſtance alone he could now propoſe to govern, were highly diſguſted. The former horror againſt popery was revived by polemical books and ſermons; and in every diſpute the victory ſeemed to be gained by the proteſtant divines, who conducted the argument with more learning and eloquence.

During theſe diſputes an incident happened that diſplayed popery in all its terrors. After Lewis XIV. had long moleſted and harraſſed the proteſtants, he at laſt entirely revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been enacted by Henry IV. for ſecuring them the exerciſe of their religion, and which had been declared irrevocable. All the cruelties inſeparable from perſecution were practiſed on theſe religioniſts, who became obſtinate in proportion to the oppreſſions they ſuffered; and either covered, under a feigned converſion, a more violent abhorrence of the catholic communion, or ſought in foreign nations that liberty they were denied in their native country. About half a million of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects deſerted France, and exported, together with immenſe ſums of money, thoſe arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They propagated every where the moſt tragical accounts of the tyranny exerciſed againſt them, and revived among the proteſtants all thoſe ſentiments of the bloody and perſecuting ſpirit of popery, to which experience in all ages had given too much foundation. Near fifty thouſand refugees paſſed over into England, and all men were diſpoſed, from their repreſentations, to imbibe the utmoſt horror againſt the projects which they apprehended were entertained by the king againſt the proteſtant religion.

When a man of ſo much humanity and ſignal prudence as Lewis could be engaged by the bigotry of his religion alone, without any provocation, to embrace ſuch ſanguinary and impolitic meaſures, it was aſked, what might be dreaded from James, who was ſo much his inferior in thoſe virtues, and had already been ſo highly exaſperated by ſuch violent oppoſition. It was in vain that the king ſeemed to blame the perſecutions of France; in vain he afforded the moſt extenſive protection and aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed hugonots: all theſe ſymptoms of toleration were regarded as fallacious, and entirely oppoſite to the avowed principles of his ſect, and belied by his ſevere adminiſtration in Scotland againſt the non-conformiſts.

But neither his own promiſes, the complaints of his ſubjects, nor even the remonſtrances of ſome of the moſt ſenſible and prudent of his popiſh counſellors, could divert James from the purſuit of his darling purpoſe, the eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion in theſe kingdoms. Deaf to all reaſonable and ſober advice, he liſtened only to the dictates of his own ſuperſtition: and finding himſelf deſerted by the church party, he affected to careſs the preſbyterians.

Accordingly, he ſent his declaration into Scotland, ſuſpending by virtue of his ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and abſolute power, all oaths, &c. impoſed upon non-conformiſts, who profeſſed the chriſtian religion. In this declaration he permitted the moderate preſbyterians to meet in their private houſes

houſes only; but forbad all field conventicles under the ſevereſt penalties. He permitted the quakers to meet according to their form, in any place appointed for their worſhip. At the ſame time, the catholics were declared to be relieved from the penalties inflicted by any act of parliament made againſt thoſe of their faith. In this declaration the king likewiſe reiterated his promiſes made for maintaining the proteſtant religion, as by law eſtabliſhed, and its biſhops and regular clergy in the full enjoyment of their rights, liberties, and privileges.

Soon after this a ſimilar declaration was publiſhed for liberty of conſcience in England. It is not ſurpriſing that the ſeveral ſects of proteſtant diſſenters ſhould at firſt conſider theſe declarations as inſtances of great indulgence in the crown for the eaſe of tender conſciences. Accordingly, addreſſes from all parts of the kingdom were ſent to his majeſty, filled with the moſt fulſome flattery. They even exalted the royal power beyond all bounds; eſpecially the addreſſes preſented by the preſbyterians, who had firſt ſet the example, in the reign of Charles I. to the reſt of the nation, for preſcribing the ſtricteſt limits to the royal authority. Human nature is always the ſame. The diſſenters thought themſelves unkindly uſed by that monarch; they thought that James treated them like a tender parent, but they ſoon diſcovered that this act of the king was nothing more than a ſnare laid for extirpating the whole proteſtant intereſt in the kingdom: and therefore readily joined with the church of England in oppoſing the deſtructive doctines of paſſive obedience and nonreſiſtance.

A. D. 1687. James, finding the non-conformiſts were no longer to be deluded by his promiſes, determined to purſue openly the reſolution he had formed with regard to the eſtabliſhing the popiſh religion. Accordingly he ſent the earl of Caſtlemaine ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to expreſs his obedience to the pope; and to reconcile his kingdom to the catholic communion. Never man, employed on ſo important an errand, met with ſo many neglects, and even affronts, as Caſtlemaine. The pope, inſtead of being pleaſed with this precipitate ſtep, concluded, that a ſcheme, conducted with ſuch indiſcretion, could never be ſucceſsful; and being then engaged in a violent quarrel with the French monarch, a quarrel which intereſted him much more than the converſion of England, he had little regard for James, whom he conſidered as too cloſely connected with his capital enemy.

The king, therefore, received only one proof of complaiſance from his holineſs; that of ſending a nuncio into England, in return for the embaſſy. Every communication with the pope was, by act of parliament (that aſſembly not being at this time diſſolved) declared high-treaſon: yet ſo little regard did the king pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public and ſolemn reception at Windſor. The duke of Somerſet, one of the lords of the bedchamber, was diſmiſſed from his employment, for refuſing to aſſiſt at this ceremony. The nuncio reſided publicly in London during the remainder of this reign. Four catholic biſhops were conſecrated in the king's chapel, and ſent out, under the title of vicars apoſtolical to exerciſe the epiſcopal functions in their reſpective dioceſes. Their paſtoral letters, directed to the lay catholics of England, were printed and publiſhed by the expreſs allowance and permiſſion of the king. The regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their reſpective orders; and ſome of them were even ſo indiſcreet as to boaſt, they hoped, in a little time, to walk in proceſſion through the capital.

In the mean time the whole power in Ireland had been committed to the catholics. In Scotland all the miniſters, in whom the king placed any confidence, were converts to that religion. Every great office in England, civil or military, was gradually transferred from the proteſtants. Rocheſter and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had always been very faithful to his intereſt, could not, with all their ſervices, atone for their adherence to the proteſtant religion, and had accordingly been diſmiſſed from their employments: even the inhuman Jefferies himſelf, though he had proſtituted honour, juſtice and humanity to the arbitrary ſchemes of the court, declined every day in the king's favour, becauſe he refuſed to abandon his own religion.*

The only matter that now ſeemed wanting was, to procure admittance for the catholics into the churches and univerſities. James determined to uſe his utmoſt efforts to gain theſe points; by which he loſt every friend and adherent among the proteſtants. The firſt attempt was made on the univerſity of Cambridge; but that proving abortive, a ſecond was made at Oxford, and proſecuted with more inflexible obſtinacy. This univerſity had lately, in a famous decree, made a ſolemn profeſſion of paſſive obedience; and thence the court probably ſuſpected that they would ſhew their ſincerity, when their turn came to practice that doctrine. The principal of Magdalen college, one of the richeſt foundations in Europe, dying about this time, a mandate was ſent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, but one who, beſides his being a catholic, had not in other reſpects the qualities required by the ſtatutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college made very ſubmiſſive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but before they received any anſwer, the day came on in which they were required by the ſtatutes to proceed to the election. They therefore choſe doctor Hough, a man of virtue, and alſo endued with that firmneſs and vigour ſo neceſſary for maintaining his own rights, and thoſe of the univerſity in this critical conjuncture. In order to puniſh the college for this act of contumacy, an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was ſent down to Oxford, and the new preſident and fellows cited before that court. So very little regard had been paid to any other conſideration, except that of religion, that Farmer, on enquiry, was found guilty of the meaneſt and moſt ſcandalous vices; ſo that even the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners were aſhamed to inſiſt on his election. A new mandate was therefore iſſued in favour of Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford, a man of a proſtitute character, but who, like Farmer, had atoned for all his vices, by his declared willingneſs to embrace the catholic religion. Th college repreſented, that all preſidents had ever been appointed by elections, and there were even very few inſtances of the king's interpoſing in favour of any candidate: that having already made a regular election of a preſident, they could not, during his lif deprive him of his office, and ſubſtitute another i his place: that even if there was a vacancy, Parke by the ſtatutes of their founder, could not be choſen that they had all of them bound themſelves by oath to obſerve theſe ſtatutes, and never on any account to accept of a diſpenſation. They added, that Magdalen college had at all times diſtinguiſhed itſelf ſo much by its loyalty, that nothing but the moſt invincible neceſſity could now oblige them to oppoſe his majeſty's inclinations. Theſe reaſons availed them nothing. The preſident and all the fellows, except two, who complied, were expelled the college, Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the office, and the places of the deprived fellows were filled by papiſts.

---

* So biggotted was James to his favourite religion, that he even condeſcended to exhort Kirk to become a convert. The barbarian told him, that he would have been extremely willing to gratify his majeſty in this particular, but that he was unhappily pre-engaged, having already given his promiſe to the king of Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would tu Muſſelman.

James having now ſufficiently convinced the nation that he intended to reduce it to the moſt abject ſtate of ſubmiſſion, bitter reflections, pathetic remonſtrances, and loud complaints againſt the court, filled every mouth, and made the ſubject of almoſt every publication. The king was not inſenſible of the great popularity poſſeſſed by the prince of Orange in England, and that the princeſs his conſort was looked upon as preſumptive heir to the crown: he was therefore very deſirous of knowing their opinion concerning the penal laws and teſt, flattering himſelf, if he could procure their concurrence to a repeal, it would have great weight with the nation. By order of the king, one Mr. Stuart wrote to Fagel, the penſionary of Amſterdam, to ſound the prince and princeſs on this ſubject. Their anſwer was very diſagreeable to the court; notwithſtanding which it was confidently aſſerted that they had both declared their approbation of the repeal. Being informed of this report, their highneſſes ordered Fagel to draw up a letter to the court of England, which might contradict it, and inform the world of their true opinions. In this letter the penſionary declared, "That, although their royal highneſſes were for a full liberty of conſcience, and wiſhed not that any one ſhould be perſecuted or puniſhed for differing from the eſtabliſhed religion; yet they could by no means conſent to the repeal of the teſt and the other penal laws, which tended to the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, eſpecially as thoſe laws could not be ſaid to carry in them any ſeverity againſt the Roman catholics on account of their conſciences, being only proviſions for qualifying perſons for a ſeat in parliament, or the enjoyment of public offices." The publication of this letter produced very different effects in the king, and the nation: to the former it gave the ſevereſt mortification, but to the latter it afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction.

A. D. 1688. On the 2d of January a proclamation was publiſhed, declaring the queen to be pregnant, and ordering a thankſgiving for ſo happy an event. The extravagant joy of the papiſts on this occaſion, and the ſanguine expreſſions of the jeſuits, (who aſſerted this conception was miraculous, and that the queen would certainly have a prince) induced the generality of the proteſtants to entertain ſuſpicions of this pregnancy, as a ſcheme of the papiſts to eſtabliſh their religion in England, by impoſing an heir on the kingdom; and from this time they ſeem to have baniſhed their forbearing principles, and to have taken up a reſolution of oppoſing the baleful deſigns of the king and his miniſtry.

Deſirous of confirming his deſpotic power, and inflamed by frantic zeal, James, on his ſide, ſeemed determined no longer to keep any meaſures with his ſubjects. On the 27th of April he publiſhed a ſecond declaration of indulgence, almoſt in the ſame terms with the former; and he ſubjoined an order, that, immediately after divine ſervice, it ſhould be read by the clergy in all the churches. This was a manifeſt inſult upon the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed religion; and could only be done to drive them to extremities, and then to take advantage of their non-compliance with the royal mandate. Some few of the biſhops obeyed, but the far greater number refuſed to read it. Lloyd, biſhop of St. Aſaph; Ken, of Bath and Wells; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Cheſter; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawny, of Briſtol, met privately at the archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace, and concerted the form of a petition to the king: wherein they, in few words, repreſented, that, though poſſeſſed of the higheſt ſenſe of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given ſuch eminent teſtimonies; though deſirous of affording eaſe in a legal way to all proteſtant diſſenters; yet, becauſe the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative, formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conſcience, ſo far make themſelves parties as the diſtribution of it all over the kingdom would be interpreted to amount to. For which reaſon they beſought his majeſty not to inſiſt upon their reading the declaration.

The biſhops, headed by Sancroft the primate, preſented this petition to the king in the moſt humble and ſupplicating manner. But James, ever haughty and impatient of controul, diſmiſſed them from his preſence with telling them, that if they had forgot he was the ſupreme head of the church, he knew how to make himſelf acknowledged as ſuch. As the petition was delivered him in private, he ſummoned them before the council; and there queſtioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The biſhops ſaw his intention, and ſeemed long deſirous to decline anſwering; but being puſhed by Jefferies the chancellor, the archbiſhop of Canterbury at laſt acknowledged that it had been written by him, and the reſt declared they had ſigned it. Jefferies then aſked them if they would give bail to appear in the court of King's-bench, and anſwer to the charge which ſhould be brought againſt them for this libel. They replied, no: that their privileges as peers exempted them from the neceſſity of giving ſecurity, on being charged with a miſdemeanor; and that they were bound by oath to maintain the rights of the peerage as well as the rights of the church. Jefferies, enraged at this anſwer, told them, that unleſs they inſtantly retracted their aſſertions, and withdrew their petition, he would ſend them to the Tower. They anſwered, "That they ſubmitted to his majeſty's pleaſure, whatever it ſhould be; that their own conſciences told them they had acted nothing but what was agreeable to the laws, and the ſacred character with which they were inveſted; and that they depended on the king of kings to be their protector." A warrant was immediately iſſued for committing them to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received directions to proſecute them for a ſeditious libel.

All ranks of people were ſeized with aſtoniſhment, when they found theſe fathers of the church, theſe noble oppoſers of tyranny and oppreſſion, were to be dragged away to confinement. The court had ordered that they ſhould be conveyed from Whitehall to the Tower by water, in as private a manner as poſſible. But the alarm was ſoon ſpread, and the ſhore lined with innumerable ſpectators, who deplored the fate of theſe good prelates, and on their knees intreated their bleſſing. The conduct of the biſhops on this occaſion increaſed the love their ſufferings had begun; they checked the tranſports of the multitude, and exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. Even the ſoldiers, moved by the ſympathy of example, flung themſelves on their knees, craved the benediction of theſe criminals, whom they were appointed to guard, and expreſſed themſelves in the bittereſt terms of reſentment againſt their proſecutors.

Their trial came on in the Court of King's-Bench on the 29th of June. They were attended to Weſtminſter-minſter-hall by an infinite crowd of people, among whom were twenty-nine temporal peers, and numbers of the principal gentry. The lawyers for the priſoners were, Sir Robert Sayer, Sir Francis Pemberton, Pollexfen, Treby, and Sommers. They pleaded that the law allowed ſubjects, when aggrieved, to addreſs themſelves by petition to the king: that an active obedience, in caſes which were contrary to conſcience, was never pretended to be due to government; and law was allowed to be the great meaſure of the compliance and ſubmiſſion of ſubjects: that when commands were impoſed on a perſon, which he could not obey, it was more reſpectful to offer to the prince his reaſons for refuſal, than to remain in an obſtinate and refractory ſilence: that it was no breach of duty in ſubjects, even though not expreſsly called upon, to diſcover their ſenſe of public meaſures, in which every one had ſo much concern: that, in the preſent caſe, the biſhops were called upon, and muſt either expreſs their approbation by compliance, or their diſapprobation by petition: that it could be no ſedition to deny the prerogative of ſuſpending the laws, becauſe there was really no ſuch prerogative, nor ever could be, in a legal and limited government: that even if this prerogative was real, it had been frequently diſputed before the whole nation, in Weſtminſter-hall and in both houſes of parliament; and no one had ever thought of puniſhing the denial of it as criminal: that the prelates, inſtead of making an appeal to the people, had applied in private to his majeſty, and had even delivered their petition ſo ſecretly, that, except by the confeſſion extorted from them before the council, it was found impoſſible to prove them the authors: and that though the petition was afterwards printed and diſperſed, it was not ſo much as attempted to be proved, that they had the leaſt knowledge of that publication.

Though theſe arguments were received with approbation by the audience, and even ſome of the judges declared themſelves in favour of the priſoners, yet the jury took ſeveral hours to deliberate; during which the people were in the moſt anxious expectation. But when they at laſt brought in their verdict "Not guilty," the hall reſounded with ſhouts of joy. The happy news was inſtantly communicated to every part of the city, and from thence diſperſed with infinite joy throughout the kingdom. It happened that the king had that day reviewed his army, and was juſt retired into the general's tent, when the news of the biſhops acquittal reached the camp; on which the the whole army gave a loud ſhout, attended with the moſt extravagant ſymptoms of joy. The king enquiring, with ſome degree of aſtoniſhment, into the cauſe, lord Feverſham anſwered, "It is nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers for the acquittal of the biſhops." "Do you call that nothing (replied the king) but ſo much the worſe for them."

As James had fixed his chief dependence on the ſubmiſſion of the army to his will, he was greatly alarmed at this incident; and determined to be ſatisfied how far he might depend upon the aſſiſtance of his forces. He accordingly ordered lord Litchfield's regiment to be drawn up, and appeared himſelf at their head. After walking for ſome time between the ranks, and commending their appearance, he gave orders that all the officers and ſoldiers who would not conſent to the repeal of the teſt and penal laws, ſhould lay down their arms: but his aſtoniſhment may be better conceived than expreſſed, when he ſaw the whole regiment, captains and a few popiſh ſoldiers only excepted, lay down their firelocks. He ſtood ſpeechleſs for ſome minutes, and then, with a ſullen air, bid them take up their arms, adding, "that for the future he would not do them the honour of aſking their advice."

A few days before the acquittal of the biſhops, the queen was (or ſuppoſed to be) delivered of a ſon, afterwards baptized by the name of James. This event, which inſpired the catholics with joy, was publiſhed by a proclamation; and a general thankſgiving was ordered to be obſerved throughout the kingdom. The people in general, were, however, poſſeſſed with a notion, that this was only a ſuppoſititious child, in order to cut off the princeſs of Orange from the ſucceſſion; and what tended to confirm them in this opinion were ſeveral myſterious circumſtances, both with regard to the pregnancy and delivery of the queen. At the ſame time, the proceedings of the court were ſo prepoſterous, that they rather augmented than removed the ſuſpicions of the populace. At the time of the queen's delivery, the princeſs of Denmark was at Bath, whither ſhe had retired a few weeks before, at the earneſt intreaty, if not by the command, of her father. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was in the Tower; and the Dutch ambaſſador, who ſhould have been preſent at the labour, in behalf of the prince and princeſs of Orange, was not called. In ſhort, the birth of this child, which, according to the common rule of things, ought to have proved the bond of union between James and his people, had the very contrary effect. Both parties, proteſtants and catholics, laboured under ſuch violent prejudices at this time, as could not fail of influencing their judgments. It is therefore no wonder if the latter ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the legitimacy of the child; and the former inſiſted that the whole was a deception.

The people were now fully convinced, that James was abſolutely determined to ſubvert the conſtitution both in church and ſtate; and therefore thought it high time to form a ſcheme for preventing the deſtruction of their laws, religion and liberties. Accordingly, many perſons of eminence and intereſt, both clergy as well as laity, who had gone very great lengths in ſupport of the royal authority, thought it more prudent to retract their doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, than bring their country to the brink of ruin by an obſtinate adherence to it. At the ſame time, they entered into a ſtrict union with the non-conformiſts for their mutual ſecurity, and for inviting over the prince of Orange, in order to his heading the country party againſt the king. The prince no ſooner received an intimation of this diſpoſition in the Engliſh, to free themſelves from the yoke of his father-in-law's government, than he took every prudent precaution to render it ſucceſsful. He had ſent over Zuyleſtein, one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, to congratulate James on the birth of his ſon. This miniſter had orders to diſcover the real ſentiments of ſome of the greateſt perſons in the kingdom, with regard to this dangerous undertaking. Zuyleſtein ſoon informed his maſter that every thing appeared extremely favourable to his views: that the whole nation was ready to riſe, and wanted nothing more than a chief to head them. Several of the nobility going abroad, on various pretences, waited on the prince at the Hague, and confirmed this intelligence. As an uninterrupted correſpondence was carried on between England and Holland, a mutual intercourſe was ſupported between the Engliſh proteſtants; and by letters and meſſages that plan of operations was concerted, which at laſt delivered this nation from papal tyranny.

The ſituation of affairs in Europe was alſo very favourable to this deſign. The manifeſt partiality of James in favour of the ambitious ſchemes of Lewis XIV. had alarmed not only the proteſtants, but alſo the Roman catholic powers, who dreaded nothing more than a coalition between the courts of England and France. They ſaw no hopes of ſafety for themſelves but by a revolution in that kingdom. Innocent XI. known by the name of the proteſtant pope, on account of the wiſe diſregard he paid to the attempts of James to introduce popery into England, was far from being averſe to the intended reformation in the Engliſh government. The deſign was, however, managed with great ſecrecy both at London and at the Hague. But, when it came to be known, was approved by the whole nation; and even by all the courts of Europe, that of France only excepted. The prince of Orange, however, refuſed to engage in this ſcheme, till he had received a formal invitation from ſuch perſons, whom he knew had every thing to fear from a miſcarriage of their enterprize. This invitation was ſoon procured, and ſent by Zuyleſtein on his return from his embaſſy; when the prince readily accepted of the offer made him, to undertake the defence of the nation, againſt the machinations of James, and the catholic party.

No ſooner was this invitation diſpatched, than the leaders of the party diſperſed themſelves in the different counties, in order to gain the populace over to their intereſt, and, by aggravating the meaſures of the court, to ſpirit them up to a general revolt. In the mean time the prince of Orange conducted the neceſſary preparations with wonderful prudence and policy. Under pretence of interfering in the diſpute then ſubſiſting between prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furſtemberg, with regard to the election of an archbiſhop of Cologn, he collected an army of 9000 men, and ordered them to encamp near Nimeguen; a fleet of 50 ſail of men of war, and a ſufficient number of tranſports, were by degrees aſſembled in the Dutch harbours, waiting only for orders to take on board the troops deſigned for England. Theſe meaſures were conducted with a circumſpection and addreſs, which ſufficiently diſplayed the great capacity and abilities of the prince of Orange, who could conceal the intention of theſe powerful preparations under ſuch pretenſions as prevented the Engliſh court from ſuſpecting their true deſtination. He was, indeed, greatly indebted to the complaiſance of the ſtates, who, on this occaſion, heartily concurred with him in all his meaſures.

After the prince had determined to put himſelf at the head of the proteſtant party, he deſired the Engliſh lords at the Hague to demand the aſſiſtance of the ſtates, in the name of the whole kingdom. Little perſuaſion was neceſſary to induce the ſtates to grant their requeſt. They were indeed equally concerned with the Engliſh themſelves, as the deſtruction of Holland muſt doubtleſs have ſoon followed the ſlavery of England. Nor was it Holland alone that countenanced the prince's enterprize: many of the neighbouring princes promiſed their aſſiſtance; the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the whole houſe of Lunenburg, agreed to unite their forces, and protect the united provinces, during the abſence of their Stadtholder.

James did not, for ſome time, ſuſpect that his ſon-in-law had formed any deſign againſt him, or that the forces that prince had aſſembled were deſtined for invading England. Lewis, however, having received intelligence from the count d'Avaux, his ambaſſador at the Hague, of what was likely to be the event of theſe powerful preparations, tranſmitted it to James, and, at the ſame time, made him an offer of any number of troops he might think neceſſary for his defence: or, that he would immediately ſend over 15,000 men, provided James would put Portſmouth into their hands, in order to preſerve a free communication with France. Theſe offers were laid before the council; but the earl of Sunderland, who was prime miniſter, and not without reaſon ſuppoſed to have already entered into a private correſpondence with the prince of Orange, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed their being accepted. He alledged, in ſupport of his opinion, that a ſmall body of foreign troops would be diſadvantageous, as they muſt excite the murmurs of the people, without being able to keep them in ſubjection. He added, that the Engliſh ſoldiers were ſo naturally averſe to act in conſort with foreigners, that they would take every opportunity that offered to deſert. On the other hand, he obſerved it would require no leſs than 40,000 men to quell the diſcontented part of the nation: that ſuch an army would naturally receive all its orders from the court of France; and that while theſe foreign forces kept the Engliſh in awe, the ſtate of the king himſelf would be reduced to little leſs than that of a viceroy to the French monarch.

Theſe arguments, though dictated by perfidy, carried with them the appearance of ſound argument. The council ſubſcribed to the miniſter's opinion; and James refuſed, though with many expreſſions of gratitude, this important offer.

Lewis was ſtill unwilling to abandon his friend and ally, in whoſe welfare he conſidered himſelf as deeply intereſted. He therefore ſent orders to d'Avaux, to remonſtrate with the ſtates in his name, againſt the preparations they were making for a deſcent upon England. "The ſtrict friendſhip and alliance, ſaid "d'Avaux, ſubſiſting between the two nations, will "induce my maſter to conſider every attempt againſt "his ally as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf." But this remonſtrance was ſo far from intimidating, that it ſerved only to incenſe the ſtates. They demanded, with great firmneſs, what was the purport of the late alliance between France and England, which had been concluded with ſo much ſecrecy? Whether it was of the ſame nature with the former, intended for the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion? If it was, it behoved them to provide inſtantly for their ſafety; and to render abortive thoſe projects that had been formed againſt them.

The king himſelf was highly provoked with Lewis for taking this raſh ſtep, and finding he had been adviſed to it by Skelton, the Engliſh envoy at the Hague, he immediately recalled that miniſter, and committed him to the Tower; diſclaiming publicly, at the ſame time, all alliance with France; and his having any knowledge of the remonſtrance. Whatever truth there might be in this aſſertion, neither the ſtates nor his own ſubjects gave the leaſt credit to it. The Engliſh in particular were more than ever incenſed againſt their ſovereign, whom they firmly believed had entered into a ſcheme with the French king for reducing them to abſolute ſlavery, and rendering himſelf arbitrary.

While James was diſtracted with fear and apprehenſions, he received certain advice of the prince of Orange's deſigns, and that he might ſoon expect to ſee the Dutch fleet upon the coaſt, with a land army on board, accompanied with many Engliſh noblemen and perſons of diſtinction, who had for ſome time concealed themſelves in Holland. Terrified at this intelligence, neither James nor his council could form any plauſible ſcheme for oppoſing this invaſion. The proteſtants, who compoſed the bulk of the nation, were known to conſider themſelves as victims devoted to deſtruction; and therefore would naturally join the prince in their own defence. It was even more than probable, that he was coming over on their expreſs invitation. Both the Engliſh fleet and land forces had already diſcovered their little inclination to ſupport the king in his deſigns: or rather their reſolution to oppoſe him to the utmoſt of their power.

James determined in this alarming exigency to place his dependence on the church of England, and by revoking ſeveral of his late unpopular edicts, to endeavour to retrieve the good-will and affections of his ſubjects. Accordingly, after conſulting the biſhops then in London, he aboliſhed the commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical affairs; took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion; reſtored the charter of the city; removed the popiſh magiſtrates, and filled their poſts with proteſtants in their room, and took ſome other ſteps towards the redreſs of grievances. But theſe popular meaſures failed of producing the deſired effect: they came too late, and were generally conſidered as the reſult of fear, rather than that of inclination, or a real change of ſentiment. James ſeems alſo to have been at ſome pains to confirm his people in this opinion: for in the midſt of all his preſent diſtreſſes, he could not, at the baptiſm of the young prince, forbear requeſting the pope to be one of the godfathers, a ſtep which naturally rendered all his other proceedings ſuſpected.

The prince of Orange during theſe tranſactions applied himſelf, with the greateſt aſſiduity, to compleat his armament, and as ſoon as every thing was finiſhed, he publiſhed a manifeſto, explaining the true motives for his expedition. Copies of this declaration were ſent over to England, and carefully diſperſed through every part of the nation. He ſolemnly diſclaimed all thoughts of conqueſt, or of giving his father-in-law any diſturbance in the enjoyment of his ſovereignty; declaring that his ſole intention was nothing more than that of maintaining the proteſtant religion, the laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms, which had been ſo openly violated; and the procuring a free and general parliament, which might at once ſettle all the rights of the ſubject, and the prerogatives of the crown on a firm and permanent baſis. He added, that he had undertaken this neceſſary and difficult taſk at the invitation of many lords both eccleſiaſtical and civil, by numbers of gentlemen, and other ſubjects of all ranks in theſe realms.

The prince's meaſures were all ſo well concerted, that in three days above four hundred tranſports were hired; and the army being embarked, quickly fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen. The artillery, arms, ſtores, and horſes were embarked; and the prince ſailed from Helvoet Sluys, with a fleet of near 500 veſſels, and an army of 14,000 men. After ſailing about 14 leagues, the wind ſhifted to the weſt, and blew ſo violent a ſtorm, that, in a very few hours, ſcarce three ſhips were to be ſeen together. But this loſs being ſoon repaired, the fleet put again to ſea, under the command of Admiral Herbert, and ſtood away with a fair wind towards the weſt of England. The ſame wind which favoured the Dutch detained the king's fleet, in the river and gave the prince an opportunity of paſſing the ſtreights of Dover without moleſtation. Both ſhores were covered with multitudes of people, who, beſides admiring the grandeur of the ſpectacle, were held in anxious ſuſpence at the proſpect of an enterprize, the moſt important that had for ſome years been undertaken in this part of the world.

After a proſperous voyage the prince landed his army ſafely in Torbay, on the 5th of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder treaſon. The Dutch army marched immediately to Exeter, and there the prince's declaration was publiſhed. But the whole county was ſo terrified at the dreadful executions that had enſued on Monmouth's rebellion, that nobody for ſeveral days joined the prince. The biſhop of Exeter fled with the utmoſt precipitation to London, and carried to court the firſt intelligence of this invaſion. The king was ſo pleaſed with this inſtance of zeal, that he rewarded the prelate with the archbiſhopric of York, which had been long kept vacant, with an intention of beſtowing it on ſome catholic.

Major Barrington was the firſt perſon who joined the prince, and his example was ſoon followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees, the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Meſſrs. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe, came to Exeter: the whole kingdom was in commotion. Lord Delamere took up arms in Cheſhire; the earl of Danby ſeized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; and the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day diſcovered ſome effect of that univerſal combination, into which the kingdom had entered againſt the meaſures of James. Even thoſe who did not take the field againſt him were able to embarraſs and confound his councils. A petition for a free parliament was ſigned by 24 biſhops and peers of the greateſt diſtinction, and preſented to the king; who returned for anſwer, that there was nothing he more earneſtly deſired than a free parliament, and that the moment the prince of Orange had quitted the kingdom, he would grant their requeſt with the greateſt diſpatch; but could not think of ſummoning that aſſembly while an enemy continued in the heart of the kingdom, and could command ſo many members to be returned. But the moſt alarming ſymptom was, the diſaffection, which, from the general ſpirit of the people, not from any particular reaſon, had crept into the army. The officers all ſeemed to prefer the intereſt of their country and of their religion, before thoſe principles of honour and fidelity, which are eſteemed the moſt ſacred ties by men of that profeſſion. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer who deſerted to the prince; but he was followed only by a few of his troops. Lord Loveleſs made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken priſoner. Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, was more ſucceſsful: he attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and actually brought a very conſiderable part of them to the prince's quarters. Several officers of diſtinction informed Feverſham their general, that they could not in conſcience fight againſt the prince of Orange, who came to defend the proteſtant cauſe.

Among others lord Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, had been raiſed from the rank of a page; inveſted with a high command in the army; created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty. Yet even this perſon could reſolve, during the preſent extremity, to deſert his unfortunate maſter, who had always repoſed unlimited confidence in him. He carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural ſon to the late king, colonel Berkley, and ſome troops of dragoons. This conduct was a ſignal ſacrifice of every duty in private life, to the happineſs of his country.

The king received this fatal news on his arrival at Saliſbury, the head quarters of his army. James, though a ſevere enemy, had always appeared a warm, ſteady, and ſincere friend; and was now extremely ſhocked at this, and many other inſtances of ingratitude, to which he was unhappily expoſed. There remained none about his perſon in whom he could confide. The whole army had diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent, whence he concluded it to be full of treachery; and being deſerted by thoſe, whom he had moſt favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his ſervice. Diſtracted and perplexed at theſe alarming circumſtances, James ſuddenly took the reſolution of returning to London: a meaſure which could have no other tendency than that of betraying his fears, and provoking farther treachery. But this was not the only, nor indeed the ſevereſt blow which Churchill had prepared for his benefactor. Himſelf and his lady had acquired an abſolute aſcendance over the family of prince George of Denmark; and a ſeaſonable opportunity now offered for overwhelming the unhappy king, who was ſtaggering under the violent ſhocks he had received from his adverſe fortune.

The firſt ſtage of his majeſty's retreat towards London was Andover, and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Huet, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, deſerted him in the night, and retired to the camp of the prince of Orange. As ſoon as this news reached London, the princeſs of Denmark, pretending to dread the king's diſpleaſure, withdrew herſelf, in company with the biſhop of London and lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham, where the earl of Dorſet received her with the greateſt reſpect; and the gentry of the county ſoon formed a troop for her protection.

Overwhelmed already with misfortunes, the wretched king was no ways prepared for this aſtoniſhing event. He burſt into tears, when the firſt intelligence was conveyed to him. In this incident, he doubtleſs foreſaw the total expiration of his royal authority. But the nearer and more intimate concern of a parent ſeized his heart, when he found himſelf utterly abandoned by a virtuous child, whom he had always regarded with the moſt tender affection. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forſaken me!" But ſo great were the prejudices which then prevailed, that this wretched father, who had been deſerted by his favourite child, was believed, on her diſappearance, to have put her to death; a rumour that might have produced the moſt fatal conſequences, had not the truth been immediately diſcovered: for the populace, and even the king's guards themſelves, ſeemed determined to revenge the death of the princeſs, by a general maſſacre of the prieſts and Roman catholics.

The prince of Orange, having received advice of the king's return to London, advanced with his army to Sherborne, and thence to Saliſbury, which he entered in triumph; the king's forces having ſome days before retired to Reading. Surrounded with diſtreſs, and having no truſty friend, the king aſſembled all the proteſtant peers in town, and deſired their advice. He particularly addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Bedford in the following manner. "My lord, you are a good man, have great influence, and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Alas!" replied the earl "I am a feeble old man, very incapable of performing any conſiderable ſervice; but I had a ſon," added he, with a ſigh, "who, if now alive, could ſerve your majeſty in a more effectual manner;" alluding to the lord Ruſſel, who, towards the end of the late reign, had fallen a ſacrifice to the vengeance of the king, then duke of York. James was ſo thunderſtruck with this anſwer that he remained, for ſome time, ſpeechleſs; but having recovered his ſpirits, it was propoſed to call a free parliament, and to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the prince. This the king readily complied with, and the lord chancellor was ordered to iſſue the neceſſary writs for that purpoſe. The catholics were removed from the poſts and offices they held about the court; Sir Edward Hales, a perſon of that communion, and conſtable of the Tower, was removed from his poſt, and ſucceeded by Sir Bevil Skelton. Father Peters, the king's confeſſor, ſeeing the ſtorm riſe to ſuch an alarming height, wiſely conſulted his own ſafety by eſcaping into France. The marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Northampton, and the lord Godolphin were ſent to treat with the prince, who delivered to them a paper, containing certain propoſals. The chief articles were, that a free parliament ſhould be called; that all papiſts ſhould be diſarmed, and deprived of all the offices they enjoyed: that all proclamations againſt himſelf ſhould be recalled: that the command of the Tower ſhould be put into the hands of the lord-mayor: that if the king ſhould think proper to reſide in London during the ſeſſion of parliament, the prince ſhould alſo reſide near the ſame place, with an equal number of guards; or that the king and himſelf ſhould reſide at an equal diſtance from London: that both armies ſhould be removed thirty miles from the city: that no new forces ſhould be brought into the kingdom: that Tilbury-fort ſhould be put into the hands of the city magiſtrates: that till the parliament met, part of the revenue ſhould be appropriated to the maintenance of the prince's army: and, in order to prevent an invaſion from abroad, Portſmouth ſhould be committed to the care of ſome perſon, equally agreeable to the king and the prince.

James, when theſe propoſals were preſented to him, affected to think them as moderate, or even more ſo, than he could have expected in the preſent poſture of affairs; but, in all probability, his real ſentiments were otherwiſe. Finding himſelf attacked and purſued by one of his ſons-in-law; abandoned by the other; deſerted by his own daughters and boſom friends, and hated by his ſubjects, he conſidered his fortune as deſperate.

Her majeſty, likewiſe, obſerving the fury of the people, and knowing how much ſhe was the object of general abhorrence, was ſtruck with the deepeſt terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment, from which ſhe was told the queens of England were not exempted. The popiſh courtiers, and particularly the prieſts, being aware that they ſhould be the firſt ſacrifice, and that their perpetual baniſhment was the ſmalleſt penalty they could expect from national reſentment, were deſirous of carrying the king with them, whoſe preſence they knew would be ſome reſource and protection to them in a foreign country; and whoſe reſtoration, if it ever happened, would again re-inſtate them in power and authority. The general defection of the proteſtants induced the king to conſider the catholics as the only ſubjects on whoſe counſel he could rely; while the fatal cataſtrophe of his father afforded them a plauſible reaſon for making him apprehenſive of a ſimilar fate. The infinite difference of circumſtances was not, in this criſis of diſtraction, ſufficiently weighed. Prudence gave way to danger, and ſelf-preſervation became the principal object of regard.

Barillon, the French ambaſſador, and other emiſſaries of that nation, were buſy about the king; and entertained a falſe notion, which they inſtilled into him, that nothing could more certainly retard the public ſettlement, and produce univerſal confuſion, than his deſerting the kingdom. The prince of Orange, on better reaſons, had embraced the contrary opinion, and conſidered it as extremely difficult to find expedients for ſecuring the nation while the king kept poſſeſſion of the throne. Actuated, therefore, by theſe motives, and perhaps equally by private ambition, he was determined to employ every expedient that had any tendency to intimidate the king, and make him deſert that throne which he was unable to fill.

During theſe tranſactions the news that arrived from all quarters helped to continue the panic into which the king was fallen, and which his enemies endeavoured to improve to their own advantage. Colonel Capel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs, and threw lord Langdale, the governor, into priſon; together with lord Montgomery, both of them catholics. The town of Newcaſtle received the lord Lumley, and declared for a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged the ſhire in the ſame meaſures. The prince's declaration was read at Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and was received with great applauſe by that loyal univerſity, who, at the ſame time, made an offer to the prince of their plate. Every day, ſome perſon of quality or diſtinction, and, among the reſt, the duke of Somerſet, went over to the the enemy. A very violent declaration was diſperſed the prince's name, but not with his participation; in which every one was commanded to ſeize and puniſh all papiſts, who, contrary to law, pretended to carry arms, or exerciſe any acts of authority.

Scotland was not free from the contagion of mutiny and diſobedience; whence the regular forces, contrary to the advice of Balcarras the treaſurer, were withdrawn, in order to reinforce the Engliſh army. The marquis of Athol, together with the viſcount Tarbot, and others, finding a favourable opportunity now offered, began to form intrigues againſt Perth the chancellor: and the preſbyterians and other malcontents flocked to Edinburgh. Apprehenſive of the conſequences, the chancellor thought it expedient to withdraw; and the populace, as if that event was a ſignal for their inſurrection, immediately took up arms, and rifled the popiſh chapel in the king's palace. All the catholics, and even the zealous loyaliſts, were obliged to conceal themſelves, and the privy-council, inſtead of their former ſubmiſſive ſtrains to the king, and violent edicts againſt their fellow ſubjects, now made application to the prince of Orange, as the ſole reſtorer of liberty and law.

The general diſſatisfaction alarmed the king every moment with new proofs of the diſaffection of the people. Therefore not daring to repoſe confidence in any but thoſe equally expoſed to danger with himſelf; agitated by indignation at the ingratitude of ſome, by deſpair at the infidelity of others; impelled by fears for his own and his adherents ſafety, he precipitately embraced the reſolution of withdrawing to France: and accordingly ſent off, before-hand, the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himſelf diſappeared in the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert, and made the beſt of his way to a ſhip, which waited for him near the mouth of the river.

James left a letter behind him for his general the earl of Feverſham, in which he declared, that if he could have relied upon all his troops, he ſhould not have been driven to this extremity; and at leaſt have hazarded one battle in ſupport of his crown and dignity. But as the whole army ſeemed diſpoſed to deſert him, he thought it madneſs to venture himſelf at their head againſt the prince of Orange: he thanked the general, and all the officers that had been faithful to him; deſired them not to hazard their lives and fortunes by an unavailing oppoſition: but at the ſame time cautioned them not to enter into any aſſociation againſt his intereſt.

Language cannot deſcribe the ſurprize that ſeized the city, the court and the nation, at the king's flight: and the more to increaſe the confuſion which James knew muſt be the natural conſequence of his taking ſuch a ſtep, he did not name any perſon who ſhould, in his abſence, conduct the affairs of the public. He threw the great ſeal into the river: burnt all the writs which had been made out for electinga new parliament; and cauſed a caveat to be entered againſt thoſe which were actually iſſued.

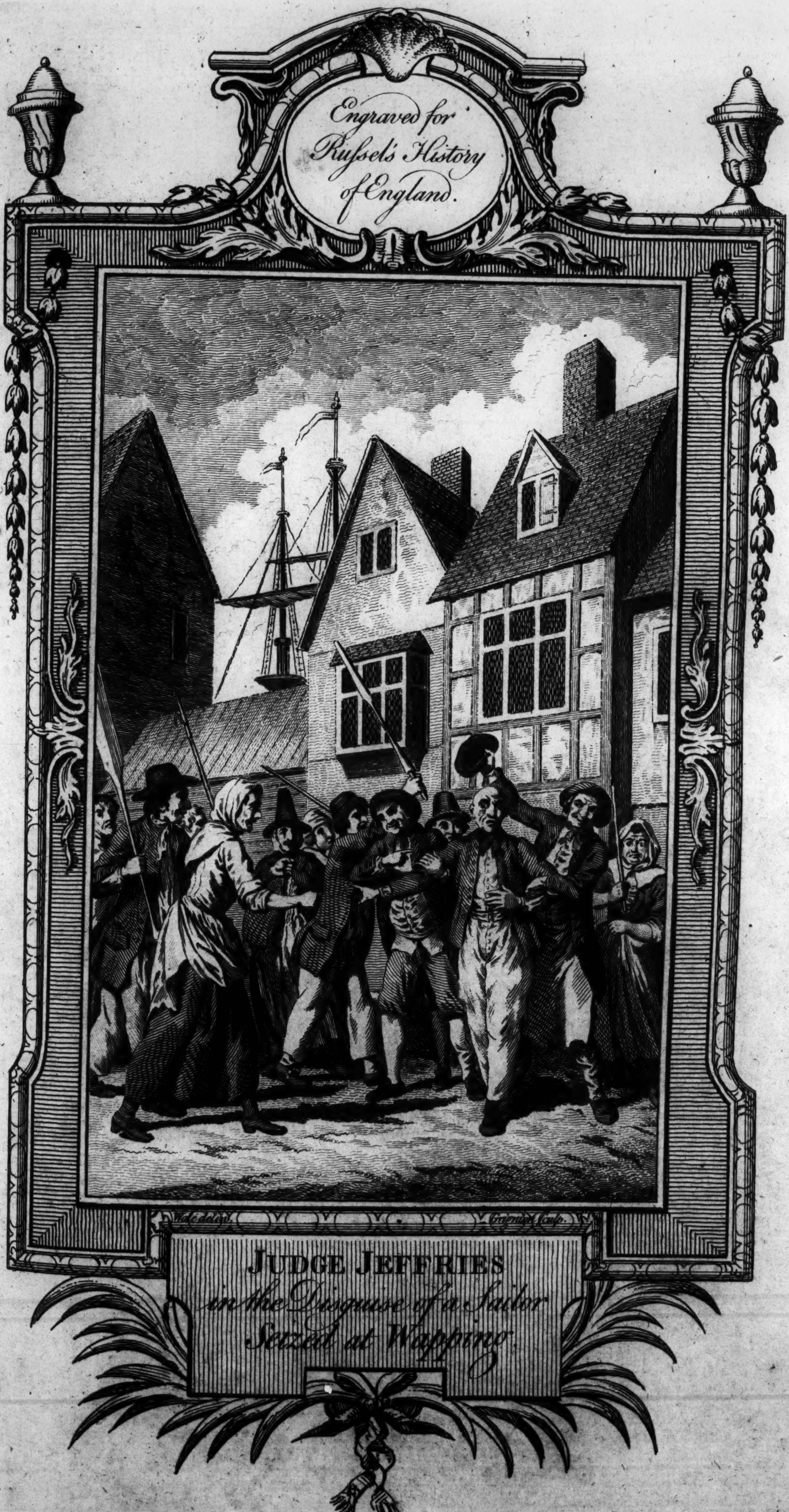
As ſoon as the general was informed of his majeſty's retreat he diſbanded the troops which were in the neighbourhood of London, and without either paying or diſarming them, left them to plunder the country at pleaſure. The populace of London now aſſembled, and pulled down the maſs-houſes; nor did the houſes of ſeveral of the foreign ambaſſadors eſcape their fury, from a notion that many rich catholics had depoſited in them their moſt valuable effects. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had concealed himſelf in a houſe at Wapping, while he waited for a ſhip to carry him over to France, was diſcovered and ſeized by them, and treated ſo ſeverely, that the lord-mayor, in order to prevent his being torn to pieces, was obliged to ſend him to the Tower, where he died ſoon after of the bruiſes he had received.

The biſhops and peers who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the nation (for the privy-council, compoſed wholly of the king's creatures, was totally diſregarded) thought proper to aſſemble, and to interpoſe for the preſervation of the community. They choſe the marquis of Hallifax their ſpeaker; gave directions to the mayor and aldermen to keep the peace of the city; and iſſued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garriſons. They alſo made applications to the prince, whoſe enterprize they highly applauded, and whoſe ſucceſs they congratulated with the moſt joyful demonſtrations.

The prince, on his part, was not wanting to improve the tide of ſucceſs which now flowed in upon him, or backward to aſſume that authority which the preſent criſis had thrown into his hands. Beſides the general popularity attending his cauſe, a new incident rendered his approach towards London ſtill more unwelcome. In the preſent trepidation of the people, a rumour aroſe, either from chance or deſign, that the diſbanded Iriſh had taken arms and began an univerſal maſſacre of all the proteſtants in England. This ridiculous belief was ſpread all over the kingdom in one day, and occaſioned every where an univerſal conſternation The alarm bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied they ſaw the ſmoke of burning cities, and heard the groans of thoſe who were ſlaughtered in the neighbourhood. It is ſurprizing that the catholics did not all periſh amidſt the rage always attending ſuch popular panics.

The prince of Orange in the interim arrived at Windſor in his way to London to ſettle the affairs of the nation with the lords, by whom he was expected; on the ſuppoſition that the king was fled over to the continent, and had totally reſigned the reins of government. But to the no ſmall ſurprize of the prince, news ſuddenly arrived, that his majeſty had been diſcovered at Feverſham in Kent, on board a ſhip, in which he was waiting for a veſſel to carry him to France; and was confined in priſon after ſuffering ſevering indignities from the populace, who not knowing his perſon, had miſtaken him for ſome papiſt of quality endeavouring to make his eſcape. The peers hearing that his majeſty was ſtill in his own dominions, ſent down the earls of Middleton, Ayleſbury, Yarmouth and Feverſham, with a detachment of the guards, to attend the king to London, whither he immediately returned. The populace, touched with compaſſion for his unhappy fate, received him with ſhouts and acclamations of joy. An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to the prince of Orange, acquainting him with the return of his majeſty to London.

Trifling, however, was the homage paid the king, during his abode at Whitehall, by any of the nobility

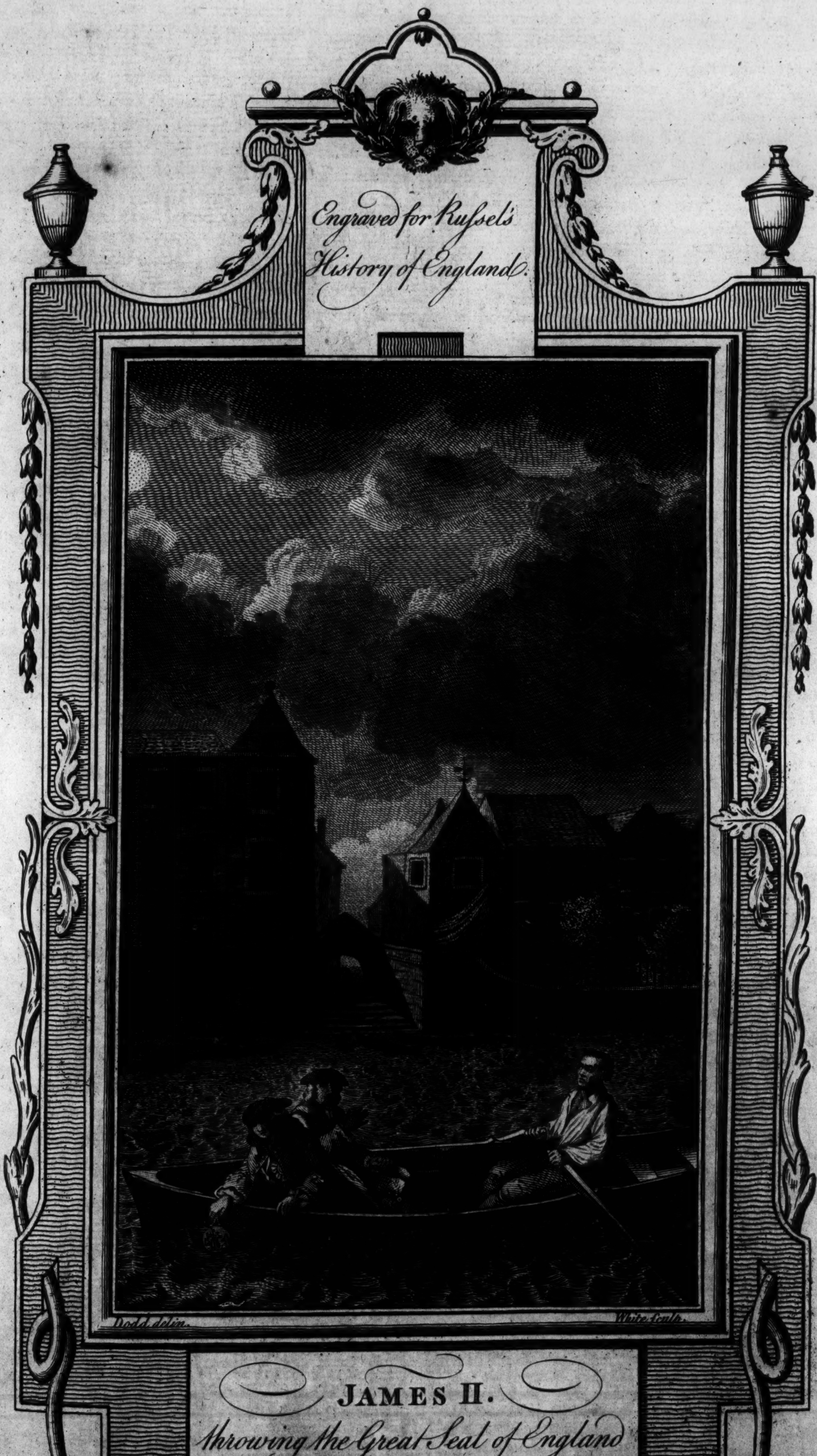


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. Grignion sculp.

JUDGE JEFFRIES
in the Disguise of a Sailor
Seized at Wapping.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.
Dodd delin.
White sculp.

JAMES II.
throwing the Great Seal of England into the Thames, near Whitehall.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

lity or perſons of diſtinction. They had, indeed, been greatly diſguſted on account of his extreme partiality to the catholics, and well knew that they were now become more criminal in his eyes by their late applications to the prince of Orange. Nor did the king himſelf ſhew any ſyſtem of ſpirit, or diſcover any intention of reſuming the reins of government he had ſo lately thrown aſide. It was thereſore evident that his authority was now plainly expired, and as he had exerciſed his power while poſſeſſed of it, with very precipitate and haughty council, he relinquiſhed it with a deſpair equally precipitate and puſillanimous.

Nothing now ſeemed wanting in this alarming criſis on the ſide of the victorious party, than how to diſpoſe of the king's perſon: For tho' the prince may juſtly be ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed more humanity and generoſity to an unhappy monarch ſo nearly related to him, yet he alſo knew that nothing would ſo effectually promote his own views as the retreat of James into France; a country at all times ſufficiently obnoxious to the Engliſh. It was therefore determined to puſh him into that meaſure, which he himſelf ſeemed very ready to adopt.

Being determined on this meaſure, the king ſent lord Feverſham on a civil meſſage, deſiring a conference with the prince, in order to ſettle the nation; but that nobleman was put under an arreſt on pretence of his wanting a paſsport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and diſplace the Engliſh; while Hallifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere, brought a meſſage to the king, after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and repair to Ham, a ſeat near the coaſt. This ſufficiently proved that the artifice had taken effect, and that the king, terrified with this harſh treatment, had renewed his former reſolution of leaving the kingdom.

James, although he did not intend to return to Whitehall, thought proper to continue ſome days at Rocheſter, under the protection of a Dutch guard, hoping he might yet receive an invitation to keep poſſeſſion of the throne. He was doubtleſs ſenſible, that as he had at firſt depended too much on his people's loyalty, and in confidence of their ſubmiſſion had offered the higheſt violence to their principles and prejudices; ſo had he, at laſt, on finding his diſappointment, gone too far in the other extreme, and as haſtily ſuppoſed them void of all duty or allegiance. But, obſerving the church, the nobility, the city, the country, had all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to follow his own councils, he ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; and being urged by earneſt letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate, which waited for him, and arrived ſafely at Ambleteuſe, in Picardy, on the 23d of December. On his landing in France, he haſtened immediately to St. Germain's, where Lewis received him with the higheſt generoſity, ſympathy, and regard; a conduct which contributed far more to the real honour of that monarch, than all his boaſted triumphs.

The unhappy king left a paper behind him containing his reaſons for withdrawing a ſecond time, wherein he obſerved that it would be ſtrange, if the world ſhould blame his conduct, after the prince of Orange had made the earl of Feverſham priſoner, whom he had ſent to procure a friendly conference, and commanding his own guards to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall after eleven at night, without acquainting him with it; and even ſending him an order, after he was in bed, commanding him to leave the palace. After ſuch conduct, he could have very little to hope from a perſon who had invaded his kingdom, and called the legitimacy of his ſon in queſtion. At the ſame time, he appealed to all that knew him, and even to the prince himſelf, if they could believe him guilty of ſo unnatural a villainy. He added that, being born free, he was deſirous of preſerving his independence, and for that reaſon had again withdrawn himſelf, though not for ever; for whenever the nation ſhould be convinced, that they had been abuſed and impoſed upon, by the ſpecious pretences of religion and property, he would be ready to aſſiſt them, and break the chains forged for them by ambitious men.

The reign of James certainly might have been as happy as any of his predeceſſors, had not his miſtaken notions of prerogative, his exceſſive bigotry to the Romiſh religion, hurried him into meaſures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people; whoſe inherent principles of liberty would not permit them to ſubmit any longer to a prince, whom they ſaw totally guided by the violent councils of a popiſh jeſuitical faction, and blindly adopting their ſlaviſh ſuperſtition. In domeſtic life his conduct was irreproachable, and he is intitled to our approbation. And hence we ſhould learn how dangerous it is to allow any prince, infected with Romiſh ſuperſtition, to fill the throne of theſe kingdoms.*

Of fourteen children, whom James had by his two wives, Anne Hyde, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and Maria d'Eſte, daughter to the duke of Modena, three only ſurvived him, viz.

Mary, his eldeſt daughter, born the 30th of April, 1662, and married to William Henry of Naſſau, prince of Orange, afterwards king of England. Anne his ſecond daughter, both by his firſt wife, born the 6th of February 1664, (and married to George prince of Denmark) afterwards queen of England.

James Francis Edward his imputed ſon, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, or the Pretender, who reſided at Rome, where he died in the year 1766, aged 78. This ſon (if really ſo) was by his ſecond wife.

---

* As we gave the celebrated Churchill's character of Charles II. we ſhall here preſent our readers with the character of his brother James II. drawn by the ſame admirable pen.

But ſuch a reign——So glaring an offence
In ev'ry ſtep 'gainſt freedom, law, and ſenſe,
'Gainſt all the rights of nature's general plan,
'Gainſt all which conſtitutes an Engliſhman,
That the relation wou'd mere fiction ſeem,
The mock creation of a poet's dream.
And the poor bards wou'd in this ſceptic age,
Appear as falſe as their hiſtorian's page.
Ambitious folly ſeiz'd the ſeat of wit,
Chriſtians were forc'd by bigots to ſubmit,
Pride without ſenſe, without religious zeal,
Made daring inroads on the commonweal,
Stern perſecution rais'd her iron rod,
And call'd the pride of kings, the pow'r of God;
Conſcience and fame were ſacrific'd to Rome,
And England wept at freedom's ſacred tomb.
Her laws deſpis'd, her conſtitution wrench'd
From its due, natural frame, her rights retrench'd
Beyond a coward's ſuff'rance, conſcience forc'd,
And healing juſtice from the crown divorc'd,
Each moment pregnant with vile acts of pow'r,
Her patriot Biſhops ſentenc'd to the tow'r:
Her Oxford (who yet loves the Stuart's name)
Branded with arbitrary marks of ſhame,
She wept---but wept not long; to arms ſhe flew,
At honor's call th' avenging ſword ſhe drew,
Turn'd all her terrors on the tyrants' head,
And ſent him in deſpair to beg his bread.

The only remarkable civil occurrence in this æra, was the eſtabliſhment of Charity-ſchools, which happened in 1668. Thoſe uſeful inſtitutions were entered into in order to prevent the ſeduction of poor children into Popiſh Seminaries.

The moſt eminent perſons in literature, who flouriſhed during this and the preceeding reign, were,

Boyle, who was born the ſame year the great chancellor Bacon died, ſeems to have inherited the penetrating genius of that illuſtrious philoſopher. We are at a loſs which to admire moſt, his extenſive knowledge or his exalted piety. Theſe excellencies kept pace with each other: but the former never rendered him vain, or the latter enthuſiaſtical. He was himſelf the chriſtian virtuoſo he ſo well deſcribed. He particularly applied himſelf to chemiſtry; and made ſuch diſcoveries in that branch of ſcience as would hardly be credited by a leſs authority than his own. He greatly improved the air pump, invented by Otto Guericke, by which he was enabled to make a great variety of new and various experiments on the air and other bodies. Hence he was enabled to write a treatiſe on the weight and ſpring of the air; a work which acquired him the great reputation he ſo well deſerved. He was a ſtrenuous ſupporter of the mechanical philoſophy, recommended by the great Bacon, and carried to ſuch an amazing degree of perfection by himſelf and his illuſtrious aſſociates.

In Sir Iſaac Newton this iſland may boaſt of having produced the greateſt and moſt penetrating genius the world ever ſaw. This prodigious man was ſatisfied it was time to baniſh from natural philoſophy all vague hypotheſes and conjectures; or, at leaſt, to lay no ſtreſs upon them, and that this ſcience ſhould be entirely ſubjected to experiment and geometry. It was perhaps with this view that he began by inventing the doctrine of fluxions and infinite ſeries, whoſe uſes in geometry are very extenſive, but of ſtill greater advantage in determining the complicated effects obſerved in nature, where every thing ſeems to be performed by ſpecies of infinite progreſſions. He diſcovered the force that retains the planets in their orbits; he ſhewed us at once how to diſtinguiſh the cauſes of their motions, and to calculate them with an exactneſs that could hardly have been expected from the joint labour of ages. His immortal Principia appeared during the ſhort reign of James II. a work that at once aſtoniſhed the world, and occaſioned the greateſt revolution in the ſcience of philoſophy ever known before. It affords an illuſtrious proof of the vaſt power of the human mind: it being the higheſt inſtance that ever was, and probably ever will be, given of the exertion of that faculty. He formed a ſyſtem of optics entirely new, and ſhewed mankind the nature of the rays of light by decompounding them. He merits our higheſt acknowledgements for the infinite number of diſcoveries with which he has enriched philoſophy, and for his caution in keeping that ſcience within proper bounds: the firſt cauſes of the phænomena of nature always were, and ever will be, a ſecret to mankind.

> “ Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night,
> “ God ſaid, Let Newton be, and all was light.

Lock attempted the metaphyſical parts of ſcience, which Newton neglected, or at leaſt never publiſhed his thoughts on that ſubject. Metaphyſics may be ſaid to have been invented by Locke, as philoſophy was by Newton. He rightly judged that the abſtractions and ridiculous queſtions which had till then been debated, and falſly ſuppoſed the ſubſtance of philoſophy, ought entirely to be rejected. Accordingly, on examination, he found, that theſe abſtractions, and the abuſe of words, were the primary ſource of all our errors. In order to diſcover the nature of the ſoul, its ideas and affections, he declined the ſtudy of books, as they would only have been productive of errors; he entered deep into himſelf, and after contemplating and ſurveying what he experienced, publiſhed, in the reign of James II. his “ Eſſay on Human Underſtanding,” which he preſented to mankind as a mirror in which they might view themſelves. He reduced the ſcience to what it really is, The experimental philoſophy of the ſoul.

Polite literature did not make the ſame progreſs in England during this period, though the nation abounded with men of great genius and abilities. Their productions fell far ſhort of that correctneſs and delicacy we ſo much admire in the ancients. Moſt of the writers of this age remain monuments of genius perverted by indecency and bad taſte: the immeaſurable licentiouſneſs indulged in the court of Charles II. was more deſtructive of polite learning, than the fanatical enthuſiaſm that prevailed during the commonwealth.

Dryden was the great reformer of Engliſh verſification, and a ſtriking inſtance how far a great genius can be perverted by the bad taſte and licentiouſneſs of the age. The unhappy effects of his penury and dependence tended greatly to enervate his performances. He was not at liberty to purſue his own inclination, but frequently obliged to proſtitute his pen to ſuch perſons and things, as a man of his genius and talents muſt have deſpiſed. He failed in moſt of his dramatic writings; the prefaces, prologues and epilogues, are generally more valuable than the pieces to which they are affixed. There was a native fire in this poet, which poverty could not damp, nor old age itſelf extinguiſh. He was ſtill improving as a writer, while he was declining as a man; and was far advanced in years when he wrote his “ Alexander's Feaſt,” which ſtands confeſſedly at the head of lyric poems, and is written in the true ſpirit of the antients. His Abſolem and Achitophel contributed to the triumph of the Tories over the Whigs towards the end of Charles's reign, and is one of the beſt performance of this celebrated writer.

> “ Dryden himſelf to pleaſe a barb'rous age,
> “ Was forc'd to let his genius ſtoop to rage.
> “ Count not the writer's then, but people's ſin,
> “ Almanzor's rage, and rants of Maximin.
> “ That fury ſpent in each elaborate piece,
> “ He vies for fame with antient Rome and Greece

Few poets ever touched the paſſions with a mor maſterly hand than Otway. He was acquainted wi all the avenues to the human heart, and at once kne and felt all its emotions. He could rouſe us in rage, or melt us into tenderneſs. His language is th language of nature, and therefore the ſimpleſt im ginable. Hence his tragedies were received wi ſilent tears rather than loud burſts of applauſe.

Butler ſtands unrivalled in burleſque poetry. H Hudibraſs is a remarkable inſtance of the force human genius. It abounds with uncommon learnin new rhymes, and original thoughts. Its images a truly and naturally ridiculous: we are never ſhocke with exceſſive diſtortions and grimace; nor is hum nature degraded into monkeys. It abounds wi ſtrokes of temporary ſatire; there are alſo ſome ch racters and alluſions which cannot be diſcovered this diſtance of time.

But notwithſtanding all the merit of Dryden, O way, and Butler, the court ſuffered them to live poverty, and die in diſtreſs. Charles, with more and knowledge, perhaps, than Lewis XIV. knew ſo well how to immortalize himſelf by rewarding nius. This is more ſurprizing in Butler than in a other, as the royal cauſe derived very ſingular adva ta tages from his poem, which diſplayed the fanaticiſm and falſe pretences of the parliamentary party, in the moſt ridiculous point of light.

Wycherly was a careleſs and negligent writer. His comedies are conformable to his perſonal character, which conſiſted of a large ſhare of wit, more libertiniſm, and very little virtue. Theſe acquiſitions were indeed conſidered in the reign of Charles II. as the firſt qualification of a fine gentleman, and the ſtrongeſt recommendations to the favour of the court. His "Plain Dealer," and his "Country Wife," are eſteemed the beſt of his productions. The character of the widow Blackacre in the former is truly original, and the maſter-piece of Wycherly.

The duke of Buckingham, the earls of Mulgrave, Dorſet, and Roſcommon, wrote in a good taſte; but their pieces are either feeble or careleſs. They, however, tended greatly to reform the licentious manner of writing ſo generally practiſed in this age of pleaſure and diſſipation.

But among all the writers of this period, Sir William Temple was, perhaps, the only one, who kept himſelf unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs which overwhelmed the nation. He was truly an honour to his country. To the gift of genius and the acquiſition of philoſophy, he added what was then ſo uncommon, the merit of reſpecting morality, and the laws. He was as much above the common level of politicians, as he was above the common herd of authors.

Among a great number of phyſicians that flouriſhed about this time, Dr. Thomas Sydenham is juſtly placed at the head of that profeſſion. He was a perſon of great penetration and experience, and added conſiderable improvements to the healing art. He dared to deviate from the common practice, where nature and reaſon pointed out a better method; and was the firſt that introduced a cool regimen in the ſmall-pox; a diſcovery which has been ſince followed with amazing ſucceſs. His works are ſtill in the higheſt eſteem with the faculty.

Beſides Sydenham, Wallis, Sir George Ent, Gliſſon, Plunket, and Sir William Petty made ſeveral uſeful diſcoveries in phyſic, anatomy and botany.

BOOK XIV.

From the Abdication of JAMES II. *to the Acceſſion of the* Brunſwick *Line.*

SECTION I.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

THOUGH the deliverance of theſe kingdoms was now effected by the prince of Orange, who expelled from the throne a powerful prince, ſupported by a formidable fleet and a numerous army, ſtill the more difficult taſk remained; that of obtaining for himſelf the crown, which his father-in-law had abdicated. Some lawyers, entangled in the ſubtilties and forms of their profeſſion, adviſed the prince to claim the crown by right of conqueſt; to aſſume immediately the title of ſovereignty; and to call a parliament, which, being thus legally ſummoned, by a king in poſſeſſion, could ratify whatever had been tranſacted before they aſſembled. But this meaſure, being deſtructive of all the principles of liberty, was prudently rejected by the prince, who, ſecure of the good opinion of the people, reſolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction.

About 90 peers and biſhops drew up an addreſs, wherein they deſired the prince to ſummon a convention by circular letters: in the mean time, to aſſume the management of all public affairs, and to concert meaſures for the ſecurity of Ireland. But he ſeemed ſtill averſe to act upon an authority, which he deemed ſo imperfect, and expreſſed himſelf deſirous of obtaining a more expreſs declaration of the public conſent; to obtain which, the following judicious expedient was propoſed. All the members, who had ſat in the houſe of commons, during any parliament of Charles II. were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and 50 of the common-council of the city. When this repreſentative of the people, the moſt proper which could be ſummoned at the preſent criſis, was aſſembled, the members unanimouſly voted the ſame addreſs with the lords. The prince, being thus ſupported by all the legal authority, which could poſſibly be obtained at this juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were univerſally complied with. The fleet obeyed his commands. The army allowed him to new model them, without murmur or oppoſition. The city ſupplied him with a loan of 200,000l. In a word, the prince's adminiſtration was ſubmitted to, as if he had ſucceeded in the moſt regular manner to the moſt vacant throne; and a profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom.

Many Scotchmen of rank being in London, the prince ſummoned them together, and aſked their advice in the preſent ſtate of affairs. This aſſembly, conſiſting of thirty noblemen and about eighty gentlemen, choſe duke Hamilton for their preſident. The duke was determined to pay court to the preſent authority; but his eldeſt ſon, the earl of Arran, profeſſed an adherence to king James, whom he propoſed to invite back upon conditions. He was violently oppoſed in this motion by Patrick Hume, and not one member roſe to ſecond it, whereupon the aſſembly made an offer to the prince, of the preſent adminiſtration, which he willingly accepted; and having ſoon after ſent circular letters into Scotland, a convention was ſummoned on the 22d of March at Edinburgh; and it was ſoon viſible that the intereſt of the malecontents would entirely prevail; for the royaliſts, regarding this aſſembly as illegal, had neglected to appear at elections, by which means members of the other party were returned for moſt places. The revolution was not in Scotland, as in England, effected by the coalition of whig and tory. The former party alone had overpowered the government, and were too much enraged by the injuries they had ſuffered to admit of any compoſition with their former maſters. Accordingly, the purpoſe of the convention was no ſooner diſcovered, than the earl of Balcarras, and the viſcount Dundee, the leaders of the tories withdrew from Edinburgh, and the convention having paſſed a vote, that king James, by his mal-adminiſtration, and his abuſe of power, had forfeited all title to the crown, they made a tender of the royal dignity to the prince and princeſs of Orange.

Much about the ſame time it appeared that the members of the Engliſh convention were chiefly choſen from among the whig party; and after thanks were unanimouſly given by both houſes to the prince of Orange for the deliverance he had brought them, a memorable vote was paſſed by the commons, and ſent up to the houſe of peers for their concurrence. It was contained in theſe words; "that king James "the Second, having endeavoured to ſubvert the "conſtitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of jeſuits and other wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn "himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper houſe, was ſtrongly oppoſed, the cauſe of which we ſhall here explain.

In the interim the tories, perceiving themſelves at once menaced with the loſs of their laws and religion, had generouſly promoted the revolution; and, on that occaſion departed from thoſe principles of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, of which they had, while the king favoured them, made ſuch ſtrong profeſſions. But their preſent apprehenſions had prevailed over their political tenets, and the unfortunate James, who had too much relied on thoſe general declarations, which will never be reduced to practice, found in the iſſue, that both parties were ſecretly united in an oppoſition to his meaſures. The danger, however, was no ſooner over, and the general fears ſomewhat allayed, than party prejudices reſumed, in ſome degree, their former aſcendancy, and the tories were aſhamed of the victory their antagoniſts had, during the late tranſactions, obtained over them. They were therefore inclined to ſteer a middle courſe; and though, in general, determined to oppoſe the king's return, they reſolved to refuſe their conſent for dethroning him, and altering the line of ſucceſſion. A regent, with kingly power, was the expedient they propoſed; and a late inſtance in Portugal ſeemed to give ſome authority to ſuch a plan.

It was urged in favour of this ſcheme, that by the uniform tenor of the Engliſh laws, the rights of the crown were ever regarded as ſacred; and could, on no account, nor by any mal-adminiſtration, be forfeited by the ſovereign: that to dethrone a king, and to elect a ſucceſſor, was a practice entirely unknown to the conſtitution, and tended to render all kingly power dependent and precarious: that where the prince, from his tender years, from lunacy, or any other natural infirmity, was rendered incapable of holding the reins of government; both the laws and former practice agreed in appointing a regent, who, during the interval, was inveſted with the whole power of the adminiſtration: that the inveterate and dangerous prejudices of king James had rendered him as unfit to ſway the Engliſh ſceptre, as if he had fallen into lunacy; and therefore it was natural for the people to have recourſe to the ſame remedy: that the election of one king was a precedent for the election of another; and, by that means, would either degenerate into a republic, or, what was ſtill worſe, into a turbulent and ſeditious monarchy: that the caſe was ſtill more dangerous, if there remained a prince who claimed the crown by right of ſucceſſion, and diſputed, on ſo plauſible a foundation, the title of the preſent ſovereign: that though the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance might not, in every particular circumſtance, be abſolutely true, yet the belief of it was extremely expedient; and to eſtabliſh a government which ſhould have the contrary principle for its baſis, was to lay the foundation for perpetual revolutions and convulſions: That the appointment of a regent was, indeed, expoſed to many inconveniences, yet, while the line of ſucceſſion was continued entire, there was ſtill a proſpect of terminating, ſome time or other, the public diſorders: and that few, if any, inſtances occurred in hiſtory, eſpecially that of England, where a diſputed title had not been attended with much greater evils than thoſe the people had ſought to avoid, by departing from the lineal ſucceſſor.

The leaders of the whig party, on the other hand, aſſerted, that if there was any danger in the precedent, that danger would reſult as ſtrongly from eſtabliſhing a regent, as from dethroning one king and appointing a ſucceſſor. Nor would the one expedient, if wantonly embraced by the people, be leſs the reſource of public convulſions than the other: that if the laws gave no expreſs permiſſion to depoſe the ſovereign, neither did they authorize the reſiſting his authority, or ſeparating the power from the title: that a regent was unknown, except where the prince, by reaſon of his tender age, or his infirmities, was incapable of a will: that then, indeed, his will was involved in that of the regent: that it would be the height of abſurdity to try any perſon for acting by virtue of a commiſſion received from a prince whom we ourſelves acknowledged to be the lawful ſovereign; nor would any jury be ſo abſurd as to act ſo contrary both to law and common ſenſe as to condemn ſuch a criminal: that even the proſpect of being delivered from this alarming inconvenience was, in the preſent ſituation of things, more diſtant than that of putting an end to a diſputed ſucceſſion: that allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad; would be educated in principles deſtructive to the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and he would probably leave a ſon liable to the ſame inſuperable objections: that if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget or neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for while the adminiſtration was ſtill conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title: and that a nation, thus governed by regents or protectors, approached much nearer to republicaniſm than one ſubject to monarchs, whoſe regular hereditary ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

Subſequent to a long and violent debate, th queſtion was carried by two voices only, fifty-on againſt forty-nine. All the prelates except two, th biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent the primate, a diſintereſted but puſillanimous man kept at a diſtance both from the prince's court an from parliament.

A queſtion of ſuch importance being thus ended the houſe of lords proceeded to examine the differen parts of the vote ſent up to them by the common They debated whether there was an original compa between the king and people; and the affirmative w carried by fifty-three againſt forty-ſix; a proof th

betwee

between the combined intereſts of the whigs, the tories were already loſing ground. The next queſtion was whether James had broke that original compact; which was carried in the affirmative. The lords then proceeded to conſider the word "abdicated;" and it was carried that "deſerted" was more proper. The concluding queſtion was, "whether king James, " having broken the original agreement and deſerted " the government, the throne was thereby vacant?" This queſtion was debated with more heat and contention than any of the former; and, upon a diviſion, the tories prevailed by eleven voices. In conſequence of this it was carried to omit the laſt article; and the vote, with theſe amendments, was ſent back to the commons. The great majority of voices in the laſt queſtion was occaſioned by the earl of Danby, who had embraced the project of beſtowing the crown ſolely on the princeſs of Orange, and of admitting her, as the hereditary, legal, ſucceſſor to king James; paſſing by the infant prince, as illegitimate, or ſuppoſitious.

The vote, however, was ſtill inſiſted on by the lower houſe, and the commons ſent up reaſons why the lords ſhould depart from their amendment. But the peers, not thinking them ſufficiently concluſive, it was thought neceſſary to have a free conference, in order to ſettle this controverſy. Certainly no national debate was ever of more importance, or managed by more able ſpeakers: yet it is ſurpriſing to find topics ſo very frivolous inſiſted upon by both parties. In public tranſactions, indeed, the true motives which produce any meaſure are ſeldom avowed. The whigs, now the ruling party, having united with the tories, in order to bring about the revolution, paid ſo much deference to their new allies, that they did not inſiſt upon a declaration, that the crown was foſeited on account of the king's mal-adminiſtration. Such a declaration, they thought, would cenſure the old tory principles, and appear too favourable to their own. They therefore agreed to blend together the king's abuſing his power, and his withdrawing from the kingdom, calling the whole an abdication; as if he had given a virtual, though not a verbal conſent to his dethronement. The tories took advantage of this notorious impropriety, which had been occaſioned merely by the complaiſance or imprudence of the whigs; and they inſiſted on the word "deſertion," as much more ſignificant and intelligible. It was retorted on them, that, however that expreſſion might be juſtly applied to the king's withdrawing himſelf, it could not, with any propriety, be applied to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, while they, for prudential reaſons, concealed their real motives from their antagoniſts, loſt the praiſe of conſiſtence and uniformity.

The next particular urged by the managers for the lords was, that even allowing the king's abuſe of power to be equivalent to an abdication, or, in other words, to a civil death, it could operate no otherwiſe than his voluntary reſignation, or his natural death: and therefore could only make way for his ſucceſſor. It is a maxim in the Engliſh law, "that the throne is never vacant;" but inſtantly on the deceaſe of one king was filled with his legal heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predeceſſor; and, however young or unfit for government the ſucceſſor might be, however unfortunate in his ſituation; though he were even a captive in the hands of a public enemy; yet they thought no juſt reaſon could be aſſigned why, without any default of his own, he ſhould loſe a crown to which he was, by birth, fully entitled.

This mode of reaſoning might have been oppoſed, by the managers for the commons, with many ſpecious, and even ſolid arguments. But they were contented with maintaining the vote of the commons by ſophiſtical reaſonings and evaſions; ſo that this conference ended without any determination.

It was impoſſible, however, for the public affairs to remain long in their preſent ſituation: and, therefore, by the determined perſeverance of the lower-houſe, the lords were obliged to comply; and by the deſertion of ſome peers to the whig party, the vote of the commons paſſed in the upper houſe without any alteration, by a ſmall majority; and received the ſanction of every part of the legiſlature, which then ſubſiſted.

The behaviour of the prince of Orange, during theſe tranctions, was highly meritorious, and diſcovered great moderation and magnanimity. He entered into no intrigues with the leaders of parties, but kept a profound and unconcerned ſilence. At length, however, he thought proper to open his mind, and to expreſs, though in a private manner, his ſentiments on the preſent ſituation of affairs. He ſummoned together ſeveral of the peers, and told them, that having been invited over to reſtore their liberty, he had engaged in this enterprize, and, at laſt, effected his purpoſe: that it belonged to the parliament, now choſen with freedom, to concert meaſures for the public ſettlement; and he pretended not to interpoſe in their determinations; that he heard of ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for eſtabliſhing the government: ſome inſiſted on a regent; others on beſtowing the crown on the princeſs. It was their concern alone to chuſe that plan of adminiſtration which was moſt advantageous to them: that if they choſe to ſettle a regent he had no objection; he only thought it incumbent on him to inform them, that he was determined not to be that regent; nor even engage in any ſcheme which he well knew would be attended with ſuch inſuperable difficulties: that no man could have a juſter ſenſe of the merits of the princeſs, than himſelf; but he would rather remain a private perſon than enjoy a crown which muſt depend on the will or the life of another: and that they muſt themſelves conſider, if they were inclined to purſue either of theſe two plans of ſettlement, that it would be totally out of his power to aſſiſt them in carrying it into execution: that his affairs abroad were too important to be abandoned for ſo precarious a dignity, or even to allow him ſo much leiſure as would be requiſite to introduce order into their disjointed government.

The princeſs Mary, devoted to her huſband, entered into his views, as did alſo the princeſs Anne, her ſiſter. The former declared, that, being the prince's wife, ſhe would never accept of any honour, but in conjunction with her huſband; and ſhould take it very unkind in any one who ſhould endeavour to ſeparate their intereſts.

Theſe reſolutions put an end to all debates in the convention, and the two houſes agreed, that the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould reign jointly as king and queen of England; but that the adminiſtration ſhould be veſted in the king alone; and that the princeſs Anne ſhould ſucceed after their deaths.

In conſequence of this determination, on the 13th of February, the prince and princeſs of Orange being ſeated on two large chairs in the banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, both houſes of the convention waited upon them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, the following "declaration of their rights," which they ſaid had been violated by king James.

"1. That the pretended power of diſpenſing laws, " or the execution of laws by regal authority, with" out conſent of parliament, is illegal.

"2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with " laws, or the execution of laws, by legal authority,

" as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is " illegal.

" 3. That the commiſſion for erecting the court " of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all " other commiſſions and courts of like natures, are " illegal and pernicious.

" 4. That the levying of money for the uſe of the " crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant " of parliament for longer time, or in any other " manner than the ſame is, or ſhall be granted, is " illegal.

" 5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition " the king, and all commitments and proſecutions " for ſuch petitioning is illegal.

" 6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army " within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be " with the conſent of the parliament, is againſt " law.

" 7. That the ſubjects, being proteſtants, may " have arms for their defence, ſuitable to their con" dition, and as allowed by law.

" 8. That the elections of members of parliament " ought to be free.

" 9. That the freedom of ſpeech, or debates and " proceedings in parliament ought not to be impeach" ed or queſtioned in any court or place, out of par" liament.

" 10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, " nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel nor unuſual " puniſhments inflicted.

" 11. That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and " returned; and jurors which paſs verdicts on men " for high-treaſon ought to be freeholders.

" 12. That all grants and promiſes of fines and " forfeitures of particular perſons before conviction, " are illegal and void.

" 13. And that, for redreſs of all grievances, and " for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of " the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently.

" And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all " and ſingular the premiſes, as their undoubted rights " and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, " doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the " people, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought in any" wiſe to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or ex" ample."

Such were the rights and liberties demanded by the convention; and the declaration in which they were contained concluded in the following manner:

" Having therefore an entire confidence that his " highneſs the prince of Orange will perfect the de" liverance ſo far advanced by him, and will ſtill pre" ſerve them from the violation of their rights which " they have here aſſerted, and from all other attempts " upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the lords " ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled at " Weſtminſter, do reſolve, That William and Mary, " prince and princeſs of Orange, be, and be de" clared, king and queen of England, France and " Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to " hold the crown and royal dignity of the ſaid king" doms and dominions to them the ſaid prince and " princeſs during their lives and the life of the ſur" vivor of them, and that the ſole and full exerciſe of " the royal power be only in, and executed by, the " ſaid prince of Orange, in the names of the ſaid " prince and princeſs, during their joint lives; and " after their deceaſe, the ſaid crown and royal dig" nity of the ſaid kingdom and dominions to belong " to the heirs of the body of the ſaid princeſs; and, " in default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne of " Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and in de" fault of ſuch iſſue to the heirs of the ſaid prince of " Orange."

As ſoon as the reading of this declaration was finiſhed, the marquis of Halifax, as ſpeaker of the upper-houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The offer was accepted in the moſt obliging manner by their highneſſes; and the ſame day they were proclaimed, with the uſual ceremonies, by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England.*

King William began his reign by a proclamation, confirming all proteſtants in the offices which they enjoyed on the 1ſt day of December. His next ſtep was, to ſettle his privy-council; after which, on the 23d of February, he gave the royal aſſent to a bill " to remove and prevent all queſtions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and ſitting of this preſent parliament;" by which act the convention, which had ſettled the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, was changed into a parliament.

The king, a few days after, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he thanked them for the great confidence they had repoſed in him, by chuſing him to be their ſovereign, aſſuring them it ſhould be his ſtudy to preſerve the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He laid before them the critical ſituation of affairs in Europe, and particularly in theſe kingdoms; and concluded with earneſtly requeſting them to concur in the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for the welfare of the nation.

Soon after the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them that he had received certain advice of the late king having ſailed from Breſt, with a powerful armament, to invade Ireland. Upon receiving this intelligence both houſes came to a reſolution to aſſiſt his majeſty with their lives and fortunes; they voted a temporary aid of 420,000l. to be levied by monthly aſſeſſments; and both houſes waited on the king to ſignify this reſolution. This vote was, however, far from being carried unanimouſly in the parliament: for ſeveral of the lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, abſented themſelves from the aſſembly, rather than take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy required.

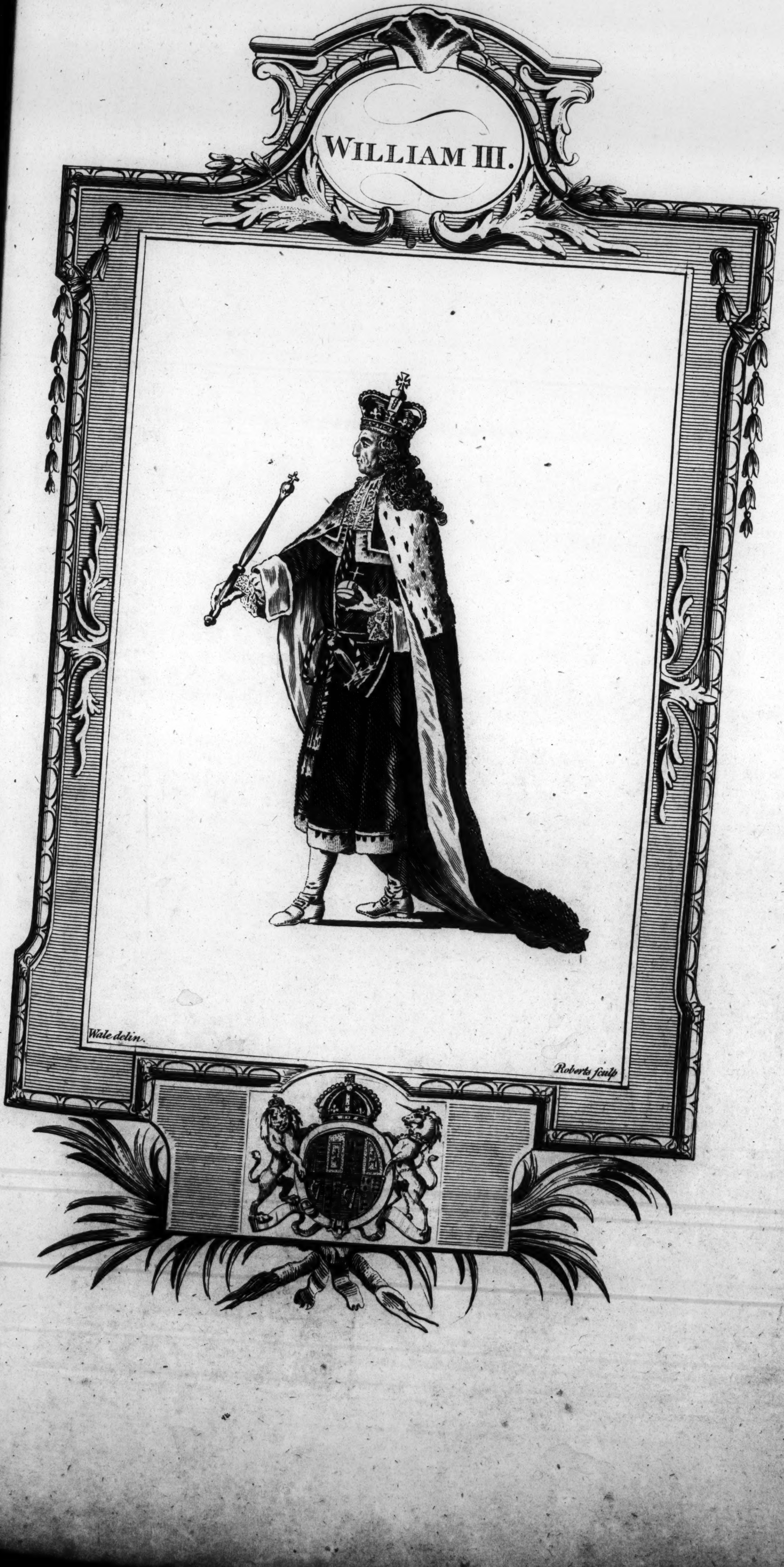
The friends of James began now to form plots for diſturbing the new government, and ſeveral gentlemen of the Scottiſh nation, at this time in England, were apprehended for treaſonable practices, and ſent to the Tower. Informed of theſe commotions, and that the Scottiſh regiment of Dumbarton had mutinied and declared for James, the commons enabled the king to ſuſpend the habeas corpus act, till the 17th of April following. This was done in order to ſecure the more effectually all diſturbers of the public peace; but was certainly a ſignal inſtance of confidence, as it gave the prince ſuch a power, as few princes ought to be truſted with. They alſo brought in a bill for puniſhing

---

* On this occaſion the former oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated, and the following ordered to be taken by all perſons inſtead of them:

" I. A. B. do ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majeſties king William and queen Mary. So help me God."

" I. A. B. do ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, the damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, potentate, or ſtate, hath, or ought to have any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

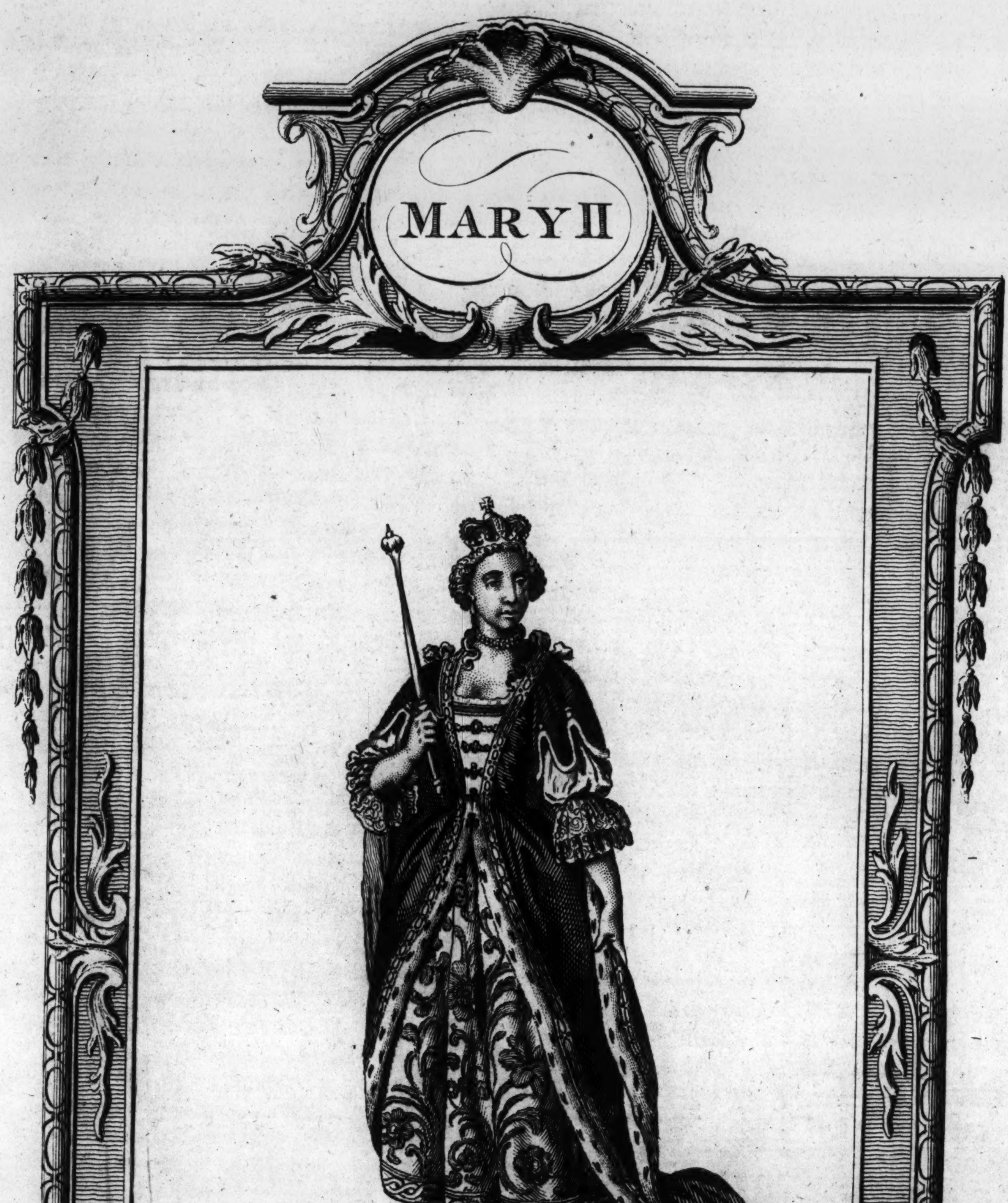


WILLIAM III.

Wale delin.

Roberts sculp

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



MARY II

Waledelin. *Taylor sculp.*

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

puniſhing mutiny and deſertion in the army, which ſoon paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

On the 11th of April the king and queen were ſolemnly crowned by the biſhop of London, who officiated, at the king's deſire, in the room of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a member of the diſcontented party. This ceremony being over, the king made a thorough change about the court.. Several who had been driven from their poſts, by the late adminiſtration, were reſtored with ſignal marks of honour and favour. The papiſts, who had ſo lately carried all before them, were now forced to ſubmit to their more ſucceſsful adverſaries: the laws againſt the former were renewed and ſtrengthened; while all ſuch as had been, in a manner, inſtrumental in effecting the revolution, were rewarded in proportion to their ſervices. At the ſame time, that the meaneſt of his ſubjects might receive ſome benefit from his acceſſion, and be thereby more firmly attached to his perſon and government, the king, about this time, recommended to the parliament (who readily acquieſced in his deſire) the abolition of the tax of hearth-money, which he underſtood was a grievous impoſition upon the people. This was certainly a very politic meaſure, and contributed greatly to gain the affections of the populace to their new ſovereign.

William, who was equal to moſt princes in political abilities, and was well acquainted with the genius of the people he was called to govern, well knew that the moſt effectual way of preſerving peace at home, was to find his ſubjects employment abroad. The great ſcheme he had formed, when only ſtadtholder, of a confederacy againſt France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire aſſembled at the diet of Ratiſbon, earneſtly importuned the emperor Leopold to declare war againſt the French king, who had, in numberleſs inſtances, broke the ſeveral treaties he had concluded with the German potentates; and, without the leaſt provocation, had invaded their country, and indicated a deſign of making himſelf the maſter, or rather the tyrant of all Europe. The ſtates-general iſſued a declaration againſt Lewis, as the common enemy; and were followed by the elector of Brandenburg, while the marquis de Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in anſwer to Lewis, who declared war againſt his maſter, entered into an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the ſtates-general; binding the contracting parties, to co-operate with their whole powers, againſt France and her allies. William, who was ſtrongly importuned to join this confederacy, as king of England, and who heartily wiſhed for the opportunity, found no great difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to draw the ſword againſt their old enemies and rivals. And after the proper ſteps for that purpoſe were taken, both houſes joined in a dutiful addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring him to take ſuch meaſures as would be ſufficient to reduce the French king to ſuch a condition, as to render him incapable of diſturbing the peace of Europe, or prejudicing the trade and proſperity of England, aſſuring his majeſty that he might depend on his parliament for the neceſſary aſſiſtance.

In conſequence of theſe aſſurances from his parliament, William declared war againſt the French monarch on the 7th of May. This declaration was drawn up by the maſterly hand of Somers, afterwards lord-chancellor. Lewis was charged "with having "unjuſtly invaded the territories of the emperor, "and denounced war againſt the allies of England, "in open violation of the treaties concluded under "the guarantee of the Engliſh crown: of having "encroached on the fiſhery of Newfoundland: invaded the Caribbee iſlands: forcibly ſeized the "provinces of New York and Hudſon's-bay: countenanced the ſeizure of Engliſh ſhips by French "privateers: prohibited the importation of Engliſh "manufactures: diſputed the right of the flag: and "perſecuted many Engliſh ſubjects on pretence of "religion, contrary to expreſs treaties and the law of "nations."

Ireland was far from imitating the examples of England and Scotland, in acknowledging William's title to the crown; and it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced. The earl of Tyrconnel, inviolably attached, both by gratitude and a ſimilarity of principles to a prince, to whom he was indebted for his dignity and fortune, exerted himſelf in the moſt indefatigable manner in his ſervice. On the firſt news of James's retreat from England, he ſecured the moſt important places in Ireland, of which he was governor; and joining his natural hatred of the proteſtants to what he thought motives of policy and prudence, he treated them in ſo rigorous a manner, that they were forced to retire to their brethren in the north, who ſeizing on Kilmore, Coleraine, Iniſkilling, and Londonderry, declared for William and Mary.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, when Lewis XIV. undertook to ſupport his old friend and ally in the recovery of one part at leaſt of his dominions. Perhaps there was hardly ever a more ſtriking contraſt than between theſe two princes. The one acted the part of a generous monarch, the other that of a mere devotee, always ſurrounded by Jeſuits, and neglecting his own buſineſs and ſituation, that he might attend to their eccleſiaſtical controverſies and metaphyſical diſtinctions. Little ſucceſs could be expected from the attempts of a prince of ſo bigotted a diſpoſition. Lewis, however, furniſhed him with 5,000 forces under the command of M. de Lauſun. Theſe troops were embarked at Breſt on board a fleet conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, three fire-ſhips, and a ſufficient number of tranſports. Lewis alſo furniſhed him with arms for 40,000 men, a large ſum of money and ſuperb equipages. At their parting, the French monarch embraced him, and ſaid, "I cannot wiſh you better than that I may never ſee you more."

James ſailed from Breſt on the 14th of March, attended by the count d'Avaux, in quality of ambaſſador, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction; and on the 22d he arrived ſafe at Kingſale in Ireland. From hence he repaired in a few days to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of 30,000 foot, and 8,000 horſe, for his ſervice. But adverſity had not yet taught James wiſdom and precaution: he acted with as little prudence, as he could have done, had he no oppoſition to encounter; and was ſo far from endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the proteſtants, which in common reaſon and common policy he ought to have done, that he gave repeated proofs of his thorough hatred to their ſect, and frequently puniſhed them with death on the moſt trifling occaſions. One of the magiſtrates of Cork was executed by his orders for having declared for the prince of Orange. In ſhort, inſtead of endeavouring to win over his adverſaries by mildneſs and popularity, he only exaſperated them the more by his cruelty and arrogance.

James, after refreſhing his forces, marched for Dublin, and entered the city in triumph. He was met at the Caſtle-gate by a proceſſion of popiſh biſhops and prieſts in their pontificals, bearing the hoſt, before which he kneeled down in public. He immediately diſmiſſed all the proteſtant members of the council, and filled their ſeats with papiſts. He publiſhed, indeed, ſeveral proclamations, promiſing protection to all his proteſtant ſubjects who ſhould preſerve their conſtancy; but ſo little regard was paid to his promiſes, that they all reſolved to imitate the example of their friends, and ſtand in their own defence.

James ſoon made himſelf maſter of Coleraine and Kilmore, and exerciſed the moſt brutal cruelty on all the proteſtants who fell into his hands. Terrified at theſe inhuman proceedings, and alarmed by the report of a general maſſacre intended to be perpetrated on all who adhered to the reformed religion, they fled from all parts of the country, and ſhut themſelves up in Londonderry, fully determined to ſuffer all the horrors of famine rather than ſubmit to ſo brutal an enemy. An expreſs was diſpatched to England, imploring immediate aſſiſtance. Some arms and ammunition were accordingly ſent them; but no conſiderable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived at Loughfoyle, under the command of the colonels Cunningham and Richards.

By this time James's army had reached the neighbourhood of Londonderry; and advice of the enemy's approach was ſent to Lundy, the governor, by Mr. Walker, a proteſtant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raiſed a regiment for the defence of himſelf and his brethren. Lundy immediately ſummoned a council of war, at which both Richards and Cunningham aſſiſted. Whether the members were affected with cowardice, or treachery, is uncertain; but they came to a reſolution that the town was untenable, and that it would therefore be imprudent to land the regiments. Walker was of a very different opinion, and uſed every argument in his power to prevail upon the governor to take the field immediately, and bring on a general engagement with the enemy; promiſing that the proteſtant inhabitants would do their duty, and fall nobly in the conteſt, rather than ſubmit to an enemy whoſe very religion rendered them inhumanly cruel. But all his endeavours were in vain; Lundy liſtened only to his own puſillanimous apprehenſions, and which were greatly heightened when he found that James was advancing, at the head of his troops, to the walls of the town. The inhabitants and ſoldiers were ſo exaſperated at the cowardice of their governor and the two colonels, that they flew to arms, and would have made their lives pay the forfeit of their perfidy, had not the former kept himſelf concealed in his chamber, and the other two found means to eſcape on board their ſhips.

In the mean time major Baker, their deputy-governor, fired ſo warmly from the walls upon James's troops, that they were obliged to retreat to St. John's town in ſome diſorder. Walker and Baker made uſe of this reſpite to preſs Lundy to exert himſelf as became a loyal ſubject and a good ſoldier; and to undertake the defence of the place; but ſuch was the governor's cowardice or treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the government, and ſoon after made his eſcape in diſguiſe.

It was now unanimouſly agreed by the inhabitants to beſtow the government of the place on Mr. Walker and major Baker; in conſequence of this they immediately prepared for a vigorous defence; fully reſolved to defend their religion and liberties to the laſt extremity, and bury themſelves under the ruins of the town, rather than ſubmit to the enemy. They immediately formed the inhabitants, amounting to ſeven thouſand men, into different regiments; taught them the manner of uſing their arms, the firing of cannon, and other particulars neceſſary to be known at this alarming criſis. Their religious ſentiments inſpired them with a noble contempt of death, and they determined to conquer or periſh.

On the 20th of April James's army opened the trenches, and their batteries began to play on the town, which was but poorly fortified, having only twenty pieces of cannon on the walls, and thoſe wretchedly mounted. The beſieged, however, animated by the example and ſpirited harangues of Mr. Walker, held out with aſtoniſhing reſolution, and bravely repelled all the attacks of the enemy.

James was with his army at the opening of the trenches, but he ſoon returned to Dublin in order to open the ſeſſion of parliament, which he had appointed to aſſemble on the 7th of May. He left the command of the army to the marquis de Roſane, one of the French generals, a man of more than ſavage haughtineſs and cruelty of diſpoſition. Incenſed at the oppoſition he met with from what he called an handful of half-ſtarved peaſants, he determined to vent his rage in the moſt inhuman manner. He informed the beſieged, that, unleſs they inſtantly ſubmitted to their lawful ſovereign, he would not leave one ſtone upon another in the town, nor a ſingle perſon alive to carry the news of their deſtruction. It is a mark of true courage to look upon the threatenings of arrogance and vanity with contempt. The governors and garriſon anſwered his threats only by doubling their reſiſtance, though their proviſions were now all expended, and they were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of ſupporting life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, and every other kind of loathſome food. They, however, ſupported their courage, and a proclamation was publiſhed, prohibiting, under pain of death, any perſon to talk of ſurrendering.

The French general, finding that menaces had no effect, formed a deſign for forcing them to comply, which ſeemed to be rather the dictates of a fiend than of a human being. He ſent detachments of his ſoldiers through the adjacent country, with orders to ſeize all the proteſtants they could find, without diſtinction of age or ſex, ſtrip them naked, and drive them, in that condition, under the walls of Londonderry. This order was executed with a brutality equal to that of the giver of it. Upwards of four thouſand of theſe miſerable objects were thus expoſed to the view of the beſieged; who, from their ramparts, beheld, with an horror not to be deſcribed, the forlorn condition of their fellow proteſtants, many of whom were every moment expiring with fatigue, cold, hunger, and the cruel uſage they had received from their bloody perſecutors.

This ſight, however, had a very different effect upon the garriſon from what Roſane expected. They felt the deepeſt compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of their brethren; but their compaſſion was mingled with ſuch indignation againſt the author of that infernal action, and ſuch apprehenſions of what would be their own fate, if they ſhould fall into his power, that they unanimouſly determined to periſh rather than ſubmit to ſuch a barbarian.

Walker cauſed gibbets to be erected on the walls, and informed the French general, that, unleſs he ſuffered theſe wretched people to retire, he would immediately hang up every catholic in the town, together with all the priſoners they had taken in their ſallies. Convinced, by their whole behaviour, that they would certainly carry their threats into execution, Roſane ordered the proteſtants to be releaſed, after they had been detained three days, without taſting any kind of food. Numbers of them periſhed by famine and fatigue in their return to their houſes, and many of thoſe who ſurvived had the additional misfortune to find their habitations and effects deſtroyed, by the roving parties about the country; ſo that the greater part of theſe unfortunate people fell victims to the infernal malice of a popiſh foe.

The intrepid garriſon of Londonderry was now reduced from 7,000 to 5,700: and theſe were driven to ſuch extremity of diſtreſs, that they were on the point of coming to the dreadful reſolution of feeding upon their priſoners, when major-general Kirk, who had rendered himſelf ſo infamous for his cruelties after Monmouth's rebellion, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thouſand men. He had received orders to relieve the town at all events; and accordingly ſent three ſhips, laden with proviſions, up the river, under the protection of the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy well knew that it would be impoſſible to conquer the town by famine, unleſs all communication with the ſea, by means of the river, was cut off. They had, accordingly, erected ſeveral ſtrong batteries on both ſides of the ſtream, and drawn a ſtrong boom acroſs the channel. Theſe precautions were thought ſufficient to render every attempt made by ſea, for the relief of the place, abortive. But here the enemy was miſtaken. One of the ſhips, taking the advantage of the tide and a ſtrong gale of wind, advanced through the fire of the batteries, with full ſail, againſt the boom. The ſhock was too violent to be reſiſted; the boom gave way, and the other veſſels following her, they all anchored in ſafety before the town.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the univerſal joy of the inhabitants at this happy event; while the diſcouragement of James's army was equally remarkable; they now deſpaired of ſucceeding in their enterprize, raiſed the ſiege that very night, and retired with the utmoſt precipitation, after loſing near 8,000 men in this fruitleſs attempt. Kirk now landed at the town, and Walker, at the earneſt requeſt of the inhabitants, paſſed over to England, to return their grateful thanks to their majeſties for their generous ſuccour. He was received by the king and queen with that honour and reſpect ſo juſtly due to his diſtinguiſhed valour.

This was not the only inſtance of defence made in ſupport of the proteſtant cauſe. The inhabitants of Inniſkilling, on receiving intelligence that Londonderry had denied entrance to the troops in James's ſervice, reſolved not to admit any garriſon of his party: and having raiſed a regiment of twelve companies, the inhabitants ſhut their gates, and appointed Guſtavus Hamilton their governor. He was a zealous proteſtant, and an officer of known courage and conduct. Having thus determined to oppoſe the popiſh army of James, they proclaimed king William and queen Mary. The lord Gilmoy, who had declared for James, appeared before their walls, and ſummoned them to ſurrender; but was, by the noble reſiſtance they made, obliged to raiſe the ſiege, which, on their refuſal to capitulate, he had undertaken. Nor was this the whole; for the day before Londonderry was relieved, the brave Inniſkillingers advanced, with their handful of men, againſt ſix thouſand Iriſh, and totally defeated them at a place called Newton-butler; killing near three thouſand of the enemy, with the loſs of only twenty killed and fifty wounded.

During theſe tranſactions the Iriſh parliament met at Dublin, purſuant to James's proclamation; and was opened by that prince with a ſpeech from the throne. He firſt thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; laviſhed the higheſt encomiums on the humanity and generoſity of his good brother and ally, the king of France, diſplayed towards himſelf, his queen and his ſon, in affording them an aſylum, after being expelled their lawful dominions; and in having now enabled him to viſit one part of his realm in perſon. He then declared his fixed reſolution to grant to all his ſubjects full liberty of conſcience, which he conſidered as the only certain method of ſecuring their happineſs as well as his own, looking upon himſelf as the common parent of all his people. He concluded with aſſuring both houſes of his hearty concurrence with them in enacting ſuch laws, as might tend to the tranquillity and ſettlement of his dominions.

No ſooner had James left the houſe, than the commons (who were almoſt to a man papiſts) came to a reſolution of preſenting an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, and of deſiring the count d'Avaux to offer their moſt grateful acknowledgements to the French king for the friendly aſſiſtance he had given to their ſovereign. They next ordered a bill to be brought into the houſe for recognizing James's title, and to expreſs their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's uſurpation, as well as of the diſloyalty and treaſonable conduct of the Engliſh.

James now publiſhed a declaration, in which he complained of the many falſe and invidious reports that had been ſpread againſt his perſon and government; inſiſted upon his own impartiality in preferring his proteſtant ſubjects to places of truſt and profit; his care in protecting them from their enemies; redreſſing their grievances, and indulging them with liberty of conſcience: promiſing that he would, for the future, take no ſtep without the concurrence and conſent of his parliament; offering a free pardon to all who ſhould abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after this declaration was publiſhed; and charged all the blood that might be ſpilt in this conteſt upon thoſe who ſhould perſevere in rebellion.

The conduct of James, however, ſoon evinced that he meant not to keep his promiſes any longer than they anſwered his convenience; for two days after a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, by Nugent, lord chief juſtice of the king's-bench in Ireland, for repealing the act of ſettlement, which paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition. By this repeal, two thirds of the proteſtants in the kingdom, who held their fortunes by virtue of the above act, were diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates, and expoſed to miſery and want; while papiſts ſeized on all their acquiſitions. Some of the members of the upper houſe oppoſed this bill, eſpecially the biſhop of Meath, who, in a moſt pathetic and eloquent ſpeech, expoſed both the injuſtice and abſurdity of it; and endeavoured to prove that it had no tendency to promote either the good of the king, or the happineſs of the public. That, on the contrary, it tended not only to ruin the king, and deſtroy the public; but was at once impolitic and inconvenient in point of time. This reaſoning, though founded on the moſt acknowledged principles, had no effect on the houſe: the parliament was determined to ruin the proteſtants in the moſt effectual manner, and accordingly the bill paſſed into a law, by receiving the royal aſſent.

Two days after the ſigning of the above act, a bill of attainder was paſſed againſt all thoſe who were abſent from the kingdom, and refuſed to acknowledge the authority of king James, or held any correſpondence with the rebels; or who had any ways aſſiſted the prince of Orange ſince the firſt of Auguſt laſt. By this act no leſs than three thouſand proteſtants were attainted by name, among whom were two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, as many biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen, all of whom were declared puniſhable by death and forfeiture. A bloody proſcription, which has not its parallel in the records of the moſt tyrannical government; eſpecially when it is remembered that all the proſcribed were excluded from all hopes of pardon, and all benefit of appeal, unleſs enrolled by the king's order, before the firſt day of the enſuing month of December.

In the mean time William was not idle in his preparations for the relief of his proteſtant ſubjects. He was informed that another ſtrong fleet, as a convoy to ſome tranſports laden with arms, ammunition, &c. was ſoon to ſail from France to Ireland; and therefore the king detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ſhips of the line, one fireſhip, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. The Engliſh admiral having, for ſome time, been blown about by contrary winds, reached at length the Iriſh coaſt, and on the firſt of May diſcovered the French fleet, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-eight ſhips of the line, moſt of them from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and five fireſhips, lying at anchor at Bantry-bay. The French admiral no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh fleet, than he immediately gave orders for getting under ſail, and giving the enemy battle. Herbert, having for ſome time endeavoured to gain the weather gage of the French, and finding it impoſſible to ſucceed, thought it highly imprudent to fight the enemy ſo ſuperior in force, while he laboured under ſo particular a diſadvantage. He therefore ſtood off to ſea, and maintained a running fight; till the evening began to approach, when the enemy tacked about, and returned to Bantry-bay. This trifling ſkirmiſh was by the French repreſented as a ſignal victory, though, with all their ſuperiority of ſtrength, they neither took nor ſunk a ſingle veſſel. William, however, was ſo ſatisfied with the behaviour of his admiral on this occaſion, that when the latter returned to Portſmouth, his majeſty, in an excurſion he made thither, to haſten the naval preparations then carrying on at that port, dined on board Herbert's ſhip, and declared his intention of creating him an earl in conſideration of his ſervices: at the ſame time he conferred the honour of knighthood on captain Cloudeſly Shovel, another ſea officer, who had ſerved in this expedition, and beſtowed a gratuity of ten ſhillings on every private ſailor.

Notwithſtanding all the aſſiduity of William in haſtening the naval and military preparations, James had been ſix months in Ireland before an Engliſh army was ready to embark for that kingdom. At laſt eighteen regiments of foot, five of dragoons, and a ſuitable train of artillery, being ready, the duke of Schomberg was appointed general, and the forces landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus on the 13th of Auguſt. About 10,000 foot and dragoons were detached to take poſſeſſion of Belfaſt, which was abandoned by the enemy at their approach. They, however, retired no farther than Carrickfergus, where they propoſed to make a ſtand againſt the Engliſh; but the latter attacked the place with ſo much intrepidity, that they were maſters of it in four days. Newry, Dundalk, and other places opened their gates at the firſt ſummons; and had not ſo many delays have been made in ſending the general the train of artillery he had left behind him in England, Schomberg would have made a much greater progreſs; but in conſequence of this ſtrange conduct he was obliged to continue inactive during the remainder of the campaign. On the approach of winter, both the Engliſh and Iriſh retired into quarters.

The ſame delays that had prevented Schomberg from purſuing his conqueſt, alſo rendered the deſigns of the naval armaments abortive. Admiral Herbert, now earl of Torrington, did not ſail again for Ireland till the ſeaſon was far advanced. His intention was to ſurprize the city of Cork, but he was diverted from his purpoſe by falſe intelligence, that James with his whole army was encamped in the neighbourhood. It was therefore thought imprudent to attack the city, and the whole fleet, after a ſhort ſtay on the Iriſh coaſt, returned to England, and came to an anchor in Torbay.

The Engliſh parliament met on the 19th of October, when the king explained the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war; deſired they would be ſpeedy in their determinations on that ſubject, as they would have the greateſt influence on the princes and ſtates concerned in the alliance againſt France, as a general meeting was appointed to be held at the Hague in the month of November. The houſes were then prorogued for four days, when they again aſſembled; and the commons taking the king's ſpeech into conſideration, unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing Ireland, and joining his allies abroad, for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France. They accordingly voted a ſupply of two millions, to be raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea and chocolate.

Party diſputes between the Whigs and the Tories were now carried to the greateſt height. William was not calculated for joining in theſe conteſts; he ſaw them with regret and concern. Cold, reſerved, ſilent, generally ſhut up in his cloſet, without a taſt for any thing but the chace, moſt commonly a Hampton-court, becauſe the air of London did no agree with his conſtitution, he was by no means popular, and began to loſe the affections of the Engliſh He ſaw his error, and policy for once prevailed ove nature. He ſuddenly adopted the old popular cuſtom was preſent at horſe races, and ſhewed himſelf affabl and complaiſant. He dined with the lord-mayor o London, accepted the title of citizen, and ſubmitte to be appointed maſter of the Grocers company, condeſcenſion which would have been too great, ha he known, at the ſame time, how to ſupport his dignity.

The church of England, which hated popery, wa far from being fond of Calviniſm in the prince; an William, who was ſufficiently aware of the danger attending religious diſputes, made another effort fo uniting the church and preſbyterians. But his endeavours were ſoon rendered abortive. The lower hou oppoſed the attempt with the utmoſt firmneſs. O this occaſion they had recourſe to the phraſe uſed b the antient barons: "We will not have the laws England changed." This increaſed the animoſit already ſufficiently alarming, between the two partie The Tories, perſuaded they ſhould gain the aſcen ant by making their court to the king, made him t moſt pompous promiſes of ſupplies, provided h would paſs an act of oblivion and diſſolve the preſe parliament. The Whigs ſoon diſcovered the deſi of their antagoniſts, and in order to render the a tempt abortive, they introduced a bill for reſtori corporations to their antient rights and privilege to which a clauſe was added, denouncing the ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who had been any way co cerned in delivering up the charters. The Tori oppoſed this clauſe with their utmoſt force, and it w at length rejected. The bill, however, paſſed bo houſes; but the lords were ſo equally divided on t occaſion, that the majority conſiſted of a ſingle voi only. Both parties now made the ſtrongeſt applic tions to the king to bring him over to their reſpecti intereſts. William was under the greateſt perplex how to determine: the behaviour of the Whigs h given him ſufficient reaſon to think that they we tinctured with republican principles, and conſequen enemies to the regal power. He was therefore p ſuaded, that by giving the royal aſſent to the bill, muſt in a manner be dependent wholly on them, therefore retain nothing more than the ſhadow o king. On the other hand, he was no ſtranger to t attachment of the Tories to the divine indefeaſi right of kings, and therefore it would be the high imprudence to place in them an unlimited confiden

A.

A. D. 1690. At this juncture William formed the reſolution of going over to Ireland in perſon to finiſh the war. In conſequence of which, on the 17th of January, he went to the houſe of lords, and after declaring his intentions, prorogued the parliament till the 22d of April; but on the 6th of February he diſſolved it, and iſſued writs for calling a new one to meet on the 20th of March. By this means the bill was rendered abortive, after it had paſſed both houſes.

The election was ſo favourable to the Tories, that they had a conſiderable majority in the lower houſe, and the aſſembly was agitated with the moſt violent debates. Two bills in particular were violently oppoſed and as violently defended. The one for ratifying the acts of the preceding parliament; the other for requiring all perſons in office, on pain of impriſonment, to take an oath, abjuring king James. The firſt paſſed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the moſt violent amongſt the Tories. The houſe was apprehenſive of the conſequences, if that parliament, by virtue of which the preſent government was eſtabliſhed, ſhould be declared illegal. The ſecond, which the Whigs ſupported in conſort with the miniſtry, with all their power, was more obſtinately oppoſed. The king, apprehenſive that an open rupture between the two parties would be the conſequence, deſired the miniſtry to give up the point. This interpoſition of the king ſo highly diſguſted the earl of Shrewſbury, then ſecretary of ſtate, that he immediately reſigned his poſt; nor could all the remonſtrances of the king, who was no ſtranger to his great abilities, prevail upon him to keep the ſeals, till his return from Ireland. The Whigs had alſo the mortification to ſee an act of oblivion paſſed in favour of their antagoniſts.

In the mean time the parliament, being ſenſible how deſirous the king was to ſet out for Ireland, diſpatched the buſineſs before them with the greateſt facility; and the royal aſſent being given to ſeveral money bills, the act of indemnity, and ſome other acts of a ſimilar nature, together with a bill for inveſting the queen with the adminiſtration of the government during the king's abſence, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech from the throne.

During theſe tranſactions in England, James had very little reaſon to expect he ſhould long govern Ireland. Lewis had indeed ſent him a reinforcement of 5000 men, under the command of count de Lauſun, beſides thoſe he carried over with him, ſo that James's forces at preſent amounted to 7000 French and 14 Iriſh, moſt of them veteran troops; the reſt, which formed another body of 10 or 12,000 men, were new raiſed, undiſciplined, and not to be depended upon. William, on the other hand, had increaſed his army to near 40,000 men, all regular forces well diſciplined, and commanded by brave and experienced officers. A ſuperiority which aſſured him of ſucceſs; and he determined to drive the enemy out of Ireland.

After conſtituting the queen regent during his abſence, William embarked for Ireland on the 4th of June, and landed on the 14th at Carrickfergus, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Mancheſter, and many other perſons of diſtinction. He repaired immediately to Belfaſt, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major general Kirke, and other principal officers.

The whole face of affairs was immediately changed on the king's arrival. The military operations had been for ſome time ſuſpended by the addreſs of the duke of Schomberg, who carefully avoided coming to an engagement with the enemy, before his majeſty's arrival to head his troops in perſon. James, wearied with a perpetual ſtate of uncertainty, ſeemed deſirous to determine his fate by one deciſive action. William was equally willing to put a final period to all conteſt for the crown of England. Thus determined, the two rivals, with their whole forces, moved towards each other, to decide at once the quarrel, that had long divided the kingdom, and deſtroyed ſo many of the innocent inhabitants.

William, after refreſhing his troops at Belfaſt, marched to Liſburne, where the duke of Schomberg had fixed his head quarters, and thence to Hilſborough, ordering the whole army to encamp at Loughbrillen. Here he reviewed his forces, and found they amounted to 36,000 effective men, well armed, and equipped with every particular.

In the mean time, James committed the care of guarding Dublin to a body of militia, under the command of Lutteral, and joined his army, now nearly equal to the Engliſh in number, excluſive of about 15000 men, left in different garriſons. After advancing to the banks of the river Boyne, he pitched his camp in a very advantageous ſituation, having his front defended by that deep and rapid river, a riſing ground and deep moraſs; ſo that the Engliſh could not attack him without expoſing themſelves to the moſt imminent danger. The jacobite officers therefore were very preſſing with James, not to venture an engagement; but rather reinforce his garriſons, withdraw to the Shannon, and wait the event of the naval preparations, then making in France for attacking the Engliſh, and ſending ſuccours to Ireland. But James, determining to decide the conteſt by a general battle, refuſed theſe ſalutary counſels, and made the neceſſary preparations for a deciſive engagement.

William was equally prepared to receive him; but thought proper, before the battle began, to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy. Accordingly he advanced to the oppoſite ſide of the river, where, being ſingled out by the enemy, they brought down two field pieces by a hollow way, and planted them againſt his perſon. The firſt ſhot killed a man and two horſes cloſe by his ſide; and the ſecond rebounding from the ground, grazed his right ſhoulder, and produced a conſiderable contuſion. William did not betray the leaſt emotion on this occaſion; but after cauſing his wound to be bound up, he remounted his horſe, and kept on his former pace, only ſaying, "there was no neceſſity for the bullet to come nearer." This accident, however, though of no great moment in itſelf, occaſioned ſome confuſion among his majeſty's attendants; which being obſerved by the enemy, and they not ſeeing the king on horſeback, concluded that their balls had effected the intended purpoſe, and that William was killed. They therefore gave a general ſhout, which was echoed through the camp. The news was even ſpread to Dublin, whence it was ſent to Paris, where, contrary to the cuſtom of the French court, the people were ſuffered to expreſs their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

William, to prevent any confuſion in his own army, rode through the ranks, and by that means effectually removed the impreſſions which this falſe rumour might otherwiſe have produced on the ſpirits of his troops. About nine o'clock in the evening he called a council of war, and declared his intention of croſſing the river, and giving battle to the enemy. Schomberg ſtrongly oppoſed this meaſure; but the king being abſolutely determined, his plan was adopted by the majority of the council. Schomberg therefore acquieſced, and propoſed that part of the army, horſe and foot, ſhould be ſent that night to Slanebridge, in order to paſs the Boyne, and poſt themſelves between the enemy and the paſs at Duleck.

This advice, which if purſued muſt have aſſured the Engliſh of ſucceſs, was objected to, and over-ruled by the Dutch officers; at which the duke was ſo diſguſted that he retired to his tent, whither the order of battle, after being ſettled in the council, was ſent to him. This he conſidered as an additional affront: but the reſpect he owed his ſovereign kept him from complaining. He only ſaid, with ſome marks of diſcontent, that it was the firſt order of that kind he had ever received.

It was alſo agreed in council, that early next morning lieutenant general Douglas, with the right wing of the infantry, and Munhardt, count Schomberg, the duke's ſon, ſhould paſs the river at Slane-bridge; in order to poſt themſelves between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, while a body of foot were to force a paſſage over the ford at Old-bridge.

James likewiſe called a council of war, when it was propoſed, by lieutenant-general Hamilton, to ſend a ſtrong party of dragoons to take poſſeſſion of a ford, a little below the town of Drogheda, the ſecuring of which was of the greateſt importance. James, however, by an obſtinate perverſeneſs, would have only ſixty dragoons on that ſervice. The cannonade, which had continued pretty warmly ever ſince the two armies had come in ſight of each other, ceaſed towards the cloſe of the evening. William rode through the whole army by torch-light, and retired to his tent, after having given the neceſſary orders for the proper diſpoſitions, and directed his ſoldiers to wear green boughs in their hats during the enſuing action, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the enemy, who wore in theirs pieces of white paper.

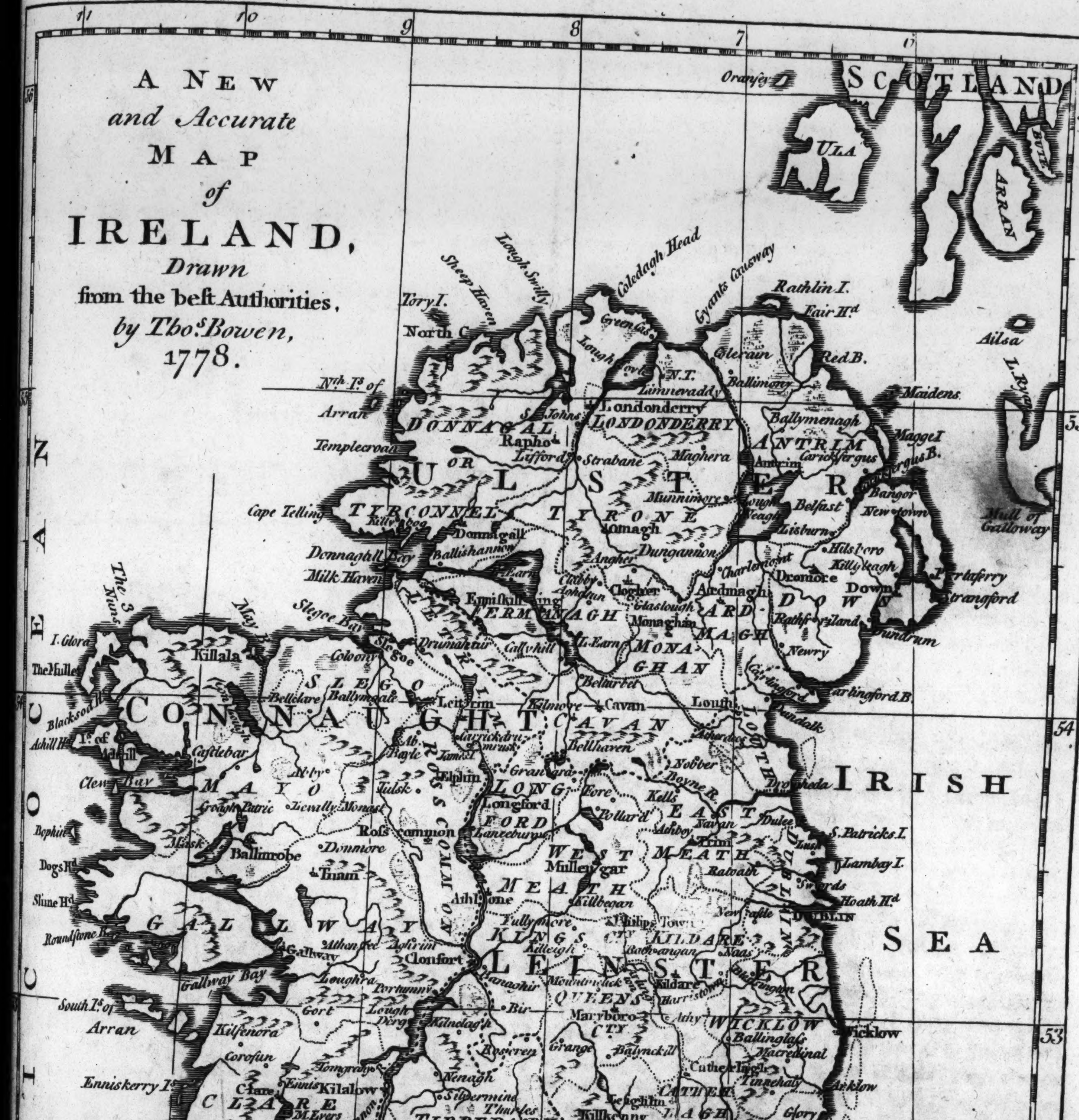
Early the next morning (July 1, 1690) general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched to Slane-bridge, and paſſed the river with very little oppoſition. On their gaining the oppoſite bank, they perceived a conſiderable body of the enemy, formed into two lines behind a deep moraſs, which ſecured their front. Douglas, on reconnoitering their diſpoſition, thought it adviſeable to halt for the coming up of a freſh reinforcement, which he knew were on their march to join him; and on their arrival, he ordered the infantry to move towards the moraſs between them and the enemy, while count Schomberg with his cavalry, who could not poſſibly march that way, was ſent round it in order to attack the Iriſh in flank. The enemy no ſooner perceived the motion made by the Engliſh, than they wheeled about, and retreated towards the paſs of Duleck: but being cloſely purſued by the cavalry under young Schomberg, numbers of them were cut to pieces in their retreat, or rather flight. In the mean time William, who was ignorant of what had paſſed betwen this part of the army and the enemy, but ſuppoſed that his men had, by this time, effected their paſſage over the river, ordered his main body, compoſed of the Dutch guards, the French proteſtant regiment, the Inniſkilling foot, and four battalions of Engliſh, to paſs the river at the Old-bridge ford, and attack the enemy. They accordingly forded the river though the waters were breaſt-high, and having gained the oppoſite bank, notwithſtanding a body of muſqueteers ſent to oppoſe them, they drew up into files, and attacked the Iriſh with ſuch fury, that, unable to ſupport the charge, they abandoned their intrenchments and retreated. James had imprudently removed his artillery from the bank of the river, which greatly facilitated the landing of the Engliſh; but before all the battalions could form, they were charged with great impetuoſity by general Hamilton, at the head of a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, and the diſpute was, for ſome time, very obſtinate. At laſt the Iriſh foot, who that day behaved very ill, gave way, leaving their horſe to ſuſtain the whole fury of the combat. In the firſt attack, la Caillemont, the friend and inſeparable companion of the intrepid duke Schomberg, received a mortal wound, at the head of the French proteſtants; and, as he was carrying back by four ſoldiers to the Engliſh camp, he encouraged his countrymen, who were ſtill croſſing the river, by calling out to them, "to glory my good lads, to glory."

Schomberg, informed of the furious attack made upon the regiments that had forded the river, and that the French refugees were without a leader, paſſed the ſtream immediately to head them. He had no ſooner reached the oppoſite bank, than he rode full ſpeed to the French proteſtants, and putting himſelf at their head, he cried out, "Behold your perſecutors." Animated by his example, the refugees attacked the enemy with the utmoſt fury; but a party of James's guards, returning towards the main body of their army, ſurrounded Schomberg. Exaſperated at the attempt, and deſirous of revenging the inſult, the refugees fired upon them with too little caution, for one of the balls ſtriking the general put an end to his life. Thus fell the famous Schomberg in the eighty-third year of his age, after a long life replete with military glory.

This misfortune had like to have been fatal to the whole army. The forces that had hitherto fought with ſuch remarkable intrepidity ſeemed to have loſt their courage with their general: their arms remained inactive in their hands; they gazed at each other with ſilent aſtoniſhment, and gave ground apace. The enemy perceived it, and animated with ſo fortunate an incident, returned to the charge with ſuch ardour and intrepidity, as ſeemed to command ſucceſs.

William, who might be ſaid to be every where during the whole action, perceived the advantage of the enemy, and brought up the left wing at the very moment when they were going to fall upon the center. Intimidated at his approach they halted, faced about, and retreated to a ſmall village, called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs, where they made ſo vigorous a ſtand, that the Dutch and Daniſh horſe, though headed by the king in perſon, unable to ſuſtain their terrible fire, gave way; and even the Inniſkillingers themſelves ſhewed a backwardneſs to advance. Shocked at this timidity, William rode up to the latter, and aſked, in a ſharp tone, if this was the behaviour he ought to expect from them. Stung by this reproach, and being acquainted that it was his majeſty that now headed them, they inſtantly reſumed their wonted courage, and returned to the charge with redoubled vigour. At the ſame time, the Dutch horſe rallying their ſeparated men, returned to the charge; and the enemy, after an hour's bloody conflict, were beaten back with conſiderable loſs. In this action lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had been the principal ſupport of the Iriſh during the whole engagement, was taken priſoner. This action ſo diſpirited them, that they abandone the field with great precipitation; but the French and Swiſs guards retreated in good order, William no thinking it prudent to puſh the purſuit beyond the field of battle.

In the mean time young Schomberg, being in formed of his father's death, was inſpired with much ardour to revenge his fate, that nothing coul oppoſe the fury of his arm. Animated at once wi a juſt reſentment, and a noble thirſt for honour, h drove the enemy ſeveral times beyond the village Duleck, ſtrewing the ground with their dead bodie Nor could any thing reſtrain his fury, till he receiv poſitive orders from the king to put a ſtop to th ſlaughter, and return to the ſpot where the foot ha halte


A New
and Accurate
MAP
of
IRELAND,
Drawn
from the best Authorities,
by Thos. Bowen,
1778.
SCOTLAND
ULA
ARRAN
BUTE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
IRISH SEA
St. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
DONNAGAL OR TYRCONNEL
LONDONDERRY
ANTRIM
TYRONE
FERMANAGH
MONAGHAN
ARDMAGH
DOWN
CAVAN
SLEGO
LEITRIM
MAYO
GALLWAY
ROSSCOMMON
LONGFORD
WEST MEATH
EAST MEATH
LOUTH
DUBLIN
KILDARE
KINGS CTY
QUEENS CTY
WICKLOW
CATHERLAGH
KILKENNY
WEXFORD
CLARE
TIPPERARY
LIMERICK
KERRY
CORK
WATERFORD
Dublin
Cork
Limerick
Galway
Waterford
Londonderry
Belfast
British Statute Miles
5 10 20 40 60 80 100
Longitude West from London
11 10 9 8 7 6
56 55 54 53 52 51

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

halted, and where they continued under arms during the night.

Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which the loſs of James amounted to about 1500 men, among whom were the lords Dongan, and Carlingford, Sir Neal O'Neal, the marquis of d'Hocquincourt, beſides ſeveral priſoners, the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton. The Engliſh loſt about five hundred men; an inconſiderable number for the acquiſition of ſo important a battle, had not the famous duke Schomberg, the moſt conſummate general in Europe, been one of the number. William himſelf had nearly ſuffered the ſame fate; for a cannon ball carried away part of his boot.

All hiſtorians unite in giving William the higheſt praiſe for the admirable conduct, courage, reſolution, and preſence of mind, he diſplayed during the whole courſe of this memorable action. Even the Iriſh themſelves are ſaid to have declared, that if the Engliſh would change kings with them, they would fight the battle over again.

James, indeed, continued an inactive ſpectator of an action, on the ſucceſs of which every thing dear to him, as a king, or a man of honour, abſolutely depended. During the whole engagement he remained, with a few ſquadrons of horſe, on the hill of Dunmore, till the count de Lauſun, after the retreat of the French and Swiſs guards, came up to him, and repreſenting that he was in the moſt imminent danger of being ſurrounded, deſired him to think of a retreat. This advice was readily followed, and being attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, he marched to Duleck, and from thence to Dublin, where he immediately ſummoned the magiſtrates and council, and in a ſhort ſpeech reſigned all his authority in that city. He complained of the cowardice of the Iriſh, by whom he ſaid he had been betrayed; and declared his reſolution of immediately quitting the kingdom.

Accordingly, the next morning James ſet out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, his natural ſon, the earl of Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. At that port he embarked on board a veſſel, which he had ordered Sir Patrick Trant, commiſſioner of the Iriſh revenue, to keep in readineſs for him, in caſe of a defeat; and arriving ſafely in France, fixed his reſidence at St. Germains.

Immediately after James left Dublin, that city was abandoned by all the papiſts of any conſideration: the government of the city was aſſumed by the proteſtants, who ſent an account of theſe tranſactions, accompanied with a petition, to William, intreating him to honour the capital with his preſence. This requeſt was readily complied with; and after detaching Mr. de la Melionere, with a ſufficient force to reduce Drogheda, his majeſty marched at the head of his army for Dublin: he entered the city in triumph; repaired immediately to the cathedral, and returned thanks to heaven for his late victory.

The next day William publiſhed a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had either remained at home, or been engaged in the army abroad, provided they returned to their reſpective dwellings by the firſt of Auguſt, and delivered up their arms to ſuch juſtices of the peace as ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe by his majeſty. But with regard to thoſe deſperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the brutiſh cruelties that had been exerciſed on the proteſtants, and rejected the offers made them in the king's proclamation, publiſhed on the 6th of February, 1689, his majeſty being now in a condition to make them ſenſible of their error, he left them entirely to the event of war; unleſs by giving evident proofs of their repentance they ſhould deſerve his mercy, which in that caſe ſhould never be refuſed them.

While William was employed in the reduction of Ireland, his queen held the Engliſh reins of government with a ſteadineſs and reſolution that gained her the admiration of the whole kingdom. On receiving advice that a powerful fleet was fitted out at Breſt, in order to make a deſcent on the weſt of England, ſhe ordered the earl of Torrington, who then lay with his fleet in the Downs, to ſail immediately to Portſmouth, and collect a number of ſhips ſufficient to enable him to render the deſign of the enemy abortive. While the admiral lay at St. Helen's, advice arrived from Weymouth that the French fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-eight ſhips of the line and two fireſhips, had entered the channel. The admiral had been lately joined by a ſquadron of Dutch men of war, but ſeveral ſhips expected from Plymouth had hitherto been prevented by contrary winds, from joining him. A council of war was immediately called, and it ſeemed to be the general opinion that it would be imprudent to meet the enemy, as the whole combined fleet did not exceed fifty-ſix ſail; but before any reſolution was taken, an expreſs arrived from the queen, with poſitive orders to hazard an engagement at all events, rather than ſuffer the enemy to ſail up the channel, and inſult the Engliſh coaſts and harbours.

In conformity to theſe orders, Torrington immediately ſtood out to ſea, with the combined fleets of England and Holland. The enemy ſoon appeared in ſight, and on the 30th of June the engagement began off Beachy-head about nine in the morning. The blue ſquadron engaged the French with the utmoſt bravery, but Torrington kept his diviſion in a line, and fought at too great a diſtance. The Dutch, deſirous of bringing on a cloſer engagement, advanced towards the enemy, and by that means were ſeparated from the Engliſh. Tourville, the French admiral, perceived the imprudent valour of the Dutch had carried them too far, and determined to take advantage of their error. He accordingly collected all his ſhips that were now engaged with the Engliſh, and ſurrounded the Dutch ſquadron. All retreat was now cut off, and the whole ſquadron muſt have been taken, had not Calembourgh the Dutch admiral fortunately ordered his ſhips to drop their anchors with all their ſails ſtanding. This ſaved his ſquadron. The tide ſet ſtrongly up the channel, and there being very little wind, the French, who were ignorant of the ſtratagem, were ſoon hurried away by the tide, while the Dutch continued ſafe at anchor beyond the reach of their cannon. They had, however, received conſiderable damage; their two vice-admirals were killed, and ſeveral of their ſhips ſo greatly ſhattered, that they were obliged to ſink them, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two of their captains, and about 400 men. The next day the Engliſh admiral called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to retreat without hazarding another engagement, and to deſtroy all the diſabled ſhips ſhould the enemy attempt a purſuit. Torrington, accordingly, retreated without much interruption to the mouth of the Thames, while Tourville, after continuing about five days in the channel, returned to Breſt. The nation was at once exaſperated and alarmed at this incident. It was the common opinion, that if Torrington had followed the example of the blue ſquadron, and brought on a cloſe engagement, the enemy muſt have been defeated; the conſequence of which would, in all probability, have been fatal to the French, as it was almoſt impoſſible for them to have returned to Breſt, a very conſiderable ſquadron then lying in Plymouth-ſound. Torrington's conduct was cenſured by his own admirals, and on his arrival in London he was ſent to the Tower.

Though this defeat was attended with no very conſiderable inconveniences, yet it furniſhed the Jacobites with matter ſufficient for an ungenerous triumph. The people, who ſee only the ſurface of things, were ſeized with the moſt gloomy apprehenſions; a deſcent on the coaſt was every day expected; and a general panic was ſpread over the kingdom. The queen alone ſeemed unaffected with this unmanly fear; ſhe behaved with admirable ſpirit and diſcretion. She made uſe of every precaution to render any attempts of the enemy abortive. The principal ſea-ports were put into a good ſtate of defence: proper orders were iſſued for refitting the ſhips and augmenting the navy: the militia of the weſtern counties was embodied; and to ſtrike a greater terror into the domeſtic enemies of the government, a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending ſeveral diſaffected perſons, who were either ſuſpected or accuſed of holding a correſpondence with James and his party, for diſturbing the internal peace of the kingdom.

In conſequence of this prudent and magnanimous conduct, the queen received addreſſes from the city of London, and moſt of the principal counties and corporations in the kingdom, who all declared their reſolution of ſupporting her, her royal conſort, and the preſent government, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Theſe addreſſes were very grateful to the queen, who purſued her meaſures with ſuch prudence and ſucceſs, that the clamour gradually ſubſided, and the tongue of envy was huſhed to peace.

In the mean time William, having received ſatiſfactory letters from the queen and council, determined to continue in Ireland ſome time longer. He therefore undertook the ſiege of Limerick, a town ſtrongly fortified, and defended by the principal part of king James's army, who had eſcaped at the battle of the Boyne. But the enemy having found means to intercept and deſtroy his train of artillery, and the trenches being half filled with water by the wet ſeaſon coming on, William thought proper to raiſe the ſiege, and put his army into winter quarters. This being effected, the king embarked at Waterford, with prince George of Denmark, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, on the fifth of September, and the next day landed at Pill near Briſtol. He immediately ſet out for Windſor, where he was received by the queen with the higheſt expreſſions of joy.

Soon after William had left Ireland, the celebrated earl of Marlborough landed, at the head of 5,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Corke; and being joined by nearly the ſame number, under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg and general Scrivenmore, he undertook to reduce ſeveral of the principal places in Ireland. Succeſs attended all his meaſures. He took the towns of Corke and Kinſale, which were of the laſt importance to James, on account of their maratime ſituation; and the count de Lauſun, who commanded the French troops in Ireland, deſpairing of James's cauſe, evacuated the kingdom.

By this time the grand alliance which William had formed againſt France was farther ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the duke of Savoy, who, renouncing the neutrality he had hitherto obſerved, concluded a league with the emperor and the king of Spain, and openly engaged in the general confederacy. But Lewis XIV. was no ſooner informed of the engagements the duke had entered into, than he ſent 12,000 men into Piedmont, under the command of that brave officer, M. Catinat, afterwards a marſhal of France, with orders to demand from the duke, as a pledge of his fidelity, the delivery of his forces, together with Verrue, and the citadel of Turin, the capital of his dominions. Confounded at this unexpected demand, the duke endeavoured to amuſe the French with ſubmiſſions and offers, till he could procure aſſiance from the emperor and Spain; but finding theſe two powers returned him only empty promiſes, he had recourſe to William and the ſtates-general for ſupport.

Pleaſed with the acquiſition of ſo valuable an ally, William received his ambaſſador with the higheſt marks of reſpect, and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure him every thing he deſired. Lewis, who was not to be deceived by ſpecious promiſes, ordered Catinat to begin hoſtilities in Savoy and Piedmont; while the duke exerted all his power to oppoſe the torrent which threatened to overwhelm his dominions with ruin and deſtruction. Though the duke was a great general, yet he committed a fatal miſtake in drawing up his army in preſence of the French general, near Saluzzo. He was totally defeated by Catinat, who, purſuing his advantage, made himſelf maſter of the greater part of Piedmont.

Lewis had another army in Flanders, under the command of the duke of Luxemburg: and the allies, dreading the power of France, which was daily increaſing, both by ſea and land, reſolved that the army of the ſtates-general, under the prince of Waldeck, ſhould oppoſe Luxemburg; while the elector of Brandenburg ſhould obſerve the motions of M. Bouflers, who commanded a third French army on the banks of the Moſelle, in Germany. Part of this ſcheme was, however, rendered abortive; for before the troops of Brandenburg could be aſſembled, Bouflers found means to encamp his forces between the Sambre and the Meuſe, and by that means opened a free communication between his own army and that of Luxemburg. Waldeck, ſenſible of the advantages of keeping the French on the other ſide of the Sambre, detached the count de Berlo, with fifteen hundred horſe, to diſcover whether the French were making any preparations for paſſing that river. The count, having advanced to the village of Flerus, found that a conſiderable part of the French army had already paſſed the Sambre, and ſent immediate notice of it to prince Waldeck; but it was too late; for being ſurrounded by the enemy, his detachment was defeated, and himſelf ſlain. The next day the duke of Luxemburg attacked the main body under prince Waldeck, who, after a very obſtinate engagement, was obliged to retreat, leaving about 4,600 men dead on the field of battle. The enemy took about 4,000 priſoners, but they bought their victory very dear; their loſs being equal if not greater than that of the Dutch. It is ſaid that the loſs of this battle was wholly owing to the cowardice of the Dutch cavalry, who abandoned their infantry at the firſt charge; but the retreat of the foot was perhaps never exceeded: for notwithſtanding the battle was fought in a plain country, deſtitute of woods and other reſources, and the troops charged both in front and flank by the enemy, they made ſuch impreſſion on the French by their regular, undaunted, and uniform fire, that the latter did not dare to follow them; they ſuffered the Dutch to march off with the utmoſt compoſure. This was the only action which happened in Flanders during the whole campaign. Th allies, however, ſuffered an irreparable loſs in th death of the duke of Wirtemberg, who expired afte a few hours illneſs, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions o his having been poiſoned by the baſe ſchemes of th French court.—He was ſucceeded by his brother.

The Engliſh parliament met on the ſecond o

October, when William opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed the commons that he had uſed his beſt endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, and had the ſupplies been granted early in the laſt ſeſſion, he did not doubt but he ſhould have ſucceeded effectually. He alſo deſired them to remember, that he had aſked no revenue for himſelf, but what had been charged to the uſes of the war: he therefore recommended to them the clearing of his revenue, ſo as to enable him to ſubſiſt and ſupport the charges of the civil government. Then addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, told them, that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with ſpirit and unanimity; and that whoever tried to attempt diverting them from the important ſubject he had recommended to their conſideration, could neither be his friends, nor friends to their country.

Both houſes of parliament addreſſed him ſeparately on this ſpeech, in which they congratulated him on his ſucceſs in Ireland, and on the queen's happy adminiſtration during his abſence. The commons particularly told him, "That he too freely expoſed his invaluable life, on which the whole proteſtant intereſt of Europe depended;" and concluded with aſſuring him, "that they ſhould be always ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power: and as the beſt and trueſt way of expreſſing their gratitude, they would endeavour effectually to ſupport his government againſt all his enemies."

They were not long before they carried their aſſurances into execution: for the very day their addreſs was preſented, they voted a ſupply of 4,000,000 for the ſervice of the enſuing year: a larger ſum than had ever before been granted by an Engliſh parliament to their prince. Among other taxes for raiſing this prodigious ſum, a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound was impoſed; the exciſe upon beer and ale was doubled; a duty was laid on all India goods, foreign wrought ſilks, and ſeveral other commodities imported, and a duty was impoſed upon new wines and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. They alſo voted that 1,000,000 ſhould be raiſed by the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, and that a bill ſhould be prepared for confiſcating theſe eſtates, with a clauſe empowering his majeſty to grant one third of them to thoſe who had ſerved in the war. This clauſe was afterwards rejected, and many petitions were preſented againſt the bill by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful. Theſe petitions were, however, laid aſide by the commons, who, on this occaſion, ſuffered their zeal for the king to get the better of that attention they owed to the lawful and juſt remonſtrances of their fellow-ſubjects, and unanimouſly paſſed the bill; but on being read in the houſe of lords, that auguſt body thought it incumbent on them to examine the merit of thoſe petitions; and this took up ſo much time, that the bill was dropped for the preſent ſeſſions.

A. D. 1691. On the 5th of January the king went to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, he put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; wherein he aſſured both houſes, that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of their liberality and diſpatch; that the ſupplies they had granted ſhould be faithfully employed in the ſervices for which they were allotted: that he would make no grant of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, till that affair ſhould be fully ſettled in parliament, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. That he hoped they would take care to propagate in their ſeveral counties the ſame principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had ſo eminently diſplayed in parliament: and that he truſted the good underſtanding between him and his ſubjects would be more than ſufficient to defeat the deſigns of their ſecret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies.

The buſineſs of the nation being thus ſettled, William, on the 16th of January, embarked for Holland, in order to aſſiſt at a congreſs of the confederate princes and ſtates, appointed to be held at the Hague, to concert meaſures for the defence of the liberties of Europe againſt the encroachments of France. On his arrival in the capital of the United Provinces, the ſtates-general, the ſtates of Holland, the council of ſtate, and other colleges, waited on the king with congratulations on his ſafe arrival. On the 26th of January he made a public entry, and was received with great pomp, and the ſincereſt expreſſions of joy. Triumphal arches were erected in the principal ſtreets through which he paſſed, filled with inſcriptions expreſſing his great and generous actions in defence of public liberty.

The congreſs was opened ſoon after his arrival; it conſiſted of the imperial miniſters, thoſe from Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Brandenburg, Saxony, Trieves, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatine, Savoy, Zell, Munſter, Heſſe-Caſſel, Wolfenbuttle, Hanover, Holſtein Gottorp, Liege, and thoſe from king William. The whole forming one of the moſt glorious aſſemblies mentioned in the annals of hiſtory, and convened for the nobleſt purpoſe, that of oppoſing the ambitious encroachments of an arbitrary prince, and ſecuring the peace, tranquillity, and liberties of a whole continent.

William opened the congreſs with a pathetic ſpeech, in which he diſplayed, in the moſt forcible colours, "the imminent danger to which they were at preſent expoſed; plainly demonſtrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate change of meaſures: that this was not the time to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already maſter of the principal fortreſſes which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would ſoon be able to poſſeſs himſelf of all the inferior fortifications, if a ſpirit of diviſion, ſelfiſhneſs and irreſolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to conſider his own intereſt as involved in the good of the whole: that the forces of the enemy were numerous and powerful; and if not prevented, would ſweep every thing before them like a torrent: that it was in vain to oppoſe the pretenſions of injuſtice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitleſs proteſtations: that not the reſolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of ſome men of fortune built on a ſandy foundation, would be ſufficient; but that of powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution to accompliſh the glorious work: that all theſe muſt be inſtantly employed againſt the common enemy, if they meant to check his progreſs, and to ſnatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he was now ſubjecting to a cruel and heavy yoke." He concluded with aſſuring them, "That, for his own part, he would neither ſpare his forces, his credit, nor his own perſon, to effect ſo noble a deſign; but would appear in the ſpring at the head of his troops, to fulfil faithfully his royal promiſes."

This ſpeech was received with great applauſe by the whole aſſembly, and produced the moſt happy effect. A reſolution was immediately taken to employ 205,000 men againſt France, of which the ſeveral princes and ſtates were to furniſh the following proportions: the king of England, 20,000; the emperor, 20,000; the king of Spain in Flanders, 20,000; the ſtates-general, 25,000; the duke of Savoy, and the troops of Milan, 20,000; the elector of Bavaria, 18,000; the elector of Saxony, 12,000; the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, 8,000; the circles of Suabia and Franconia, 10,000; the duke of Wirtemberg, 6,000;

6,000; the elector of Brandenburg, 20,000; the elector Palatine, 4,000; the prince of Liege, 6,000; and the prince of Lunenburg, 16,000. Had theſe engagements been punctually fulfilled, a final ſtop would ſoon have been put to the conqueſts of France; but this was far from being the caſe. Few of the princes took any care to ſend their full quota of troops to the general rendezvous; ſo that England and Holland were obliged to bear almoſt the whole expence and burden of the war.

The congreſs broke up about the beginning of March, and king William was preparing to return to England, when his departure was retarded by advice that the French had collected all their forces, in order to take the field before the confederates could be ready to oppoſe them; and that Lewis in perſon had inveſted the city of Mons, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, and an army of 80,000 men. William upon this diſpatched prince Waldeck to Halle, near Bruſſels, which was appointed for the general rendezvous of what forces could be drawn together: the king himſelf followed on the 27th of March, where he found an army of 50,000 men; but, through the neglect of the Spaniards, ſo miſerably deficient in all kind of neceſſaries for a march, before the troops could be put in motion, news arrived of the reduction of the place: the governor being reduced to the laſt extremity, after having in vain waited for relief, was obliged to capitulate on the 1ſt of April, and ſurrendered the town on very honourable terms. After this diſappointment, there remained nothing to require the immediate preſence of king William on the continent, who therefore returned to the Hague, and embarking for England, on the 13th of April, arrived ſafe in London.

The firſt information he received was, that during his abſence the Jacobites had reſumed their favourite ſcheme, in conſort with France, of reſtoring James to the throne. The perſons chiefly concerned in this conſpiracy were ſaid to be the earl of Clarendon, the biſhop of Ely, the lord viſcount Preſton (a Scottiſh peer) and his brother Mr. Graham: and William Penn the famous quaker, the lord Preſton, Mr. Aſhton a ſervant of king James's queen, and Mr. Elliot, were pitched upon to go over to France, and concert meaſures at the court of St. Germains. With this view they hired a veſſel of one Mr. Prat of Barking in Eſſex, who, ſuſpecting ſomething from the eagerneſs the conſpirators ſhewed to get under ſail, and the high price they offered for their paſſage, communicated the matter to the earl of Caermarthen, who reported the ſame to the queen and council; whereupon proper perſons were diſpatched to board the veſſel, which lay off Gaveſend, when the three conſpirators were found concealed in the hold. The lord Preſton, who had letters about him from the chiefs of the conſpiracy to king James, endeavoured to ſecrete them, but was diſcovered, and the papers taken from him. Upon examination they were found to contain ſeveral circumſtances of intelligence, and other matters of a very treaſonable and dangerous tendency. Hereupon a bill of high-treaſon was preferred, and found againſt the offenders by the grand jury. The lord Preſton and Mr. Aſhton were brought to their trials on the 16th, 17th and 19th of January. Their deſign of going to France, and the treaſonable papers found upon them, ſome written in the lord Preſton's hand, and ſome in Mr. Aſhton's, were fully proved; and for theſe practices they were found guilty and condemned. Aſhton was executed, but lord Preſton lay a long time under conviction by a reprieve, and his ſentence was at laſt remitted. Elliot was not tried, there appearing no evidence againſt him. The earl of Clarendon was ſent to the Tower, where he remained ſome months, and was afterwards confined to his own houſe in the country; an indulgence which he owed to his near relationſhip to the queen, who was his firſt couſin. The biſhop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, abſconded, and a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending them as traitors.

His majeſty having ſettled affairs at home as well as the ſhort ſpace of time would admit, reſolved to ſet out for Holland, in order to command in perſon the confederate army in Flanders, agreeable to the promiſe he had made the allies at the congreſs; but firſt he gave the neceſſary orders for the total reduction of Ireland, that he might have nothing to call off his attention from the war on the continent: and having appointed general Ginckle commander in chief of the army in that kingdom, his majeſty embarked at Harwich on the 2d of May, ſet ſail with a fair wind for Holland, attended by a ſquadron of men of war under rear-admiral Rooke, landed the next day near Maeſland-ſluyce, and arrived the ſame evening at the Hague, where we ſhall leave him to take a view of the operations in Ireland.

Lewis XIV. who ſtill perſevered in ſupporting James's deſperate fortune, had ſent his friends in that kingdom a large ſupply of proviſions, cloaths, and ammunition, together with 3000 regular troops, under the command of M. St. Ruth, a brave and experienced general, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Germany. On the other hand, general Ginckle, who in conduct and courage yielded to few commanders of his time, having been lately reinforced by a body of troops under major-general Mackay, took the field and inveſted the town of Ballymore, which was defended by 1000 men, under colonel Bourke. The batteries being raiſed quickly made ſuch a breach in a place of no great ſtrength, that nothing remained in a few days but to give a general aſſault; however, the enemy ſaved our troops that trouble, by ſubmitting at diſcretion, after a ſix days ſiege only. There were taken 780 men, beſides four field officers, and near 300 Iriſh free-booters, who had mixed themſelves with king James's forces to wait the fortune of war.

After putting the place in a poſture of defence, Ginckle marched to Ballymore-paſs, where he was joined by the prince of Wirtemberg. Thus reinforced, it was determined to advance towards Athlone, a town ſituated on the other ſide of the Shannon, and defended by the French and Iriſh army, encamped in its neighbourhood. The Engliſh town ſituated on this ſide of the river was taken in two days; many of the Iriſh were ſlain in the attack, and many of them periſhed by falling into the river, in their haſty retreat over the bridge.

Ginckle, elated at this ſucceſs, erected batteries againſt the Iriſh town, which did ſuch execution, that the caſtle and other ſtrong places were ſoon reduced to heaps of ruins. The garriſon, however, made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the Engliſh general thought proper to call a council of war, to conſider whether it was adviſeable to continue the attack, or abandon the ſiege. The duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Mackay, Talmarſh, Ravigny, and Tettreau, declared themſelves ſtrongly for continuing the ſiege; and propoſed to paſs the Shannon in order to attack the enemy; offering to conduct the attempt in perſon. Their opinions prevailed, and a detachment was ſent to paſs the ſtream, at a ford a little below the town. The river was deep and rapid, the bottom ſlippery and full of large ſtones, and the paſs defended by a battery erected for that purpoſe: but notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the Engliſh troops, whoſe courage and intrepidity always increaſe with dangers and difficulties, regardleſs of every thing but glory, threw themſelves into the Shannon, and paſſed the river through the thickeſt of the enemy's fire. Having reached the oppoſite bank, they threw in their hand grenades, and then diſcharged ſuch a volley of ſmall ſhot, that the enemy, unable to ſuſtain the charge, abandoned their works. In the mean time, a reinforcement was ſent to this brave detachment, and the Engliſh, in leſs than an hour, made themſelves maſters of the town.

The French general, from a propenſity to that vanity and preſumption, ſo common to his countrymen, treated the attempt of the Engliſh to force the paſſage of the Shannon, with a contempt that did little credit to that prudence and circumſpection for which he had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed. In vain did Sarsfield, the Iriſh general, preſs him to ſend ſuccours to the town; he laughed at that officer's apprehenſions; nor was he convinced, till too late, that Engliſh courage was equal to the moſt arduous enterprize. When they had taken poſſeſſion of the town, St. Ruth ordered ſome detachments to march, and drive the Engliſh from their conqueſt; but the thunder of the cannon from the ramparts, which was now turned againſt the French, ſoon convinced him of his error, and that his own ſafety depended upon a precipitate retreat.

The Engliſh general, having repaired the fortifications of Athlone, marched in purſuit of the French and Iriſh army, which made a ſtand near Aghrim, a ſmall town about ten miles from Athlone. Here the French general encamped in a very advantageous ſituation; and having, by draughts from different garriſons, increaſed his army to 25,000 men, reſolved to hazard a general engagement.

Though Ginckle's army was very inferior in numbers (not amounting to more than 18,000) he determined to fight the enemy. The morning appointed for making the attack proved ſo foggy, that it was obliged to be poſtponed till noon, when the Engliſh croſſed the river Suc, oppoſite the enemy's camp. The center of the French and Iriſh was poſted on a riſing ground, uneven in many places, and interſected with banks and ditches, lined with infantry, and ſecured in front by a large bog, almoſt impaſſable: their right was defended by entrenchments, and two Daniſh forts; and their left by the caſtle of Aghrim.

As ſoon as the Engliſh had effected their landing, they marched up to the edge of the great bog, and endeavoured to force the only two places by which it was paſſable, in order to gain the ground on the other ſide. The enemy made a very furious reſiſtance and repulſed the Engliſh horſe ſeveral times; but, at laſt, the troops on the right ſucceeded in their attempt by means of ſome field-pieces properly placed, and excellently ſerved. So much time, however, was unavoidably ſpent in their manœuvers, that the general was deſirous of deferring the battle till the next morning; but the confuſion he obſerved in the enemy's camp convinced him that ſomething extraordinary was in agitation, and made him apprehenſive, that they intended to retreat during the night. He therefore changed his opinion, and ordered his troops to prepare for the charge.

About five o'clock in the evening the Engliſh attacked the right wing of the Iriſh, from whom they met with ſo warm a reception, that it required the utmoſt efforts of their courage and reſolution to make them give ground. The Iriſh infrantry that lined the ditches, were well ſupported by the horſe, poſted behind them, and maintained their poſt with the moſt intrepid obſtinacy; nor would they ſtir from one ſide of the ditch, till the Engliſh preſented the muzzles of their pieces on the other; and even then, by their lines of communication, they immediately took poſt in the next ditch, where they continued to make the ſame reſolute defence. St. Ruth perceiving that his men were in danger of being overpowered, immediately reinforced them from his center and left wing. Mackey, perceiving this motion, inſtantly ordered two regiments to march round the bog, and fall on the enemy's left wing, weakened by the late detachments; and, at the ſame time, for the center to advance through the middle of the bog, though up to the waſte in mud and water. After gaining, with unſpeakable difficulty, the other ſide, they found themſelves obliged to aſcend a rugged hill, interſected with ditches and hedges, lined with muſqueteers, ſuſtained at proper diſtances with ſquadrons of horſe: there the enemy made ſuch a reſolute ſtand, and fought with ſuch perſeverance, that they puſhed the aſſailants into the middle of the bog, which St. Ruth perceiving, cried out, in a bravado, "That he now had the " Engliſh at his mercy, and would drive them back " to the very gates of Dublin."

The Engliſh were now thrown into the greateſt confuſion, which might have been attended with fatal conſequences, had not general Talmaſh haſtened, at this critical moment, to their relief, with a freſh body of forces, and given orders for the broken regiments to halt, and face about, which orders were immediately obeyed with unparalleled alacrity and reſolution. The Engliſh now attacked in their turn the Iriſh, (who had advanced upon them into the middle of the bog) with ſuch fury, that 300 of them were killed before they could gain the firm land; and marching forward obtained the old ſpot, from whence they had been precipitately driven.

While the infantry was thus engaged, Ravigny's regiment of French proteſtant horſe, and Sir John Lanier's being poſted on the right, moved to the left and did the utmoſt ſervice. In the mean time the Engliſh cavalry was expoſed to a dreadful fire from the enemy's dragoons poſted under a cover, and obliged to preſs through a very dangerous paſs. After ſurmounting this difficulty, they at laſt lodged themſelves in a dry ditch, where they reſolutely ſtood the fire of the enemy from Aghrim-caſtle.

For ſome time it appeared doubtful on which ſide victory would determine; but major-general Mackey, having timely reinforced the left wing with a body of horſe and dragoons, at laſt turned the balance in favour of the Engliſh. Ravigny, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his diligence, courage, and activity, during the whole action, putting himſelf at the head of his own regiment of horſe, ſcoured the ſide of the bog, bearing down all before him. St. Ruth perceiving the execution of this body of horſe, determined to attack Ravigny in a hollow way, through which he knew he muſt paſs in his return to ſuſtain the center. Accordingly, he ordered a brigade of his own horſe from the right wing to march to the left; and putting himſelf at their head, began to deſcend the hill towards the place, which he ſaw the Engliſh endeavouring to paſs. But when he came near the ſpot, where the hotteſt part of the battle was fought, he was killed by a cannon ball.

This misfortune decided the fate of the day. The French and Iriſh were ſo much diſcouraged by the death of their general, that Sarsfield, who was ſecond in command, endeavoured, in vain, to recover them from their diſorder. Ravigny, obſerving their confuſion, preſſed boldly forward, and falling upon them ſword in hand, drove them, with very little reſiſtance, to the top of the hill, where they had at firſt pitched their camp: but their whole line giving way at once, they threw down their arms, and betook themſelves to flight. The Engliſh purſued them cloſely for three miles, and made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter: but night coming on, attended with a thick miſty rain, prevented the Engliſh from cutting off the fugitives from taking ſhelter in an advantageous poſt between them and

Loughbreak. It was, however, computed that no leſs than 7000 of the Iriſh fell in the action; while the Engliſh loſt no more than 600 killed, and 960 wounded.

The Iriſh now reſolved to make a final ſtand at Limerick, hoping to receive ſuch ſuccours from France as would enable them to maintain that poſt, or obtain good terms from William; but they ſoon found that their hopes were built on a ſandy foundation. General Ginckle, having allowed a few days for the refreſhment of his troops, marched to Galway, one of the moſt conſiderable places left in the hands of the Iriſh; and immediately ſummoned the lord Dillon, the governor, to ſurrender the place. He, at firſt, refuſed to comply; but ſeeing part of the Engliſh army paſs the river, and ſeize a fort the Iriſh were rebuilding, he changed his reſolution and ſurrendered the place, on advantageous terms; the garriſon being ſafely conducted to Limerick.

This was the laſt reſource of the deſpairing Iriſh, and which was inveſted by general Ginckle on the 25th of Auguſt. The next day the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, now called Mackey's and Naſſau's, from their being taken by theſe commanders. Two days after Caſtle Connel, and Caſtle Garrick, two ſmall forts ſtanding on the Shannon a few miles below the town, were taken, and the garriſons of both made priſoners of war. Theſe forts being taken, the batteries againſt the town were opened, and the attack carried on with the utmoſt vigour till the 17th of September. But the reſiſtance of the enemy was ſo obſtinate, and the place ſo well fortified, that a council of war was held in the Engliſh camp, to conſider whether it would not be more elegible to paſs the river, and cut off the enemy's forage and proviſions, and turn the ſiege into a blockade, than to hazard the lives of ſo many brave men, in fruitleſs attacks. The former expedient was preferred, and ſome ſteps taken for putting it in practice. This inſpired the Iriſh with the moſt flattering hopes, taking it for granted, from perceiving theſe motions in the Engliſh camp, that they were preparing to raiſe the ſiege. But theſe flattering appearances were of ſhort duration; for on a ſecond conſultation of the Engliſh, it was reſolved to preſs the ſiege, and, at all events, make themſelves maſters of the town. Accordingly the Engliſh, on the night of the 18th, threw a bridge over the river, about a mile above the camp, and a ſtrong party of horſe and foot were ſent over it.

The enemy, who guarded the oppoſite ſide of the river, were ſtruck with ſuch a panic at this incident, that they threw down their arms, and ſought their ſafety in flight. On the 22d, general Ginckle himſelf paſſed the Shannon, at the head of a ſtrong party of horſe and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon; leaving Wirtemberg, Mackey, and Talmaſh, to command the troops on the hither ſide of the Shannon. Theſe meaſures being taken, the ſiege was preſſed with redoubled vigour, and the batteries played againſt the town with great fury. In a few days, the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of ſeveral out forts, and made a lodgement at the foot of Thomond-bridge; the Iriſh finding themſelves cut off from all hopes of relief, determined to capitulate, which they did on the 29th of September; and on the firſt of October the lords juſtices of Ireland arrived in the Engliſh camp, where they ſettled all the articles of the capitulation, which were finally concluded on the 3d of the ſame month.

By theſe articles the Iriſh were all indemnified and reſtored to the enjoyment of the exerciſe of their religion, which they poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of ſubjects on their taking the oaths of allegiance, without being obliged to take the oath of ſupremacy; and not only the French, but as many of the Iriſh as choſe to go over to France, had free liberty to follow their inclinations. On the other hand, Limerick, and all other towns, forts, and caſtles, which yet remained in the hands of the catholics, were to be delivered up within a limited time. Accordingly, the place was put into the hands of the Engliſh on the 5th, the French and many of the Iriſh were ſent away in tranſport veſſels, while the remainder of the army in the field ſubmitted to be included in the amneſty.

Ireland was now entirely ſubjected to the crown of England, and a ſolid peace eſtabliſhed between the two kingdoms, which has ſubſiſted to the preſent time without the leaſt interruption. On Ginckle's return to England, he was received with the higheſt applauſe, and, together with all his general officers, elegantly entertained by the city of London. The commons alſo, at the meeting of parliament, preſented to the general, as a token of the important ſervices he had performed for the ſtate, the thanks of their houſe. Soon after his majeſty created him earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, that he might convey to his poſterity the honour of his glorious atchievements. At the ſame time, to enable him to ſupport his new dignities, he was preſented with lands in Ireland to a very conſiderable amount.

It is now time to return to king William, whom we left at the Hague. The French army took the field ſome time before the allies, and Luxemburg, with an army of 40,000 men, was advancing to beſiege Bruſſels, while the marſhal de Bouflers, with another army, ſat down before Liege. As ſoon as advice of theſe motions arrived at the Hague, William put himſelf at the head of his troops, and arrived time enough to cover the ſiege of the former, and raiſe that of the latter. The allied army was now ſuperior to that of the French, and the king did every thing in his power to bring Luxemburg to an engagement. But that able commander, who was thoroughly acquainted with all the arts of war, took ſufficient care to baffle all the king's attempts, who, perceiving it impoſſible to ſucceed in his intention, cauſed the fortifications of Beaumont, a place he had taken, to be demoliſhed, and marched his army towards Aeth, and afterwards paſſed to Loo, leaving the forces under the command of prince Waldeck. In his abſence the French became ſomewhat more daring; but not till they found the confederate army was poſted in a diſadvantageous ſituation. For after remaining ſome time in the neighbourhood of Aeth, to cover and ſecure the adjacent country from the inroads of the enemy's parties; and having, as the general thought, made ſufficient preparations for tha purpoſe, he marched towards Benaim; when Luxemburg, taking advantage of this motion, marche with great expedition with ſeveral ſquadrons of hi beſt horſe, and fell upon the rear of the confederat army, as it was paſſing a little river and defile nea Caſoire. The charge was ſo furious, that the fir line of the confederates gave way and fell behind th ſecond; which alſo, after ſtanding ſeveral charges, retreated. But the officers, exerting themſelves wit unparalleled bravery, ſo animated the men that the ſoon returned to the charge; while the French horſ dreading the conſequence of being ſurrounded by th allied infantry, retired, and left the confederates t purſue their march without farther moleſtation. I this ſkirmiſh the loſs was nearly equal; for notwithſtanding the diſadvantageous ſituation of the allie the French loſt near 500 of their beſt men, who wer ſlain on the ſpot, and many more who died of the wounds. The ſeaſon being now far advanced nothing farther was attempted during this campaign, bo armies retiring into winter-quarters.

William, after leaving the army, continued ſome time at the Hague, in order to regulate the meaſures of the next campaign; which having effected, he embarked for England, attended by a ſquadron of men of war under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel. He landed at Margate on the 19th of October, and the ſame evening arrived ſafe in London.

A few days after the king's arrival both houſes of parliament met for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty told the two houſes, that he hoped the ſucceſs his forces had met with in Ireland would be a great encouragement to them to aſſiſt him with freſh ſupplies: he recommended to them the neceſſity of keeping a ſtrong fleet at ſea, and an army of 65,000 land forces, that they might annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible part; adding, that they had now an opportunity of eſtabliſhing the future quiet and proſperity of the nation; and which, if now loſt, might never more be recovered.

Both houſes preſented addreſſes of congratulation to the king on his happy return, and alſo on the ſucceſs of his arms in Ireland; promiſing to aſſiſt him in carrying on a vigorous war againſt France, in order to procure an honourable peace for his own dominions; and ſecure his friends from the ambitious deſigns of the common oppreſſor. A proclamation was alſo publiſhed for a public thankſgiving on the 26th of November. Addreſſes were alſo preſented to the queen, acknowledging her prudent care in the adminiſtration of affairs during the king's abſence.

Notwithſtanding, however, all theſe expreſſions of gratitude, it ſoon appeared, that a ſtrong party was formed by the tories, againſt the government, who could not approve of the maxims or conduct of the king. They inveighed, both in public and private, againſt the folly and extravagance of keeping on foot a ſtanding army; they inſiſted that England ought only to aſſiſt the allies with a certain quota of auxiliary troops; and that the management of affairs at ſea were chiefly to be regarded. To this the advocates of the court replied, that without the interpoſition of England, the grand alliance would never have taken place; nor could a ſtop have been put to the ſpreading conqueſts of Lewis, who would ſoon have reduced both Flanders and Holland; and conſequently have deſtroyed the commerce, and even the liberties of England. The arguments againſt continental connections were ſo well adapted to the taſte of the public, that the preſent government was, in general, greatly cenſured.

Another principal cauſe of diſcontent was the evident partiality the king ſhewed to the Dutch over the Engliſh; and it was alſo univerſally aſſerted, that the former were the only perſons favoured and truſted, while the Engliſh were wholly overlooked. It muſt, indeed, be confeſſed, that William took too little pains to remove the general diſguſt, which ſpread itſelf among both the Engliſh officers and nobility; or to gain the affections of his Britiſh ſubjects. He continued in his cloſet the greater part of the day with one or two of his particular friends, who were his own countrymen: and the ſullen ſilence he generally obſerved, when any of the Engliſh nobility were admitted to an audience, was nearly as diſguſting as an abſolute denial.

The diſcontent of the people, however, had very little effect on the commons; for, on the 9th of November, they voted upwards of a million and a half for the ſervice of the navy and ordnance, and above two millions for the ſervice of the land forces.

On the 24th of December the king went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts; after which his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, thanking them for their reſolution of ſupporting him; but preſſed them to haſten the remainder of the ſupplies, that the enemy might not take the field before him, as they had done the laſt campaign. But this diſpatch, ſo greatly deſired by the king, was retarded by ſeveral incidental affairs which engaged the attention of the houſe.

A. D. 1692. The funds for the enſuing year being at length ſettled, the king went to the houſe of peers on the 24th of February; and, after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion[*] with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn for his government, and the liberality and diſpatch with which they had provided for the neceſſities of the ſtate; adding, that he intended ſpeedily to paſs over to the continent, in order to head the allied army in perſon.

As ſoon as Lewis XIV. was informed that William had embarked for Holland, he engaged with the Jacobites in England to make another effort for reſtoring James to his throne. An invaſion was immediately projected, and it was agreed that the troops ſhould be landed on the coaſt of Suſſex. So much precaution had been taken in France in carrying on the neceſſary preparations, that every thing was ready for executing the deſign before it was ſo much as ſuſpected in England. The land forces conſiſted of four battalions of Engliſh and Iriſh troops, and about 9000 French, commanded by the marſhal de Belfondes; ſo that the whole amounted to 20,000 men. A fleet of 300 tranſports was collected, and provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion. The troops were ready to embark, and waited only the arrival of the count d'Etrees with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, appointed to eſcort the tranſports; while admiral Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet.

Previous to theſe preparations, James ſent over colonel Parker to England, to give his friends intelligence of his deſign. Parker, not content with executing his commiſſion, formed a plot, with one Johnſon, for aſſaſſinating William; but before an opportunity offered for executing their deſign, the king embarked for Holland; by which means the horrid ſcheme was rendered totally abortive.

A ſhort time after Parker's arrival in England, James ſent over a printed declaration, dated at St. Germain's; in which he openly avowed his intentions of uſing all the means in his power to recover the throne of his anceſtors; and boaſted of having obtained aſſiſtance from France ſufficient, he hoped, to render the attempt ſucceſsful. At the ſame time he exhorted all his faithful ſubjects to continue in their fidelity. He offered pardon and rewards to all the prince of Orange's ſoldiers, and others who ſhould think proper to join him; and even proceeded ſo far as to except by name from this indemnity no leſs than thirteen noblemen, two biſhops, ſeven barons, and a great number of the clergy and gentry. This declaration was ordered to be publiſhed as ſoon as the troops were ready to be embarked.

---

[*] The moſt remarkable tranſaction that happened during this ſeſſion, was the diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough, whom the king cauſed to be informed, by the ſecretary of ſtate, that having no farther occaſion for his ſervices, he muſt reſign all his commiſſions. His counteſs was alſo forbid the court; and the princeſs of Denmark was deſired to diſmiſs her from her family, which ſhe refuſing to comply with, it occaſioned a quarrel between her and the queen, ſoon after which her royal highneſs removed from court to Sion-houſe, which ſhe borrowed of the duke of Somerſet.

In the mean time Parker and his agents were buſily employed in enliſting men privately in the northern counties; while Fountaine, as lieutenant-colonel to lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, employed themſelves in forming two regiments of horſe in London, ready to join James on his landing. But their zeal for the ſervice of their maſter carried them too far. Perſuaded that every perſon in the kingdom, who was not a zealous friend to the eſtabliſhed government, would readily join in an attempt to overturn it, they made no difficulty of applying to all who had ſhewn the leaſt diſſatisfaction at the public meaſures. Rear admiral Carter was known to have ſtrenuouſly defended the rights of the people, and on this foundation only they made application to him as a friend to the dethroned monarch. Their bigotted prejudices prevented them from reflecting, that he who was a true friend to liberty muſt be an enemy to James, and every other prince who laboured to eſtabliſh his throne on the ruins of Engliſh freedom. Carter immediately informed the queen and council of the offers that had been made him by Fountaine and Holman. Alarmed at this diſcovery, and deſirous of procuring the neceſſary information, Carter was deſired to continue his correſpondence with the conſpirators, and pretend an inclination of joining them. He fully performed the requeſt of the council; and the conſpirators, who exulted in having gained over to their intereſt ſo able an officer, made him acquainted with all their ſecrets. They immediately diſpatched an expreſs to lord Melfort, James's ſecretary, informing him of their ſucceſs in corrupting Carter, who would take care to bring over all the officers of his ſquadron. At the ſame time they deſired he would preſs the king of France to ſend peremptory orders to Tourville to ſail directly, without waiting for d'Etrees. This proved the deſtruction of the whole ſcheme. James repaired to La Hogue, on the coaſt of Normandy, where the troops were ready to embark, and Tourville was ordered to ſail immediately.

The manifeſto of James was now publiſhed; in which the ſeverities of the prince of Orange's government, the enormous expences to which he had put the nation, were enumerated, and the people invited to return to the allegiance of their native prince. He promiſed to protect the church of England, to eſtabliſh an entire liberty of conſcience, to make trade and navigation flouriſh, to redreſs all the grievances, and to confirm the happineſs of the nation. Theſe fine promiſes were not, however, ſufficient to efface the remembrance of the many grievances which had forced the people to drive him from the throne. Whatever diſcontents might prevail in England, the animoſity againſt James was much ſtronger than the murmurs againſt his rival.

As ſoon as queen Mary received intelligence of the proceedings of James and the French king, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, requiring all papiſts to quit the cities of London and Weſtminer; a ſecond for aſſembling both houſes of parliament, and a third for apprehending the earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, Newburgh, Middleton, and Dunmore; the lords Griffin and Forbes; Sir John Fenwicke, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Sir Andrew Forreſter, and ſeveral others, who were ſuppoſed to be in James's intereſt; and on the 6th of May the earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough, with the lords Brudenell and Fanſhaw, were ſent to the Tower; and Mr. Edward Ridley, Mr. Knevitt, Mr. Haſtings, and Mr. Robert Ferguſon, to Newgate, on violent ſuſpicion of high-treaſon in abetting and adhering to their majeſties enemies. Orders were ſent to admiral Ruſſel, then lying at St. Helen's, to haſten to ſea; and the queen in perſon reviewed the trained bands of London and Weſtminſter, amounting to about 10,000 men.

William, on his arrival in Holland, immediately haſtened the naval preparations there with unuſual diligence, ſo that the Dutch fleet was ſoon ready to put to ſea; and, about the middle of May, 36 ſail, under the command of admiral Allemonde, joined the fleet at St. Helen's, which was ſoon after further reinforced by the ſquadron under Sir Ralph Delaval from the Mediterranean, and admiral Carter from the channel.

On the 18th of May admiral Ruſſel left St. Helen's, and ſtood over towards the coaſt of France. About three the next morning, the ſcouts, to the weſtward of the fleet, made the ſignal for diſcovering the enemy, and orders were immediately given for forming the line of battle. This was ſoon effected, and the whole fleet ſtood towards the enemy in the following order: The Dutch ſquadron formed the van; the red ſquadron the center; and the blue ſquadron the rear. The French admiral was aſtoniſhed when he ſaw the combined fleets of England and Holland. He had received no advice of this junction, and flattered himſelf with being able to defeat the Engliſh, unaſſiſted by their ally. He might, however, have declined an engagement; but having received poſitive orders to fight the enemy, he reſolved to obey, and exert all his endeavours to execute the commands of his maſter, in the manner becoming a good officer and an intrepid ſeaman.

The combined fleet conſiſted of ninety-nine ſhips of the line, and the French only ſixty-three. About half an hour after eleven, Tourville, in the Royal Sun, a ſhip of 110 guns, brought to, began the fight with admiral Ruſſel, and continued the engagement about an hour and a half, when he began to tow o in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails and top-ſail-yards being very much damaged.

The wind had hitherto been weſterly, but it now ſhifted to the north-weſt; and ſoon after, five ſhips of the enemy poſted themſelves, three a-head, and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and continued firing very ſmartly till about three o'clock; ſo that Ruſſel and his two ſeconds, Churchill and Aylmer, had ſi or ſeven ſhips upon them at once. About four a thick fog came up, and the firing on both ſides ceaſed; but it clearing up in a little time, the Frenc admiral was diſcovered towing away to the northward and Ruſſel ordered all the ſhips of his diviſion to d the like. A ſmall breeze from the eaſtward now ſprung up, and the ſignal was immediately mad for chacing. About this time a continued firing wa heard to the weſtward; and it ſoon appeared that Si Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red, havin got to the windward of Tourville's ſquadron, ha attacked their admiral of the blue. After the engage ment had continued for ſome time, the ſhips of bot ſquadrons came to an anchor. In the mean time admiral Ruſſel ordered all the ſhips of his diviſion t ſtand to the weſtward during the night, from a per ſuaſion that the French would do all in their powe to eſcape to Breſt. He was not miſtaken; for in th morning he found himſelf much nearer to the enem than thoſe who had come to an anchor. About eig at night a firing was heard to the weſtward, and con tinued about half an hour; part of the Engliſh blu ſquadron having fallen in with ſome ſhips of the ene my during the fog; and in that diſpute rear-admir Carter was ſlain. Finding his laſt moments were a hand, he begged his captain to fight his ſhip as lon as ſhe would ſwim; a ſufficient proof that there wa not the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect his zeal for the ſervic of his country.

The fog continued during the whole night, wi very little wind; and in the morning it was ſo haz that few of the enemy's ſhips could be ſeen; but the weather clearing up about eight, the Dutch, who were at ſome diſtance to the ſouthward, made the ſignal for ſeeing the French fleet, and ſoon after thirty-four ſail were diſcovered about two or three leagues to the ſouth-weſt, the wind being then at north-eaſt. The Engliſh now crouded all the ſail poſſible; and between eleven and twelve the wind came about to the ſouth-weſt, when the French ſtood away to the weſtward, and the Engliſh after them. About eleven the next day the Royal Sun ran aſhore, while two other large ſhips of the enemy ſtood as near her as poſſible. Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, was now ordered to deſtroy the Royal Sun, while the reſt of the fleet continued their purſuit of the enemy. This ſervice he effectually performed, and the fineſt ſhip in the French navy was reduced to aſhes.

About four in the afternoon eighteen of the French ſhips, which had reached Cape Barfleur, haled in for La Hogue, and came to an anchor cloſe under the ſhore. The next day Ruſſel ordered Mr. Rooke, vice-admiral of the blue, with his ſquadron, the fire-ſhips, and all the boats of the fleet, to ſtand in and deſtroy thoſe ſhips. He obeyed his orders, and burnt thirteen men of war, ſeveral tranſports, and ſome ſmall veſſels loaded with ammunition.

In this famous engagement two ſhips of 104 guns, one of 90, two of 80, four of 76, four of 60, and two of fifty-ſix guns, belonging to the enemy, were deſtroyed.

James was ſo ſenſibly affected at this misfortune, that, in a letter he wrote to the king of France on the occaſion, he begged he would leave him to his fate. "I have hitherto (ſaid he) ſupported, with ſome conſtancy and reſolution, the weight of my misfortunes, while I myſelf was the only ſufferer; but this diſaſter has overwelmed me with grief, and left me no room for comfort. I know too well that my own unlucky ſtar has drawn this misfortune upon your forces, always victorious but when they fought for my intereſt, and therefore I no longer merit the ſupport of ſo great a monarch. Let me, therefore, intreat your majeſty to concern yourſelf no longer for a prince ſo dreadfully unfortunate; but permit me to retire, with my family, to ſome corner of the world, where I may ceaſe to obſtruct the courſe of your majeſty's ſucceſſes and conqueſts, and where it will be the greateſt of my conſolations to hear of the quick return of your majeſty's wonted triumphs, both by ſea and land, over both your enemies and mine. This, I doubt not, will ſoon be the caſe when my intereſt ſhall be no longer intermixed with yours." Lewis endeavoured to alleviate his afflictions by every method in his power. He wrote him an anſwer filled with the kindeſt expreſſions, and promiſed never to forſake him in his misfortunes.

The queen was no ſooner informed of this victory, than ſhe ſent 30,000l. to Portſmouth, to be diſtributed among the ſailors: ordered medals to be ſtruck for the officers, and cauſed the bodies of admiral Carter and colonel Haſtings, who had fallen in the engagement, to be honourably interred. The French, in their turn, were threatened with an invaſion, and about ſeven thouſand men embarked on board the fleet for that purpoſe. Great expectations were formed with regard to this expedition; but the advanced ſeaſon of the year was thought a ſufficient reaſon for laying it aſide; and the troops were ſent over to ſerve in Flanders.

But if Lewis was unfortunate at ſea, it was different with regard to his army in the low countries. Soon after opening the campaign, he laid ſiege to Namur, the ſtrongeſt place in the Netherlands, both by its advantageous ſituation betwen the Sambre and the Maeſe, and by its citadel, which is built on a rock. His army conſiſted of 120,000 men, with part of which he inveſted the town on the twenty-fifth of May; while Luxemburg, with the remainder, covered the ſiege. The operations were carried on with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution, that in eight days the French made themſelves maſters of the town, and of the citadel in twenty-two; while Luxemburg prevented William from paſſing the Mahaigne, who had advanced to the banks of the river, at the head of eighty thouſand men, to raiſe the ſiege. Lewis, after making this conqueſt, returned to Verſailles, leaving Luxemburg to oppoſe the army of the allies.

William, rightly imagining that it would be ſome reflection either on his conduct or courage, to have ſuffered a place of ſo much conſequence as Namur to be taken in his ſight, earneſtly ſought an opportunity of retrieving his reputation. Accordingly, he formed a deſign to ſurprize Mons; but, being prevented in this enterprize, he determined to fight the French army at all events, eſpecially as he had juſt received a reinforcement of eighty thouſand Hanoverian forces. Luxemburg had pitched his camp in a very advantageous ſituation, covered by a wood, and thick hedges, between Eghein and Steinkirk. Here William reſolved to attack them, from the information of ſome perſons who were thought to underſtand the nature of the ground; though it was afterwards found that they were miſtaken, the paſs being much narrower than they imagined.

Accordingly, on Sunday the 24th of July, the army was ordered to march at break of day, and fall upon the enemy in their camp. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack when the French were all aſleep in their tents, not dreaming of ſuch a diſagreeable viſit, and one whole brigade was cut entirely to pieces before the marſhal was acquainted with the attack. He was at that time very ill; a fatal circumſtance at a juncture when the utmoſt activity was neceſſary; but the greatneſs of the danger inſpired him with new ſtrength. He changed his ground; gave a field of battle to his army, which before was pent up; recovered the right wing, which was entirely in confuſion; rallied his men three ſeveral times, and three times charged at the head of the houſhold troops. Theſe ſeveral actions were performed in leſs than two hours. He had with him the duke of Chartres, then not above fifteen years old, and conſequently could not be ſuppoſed to be of any great ſervice in ſuch operations; but his preſence greatly contributed to animate the ſoldiers. A grandſon and a grand nephew of the famous Conde alſo ſerved at that time under Luxemburg. The one was duke of Bourbon, the other prince de Conti. Theſe were rivals in courage, ambition, and fame; and accordingly exerted themſelves in a particular manner to retrieve the fortune of the day. Theſe princes put themſelves at the heads of the rallied troops, where they made a moſt furious and deſperate reſiſtance. Wirtemberg, unable to contend with ſuch ſuperior numbers, ſent ſeveral meſſages to count Solmes, ſoliciting a reinforcement. But that nobleman, from ſome picque he had conceived againſt the the Engliſh, diſregarded his requeſt.

William, informed of the danger to which his troops were expoſed, ſent peremptory orders to the count to march to their aſſiſtance; but the horſe, on account of the unevenneſs of the ground, could be of no ſervice; ſo that the Britiſh troops, aſſiſted with a few Dutch and Daniſh, ſuſtained the whole fury of the fight. At length Bouflers, who was poſted with a ſtrong body of dragoons at ſome diſtance from the field of battle, coming up, and joining the French army, the confederates, unable to withſtand this ſuperiority,

riority, gave way, and retreated in good order; the French contenting themſelves with having recovered their troops from the diſorder into which they were thrown. Nor did William think it prudent to renew the engagement; and accordingly drew off his forces. In this deſperate attack the allies loſt five or ſix thouſand men, and among them lieutenant-general Mackay, Sir John Lanier, the earl of Angus, Sir Robert Douglas, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the French was alſo very conſiderable, both in private men and officers of rank; and they would have ſuffered ſtill more, had it not been for the treachery of one Millevoix, ſecretary to the elector of Bavaria, who had, for a conſiderable time, made it his practice to ſend intelligence to the enemy, of all the reſolutions agreed to in the councils of the allies. Being detected on this occaſion, he was hanged on a tree at the right wing of the confederate army.

But a ſcene of greater treachery was about this time brought to light. The French court, finding they could not deſtroy king William in open war, reſolved to take him off by ſecret villainy; and, accordingly, an attempt was now formed againſt his life under the conduct of Barbeſieux, ſecretary of ſtate to Lewis, and one colonel Parker, who had fled to that court for protection. Grandval, a French knight of deſperate fortune, was encouraged by conſiderable ſums in hand, and ſtill more conſiderable promiſes, to aſſaſſinate the king of England when he was riding at the head of his troops, or whenever he perceived a favourable opportunity. In order to encourage him to execute this piece of daring villainy, a body of troops was ordered to attend him at a diſtance, in order to carry him off as ſoon as the murder was perpetrated. Grandval admitted two other perſons into the conſpiracy as his aſſiſtants, Dumont, and Leeſdale, a Dutch papiſt. Theſe three inhuman monſters had ſeveral times attempted to put their infernal deſign into execution, both at Loo and in the camp. Dumont had entered into the allied army as a deſerter, in order to have a better opportunity: but being at length diſcouraged by various diſappointments, and ſtruck with horror at the villainous deſign in which he was engaged, he made a full diſcovery of the whole plot. Grandval was accordingly ſeized as he was ſkulking about the king's quarters; and being examined before a court-martial, he, for ſome, denied his having any knowledge of the intended aſſaſſination; till being confronted by Dumont, and ſeveral papers produced, in which the whole plan of operations was laid down, he confeſſed the deſign, together with all the circumſtances that had attended it from time to time, and made a full diſcovery of the perſons who formed the ſcheme, and had engaged to ſupport him. Upon full evidence of his guilt, he received ſentence of death, as in caſes of high-treaſon, and was hanged, drawn, and quartered; his head and quarters being, by way of terror, ſet upon poles without the camp. Dumont and Leeſdale were ſuffered to eſcape with their lives, on account of their having given evidence againſt Grandval.

A few days after the battle of Steinkirk, the count Sericlas de Tilly fell in with a ſtrong detachment of French ſent out of Namur, to lay the country under contribution. This corps he totally defeated, took four hundred priſoners, and among them thirty officers of conſiderable note, who were ſent to Hays. Among the ſlain was the marquis of Hacquincourt. Our army being about the ſame time reinforced by the recruits from England, under the duke of Leinſter, a detachment from the camp, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, was ſent towards Newport, when they poſſeſſed themſelves of Furnes, a very important poſt, fortified it, and ſeized on Dixmuyde, with the villages and all the dependent territories. Many ſkirmiſhes happened during theſe tranſactions, but none worthy of a place in a general hiſtory.

In the mean time the town of Reinfeldt was inveſted by count Tallard; while the duke of Savoy made an incurſion into Dauphine, but ſoon retired; and the ſeaſon being now advancing for cloſing the campaign, many of the troops were ſent into winter quarters; but ſome ſtill remained in the ſeveral poſts to prevent the enemy from making incurſions.

William, having conferred the command of the allied army on the elector of Bavaria, embarked for England on the 15th of October. He landed at Yarmouth on the 18th, and was met by the queen at Newhall on the 20th, from whence he immediately proceeded to the capital, where he was received by the people with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy.

We muſt here make a ſhort digreſſion, to admit an account of a very ſingular tranſaction that happened in Scotland during this year's campaign on the continent. About the time the king embarked for Holland, a very barbarous maſſacre was committed in that kingdom, which ſhewed at once the cruelty and treachery of ſome of thoſe who had inſinuated themſelves into the king's confidence.

The earl of Braidalbin formed a ſcheme for quieting all the highlanders, provided the king would defray the neceſſary expences, amounting to 12 or 15,000l. The offer was accepted, and the ſum demanded remitted from England, with orders to divide it among the chiefs of the highland clans.

Braidalbin employed his emiſſaries among them, and told them that the beſt ſervice they could do king James was to lie quiet, and reſerve themſelves for better times: and, provided they ſubmitted to take the oaths, the king would be contented, and they would be entitled to a ſhare of this ſum, which was ſent down down to purchaſe a tranquillity for that country: but their demands roſe ſo high, that the ſcheme became abortive. They knew that this nobleman had money to diſtribute among them; they were perſuaded that he intended to keep the greater part of it for himſelf; and, therefore, they aſked more than he was able to give.

Among the moſt obſtinate and clamorous of thoſe clans were the Macdonalds of Glencoe; who were ſuſpected of having committed many robberies and murders, and gained too much by their barbarous methods of making war to be eaſily prevailed upon to give it over. The chief of that clan had ſo provoked lord Braidalbin, by rendering his whole ſcheme abortive by his oppoſition, that he determined to take an ample revenge. William had already offered, by a proclamation, an indemnity to all the highlanders who had been in arms againſt him, on their coming in by a fixed day, and taking the oaths. This period had been twice or thrice prolonged; and at laſt with a poſitive threatening of military execution on all who ſhould not ſubmit by the laſt day of the preſent year.

This threatening produced the deſired effect: they all came in; and even Macdonald himſelf repaired to the governor of Fort-William. But that commander, being only a military man, could not, or would not, tender the oaths; and Macdonald was obliged to have recourſe to ſome legal magiſtrate to perform the office refuſed by the governor of Fort-William. The ſnows were then fallen, ſo that four or five days paſſed before he could reach the houſe of any magiſtrate. He took the oaths in his preſence, but, as the time of the laſt proclamation was elapſed, he could not, by the ſtrict letter of the law, gain any benefit from his ſubmiſſion. The whole affair was repreſented to the council; who reprimanded the magiſtrate for giving him the oaths when the day was paſſed.

This particular circumſtance was concealed from the king, when the earl of Braidalbin came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to return the money, as he could not perform the ſervice for which he had received it. He laid an information againſt Macdonald, as the principal perſon who had defeated this good deſign; and, that he might at once gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to the highlanders, he propoſed that military execution ſhould be performed on thoſe of Glencoe. An inſtruction was accordingly drawn up by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to be both ſigned and counterſigned by his majeſty, that no blame might fall on Braidalbin, but that it might lay wholly on the king. This inſtruction declared that all who had not taken the oaths within the time limited ſhould loſe the benefit of the indemnity; and be received only upon mercy. But when it was found that this was not ſufficient to authoriſe what was intended, a ſecond order was ſigned and counterſigned, importing, that if the Glencoe men could be ſeparated from the reſt of the highlanders, ſome examples might be made of them, in order to ſtrike terror into the reſt: and the king, without any further enquiry, ſigned the order. In the mean time, William was totally ignorant of Macdonald's having offered to take the oaths within the limited time, and of his having actually taken them as ſoon as he could reach the houſe of a magiſtrate.

Theſe orders being ſent down to Scotland, the ſecretary of ſtate wrote ſeveral letters to Levingſtone, commander of the forces in that kingdom, giving him a ſtrict charge, and particular direction, for carrying them into execution; cautioning him particularly to keep the paſſes of the valley, which were ſo exactly deſcribed, that the account muſt have been drawn up by ſome perſon well acquainted with the country. He alſo gave orders that no quarter ſhould be given, in order to render the execution as terrible as poſſible. He preſſed this upon Levingſtone with ſuch ſtrains of vehemence, that the commander ſuſpected there was ſomething more than ordinary in it, though the ſecretary pretended it was wholly occaſioned by his zeal for the king's ſervice. Adding, it was neceſſary to make examples of ſuch robbers and murderers.

In the month of February a company of ſoldiers were ſent to Glencoe, where they were kindly received, and quartered in different parts of the valley; the inhabitants thinking themſelves entirely ſafe from hoſtilities. After ſtaying a week among them, they took an opportunity, in the night, of killing ſix and thirty of them; the reſt, taking the alarm, made their eſcape. This raiſed a general clamour, and was publiſhed by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, repreſenting the king's government as cruel and barbarous; though it always appeared that his own inclinations were rather too mild and generous. His majeſty ſent orders to make a ſtrict enquiry into the affair, but it appearing that ſo many were involved in it, William thought it more prudent to proceed no farther, contenting himſelf with diſmiſſing the maſter of Stair from his ſervice.

The Highlanders were ſo enraged at this, that they were ready to break out into open rebellion on the firſt favourable opportunity. Indeed, the king's not puniſhing the authors of this maſſacre with the rigour they deſerved was the greateſt blot of his whole reign, and conſiderably contributed to alienate the Scottiſh nation from the king and his government.---But to return to the affairs in England.

On the 4th of November the parliament met, when the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, thanked them for their laſt ſupply, congratulated them on the late victory obtained at ſea; condoled with them, on the bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign on the continent; and obſerved that the diligence of the French in augmenting their forces was ſo remarkable, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to have as great a force to oppoſe them; and therefore demanded a ſupply ſuitable to the exigence. He expreſſed the greateſt concern in being obliged to ſend ſuch large ſums out of the nation for the payment of the army, and wiſhed they could find ſome method of removing ſo great an inconveniency: he intimated a deſign of making a deſcent upon the coaſt of France, and hoped that his parliament would diſpatch ſo ſpeedily the buſineſs of the ſupplies, that the preparations might be early and effectual: he declared that he had no ſeparate intereſt from them, nor any deſire but that of rendering them a happy people. "Hitherto, added he in concluſion, I have never ſpared my own perſon for the good and welfare of this nation; and I am ſo ſenſible of your good affections to me, that I ſhall continue ſo to do with great chearfulneſs upon all occaſions, wherein I may contribute to the honour and advantage of England."

A ſtrong party, under the directions of the earl of Marlborough, was now formed in the upper houſe, againſt the meaſures of the miniſtry; ſo that inſtead of receiving the king's ſpeech with that pleaſure which was expected, they immediately began an enquiry into the commitment of thoſe peers who had lately been ſent to the Tower. This enquiry was carried on with great violence and animoſity; but the king agreeing to releaſe thoſe lords upon bail, the affair was at length compromiſed.

On the 11th of November the commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, thanking him for his ſpeech; and another, deſiring that the ſtate of foreign alliances might be laid before them. On the twelfth, a bill was introduced for regulating trials for high-treaſon. At the ſame time, they voted their thanks to admiral Ruſſel, and to the reſt of the officers for their noble behaviour in the late fight off Cape La Hogue.

The next matter taken into conſideration was, the article of ſupplies: and the proper eſtimates being laid before them, they reſolved to grant the whole ſum demanded, amounting to near five millions; two millions for the ſervice of the navy and ordnance; above two millions for the land forces; and 750,000l. for making good the deficiencies in the laſt year's grants.

In order to raiſe this money, a tax of 4s. in the pound was laid on all lands according to their real value; and on all offices and employments of profit, except thoſe belonging to the army or navy. They alſo empowered his majeſty to borrow money on the credit of this tax, at the rate of four per cent. and alſo raiſe one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. This was the firſt annuity act, and became the principle cauſe of involving this nation in debt.

A third method of raiſing money conſiſted in levying additional duties on all goods and merchandize imported or exported; particularly the ſum of 8l. on every ton of French wine. A new impoſition of eight per cent. was alſo laid on the capital ſtock of the Eaſt-India company, eſtimated at 744,000l. of one per cent. on the African, and of 5l. on every ſhare of the ſtock, belonging to the Hudſon's-bay company; and empowered his majeſty to borrow half a million on theſe funds, which were entirely ſet apart for carrying on the war.

Among other bills brought in this ſeſſion, was one for incapacitating perſons, enjoying certain civil and military employments, to ſit in the houſe of commons. The bill readily paſſed the lower houſe, but occaſioned long and warm debates in the houſe of peers. In this conteſt the earl of Mulgrave diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpirited and elegant ſpeech in favour of the bill. He obſerved, that the commons were the repreſentatives of the people: "But if, ſays he, after they are choſen, they ſhould change their dependence, and engage in employments evidently repugnant to the great truſt repoſed in them, what can the people expect from their ſervices? A commoner who enjoys a command in the army muſt have a divided duty; and perhaps his troops or regiment may be engaged in ſome action abroad, at the time his preſence may be neceſſary at home; ſo that he muſt either have the diſgrace of being abſent from his forces, or from the lower houſe, where he is intruſted with the liberties of the people. There is ſtill, added he, another ſort of incapacity worſe than the former, that of parliament men holding ſuch poſts in the exchequer, whoſe principal profits ariſe from the money voted to the king in the houſe of commons. Would any of your lordſhips intruſt a perſon to make a bargain for you, whoſe intereſt is concerned in making you give as much as poſſibly he can?" After ſeveral other arguments of a ſimilar nature, he deſired the houſe "to conſider of how great conſequence it was that ſo many votes ſhould be free, when upon one ſingle voice the whole ſecurity or ruin of the nation might depend; adding, that the people could never be prevailed upon to bear ſo great a provocation, as that of being debarred from a ſecurity in their own repreſentatives; and would be eaſily perſuaded by thoſe whoſe intereſts it was to inflame their minds with diſcontent, that all thoſe vaſt ſums that had been, and muſt ſtill be raiſed for carrying on the war, were not diſpoſed of in ſo fair and equitable a manner as they ought to be; and thence very naturally conclude that their money is not given but taken." This bill, however, was thrown out, after a long debate, by a majority of two voices only; the argument againſt paſſing it being, that it ſeemed to eſtabliſh an oppoſition between the crown and the people, as if thoſe who were employed by the one were not fit to be truſted by the other.

About this time a grievance of a public nature was univerſally complained of, namely, the preſſing of land-men for the ſea ſervice by the officers of the navy, who carried them over to Holland, and there ſold them to the officers of the army; a villainous practice which would, in all probability, have paſſed unnoticed, had not a ſervant belonging to one of the members of parliament been thus taken away. Sir John Trevor, the ſpeaker of the lower houſe, being ordered to lay this grievance before his majeſty, the king was pleaſed to expreſs his juſt reſentment on the occaſion; and ordered that no naval officer ſhould preſume to preſs landmen for the future, on pain of being caſhiered.

The parliament next proceeded to take into conſideration the ſtate of Ireland, concerning which they examined a number of witneſſes. Both houſes then preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, wherein they complained of the conditions that had been granted to the Iriſh, on the ſurrender of Limerick, and of the king's having diſpoſed of ſome of the forfeited eſtates and effects of the rebels in that kingdom: as alſo of the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers for want of pay, which they were perſuaded they had provided for. They complained of recruiting his majeſty's forces, with Iriſh papiſts, and of ſelling the forfeited eſtates much under their real value, to the prejudice of the revenue; of the embezzlement of the ſtores in the towns and garriſons, taken from king James; and repreſented that certain additional articles to the treaty of Limerick, after the capitulation had been ſigned, had given too much encouragement to the Iriſh papiſts, and greatly weakened the proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom. Theſe abuſes, they beſought his majeſty to redreſs; particularly that the ſoldiers might be paid their arrears; that no Iriſh papiſt might be permitted to ſerve in the army in that kingdom; and that no grant might be made of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, till that matter ſhould be ſettled in parliament. The king anſwered, in general terms, that whatever was amiſs ſhould be remedied.

A. D. 1693. On the 14th of March the king came to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the large ſupplies they had given him; and recommended the peace of the ſeveral counties to their reſpective care. He told them that his preſence was neceſſary abroad, but would take care to leave a ſufficient number of troops to ſecure the peace of the kingdom; and concluded with aſſuring them, that he ſhould continue to expoſe his perſon on all occaſions for the happineſs and ſecurity of theſe kingdoms; and that his ſincere endeavours ſhould never be wanting to render England a great and flouriſhing nation.

On the 31ſt of March the king embarked at Graveſend, and landed ſafely at the Maeſe in Holland, on the 2d of April. He ſoon after put himſelf at the head of the allied army, and advanced againſt the enemy. Luxemburg ſurprized and attacked him at Nerwind with a ſuperior army. The king loſt not a moment. He drew up his forces in order of battle, expoſed himſelf to every kind of danger, but was obliged at laſt to give way to the numbers of the enemy. Though vanquiſhed, he made a glorious retreat, and was ſtill reſpectable. Nor did the French reap any other advantage from their victory than that of making themſelves maſters of Charleroy.

William was thought to have gained more real honour in the battle of Nerwind than when he triumphed at the Boyne. His very enemies were charmed with his conduct. It was a common ſaying in the French camp, that "they wanted only ſuch a king to make themſelves maſters of Chriſtendom." The prince of Conti, in a letter he wrote to his conſort, uſed the following expreſſion: "I ſaw the king expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers; and ſurely ſo much valour very well deſerves the peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown he wears." The king of France himſelf is reported to have ſaid, "That Luxemburg's behaviour was like that of the prince of Conti, but William's like that of marſhal Turenne."

At the ſame time Germany and Piedmont were alſo the theatres of war. The palatinate was inhumanly ravaged by the duke of Lorges. The duke of Savoy, who, the preceeding year, had ſpread deſolation through Dauphiny, was defeated near Marſeilles by Catinat. But Lewis XIV. notwithſtanding ſo many victories, found enemies in every quarter, capable of making the ſtrongeſt reſiſtance. The dreadful ſcourge of war, after ſtrewing the plains with the bodies of the dead, frequently leaves nothing more behind than vain exultations on the ſide of the victor. The more dreadful ſcourge of famine followed that of war. Two harveſts had failed, and the vintage had ſuffered greatly; ſo that the French had neither bread nor wine. The utmoſt diligence was uſed to import corn from other countries; and the famous

Dubart ſeaſonably purchaſed large quantities both in Sweden and Denmark, conveying it ſafely into the harbours of France.

The affairs at ſea this year were alſo far from being advantageous to England. The French had, in ſome meaſure, repaired their loſſes at La Hogue, and the commerce of the allies ſuffered greatly. The Engliſh and Dutch fleets were, indeed, very ſtrong, and ſailed early. The admirals were not at firſt reſtrained by any particular inſtructions, but ordered in general to deſtroy the ſhips of the enemy, and protect the trade; but they afterwards received particular inſtructions with regard to a large fleet of near 400 ſail of merchant ſhips belonging to England, Holland, and Hamburgh. After ſeveral councils held on this occaſion, it was determined that the whole fleet, together with the Mediterranean ſquadron, ſhould proceed in junction thirty leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt from Uſhant; when Sir George Rook, who was appointed to command the ſquadron deſtined to convoy them, was to proceed with them towards the ports to which they were bound. Accordingly Sir George, with all the Turkey ſhips, left the main body of the fleet on the 6th of June; and ſteering for the Streights, left by the way the veſſels bound for Bilboa, Liſbon, St. Ubes, and other ports. When he was within ſixty leagues of Cape St. Vincent, he diſcovered part of the French fleet; on which he immediately called a council of war, where it was reſolved, that as the wind was northerly, and a freſh gale, the merchant ſhips ſhould make the beſt of their way to Cadiz. This reſolution was hardly taken, before the whole fleet of the enemy, conſiſting of eighty ſail, under the command of Tourville, was diſcovered. Rooke was perſuaded there was now no time to retreat; but Vandergoes, the Dutch vice-admiral, informed him, that he choſe to avoid an engagement, which he thought extremely hazardous. Rook therefore followed his advice, and they both ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, that the heavy ſhips might work up to windward. At the ſame time, the Sheerneſs was diſpatched with orders to the ſmall ſhips, near the land, to endeavour to keep cloſe under the ſhore during the night, and take ſhelter in Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. About ſix in the evening, the van of the enemy came up with the ſternmoſt of the confederate fleet, conſiſting of three Dutch men of war. Theſe bravely fought, firſt eleven, and then ſeven of the enemy's ſhips, for five hours together. They had the good fortune to clear themſelves from the former; but were obliged to ſubmit to the latter, after making a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance. The Dutch merchant ſhips immediately tacked and ſtood in for the ſhore, and the enemy after them. Rooke ſtood off to ſea during the night; and the next morning fifty-four of the merchant ſhips, and ſeveral men of war, were about him; but no more than two of the latter belonged to the Dutch. Five ſail of the enemy's ſhips were ſeen to leeward, and two to windward; the latter kept in ſight of him till it was night. The next day the admiral called a council of war, where it was determined to ſail directly to the Madeiras, in order to procure water, and thence either to Cork or Kingſale. This reſolution was accordingly executed, and Sir George conducted that part of the fleet back to Ireland in ſafety.

Had the enemy purſued their firſt advantage with the ſame conduct and reſolution, hardly a ſhip could have eſcaped; for when the Dutch tacked and ſtood in for the ſhore, the van of the French were within cannon-ſhot of the Engliſh admiral; but their tacking after the Dutch gave the other part of the fleet an opportunity of eſcaping. The loſs, however, was very conſiderable, and fell chiefly on the Hollanders, the enemy having taken above eighty ſail of merchant ſhips, and three men of war. The Engliſh loſt only one man of war, and about five merchantmen.

After the engagement, the French admiral ſtood away for Cadiz, in order to attack that place, but he found the attempt impracticable. They then bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. From Gibraltar they entered the Streights, and proceeded along the coaſts of Spain; burnt ſeveral Engliſh and Dutch ſhips at Malaga and Alicant; and returned to Toulon about the latter end of September.

In the mean time fifteen ſhips of the line and two frigates were ordered by William to Holland; and twenty-ſix men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips, were deſtined for the winter fleet, which it was then thought would put an end to the naval operations this year: but it ſoon after appeared that a ſecret expedition had been formed, in order to check the immoderate boaſtings of the French for their ſucceſsful expeditions at ſea.

The Engliſh trade had, for a conſiderable time paſt, ſuffered very ſeverely from the privateers of St. Malo's. Never did one port ſend out ſo great a number of thoſe cruiſers; or even acquire, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ſo much wealth, without engaging in any branch of commerce: the ſea was covered with their ſhips from the channel to the Mediterranean; and their very names were become a terror to the merchants of London, Amſterdam, and Cadiz. The repeated complaints of the ſufferers by this depredatory war, ſo alarmed the Engliſh government, that a reſolution was taken to deſtroy St. Malo's, the port of theſe formidable enemies to the trade of the confederates. Purſuant to this reſolution, commodore Benbow, and captain Phillips a famous engineer, were appointed commanders of this expedition. Every thing being ready, they put to ſea, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches and other veſſels, and arrived before St. Malo's on the 16th of November. After bombarding the town for three days, they took the advantage of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and very dark weather, on the night of the 19th, when they ſent in a fire-ſhip of a particular conſtruction, with a deſign to lay the whole town in aſhes. This would undoubtedly have been the conſequence, had not the effect been prevented by an accident; for when ſhe had arrived within piſtol ſhot of the town, where they intended to have moored her, a ſudden guſt of wind drove her upon a rock, where ſhe continued immoveable. At laſt the engineer, who was on board, perceiving her ſides beginning to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, ſet fire to her. The exploſion was ſo terrible, as to ſhake the whole town like an earthquake, unroof above 300 houſes, and brake all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round. The inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation that a ſmall body of troops might have taken the place; but the miniſtry, by an effect of their uſual inattention, or perhaps, by ſomewhat worſe, had ſent out this ſquadron without a ſingle ſoldier on board. Sir George Rooke's ſquadron was by this time arrived in England, and laid up: and with Benbow's expedition ended the naval tranſactions of this year; as little to the honour of the Engliſh as any during the whole courſe of the war.

Such a continued ſeries of misfortunes threw the whole nation into confuſion: every individual in the kingdom exclaimed againſt the miniſtry, and even openly accuſed them of treachery to their country. It was aſſerted that the French court was privately acquainted with all the deſigns of ours; and thereby enabled to take the proper meaſures for rendering them abortive; while the Engliſh miniſtry remained, or affected to remain, totally ignorant of the ſchemes of the enemy. The weight of this accuſation fell chiefly on the earls of Nottingham, Killegrew, and Delaval; two of the admirals, the marquis of Caermarthen and the earl of Rocheſter. But whether they were or not guilty of the charge is uncertain: they were at leaſt known to have been firmly attached to the late king, and not yet thoroughly reconciled to the preſent government, though they poſſeſſed ſome of the moſt lucrative and honourable poſts in the adminiſtration.

The campaign being now cloſed in Flanders, William returned to England the latter end of October. His firſt care was, to ſilence the murmurs of the people, by making a thorough change in his miniſtry. The earl of Nottingham was now laid aſide, and his place ſupplied by the earl of Shrewſbury: the command of the fleet was committed ſolely to the care of the intrepid admiral Ruſſel. In a word, the tory party were obliged to make way for their antagoniſts, the whigs; thoſe only, who were known to be firm friends to the revolution being continued in office. Theſe meaſures were chiefly owing to the repreſentations of the earl of Sunderland, who had acquired a conſiderable influence with his majeſty, and found means to perſuade him that the whigs only were his true friends: while the tories, under the maſk of pretended loyalty, were, in their hearts, devoted to the intereſt of their late ſovereign.

The parliament met on the 7th of October, when the king opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I am always glad to meet you here; and I could heartily wiſh that our ſatisfaction were not leſſened at preſent by reflecting upon the diſadvantages we have received this year at land, and the miſcarriages in our affairs at ſea. I think it is evident, that the former were only occaſioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, which reflects ſo great diſgrace upon the nation, I have reſented it extremely; and as I will take care that thoſe who have not done their duty ſhall be puniſhed, ſo I am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt endeavours, that our power at ſea may be rightly managed for the future: and it will well deſerve your conſideration, whether we are not defective, both in the number of our ſhipping, and in proper ports to the weſtward, for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is ſo eſſential to the welfare of theſe kingdoms.

" I am very ſenſible of the good affection wherewith you have always aſſiſted me to ſupport the charges of the war, which have been very great; and yet I am perſuaded that the experience of this ſummer is ſufficient to convince us all, that, to arrive at a good end of it, there will be a neceſſity of increaſing our forces, both by ſea and land, the next year. Our allies have reſolved to add to theirs; and I will not doubt, that you will have ſuch regard to the preſent exigence, as that you will give me a ſuitable ſupply to enable me to do the like. I muſt therefore earneſtly recommend it to you, gentlemen of the houſe of commons, to take ſuch timely reſolutions, as that your ſupplies may be effectual, and our preparations ſo forward, as will be neceſſary both for the honour and ſecurity of the nation."

In anſwer to this ſpeech, the commons unanimouſly reſolved, " that they would ſupport their majeſties and their government; and grant a ſufficient ſupply for a vigorous proſecution of the war." But before they proceeded on that ſubject, they thought proper to make a ſtrict enquiry into the cauſes that occaſioned the miſcarriages of the fleet laſt ſummer. This enquiry took up a conſiderable ſpace of time. Great exceptions were made againſt the many delays, by which the houſe ſuſpected a ſcheme was laid to prevent the Smyrna fleet from ſailing out of the Engliſh harbours, till the French had ſufficient notice of the deſign, in order to be ready to intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of: the inſtructions which the admirals who commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet council, were conſidered as badly drawn up, and worſe executed. The orders appeared ambiguous and defective; nor had the commanders ſhewed any zeal to do any thing more than ſtrictly to obey them; which they had done with the moſt ſcrupulous attention: they had uſed no methods to procure certain intelligence concerning the French fleet, whether it was at ſea, or ſtill in Breſt harbour. Inſtead of which they had truſted to general and uncertain reports, though a fleet o the utmoſt conſequence to the nation was intruſted t their care: nor had they ſailed far enough wit Rooke to ſee him paſt danger. To theſe charge they anſwered, that they had obſerved their orders that they had great reaſon to think the French wer ſtill in Breſt; and therefore thought it was not ſafe t ſail too far from the coaſt of England, when they had, as they ſuſpected, left behind them a ſtrong nava force, which might, during their abſence, alarm, and perhaps ravage the Engliſh coaſt. It was repreſented as impracticable to obtain any authentic informatio from Breſt; and added ſeveral ſuſpicious reaſons i ſupport of their conduct. But though their reaſon were thought far from being ſufficient to juſtify th meaſures they had purſued; yet, as they had obeye their orders, they could not be puniſhed; and accordingly a vote paſſed in their favour.

This enquiry being finiſhed, the commons proceeded to deliberate on the ſupplies, and voted, tha 500,000 pounds be raiſed towards diſcharging th wages due to the ſeamen; and that a farther ſum o 2,000,000 be granted to their majeſties for th maintenance of the fleet, including the ordinance that the number of forces in their majeſties pay b increaſed to ſix new regiments of Engliſh dragoon and fifteen new regiments of Engliſh foot: th 83,000,121 men, including commiſſion and non commiſſion officers, were neceſſary for the ſervice o the enſuing year, to be employed in England and beyond the ſeas: and that the ſum of 2,535,590 poun be granted for the maintenance of the land force They alſo voted 118,000 pounds to make goo the annuity deficiency, and 296,692 pounds make good the deficiency of the poll-bill. Thus th ſupplies voted for the ſervice of the enſuing ye amounted to near five millions and a half, and we raiſed by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound by an increaſe of annuities; a farther exciſe on bee and a duty on ſalt.

After the commons had granted the neceſſary ſu plies, they paſſed a bill for rendering all members their houſe incapable of truſt and profit. This bill al paſſed the upper houſe, and lay ready for the roy aſſent; but when the king came to the houſe of pee to paſs the land-tax bill, he thought proper to refu it. This refuſal alarmed the commons: the who houſe was turned into a committee on the ſtate of t nation, and it was reſolved, " That whoever adviſ the king not to give the royal aſſent to the act whi was to redreſs a grievance, and take off a ſcand from the commons in parliament, is an enemy their majeſties and the kingdom; and that a repr ſentation be made to the king to lay before him h few inſtances have been, in former reigns, of de ing the royal aſſent to bills for the redreſs of gr vances; and the grief of the commons for his

havi

having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public bills, and in particular to this bill, which tends ſo much to clear the reputation of this houſe, after having voted ſo freely to ſupply the public occaſions."

Theſe reſolutions being formed into a repreſentation, it was preſented by the whole houſe to the king, who was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"I am very ſenſible of the good offices you have expreſſed for me on many occaſions, and the zeal you have ſhewn for our common intereſt; I ſhall make uſe of this opportunity to tell you, that no prince ever had a higher eſteem for the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, than myſelf; and that I ſhall ever have a great regard for the advice of parliament.

"I am perſuaded that nothing can ſo much conduce to the welfare of this kingdom, as an entire confidence between the king and people, which I ſhall by all means endeavour to preſerve; and I aſſure you I ſhall look upon ſuch perſons as my enemies, who ſhall adviſe any thing that may leſſen it."

This anſwer, however, was far from being ſatisfactory: it was thought by ſome too vague and general. A motion was therefore made, "that application be made to the king for a more particular anſwer." This occaſioned a very warm debate; but the queſtion being at length put, it paſſed in the negative by a great majority.

A bill was now brought into the houſe for naturalizing foreign proteſtants, which occaſioned great debates, and in a particular manner engaged the attention of the public. It was repreſented on one hand, that the ravages of war, the depopulation of the kingdom, the decay of agriculture, the wealth and induſtry of the refugees, already eſtabliſhed in England, the proſpect of increaſing their numbers, and thereby giving ſubjects to the ſtate, and freſh reſources to commerce and manufactures, were conſidered as objects of the laſt importance, and urged in behalf of the bill. On the other hand it was alledged, that foreigners engaged in the manufactures of the Engliſh, would infallibly be of great prejudice to them; that after amaſſing fortunes at their expence, they would leave the kingdom, and return with their riches to their native country; that numbers of artificers were ſtarving for want of employment, and that the evil, inſtead of being leſſened, would be increaſed by this meaſure. In ſhort, to admit ſo many non-conformiſts into the number of natural born ſubjects, was to expoſe the church of England to danger which ſhould be avoided. The laſt obſervation was urged with great warmth; and prevailed with many who conſidered the church and ſtate as a prey to foreigners. Popular prejudices are often formidable. The court party ſaw the difficulty, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, withdrew the bill till a more favourable opportunity.

A. D. 1694. This year was opened by a dreadful diſaſter at ſea. A fleet of merchant ſhips, under a convoy of men of war, commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler, having ſailed from Gibraltar up the Streights, met with a moſt violent ſtorm, which continued the whole day and the ſucceeding night, and occaſioned the moſt melancholy misfortune. The Suſſex, the ſhip on board of which Sir Francis carried his flag, foundered, and he himſelf with his whole crew, except two Moors, periſhed; the Cambridge and Lumley-caſtle men of war, the Serpent bomb-ketch, and the Mary ketch, together with ſix merchantmen, were driven aſhore, to the eaſtward of Gibraltar, and moſt of their men loſt. The ſame fate attended three Dutch ſhips richly laden; but rear-admiral Nevill, and three Dutch men of war, had the good fortune to eſcape into Cadiz.

On the 26th of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech from the throne; in which he thanked the commons for the large ſupplies they had given him, and as the poſture of affairs rendered his preſence neceſſary abroad, he recommended to both houſes to do every thing in their power to preſerve the public peace during his abſence.

Having thus ſettled affairs at home, William embarked for Holland on the 6th of May, and, after a very ſhort paſſage, arrived ſafe at the Brill. From hence he immediately ſet out for the Hague; and, after preſiding at an aſſembly of the ſtates, he repaired to Loo, where he continued till the opening of the campaign.

The French monarch turned his chief force againſt Spain, where he was very ſucceſsful. He had ſome time before, in order to relieve his ſubjects from the miſeries they ſuffered, offered the Spaniards a ſeparate peace, provided they would declare the duke of Anjou, one of his grandſons, heir to their crown. But theſe overtures being rejected, Lewis propoſed to invade that kingdom by ſea and land. With this view, the marſhal de Noailles taking the field early in the ſpring, advanced at the head of an army of 30,000 men to the banks of the Ter, and, on the 28th of May, forced the paſſage of that river, in the face of 16,000 of the Spaniſh forces encamped on the oppoſite bank of the river on purpoſe to oppoſe him. After this ſucceſs, he marched directly to Palamos, which he immediately inveſted; while the combined ſquadrons of Breſt and Toulon, under Tourville and d'Etrees, blocked it up by ſea. On the 7th of June the place was taken by ſtorm, and the moſt inhuman cruelties exerciſed upon the wretched inhabitants. This ſtruck the Spaniards with ſuch a panic, that they immediately withdrew their garriſons from Felieu de Quixolo and the caſtle of St. Elmo, in order to reinforce that of Gironne, a town well fortified and capable of ſupporting a long ſiege: but ſuch was the terror of the Spaniards, that the town ſubmitted a few days after the firſt ſummons.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the marſhal de Noailles, after having refreſhed his troops, determined to attempt the reduction of Barcelona, the capital, and indeed the only fortified place in Catalonia now remaining to the Spaniards. His plan was to attack the town both by ſea and land at the ſame time, by which means he hoped to be ſoon maſter of the place, and in a capacity of deſtroying every town on the ſea-coaſt of Spain.

But this ſcheme was rendered totally abortive by the aſſiduity of William. That monarch had been previouſly informed of the marſhal's deſign, and therefore reſolved to ſend a ſtrong fleet up the Mediterranean, at once to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and prevent the French ſquadrons from coming into the ocean. Accordingly the utmoſt diligence was uſed both in England and Holland, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and have the ſhips earlier at ſea than in any year ſince the commencement of the war. By this extraordinary diſpatch, Ruſſel ſailed from St. Helen's on the 3d of May, with the combined ſquadrons, conſiſting of 52 Engliſh, and 41 Dutch ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and other ſmall veſſels. On his arrival off Breſt, he found that Tourville with his ſquadron, had already quitted that harbour; and Ruſſel determined to purſue him. But being informed by a captain of a Swediſh ſhip, that there was a fleet of merchantment lying in a harbour near Conquet-bay, he detached captain Pritchard in the Monmouth, with the Roebuck and Reſolution fire-ſhips, to attempt the taking or deſtroying them. This ſervice Pritchard performed ſo effectually, that out of 55 ſail, he burnt or ſunk thirty-five, and drove the man of war, which was appointed to convoy them, on the rocks, where ſhe was loſt, and all the crew periſhed.

Ruſſel, not having been able to meet with the Breſt fleet, returned to St. Helen's; but ſoon received orders to proceed to the Mediterranean with the principal part of his fleet. On his arrival off the rock of Liſbon, he was joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, and the Dutch vice-admirals Calemberg and Evertzen, with ſixteen ſhips of the line. By this additional reinforcement the ſhips under his command amounted to ſixty-three. Ruſſel now made the beſt of his way to Barcelona, in order to ſave that city, together with the whole province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the enemy, who had now blocked it up both by land and ſea. On his appearing before the town, the French admirals, who were in no condition to withſtand ſo powerful a fleet, returned with great precipitation into the harbour of Toulon, and Noailles abandoned his enterprize. Thus the Spaniſh dominions were freed from the danger that threatened them, by this well-timed expedition; and the French fleet blocked up cloſely in the harbour of Toulon; a circumſtance that ſufficiently confuted their boaſting aſſertions, of being in a condition to give laws to all the maritime powers of Europe.

During theſe tranſactions, the confederate army, commanded by the king of England in perſon, took the field, and encamped at Mont St. Andre. It conſiſted of 31,000 horſe and dragoons, and 51,000 foot, all veteran troops, beſides a body of 7000 men under count Thian, near Ghent. The French were not greatly inferior in numbers; but the dauphin of France, who commanded in perſon, declared that he had orders not to ſtir out of his camp while the allies continued in theirs: ſo that theſe two powerful armies continued inactive, waiting to take ſome advantage of each other, till near the end of the campaign, when William attempted to paſs the Schelde, and force the enemy to a battle; but, by an almoſt incredible march of the enemy, his deſigns were fruſtrated.

Having in vain endeavoured to bring the French to an engagement, William gave orders for beſieging Huy, which was, accordingly, inveſted by count Tilly; and after a defence of ten days, ſurrendered to the allies, who put a ſtrong garriſon into the place. This conqueſt ſecured the biſhopric of Liege from the incurſions of the French; and the ſeaſon for putting an end to the campaign now advancing, both armies retired into winter quarters.

In the mean time, the prince of Baden, who commanded the imperialiſts on the Rhine, diſdaining to remain inactive, croſſed that river, and marched towards the French army commanded by marſhal Lorges, who, being apprized of the prince's deſign, retired towards Landen. But he ſuffered ſeverely in this retreat, great part of his rear being cut off by the imperialiſts; who, as the French retreated, advanced and plundered ſeveral towns, made a very conſiderable booty, and laid the whole adjacent country under contribution.

Before William left England, he had concerted a plan for making a deſcent upon Breſt, and other places on the ſea-coaſt of France; the execution of which was committed to lieutenant-general Talmaſh. Accordingly, ſoon after admiral Ruſſel ſailed for the Mediterranean, the lord Berkeley, with thirty ſail of men of war and tranſports, having on board between ſix and ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, under general Talmaſh, was ordered to make a deſcent at Camaret-bay, near Breſt, in order to deſtroy that harbour, or, at leaſt, to render it of no ſervice to the French. A high rock, or rather promontory, extends from Camaret to the harbour of Breſt, and commands all the ſhipping paſſing in or coming out of that port. This promontory is joined to the continent by a narrow iſthmus, which might be defended with a ſmall number of men againſt the greateſt force. It was propoſed to poſſeſs ourſelves of this important ſpot, where we were to have built a fort, which, had this ſcheme ſucceeded, would not only have prevented the French from aſſembling their fleets there as uſual, and have deprived them of the only port they had fit for receiving their large men of war, but we ſhould have had it in our power to make incurſions into the province of Britany at pleaſure. Lewis, however, having early intelligence of the deſign, and ſenſible of the fatal conſequence that muſt attend its ſucceſs, ordered Vauban, the famous engineer, to have the iſthmus, the rock, and all the avenues to it ſo fortified as to render it inacceſſible. A large army was alſo ſent there, and ſtrong batteries were raiſed, that commanded every place where there appeared the leaſt poſſibility of landing.

On the 7th of June the Engliſh fleet arrived before the place, having on board lord Berkeley, general Talmaſh, the marquis of Caermarthen, lord Cutts, and ſeveral other experienced commanders. It was immediately repreſented to general Talmaſh, by ſeveral of the officers, what diſadvantages muſt attend an attempt upon a place ſo well prepared for annoyance, as well as defence, and they warmly adviſed him not to expoſe himſelf or his men. But Talmaſh, firm in his reſolution, told them, that their advice came too late, that the honour of the Engliſh nation was at ſtake, for which reaſon he muſt and would land. The marquis of Caermarthen, with the utmoſt intrepidity, now ſtood in with eight men of war, and came to an anchor very near the ſhore, in order to cover the deſcent of the troops. He ſoon found his ſhips expoſed to the fire of ſeveral batteries which till then they had not diſcovered. But he, not at all daunted by the danger of his ſituation, returned the fire of the enemy very briſkly. Eight hundred men, under the command of general Talmaſh, got ſafe to ſhore; but they were no ſooner landed, than the general found the enterprize impracticable, and made a ſignal to retreat. This command came too late, for it being ebb tide, the boats ſtuck faſt upon the ooze. The men were now expoſed to the fire from the batteries, by which 600 of them were killed, and a ſquadron of the French coming down to the ſhore, obliged thoſe that were left alive to lay down their arms, and demand quarter. Talmaſh eſcaped to a boat, which brought him back to his ſhip; but that brave officer had received a wound in his thigh by a ball, and, notwithſtanding the greateſt care, died before he reached England.

The ſhips that covered the deſcent were now in a terrible ſituation, having loſt a great number of their men, and had moſt of their maſts and rigging cut in pieces by the batteries; notwithſtanding which the marquis, with infinite hazard and difficulty, brought them all off, a Dutch frigate of thirty guns excepted, which fell into the hands of the enemy. A council of war was now called, wherein it was reſolved to return immediately to Spithead, at which place they arrived on the fifteenth of June. Here a council was held, by order of the queen, to conſider how the ſhips and troops might be employed to the moſt advantage. After ſeveral conſultations it was reſolved to make ſome attempts on the coaſt of Normandy. On the 8th of July they arrived before Dieppe. On the 12th they began to fire on the town; which they continued without intermiſſion for twelve hours, in which they threw 1100 bombs and carcaſes into the town, which, the ſtreets being narrow

row, the houſes old, and moſt of them built of timber, was ſet on fire in twenty places at once, and the chief part of it reduced to aſhes. Our fleet then ſailed along the coaſt, and on the 15th lord Berkeley arrived off Havre de Grace, which place he immediately began to bombard. Here the houſes were often ſet on fire, and numbers of the French ſoldiers killed in endeavouring to extinguiſh it. During this ſervice the Grenada bomb veſſel was blown up, with all the men on board, and ſeveral ſmall ſhips ſo much ſhattered that it was thought moſt prudent to retire to St. Helen's. An attempt was ſoon after made upon Dunkirk, by a fleet under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, but that place was ſo well fortified, and the garriſon ſo ſtrong, that the deſign was ſoon found impracticable. In his way home, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſent a bomb veſſel into the harbour of Calais, which diſcharged ſo many ſhells into the town, that about 40,000 houſes were deſtroyed, after which he returned with his whole ſquadron into the Downs.

The campaign in Flanders being now cloſed, William embarked for England on the 18th of November, and the next day landed ſafe at Margate, from whence he immediately proceeded to London. On the third day after his arrival he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed them that, though no great advantage had been gained, a ſtop had been put to the progreſs of the French arms; that having had ſo much experience of their affections, and their zeal for the public, he could not doubt of their being willing to aſſiſt him with ſupplies ſufficient for carrying on the war with vigour, the only means of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace. He concluded with earneſtly recommending a bill for the encouragement of ſeamen. "You muſt be ſenſible," ſaid he, "how much a law of this nature would tend to the advancement of trade, and of the naval ſtrength of this kingdom; which is our great intereſt, and ought to be our principal care."

The parliament made no difficulty of complying with the king's requeſt. The ſupplies, which amounted to near 5,000,000, were readily granted. But at at the ſame time the commons brought in a bill for the more frequent calling of parliaments. This bill went hand in hand with thoſe for the ſupply, and, having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent on the 22d of December. By this bill it was enacted that a new parliament ſhould be called every third year, and that the preſent parliament ſhould be diſſolved before the end of the ſucceeding year. The paſſing of this bill gave great joy to the people. They were perſuaded that the manner of procuring votes at elections by bribery and corruption would now be laid aſide; and that the commons would recover at once their ſtrength and reputation.

While theſe things were tranſacting in parliament, Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, ſincerely lamented by all who eſteemed piety and virtue. He was a perſon of great judgment, clear underſtanding, and a tender and compaſſionate heart: a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and forgiving enemy. Without affectation, bigotry, or ſuperſtition, he was truly religious. His notions of morality were at once excellent and ſublime. His reaſoning was clear, eaſy, and ſolid. He enforced the precepts of the goſpel in pure and elegant language. His ſermons were ſo greatly admired, that they were eſteemed the beſt examples of ſacred declamation in any language: nor have they yet loſt their eſteem.

Both the king and queen were greatly affected at the death of this pious prelate. The queen for ſeveral days mentioned him in the tendereſt manner, and never without tears. He died ſo poor, that if the king had not given up his firſt-fruits, his debts could not have been paid. He was too charitable to acquire riches, and the only legacy he left to his family was his works. Dr. Tenniſon, biſhop of Lincoln, was judged moſt proper to ſupply his place; and he was accordingly tranſlated to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury.

The queen herſelf did not long ſurvive her favourite prelate. She was ſeized with the ſmall-pox on the 21ſt of December, and died the 28th, in the 33d year of her age, and in the 6th of her reign.

Queen Mary was doubtleſs an excellent woman, and enjoyed a large ſhare of the virtues that adorn the ſex. Her charity was very extenſive, and without oſtentation. She was a bright example of conjugal affection, the will of her huſband being the ſole rule of all her actions; and to this alone we muſt impute the little reluctance ſhe ſhewed at mounting the throne from whence her father had been depoſed. Her treatment of her ſiſter is not, perhaps, ſo eaſily juſtified; all, therefore, we ſhall add in extenuation of her conduct is, that Mary was not exempt from the conſtant attendants of human nature. Her perſon was tall and elegant; ſhe had a natural air of greatneſs that demanded reſpect, adorned with a graceful countenance and an affable diſpoſition. Her apprehenſion was clear and ready; her memory tenacious; her judgment ſolid; equally formed to bear adverſity or proſperity; ſhe ſeemed to have added the courage of the other ſex to the ſoftneſs of her own.

Senſible that his majeſty's intereſt was greatly weakened by the death of the queen, both houſes of parliament attended on his majeſty with their addreſs of condolance. That of the lords was as follows:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſub-
"jects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament
"aſſembled, do, with inexpreſſible grief, humbly
"aſſure your majeſty of the deep ſenſe we have of
"the loſs your majeſty and the whole kingdom doth
"ſuſtain by the death of that excellent princeſs, our
"late ſovereign lady the queen; moſt humbly be-
"ſeeching your majeſty, that you would not indulge
"your grief on this ſad occaſion, to the prejudice
"of the health of your royal perſon, in whoſe pre-
"ſervation, not only the welfare of your own ſub-
"jects, but all Europe is ſo much concerned. We
"farther beg leave on this ſad occaſion, humbly to
"renew to your majeſty, the hearty and ſincere
"aſſurances, of our utmoſt aſſiſtance againſt all your
"enemies, both at home and abroad, and of all
"other demonſtrations of duty and affection, that
"can poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful ſub-
"jects."

To this addreſs his majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer, which was couched in the following terms: "I heartily thank you for your kindneſs to "me; but much more for the ſenſe you ſhew of our "great loſs, which is above what I can expreſs."

The example of the two houſes was followed by the whole nation, and conſolatory addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty from every part of the kingdom. But nothing gave him greater ſatisfaction than the following letter, which he received from the princeſs of Denmark, on this melancholy occaſion:

"Sir,

"I beg your majeſty's favourable acceptance of
"my ſincere and hearty ſorrow for your great afflic-
"tion in the loſs of the queen; and I do aſſure your

" majeſty, that I am as ſenſibly touched with the " ſad misfortune, as if I had never been ſo unhappy " as to have fallen under her diſpleaſure.

" It is my earneſt deſire your majeſty would give " me leave to wait upon you, as ſoon as it may be " done without danger of increaſing your affliction, " that I may have an opportunity myſelf, not only " of repeating this, but of aſſuring your majeſty of " my real intentions to omit no occaſion of giving " you conſtant proofs of my ſincere reſpect, and " concern for your perſon and intereſt, as becomes, " Sir,

" Your majeſty's affectionate ſiſter,
" and ſervant,
" ANNE."

This letter totally removing all the king's apprehenſions of the princeſs's forming a party againſt him, he liſtened to the advice of the earl of Sunderland, who brought about a reconciliation between them. The king made her a preſent of moſt of the late queen's jewels, and aſſigned her St. James's palace for her reſidence. But notwithſtanding all theſe appearances of friendſhip, his majeſty ſtill appears to have entertained ſome remains of jealouſy. A few formal viſits paſſed between him and his ſiſter-in-law, but he admitted her to no ſhare in public buſineſs; nor would he ſuffer his miniſters to attend her, or inform her of any of the tranſactions of the cabinet.

The queen, after lying in ſtate at Whitehall, was interred with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter abbey. Not only her majeſty's houſhold, but all the judges, ſerjeants at law, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and (which raiſed the mournful pomp to the higheſt pitch of ſpiendor) both houſes of parliament attended the royal corpſe to the abbey, where a funeral ſermon was preached by D. Tenniſon archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Before we proceed to the remainder of William's reign, we ſhall here take notice of the remarkable occurrences that happened from the joint acceſſion of their majeſties, to the death of the queen.

In the month of September, in the fourth year of their reign, the ſhock of an earthquake was felt in London, and in many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the ſame kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta. In the former eſpecially, no leſs than an 100,000 perſons are ſaid to have periſhed on the occaſion. Soon after, the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almoſt totally deſtroyed by an earthquake, about fifteen hundred perſons being buried in the ruins.

In their fifth year, ſtamp-duties were firſt impoſed in England, viz. on paper, vellum, and parchment.

A ſhort time before the queen's death a beginning was made for carrying on the deſign of the now noble and magnificent hoſpital of Greenwich, for the reception of decayed ſailors ſerving in the royal navy. Their majeſties had for ſome time ſtrongly fixed their minds on this eſtabliſhment, and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich (a part of which, on the weſt ſide, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace for king Charles II.) as alſo of a large adjoining ſpace of ground. For this end king William, after the death of his royal conſort, appointed by patent a number of commiſſioners for directing the building and endowing of this intended hoſpital, and granted a large ſum out of his civil liſt for that purpoſe; and his royal ſucceſſors were conſiderable benefactors to it. At length annual ſums were granted by parliament for the finiſhing of this truly noble ſtructure, which was fully compleated in the reign of his late majeſty king George the Second.

W I L L I A M III.

A. D. 1695. WHILE the commons were aſſiduouſly employed in projecting ways and means for raiſing the ſupplies voted, their attention was called off by the diſcovery of an alarming ſcene of bribery and corruption; in which not only the agents of the army, and ſome members of parliament, but even the privy-counſellors themſelves, were deeply concerned.

This diſcovery aroſe from a petition preſented to the houſe by the inhabitants of Royſton, in Hertfordſhire, complaining that the officers and ſoldiers of the regiment commanded by colonel Haſtings, which was quartered upon them, demanded and exacted ſubſiſtence money, both in their quarters and on their march; and were, at the ſame time, guilty of many other abuſes. Upon this colonel Haſtings, his agent, Mr. Tracy Pauncefort, his brother Edward Pauncefort, major Montell, and the agents of ſome other regiments were ſent for and examined before the houſe, where after giving the moſt ſpecious account of their proceedings, Tracey Pauncefort was ſent to the tower, for having refuſed to anſwer certain queſtions propoſed to him; his brother was alſo ſent to the ſame place for having defrauded the regiment of colonel Haſtings, of 500 guineas. Theſe were ſoon followed by Henry Guy, eſq; a member of the houſe, and ſecretary to the treaſury, who was proved to have received a bribe of 200 guineas for procuring the payment of the arrears due to the regiment.

The houſe next proceeded to draw up an addreſs to his majeſty, which they preſented on the 4th of March. In this addreſs they obſerved, that the violences complained of from the ſoldiers were in a great meaſure occaſioned by the bad practices of the agents of the army, who detained the ſoldiers pay, and converted i to their own uſe; by their intolerable exaction and extortions, upon the officers and ſoldiers for paying money by way of advance, and by charging mo for the diſcount of tallies than they actually paid that colonel Haſtings, in particular, had compelle ſeveral officers of his regiment to take their cloath from him at a very exorbitant price, in order to increaſe his own private advantage, without the lea regard to his majeſty's ſervice or the diſcipline of th army; that the ſaid colonel had fraudulently detaine 500 guineas, out of a bounty given by his majeſty t the officers of his regiment, under pretence of h having paid that ſum as a bribe to obtain the paymen of the ſaid bounty; and, at the ſame time, had take two-pence in the pound out of the money due to the officers and ſoldiers, without having any authority for making ſuch deduction: that the agent for colonel Haſtings had either refuſed or neglected giving an account of the pay due to the captains of his regiment and their companies; which apparently tended to defraud the officers and ſoldiers: that many heavy and grievous deductions had been arbitrarily made by the agents, who had endeavoured to conceal their frauds, under the ambiguous term of contingencies: that colonel Haſtings had diſcharged an enſign, and appointed another in his room, contrary to the known diſcipline of the army: that the ſaid colonel Haſtings had taken money for recommending to commands in his regiment, to the diſcouragement of the officers who were to ſerve in his majeſty's army, as they ought to be ſuch as merited their commiſſions, and not ſuch as purchaſed them. Theſe abuſes the houſe humbly intreated his majeſty to remove.

The king received this addreſs very graciouſly, and aſſured the houſe that he would immediately grant their requeſt. Accordingly colonel Haſtings was caſhiered, and his regiment given to Sir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel. At the ſame time his majeſty appointed a council of officers to ſit weekly, and examine all complaints that might be made againſt any officer or ſoldier, and publiſhed a proclamation for the ſtrict diſcipline of the army, and the payment of the ſoldiers in their quarters.

The commons, however, ſtill continued to proſecute their enquiries, and ſeveral other ſpecies of corruption (ſome of which were of a very extraordinary nature) were diſcovered. But before they had finiſhed their enquiries, the king came to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am come to give you thanks for the ſupplies provided for carrying on the war in which we are engaged; and, at the ſame time, to conclude this ſeſſion, which cannot be continued longer without manifeſt prejudice to the end for which theſe ſupplies were given, the ſeaſon of the year making it ſo neceſſary for me to be abroad, that it were to be wiſhed our buſineſs at home would have allowed me to have been there ſooner.

"I will take care to place the adminiſtration of affairs, during my abſence, in ſuch perſons, on whoſe care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, that every one of you, in your ſeveral ſtations, will be aſſiſting to them. This is what I require of you, and that you will be more than ordinarily diligent in preſerving the public peace."

The king immediately embarked for Holland, after nominating a council of regency, in which neither the princeſs nor prince of Denmark had any ſhare. This occaſioned a freſh ſubject of complaint, and the king's conduct was reflected on with great ſeverity.

The campaign of this year was more favourable to the allies than any of the preceding. Their army being ſuperior to that of the French in the Netherlands, his majeſty reſolved to ſtrike ſome blow of importance. He accordingly, for ſome time, amuſed marſhal de Villeroy, who commanded the French army in the room of Luxemburg, that great general having paid the debt of nature during the preceding winter. But on the third of July, William inveſted the city of Namur. This celebrated fortreſs, the greateſt place of ſtrength in the Netherlands, was ſtrongly defended both by art and nature. The garriſon conſiſted of fifteen thouſand choſen men, commanded by the count de Guiſcard; and marſhal Bouſflers, who commanded a ſeparate army from that of Villeroy, though ſubjected to the other's orders, found means to throw himſelf into the town with ſeveral regiments, and thereby increaſed the garriſon to near twenty thouſand men.

It was natural to expect that a place of ſo much importance, defended by ſo numerous a garriſon, and ſo ſtrongly fortified, would diſpute every inch of ground with the beſiegers; and indeed it made a very bold and deſperate defence for near two months. At length, Marſhal Villeroy, perceiving the place muſt fall, notwithſtanding all the power of the beſieged, determined to cut off prince Vaudemont, who commanded the army that covered the ſiege, conſiſting of fifty battalions of foot, and as many ſquadrons of horſe, encamped at Aerſeele. The French were more than double the number of the prince's army; and were very near ſurprizing him in his trenches. But he effected a retreat to Ghent, hardly to be paralleled in antient or modern hiſtory. He firſt ſent off his baggage and artillery, which were followed by his infantry; after which he drew off his horſe. This was all performed with ſo much ſecrecy and addreſs, that the enemy had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign.

Villeroy was ſo enraged at this maſterly manœuvre, that he ſent Montal, to attack the rear of the prince's army, but met with ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to retire, after having ſuffered pretty conſiderably. William was ſo highly pleaſed with the conduct of the prince, that he wrote him a letter with his own hand, wherein he acknowledged he was greatly obliged to him: adding, "that he had given ſtronger marks of a general, conſummate in the art of war, than if he had gained a complete victory."

Diſappointed in this attempt, Villeroy next endeavoured to ſurprize Newport; but this alſo proved ineffectual. He, however, met with better ſucceſs in his third attempt, which was an attack on the forts of Dixmuyde and Dynſe, both which ſurrendered to him on the firſt ſummons; though their garriſons conſiſted of near 7000 men, among whom were two battalions of Engliſh; and what rendered this misfortune the greater, was, the French detained theſe troops, priſoners of war, notwithſtanding it was repugnant to the cartel eſtabliſhed between the contending powers.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Villeroy attempted the bombardment of Bruſſels; which was carried on with ſuch fury, that in leſs than 48 hours above 2000 houſes in the heart of the town were reduced to aſhes. The ſtadthouſe, the great church and ſeveral other public ſtructures, were demoliſhed. The electreſs of Bavaria, who was then in the city, though removed from danger, was ſo terrified at this dreadful and inceſſant noiſe, that ſhe miſcarried, and nearly loſt her life. This deſtruction of a capital city, which, by the cartel, was exempted from bombardments, was juſtified by the French, on account of the bombardments made by the Engliſh on the French coaſt.

After the perpetration of this unmanly revenge, Villeroy (having reinforced his army with all the troops that could be ſpared out of the garriſons and the forces from the ſea coaſts) marched towards Namur, at the head of an army of 80,000 men, and which came ſoon enough to be witneſſes of the ſurrender of that important city. William having poſſeſſed himſelf of the camp, which the French had occupied during the ſiege; the marſhal was ſufficiently convinced that there were no hopes of ſucceſs if he attacked him, and therefore marched towards the Mehaigne.

The garriſon of Namur now loſt all hopes of being relieved. They had, indeed, made a very noble reſiſtance, and perhaps military valour and ſkill were never more illuſtriouſly diſplayed, than in the attack and defence of that place. At length, the garriſon being reduced from 20 to 6000, Bouſflers thought proper to ſurrender, and the capitulation was accordingly ſigned on the 2d of September.

The French garriſon marched out of the caſtle on the 5th of November, when William cauſed marſhal Boufflers to be arreſted and detained priſoner, by way of repriſal for the detenſion of the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Dynſe, contrary to the cartel eſtabliſhed between the two nations. But the French court, thinking it proper to give its parole of honour, that thoſe garriſons ſhould be reſtored, the marſhal was ſet at liberty. The king now gave the command of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, the uſual place of his receſs; ſoon after which both armies retired into winter-quarters.

The conqueſt of Namur coſt the allies near 12,000 men; among whom were the count de Rivera, the baron de Heckeren, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The prince of Holſtein-Norburgh, the prince of Heſſe-Homburgh, and ſeveral inferior officers were wounded.

No remarkable circumſtance happened on the Rhine during this whole campaign. The army of the empire under prince Baden, and that of the French commanded by the marſhal de Lorges were ſo nearly equal, that neither of the generals would hazard a battle. In Italy, the only military tranſaction which happened worthy our notice was the ſurrender of Caſal, which, to the ſurprize of all Europe, was yielded up to the duke of Savoy in fourteen days. But it was afterwards diſcovered that Lewis and the duke had carried on a private negotiation with each other, which gave riſe to a conjecture that the former had made a voluntary ſacrifice of this fortreſs to the duke, in order to engage his forbearance during the remainder of the campaign. In Catalonia, the French made a very indifferent figure; for admiral Ruſſel, who wintered at Cadiz, prevented them from forming the ſiege of Barcelona; upon which they retired to Palamos. This place Ruſſel bombarded ſo furiouſly, that the greateſt part of the town and caſtle were deſtroyed. He then returned to Cadiz, where he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring the Engliſh trade in the Mediterranean; after which, leaving Sir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, with a ſquadron of 23 ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb veſſels, he returned with the reſt of his fleet to England.

On the 23d of June a fleet, commanded by lord Berkley of Stratton, ſailed from Spithead, and on the 4th of July arrived before St. Malo's. The next morning early the bombardment began, which was ſo vigorouſly purſued, that in two hours, a great fire broke out in the eaſt part of the town, and about four in the afternoon, a ſecond dreadful fire broke out in the weſt part. By ſeven in the evening, the bomb veſſels had ſpent 9000 bombs and carcaſſes, which being all they had, the ſignal was given to put to ſea. The loſs ſuſtained by our fleet on this occaſion, was ſixty men killed and wounded, by the enemy's fire from their batteries, and one bomb veſſel ſunk. The bombardment laſted near twelve hours, and laid the chief part of the town in ruins.

The ſatisfaction which the nation muſt have felt from the ſucceſs of our arms on the continent was much abated by the loſs our trade ſuffered by the enemy's privateers, who, notwithſtanding our uncontrolled dominion at ſea, found means to ſlip out of their ports, and take a number of our merchant ſhips. By the ill conduct of the marquis of Caermarthen, who was ſtationed with a ſquadron off the iſles of Scilly, the Barbadoes fleet, on its return home, was left a defenceleſs prey to the French privateers, who, beſides a great number of merchant ſhips, took five belonging to the Eaſt-India company, valued at a million ſterling. At the ſame time, a French man of war fell upon our factory on the coaſt of Guinea, took a ſmall fort we had there, and deſtroyed it.

During theſe tranſactions a parliament was held in Scotland, which was remarkable for a ſtrict enquiry made into the affair of Glencoe. The reſult of this enquiry was, that they entirely acquitted his majeſty from any ſhare of guilt in that barbarous maſſacre, by unanimouſly reſolving, "that the king's inſtructions to Sir Thomas Levingſtone contained no warrant for the execution of the Macdonalds: that the ſaid execution was a downright murder: that the maſter of Stair's letters exceeded the king's inſtructions: that Sir Thomas Levingſtone had reaſon to give the orders he had given: that lieutenant colonel Hamilton ſhould be immediately arreſted, and brought to his trial for the murder of the Macdonalds: that Campbell of Glenlion, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindſey, enſign Lundy, and ſerjeant Barber, who had been concerned in the ſaid maſſacre, ſhould be likewiſe proſecuted: and that an impeachment ſhould be lodged againſt the earl of Braidalbin, who had ſo groſly impoſed upon his majeſty, and abuſed his authority." By theſe reſolutions, the king appears to be ſolemnly acquitted, notwithſtanding which, his ill judged lenity, in inflicting no puniſhment on ſuch inhuman delinquents, ſubjected him to much cenſure, which his enemies took care to improve to ſuch a height, as at length to deprive him of the affection of the Scots.

William having ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, whither he arrived on the 10th of October, and was received in triumph by his ſubjects. The next day he iſſued a proclamation for diſſolving the parliament, and aſſembling another on the twenty-ſecond of November; which, having accordingly met, the commons choſe Paul Foley, eſq; for their ſpeaker. The following day the king came to the houſe and opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech; wherein he told both houſes, "that he engaged in the preſent war by the advice of his firſt parliament, and the laſt had, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, aſſiſted him in carrying it on, and he did not doubt but that the preſent one would as willingly ſupport him in it by their ſupplies: that he could not but take notice, on this occaſion, of the ſignal bravery of the Engliſh forces during the laſt campaign, which had reflected equal honour on themſelves, and on the nation to which they belonged: he lamented as a great misfortune his having been obliged from the beginning of his reign to aſk ſuch large aids from his ſubjects, though abſolutely neceſſary for the effectual proſecution of the war; he took notice that the funds had been deficient, and the condition of the civil liſt ſuch, that he could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without their care: he ſaid that compaſſion obliged him to mention the miſerable condition of the French proteſtants, who ſuffered for their religion; he recommended to them the framing bills for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, and the advancement of trade, particularly that of the Weſt-Indies, and that the army might be properly recruited without giving the ſubject cauſe of complaint: he then obſerved the ill ſtate of the coin, and concluded with exhorting them to uſe diſpatch, and to avoid heats and diviſions."

The firſt bill paſſed by this parliament was that reſpecting trials for high-treaſon; a ſubject which, though of the laſt importance, had hitherto been open to many abuſes. By this bill it was enacted, that the perſon impeached ſhould have a copy of the impeachment five days before the trial came on, and be allowed counſel for his defence: that no perſon ſhould be impeached, but on the teſtimony of two credible witneſſes: that if the impeachment conſiſted of ſeveral articles, the two witneſſes could only be conſidered as one, when their depoſitions were not upon the ſame article: that the perſon accuſed ſhould have a liſt of the witneſſes two days before the trial; and that three years after the crime was committed, no accuſation ſhould take place, unleſs the crime was an attempt againſt the life of the king. The lords added a clauſe, whereby a peer was to be judged by the whole houſe of lords. Had this law taken place ſooner, it would have ſaved the lives of many illuſtrious men, and liberty would have had a part againſt deſpotiſm and miniſterial vengeance.

This celebrated bill being diſpatched, the commons proceeded to take into their conſideration the ſupplies for the ſucceeding year. The neceſſary eſtimates were laid before them, and they voted 5,024,853l. for that ſervice. The funds neceſſary for raiſing this prodigious ſum were the following: 1. By a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound. 2. By duties continued on wine, vinegar, tobacco, Eaſt-India goods, and other merchandizes. 3. An additional duty upon all French commodities. 4. Duties on low wines or ſpirits of French extraction. 5. Duties continued upon ſalt, glaſs-wares, tobacco-pipes, &c. They alſo ſettled a fund for raiſing 500,000l a year for the civil liſt; and another for raiſing 15,000l a year for the relief of French proteſtants.*

A. D. 1696. This year was opened by the diſcovery of a horrid plot for aſſaſſinating the king, which had been concerted between James and Lewis the French king, in order to reſtore the former to the throne of England. The earl of Ayleſbury, the lord Montgomery, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, captain Porter, and captain Charnock, appeared to be the principal perſons concerned in this infamous deſign, which, from the bloody circumſtances attending it, was called the Aſſaſſination Plot. Theſe, with the reſt of the conſpirators, held various meetings in order to concert the moſt proper meaſures for executing their horrid deſign. In the month of February, Sir George Berkeley, a native of Scotland, and a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over with a private commiſſion from king James, by virtue whereof the party in England were implicitly to obey his orders. This perſon undertook the deteſtable taſk of murdering the king, with the aſſiſtance of forty horſemen furniſhed by the conſpirators.

Various methods were at firſt propoſed for effecting this purpoſe; but it was at laſt determined to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he uſually hunted every Saturday, and the place pitched upon was the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham-green. Perhaps a more likely place than this could not have been found; for his majeſty generally returning late from the chace, uſually croſſed the ferry attended by only a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and when he landed, the coach drove on without ſtopping for the reſt of the guards, who were obliged to wait on the Surry ſide till the boat returned to carry them over: ſo that the king muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of the conſpirators, before the reſt of his guards could have come to his aſſiſtance.

The diſpoſition of their men was contrived with no leſs art than the time and place; for having ſecured ſeveral places in Brentford, Turnham-green, and other houſes in the neighbourhood, to put up their horſes till the king returned from hunting, one of the conſpirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared on the Surry ſide of the water; and then to give ſpeedy notice to the reſt, that they might be ready at their reſpective poſts, while the king was croſſing the river. In order to this, they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways; one from Turnham-green, another from the lane leading to the Thames, and a third from the road leading through Brentford. One of theſe parties was to attack the king's guards in the front, and another in the rear; while ten or twelve of the moſt bloody and reſolute were to aſſaſſinate his majeſty, by firing their blunderbuſſes at him through the coach windows. It was alſo agreed, that when the bloody purpoſe was accompliſhed, the conſpirators ſhould form one body, and continue their route to Hammerſmith, where they were to divide into ſmall parties of three or four, and make the beſt of their way for Dover.

Saturday the 15th of February was fixed for the murder of the king; but his majeſty being indiſpoſed, did not go abroad that day. This circumſtance ſtruck the aſſaſſins with diſmay: they immediately concluded the conſpiracy was diſcovered; but finding all remaining quiet, they again met, and agreed to be in readineſs the Saturday following. Juſt as they were ſetting out, they received advice from two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in great haſte, and that there was a whiſper among the people, that a horrid plot was diſcovered. This news put the conſpirators into the utmoſt conſternation, and they immediately diſperſed.

The method by which this conſpiracy came to be diſcovered was as follows; captain Porter, the day before the ſcheme was to have been put in execution, related the whole affair to an intimate friend of his, named Pendergraſs, whom he ſolicited to be one of their number. Pendergraſs ſeemingly complied: but, ſtruck with horror at the atrociouſneſs of the crime, he inſtantly acquainted the earl of Portland with the ſcheme, and deſired he might be introduced to his majeſty, which being complied with, he fully made known to him all the particulars he knew of the conſpiracy; and after many intreaties from the king, added to a ſolemn promiſe that he ſhould not be produced as an evidence without his own conſent, he gave his majeſty a liſt of the aſſaſſins.

A proclamation was now iſſued for apprehending the conſpirators, and moſt of them ſecured, but Berkeley found means to eſcape. Admiral Ruſſel was ordered to Chatham, to haſten the fleet out to ſea. The rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, to which place all the men of war then in the ſea ports, were ordered to ſail. This was accompliſhed with ſuch expedition, that in a few days a fleet of fifty ſail had aſſembled, with which the admiral ſtood over to the French coaſt. The enemy, aſtoniſhed at his ſudden appearance retired with the utmoſt precipitation into their harbours; and James, perceiving that his deſign was defeated, returned, overwhelmed with deſpair, to St. Germains, where he paſſed the remainder of his life.

On the 24th of February the king went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech to both houſes informed

---

* The neceſſity of amending our money at this time occaſioned ſeveral debates, which ended in a reſolution to proceed to a new coinage by calling the diminiſhed ſilver coin into the mint by tale. The next point to be determined was, whether the new money in its different denominations ſhould retain the original weight and purity of the old, or the eſtabliſhed ſtandard be raiſed in value. After ſeveral arguments for and againſt, the commons reſolved that the eſtabliſhed ſtandard ſhould be preſerved with regard to weight and fineneſs, and that the loſs ariſing from calling in the old money, which was calculated at two millons ſterling, ſhould be ſuſtained by the public, and a fund ſettled for ſupplying the deficiency.

formed them of the conſpiracy. The parliament, in a very affectionate and loyal addreſs, congratulated him on the eſcape of his royal perſon from the deſigns of his enemies; declared their abhorrence of ſuch villainous attempts; and ſolemnly promiſed to ſtand by and aſſiſt his majeſty againſt all his enemies, open and private; and if he ſhould come by a violent death, to revenge it on all the papiſts. They alſo drew up an aſſociation for the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon, which was ſigned by all the members of the houſe; and likewiſe by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London. The form of this aſſociation, which was carried to every part of the kingdom, and ſigned by all ranks of people, was as follows:

"Whereas there has been a horrid and deteſtable "conſpiracy, formed and carried on by the papiſts, "and other wicked and traiterous perſons, for aſ"ſaſſinating his majeſty's royal perſon, in order to "encourage an invaſion from France, to ſubvert "our religion, laws and liberty: We, whoſe names "are hereunto ſubſcribed, do heartily, ſincerely, "and ſolemnly profeſs, teſtify and declare, that his "preſent majeſty, king William, is rightful and law"ful king of theſe realms. And we do mutually "promiſe and engage to ſtand by and aſſiſt each "other, to the utmoſt of our power, in the ſupport "and defence of his majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon and "government, againſt the late king James, and all "his adherents. And in caſe his majeſty come to "any violent, or untimely death (which God forbid) "we do hereby further freely and unanimouſly oblige "ourſelves, to unite, aſſociate, and ſtand by each "other, in revenging the ſame upon his enemies, and "their adherents; and in ſupporting and defending "the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to an act "made in the firſt year of king William and queen "Mary, entitled, *An act declaring the rights and li*"*berties of the ſubject, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of* "*the crown.*"

On the 11th of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conſpirators, were brought from Newgate to their trials at the Old Bailey. The court indulged them with all the liberty they could wiſh to make their defence; notwithſtanding which they were, on the fulleſt evidence, found guilty of high treaſon; and ſentence being paſſed upon them, they were, on the 18th of March, hanged and quartered at Tyburn. Their execution was followed by that of ſeveral others of their accomplices: a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending lord Montgomery, and Sir John Fenwick, who were ſuſpected of being principally concerned in the plot; and the earl of Ayleſbury was committed to the Tower on the ſame ſuſpicion.

On the 27th of April the king went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the generous concern they had teſtified for his perſon, and the zealous attachment they had ſhewn to his government, and likewiſe for the large ſupplies they had granted him, deſired they would preſerve the public peace, and aſſiſt the lords juſtices while he was abroad. His majeſty then gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts, after which the parliament was prorogued to the 16th of June.

The king embarked for Holland on the 5th of May, and two days after arrived at the Hague. Before his departure he appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper Somers, and five others of the principal officers of ſtate, lords-juſtices for governing the nation during his abſence.

The campaign was opened on the continent by the allies burning a prodigious magazine which had been laid up at Givet, for the uſe of the enemy. But though the beginning was proſperous, and the war continued with the ſame animoſity, the powers engaged in it were no longer capable of making the ſame efforts. Notwithſtanding the ardour of William, the campaign in Flanders had no ſtriking events. Lewis XIV. leſs fortunate than before, was now deſirous of peace. He accordingly diſpatched M. de Callieras, as his ambaſſador to the ſtates-general, for ſettling ſuch preliminaries as might ſerve as a baſis for a treaty. The Dutch, with the conſent of king William, liſtened to the propoſal; and it was agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden, which had already been offered by the baron Lillenroot, his ambaſſador at the Hague. Lewis, however, did not wholly depend upon negotiation; he made very advantageous offers to the duke of Savoy, and drew him off from the grand alliance.

This perfidious conduct of the duke greatly enraged the allies: his miniſters, indeed, attempted to excuſe it, by alledging, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to embrace the offers of France, in order to prevent his own ruin; and that common prudence would not ſuffer him to let ſlip an opportunity of procuring ſuch ſingular advantages to his own family.

The diſtreſſes of the army abroad was very great, at this time, for want of their pay, occaſioned by the calling in and recoining the money. The ſame calamity was alſo felt at home among the manufacturers, who where moſt of them idle, owing to the want of money, few maſters being able to employ any workmen. An order of council was therefore iſſued in July, directing the juſtices of the peace to meet frequently in their reſpective diviſions, in order to conſult the moſt effectual means to relieve and ſubſiſt the poor, till a ſufficient quantity of money could be iſſued to relieve the preſent ſcarcity. The attorney-general was alſo ordered to proſecute all thoſe who had entered into confederacies not to employ any workmen in the woollen and other manufactures during the preſent ſcarcity of coin.

The campaign in Catalonia, and on the Rhine, was as barren of events as that in Flanders: the advantage, if any, was on the ſide of the allies; but all the armies retired into winter quarters in the beginning of October.

The military operations abroad being conclude for the preſent year, William immediately embarke for England, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament o the 20th of October. He told them, "that h thought it a great happineſs that no diſadvantage ha happened abroad, nor any diſorder at home durin the laſt ſummer, conſidering the great diſappointments in the funds, and the trouble that had ariſen i receiving the money: that the buſineſs they had before them would be attended with great difficulty, a they were not only to provide for the ſervice o the enſuing year, but alſo to make good the deficiencies of the laſt." He obſerved, "that overtures o peace had indeed been made him; but he was certai they would prove abortive; that the only way t procure an honourable peace was to treat ſword i hand; and therefore the ſupplies for the ſucceedin year muſt, at leaſt, be equal to thoſe for the laſt. H alſo preſſed them to maintain the honour of parliament, by making good the funds they had grante He reminded them of the civil liſt and the Frenc proteſtants, and of making ſome farther proviſion fo remedying the difficulties relating to the coin, an for recovering the national credit."

The commons, in anſwer to this ſpeech, aſſured h majeſty, "That though this was the eighth year th had aſſiſted him with large ſupplies, for carrying o this juſt and neceſſary war, they ſhould be neith amuſed nor diverted from their firm reſolution of o tainin taining, by war, a ſafe and honourable peace;" and concluded with declaring, "That they would continue to ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies, both at home and abroad."

They accordingly voted 5,000,000 for the ſea and land ſervice for the ſucceeding year; beſides a ſupply for the civil liſt, and new funds for making good the deficiencies, and ſecuring the public debts, which now amounted to near 12,000,000. Notwithſtanding it was ſo very large, they purſued ſuch vigorous meaſures, that they ſurmounted every difficulty, and placed the credit of the nation on a ſure and ſolid baſis.

This buſineſs being done, the commons took into conſideration the caſe of Sir John Fenwick, one of the principal perſons concerned in the late conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the king. He had been concealed in London from the time of the firſt diſcovery of the plot till the beginning of June this year, when he endeavoured to make his eſcape over to France, but was taken at Romney, on the coaſt of Kent, before he could get on ſhipboard; and, being brought to London, was committed to Newgate. Though his guilt was thoroughly proved, yet he could not be convicted, there being only one poſitive evidence that appeared againſt him. In conſequence of this, after the moſt violent debates, a bill of attainder was paſſed by both houſes, to which the royal aſſent being given, he received ſentence of death. He was complimented with the axe, in conſideration of his rank and of his alliance with the family of Howard, and ſuffered on Tower-hill, on the 28th of March following. He owned his loyalty to king James, and prayed for his reſtoration; but declared himſelf perfectly innocent of the intended aſſaſſination of king William, which he juſtly termed a moſt villainous project.

When the attention of the commons was diſengaged from the affair of Sir John Fenwick, they proceeded to enact ſeveral laws for regulating the domeſtic œconomy of the nation; and, among others, paſſed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors in caſes of eſcape, and for preventing abuſes in priſons and pretended privileged places. Ever ſince the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been ſanctuaries during the prevalence of the papiſts, afforded aſylum to debtors, and were become receptacles of deſperate perſons, who ſet all law at defiance. One of theſe places, called White Friars, was filled with a ſet of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage; but the law was ſo vigorouſly put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the diſtrict, which was ſoon filled with more creditable inhabitants. The Mint, in Southwark, another of thoſe infamous places, was likewiſe cleared of its diſſolute tenants in the ſame manner.

In this ſeſſion an act paſſed for the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen, eſtabliſhing a regiſter for thirty thouſand ſailors, to be in readineſs at all times, as the preamble ſets forth, for ſupplying the royal navy, in conſideration of a yearly premium or bounty of forty ſhillings each.' It enacts, that none but ſuch regiſtered ſeamen ſhall be capable of preferment to any commiſſion or warrant-offices in the royal navy: they ſhall have a double ſhare or dividend for all prizes, more than non-regiſtered ſeamen of equal rank; with other privileges as in that act ſet forth: and particularly, they were to have the *ſole* right, when maimed or ſuperannuated, of being admitted into the newly eſtabliſhed hoſpital for ſeamen at Greenwich; or if killed in the ſervice, their widows and children were to have the ſame admiſſion. The law for regiſtering ſeamen was unhappily repealed by an act of the ninth year of queen Anne; and although ſundry ſchemes have ſince been ſet on foot for the reviving ſuch a regiſter, yet ſo many objections have been ſtarted, that no law has as yet been framed for ſecuring a body of ſeamen in readineſs, in caſe of any ſudden emergency, without having recourſe to the cruel and unconſtitutional practice of preſſing.

On the 12th of December his majeſty was pleaſed to nominate the earl of Pembroke lord privy-ſeal, viſcount Villiers, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, to be his plenipotentiaries, to treat with thoſe of the French king, with regard to a general peace, the preliminaries of which had been ſettled between M. de Callieras and the States-general.

A. D. 1697. On the 16th of April the king went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning the bills that were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he thanked them for the large ſupplies they had granted him; congratulated them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours for reſtoring public credit; acquainted them with his intention of paſſing over to the continent; and begged they would carry with them into their reſpective counties the ſame loyal principles they had ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed in parliament.

William, having appointed a regency during his abſence, embarked for Holland on the 26th of April, that he might be preſent to direct the negotiations for a general peace. The conferences were opened at Ryſwick on the 29th of May, and the negotiation proceeded with very little trouble. The demands of Spain (that France ſhould reſtore all the conqueſts that had been made during the war) ſeemed the only difficulty. Lewis was therefore determined to exert all his force againſt that kingdom, in order to induce the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries to accept the offers of France. The city of Barcelona was accordingly beſieged and taken by the duke de Vendome. De Pontis, a French commodore, was ſent with a ſmall fleet to the Weſt Indies, where he took and plundered the town of Carthagena, and returned with an immenſe booty.

Theſe ſucceſſes tended greatly to haſten the concluſion of the treaty, which, after ſome controverſies, was ſigned between England, France, Spain and Holland, on the 20th of September; and by the emperor on the 30th of October.

By this treaty Lewis gave up almoſt all his conqueſts. To Spain he reſtored Luxemburg, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, beſides what he had taken in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees. To the Empire, Friburg, Briſac, Philipſburg, &c. And, laſtly, he acknowledged the prince of Orange king of England.

Thus was William confirmed in his poſſeſſion of the throne, while France abandoned all the fruits of her victories. Lewis ſubmitted to theſe conditions more from policy than generoſity. The burden of the war was become intolerable. The victors and the vanquiſhed were equally weakened. It was abſolutely neceſſary that the finances ſhould be repaired, and the murmurings of the people ſatisfied. Lewis, after he had deluged Europe with blood to ſatisfy his ambition, was obliged to purchaſe peace at the expence of his conqueſts.

A ſhort time after the ſigning of this treaty, William embarked for England, and was received by his ſubjects with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On the 3d of December, he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; wherein he obſerved, "That the war he had entered into by the advice of his people, was, by their aſſiſtance, brought to the end he had ever propoſed, a ſafe and honourable peace: that he was ſorry, however, to acquaint them, that his ſubjects could not immediately find that relief from the peace they might expect, the funds having fallen ſhort, and there remaining ſo great a debt to the navy and army, beſides what was wanting to ſupport the civil liſt. He obſerved, that the navy was increaſed almoſt double ſince his acceſſion, and could not be ſupported without a proportional increaſe of money; and he believed they would agree with him in allowing, that the chief ſtrength of England muſt ever conſiſt in a powerful navy: that, conſidering the ſtate of affairs abroad, he was of opinion, that the kingdom could not be ſafe without a land force. He promiſed to rectify whatever abuſes might have crept into any part of the adminiſtration during the war, and effectually to diſcourage prophaneneſs and immorality. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the proofs his people had given him of their loyalty and attachment to his perſon; and concluded with declaring, "That as he had, at the hazard of his life, reſcued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremeſt danger; ſo he ſhould place the chief glory of his reign in preſerving and leaving them entire to poſterity."

The parliament, in their addreſs, complimented the king on the peace; and aſſured him, "That they would be always ready to ſupport his majeſty, who had confirmed them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties; and, by putting an end to the war, fully compleated their deliverance."

Notwithſtanding, however, theſe congratulations and compliments, the parliament oppoſed his majeſty's deſigns. This politic and warlike prince was deſirous of eſtabliſhing a ſtanding army, which could not fail of rendering him reſpectable both at home and abroad. The conduct of Lewis, who ſtill retained a conſiderable part of his army, ſeemed to lay the other powers under a neceſſity of doing the ſame. This was a very plauſible reaſon, and adopted by ſeveral of the members; but the majority was alarmed at the king's propoſal. It had an apparent tendency to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm on the ruins of the conſtitution. They were perſuaded the nation would ſoon loſe its privileges, and the people their liberties, if mercenary troops were at the command of the government. "This cuſtom," ſaid they, "being once eſtabliſhed, will become a maxim of ſtate; and elections, parliaments, every thing will depend upon the caprice of the court. Is not the kingdom ſufficiently defended by the ocean that ſurrounds it? May not the militia be eſtabliſhed and regularly exerciſed? And will not ſuch men be more zealous in the defence of their country than mercenaries? Will not theſe with a formidable fleet be a ſufficient ſecurity againſt any invaſion?" Theſe arguments ſeemed unanſwerable, and prevailed with the majority. Ten thouſand only of the land forces were retained; and three thouſand added to the navy.

William was ſo highly offended with this reſolution of the commons, from a perſuaſion that they ſuſpected he had formed deſigns againſt their liberties, that he declared he would have had nothing to do with the government, if he could have ſuſpected the parliament would have been guilty of ſo much diſtruſt and ingratitude.

A. D. 1698. On the 14th of January, the king went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the two folllowing bills, viz. An Act for calling in the hammered ſilver money to be recoined; and another to prevent correſponding with king James and his adherents.

Theſe bills being paſſed, the commons applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to the diſcovery of means for the diſcharge of the public debt. The neceſſary ſupplies amounted to near five millions ſterling; and it required all their wiſdom to raiſe ſo large a ſum, after the nation had been impoveriſhed by the late war. The Eaſt India company offered to advance ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the public, at the rate of four per cent. intereſt, provided the legiſlature would ſettle on them the excluſive trade to India. This offer was favourably received by the miniſtry, and would, in all probability, have been accepted, had not another company of merchants made more advantageous propoſals. They offered to lend the government 2,000,000 on the ſame terms. They alſo propoſed that their ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint ſtock; but if any number of their members deſired to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted them for that purpoſe. The laſt propoſal was thought the moſt eligible, and a bill was accordingly brought into parliament, and eaſily paſſed the commons; but on its being ſent up to the lords, the old company petitioned the houſe, and they were heard by their council againſt the bill. They alledged, "that the company had actually acquired, at their expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Perſia, and other parts, amounting to 44,000 pounds per annum, ariſing from cuſtoms and licences for a great number of particulars: that they had alſo erected forts and ſettlements, and procured ſettlements in the iſland of Sumatra, and on the coaſt of Malabar, without which the pepper-trade muſt have been actually loſt to England: that they had alſo a ſtrong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and alſo many factories, buildings and ſettlements in various other parts, having purchaſed at high rates, of the Indian princes, many valuable privileges and immunities: that they were encouraged to do this from a preſumption that their rights and inheritance would always be objects of the nation's care: that ſince this bill had been brought into parliament, the company had agreed to ſubmit their preſent ſtock to a valuation of 50 per cent. viz. 20 per cent. for their dead ſtock, namely their forts, factories and lands, and 30 per cent. for their quick ſtock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate: and upon theſe terms the company likewiſe offered to raiſe a ſubſcription of 2,000,000."

In anſwer to this, it was obſerved by the council for the new ſubſcribers, "That the old company, in reciting their charters, had forgot to mention the proviſos they contained, the kings of England, who granted them, having reſerved to themſelves a diſcretionary power to make them void on three years warning: that the king could not grant the trade, excluſive of all others, by his charter alone, it being directly contrary to poſitive laws; nor had his preſent majeſty in fact granted any ſuch excluſive right: that ſeveral recoveries had been made at law againſt the company for proſecuting ſuch pretended right: that his majeſty's meſſage to the commons in the year 1692, plainly ſignified that the concurrence of parliament was neceſſary for making a complete and uſeful ſettlement of this trade: that the company's managers, in order to obtain their laſt new charter and regulations, had made no ſcruple of having recourſe to the indirect methods of bribery and corruption: that it was never eſteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the authority of the great ſeal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patent annulled by parliament, when it appeared that ſuch grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the ſubject; neither did any o our kings think themſelves bound in honour or conſcience to refuſe paſſing an act of parliament for the annulling of ſuch grants: that moreover kings having been often deceived by ſuch grants, they have even frequently been annulled by the common cour of law."

On the other hand it was replied, and urged, i behalf of the old company, "That the properties o many families, widows, and orphans, would b

great

greatly affected by the bill now depending, which they ſaid made no proviſion for a determined ſtock; ſo that it may hereafter happen that the trade may be loſt to the nation for want of a ſufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing, by thirty years experience, that it requires at leaſt 600,000 pounds a year to carry it on in its full extent: that by this bill the new ſubſcribers were permitted to trade during the three years, as well as the company, which is directly contrary to the charter, will create great confuſion, and render the ſaid three years allowed the old company of no benefit, becauſe they are ſtill bound to export to the value of 100,000 pounds annually in our own manufactures, though the new ſubſcribers are under no ſuch obligations: that the old company are beſides obliged to pay taxes to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new ſubſcribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade without either: that ſince the laſt ſubſcription the company has loſt, either by accidents, or the calamities of war, twelve large ſhips, which, with their cargoes, would have ſold for near a million and a half ſterling; and yet, notwithſtanding ſuch loſſes, they have paid in cuſtoms ſince that period 295,000 pounds, beſides 85,000 in taxes: that they had, moreover, ſupplied his majeſty in Holland, on a very preſſing occaſion, with 6000 barrels of gunpowder; and had alſo, at a time of great extremity, ſubſcribed 80,000 pounds for circulating exchequer bills, at the inſtance of the treaſury; and that many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the ſtock of the preſent company, who muſt be utterly ruined if this bill takes effect."

Notwithſtanding the forcibility of theſe arguments, the bill paſſed the lords in favour of the new company, without paying any regard to antient charters, or the fortunes of a multitude of families. They received their charter on the 3d of September; and on the 5th his majeſty incorporated them as one joint-ſtock excluſive company, trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

The diſquiſitions of the parliament were not wholly confined to the commercial ſtate of the nation; they exerted themſelves nobly to prevent that corruption of manners which was every day gaining ground in the kingdom. Perſuaded that unleſs care be taken to keep the people's morals from being tainted, wealth and power will only become the ſources of poiſon; that the vices of the citizens are infectious to the body politic; that a ſtate without virtue has almoſt as many enemies as ſubjects; and that its grandeur is a preſage of its ruin: they preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which they enumerated the exceſſive irregularities that prevailed, and were daily increaſing; and requeſted him to iſſue orders to the magiſtrates to put the laws in force againſt impiety and debauchery. Their addreſs was very favourably received. The king promiſed to attempt, without delay, a reformation of manners, and teſtified his zeal for the ſuppreſſion of impious books, which uſually corrupt at once both the heart and the underſtanding. Schemes of this nature, however laudable, however neceſſary in themſelves, are ſeldom executed. A ſociety for the reformation of manners, under the protection of his majeſty, was eſtabliſhed; the members of which engaged to inform the magiſtrates of ſuch debaucheries and vices as came within their knowledge. The fines impoſed were deſtined for charitable uſes. A number of eccleſiaſtics were to promote virtue by public lectures; and a liberal proviſion was made for their maintenance.

While the parliament was laudably employed in contriving ways and means for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies, and endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of vice and immorality, Peter Alexowitz, czar of Muſcovy, ſince known by the appellation of Peter the Great, viſited this kingdom. Having formed the noble deſign of civilizing his barbarous ſubjects, of introducing the arts and ſciences among them, and of rendering the forces of his empire by ſea and land equal to thoſe of his politer neighbours, he travelled through moſt countries in Europe to gain inſtruction. He was particularly deſirous of eſtabliſhing a marine, and of having a reſpectable fleet in the Baltic: and therefore his principal intention was to learn the art of ſhip-building. In the ſummer of the preceding year he ſent an embaſſy to Holland, to regulate ſome points of commerce with the States-general, and accompanied his ambaſſadors diſguiſed as one of their retinue. While he was on this tour he diſcovered himſelf to king William, and had a private interview with that prince at Utrecht, and in conſequence of his invitation he now viſited England. He ſtaid here above three months, during which time he was lodged and entertained with all the magnificence poſſible for a prince, who choſe to remain unknown. He paſſed his time here, as he had done in Holland, in examining the dock-yards, and improving himſelf in the art of ſhip-building; to attain which he worked ſeveral hours every day as a common ſhipwright, in the royal yard at Deptford. At his departure William made him ſeveral magnificent preſents; and particularly the yatch in which he himſelf uſed to paſs over to Holland. She was a very beautiful veſſel, finely adorned, and called the Royal Tranſport. And it being thought abſolutely neceſſary to gain his friendſhip, he was allowed to engage ſeveral Engliſh artificers in his ſervice; and to take two of the ſcholars from Chriſt-church hoſpital; and theſe afterwards laid the foundation of the marine academy at Peterſburgh.

The Spaniſh monarch, Charles II. had long been in a very declining ſtate, and having no iſſue, the conſequence that might attend his large dominions paſſing either into the Bourbon family, or that of Auſtria, alarmed all Europe. William paſſed over to the continent, where he negotiated a treaty with Lewis XIV. for the diviſion of the Spaniſh monarchy. By this treaty the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the province of Guipuſcoa, and ſeveral other places dependent on Spain, were deſtined to the dauphin; the Milaneſe to the archduke, Charles II. ſon to the emperor; and the reſt to the young prince of Bavaria, who was about eight years of age. But the latter dying ſoon after the treaty was agreed to, a new one was made, in which Bavaria was aſſigned to the archduke; Lorraine added to the poſſeſſions of the dauphin; and Milan given to the duke of Lorraine.

Having finiſhed this buſineſs on the continent, William returned to England, and on the 3d of December opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; wherein he ſtrongly recommended to them the keeping up ſuch a force, as might preſerve that weight and influence they at preſent enjoyed in the affairs of the continent; and their making a farther progreſs in diſcharging the national debt contracted by the war. He concluded with recommending three popular ſubjects to their particular attention: the making proviſion for the poor, the advancement of trade; and the diſcouraging vice and prophaneneſs. It is remarkable that in this ſpeech William made no mention of the partition treaty he had ſo lately concluded abroad, and which afterwards ſo greatly excited the attention of the kingdom. This was induſtriouſly concealed both from the parliament and the privy-council. Probably he ſuſpected the ſincerity of Lewis, and therefore thought it extremely neceſſary too keep a good body of troops in readineſs to compel the French monarch to obſerve the late treaty in caſe of the king of Spain's death.

The parliament, ignorant of the partition treaty, and of the neceſſity of keeping a large body of troops in pay, immediately took that part of the king's ſpeech into conſideration. William, when he paſſed over to Holland, had left orders with the miniſtry to retain 16,000 men in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the commons, by which the army was limited to 10,000. This arbitrary act ſo irritated the new parliament, that they reſolved to oppoſe the king in all his demands. They accordingly came immediately to the following reſolution, "That all the land forces in Engliſh pay, exceeding 7000 men, and theſe his majeſty's natural born ſubjects, be forthwith paid off and diſbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, exceeding 12,000 men, all his majeſty's natural born ſubjects, be likewiſe forthwith diſbanded and paid off." This reſolution being paſſed, a bill was ordered in, and ſoon paſſed both houſes; in conſequence of which not only the French proteſtant regiments, but even the king's favourite Dutch guards were to be removed out of the Britiſh dominions.

A. D. 1699. William was highly exaſperated at the proceedings of the parliament. Their jealouſy ſo deeply affected him, that he actually formed a reſolution of abandoning the government, and had even compoſed a ſpeech which he intended to have delivered on that occaſion; but was diverted from his raſh deſign by his moſt intimate friends; and at laſt perſuaded to give the royal aſſent to the bill for reducing the army.

Accordingly, on the 2d of February he went to the houſe of peers, and addreſſed himſelf to the parliament in the following manner: "I am come to paſs the bill for diſbanding the forces as ſoon as I knew it was ready for my aſſent. Though the reduction of the army to ſo inconſiderable a number may, in our preſent circumſtances, be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; and though I might juſtly complain of the harſh treatment I have received in being deprived of thoſe guards who accompanied me into this kingdom, and have conſtantly attended me in all my fortunes, yet as I am convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common intereſt, than to ſuffer any jealouſy or miſunderſtanding to ariſe between me and my people, I am firmly reſolved to comply with your requeſt. Nevertheleſs, after having thus aſſigned my reaſons for paſſing this bill, I muſt likewiſe in diſcharge of the truſt you have repoſed in me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation is left too naked and defenceleſs; it is your duty, therefore, to take this matter into your conſideration, and immediately to provide ſuch a ſtrength as may be deemed neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the preſervation of that peace we have ſo lately obtained."

But notwithſtanding the king had paſſed the bill for diſbanding the army, he was very unwilling to part with his guards, and accordingly ſent a meſſage to the commons, informing them, "that the neceſſary preparations were made for tranſporting the guards who came with him into England, and that he intended to ſend them away immediately, unleſs, out of conſideration to him, the commons could find out ſome way to continue them longer in his ſervice, which his majeſty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable. They reminded him of his former promiſe to diſmiſs all foreign troops. The happineſs of the kingdom, they added, depended on the mutual confidence of the prince and the people. That this confidence required him to intruſt the care of his ſacred perſon to his ſubjects.

Finding it would be in vain to contend with the commons, William yielded to neceſſity, and the Dutch guards were tranſported to Holland. It muſt be owned that the behaviour of the lower houſe with regard to the Dutch guards ſtrongly indicated that they were rather inſpired with the ſpirit of ferocious obſtinacy than genuine patriotiſm. William was perſuaded of this, and took no pains to diſguiſe his ſentiments. "Had I as many places to beſtow," ſaid he one day to the earl of Sunderland, "as there are members in the houſe of commons, I ſhould not know what it was to have my will diſputed."

There being ſeveral bills ready for the royal aſſent, the king went to the houſe of peers on the 4th of May, and after ſigning them, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, "that having ſat ſo many months, the ſeaſon of the year, as well as their own particular affairs, made it reaſonable they ſhould enjoy a receſs; that he took it for granted they had finiſhed all the bills they thought neceſſary, and he had given his aſſent to all they had preſented to him; that if any thing elſe was wanting to their ſafety, the ſecurity of the public credit, the diſcharge of the national debt, the advancement of trade, the ſuppreſſion of vice, and the employment of the poor, the things he propoſed to them at their meeting, he did not doubt but effectual care would be taken of them next winter; and wiſhed no inconveniency might happen in the interval."

The Spaniſh monarch Charles II. who was no ſtranger to the late treaty of partition between William and Lewis, highly reſented their uſurping a power to diſpoſe of his dominions without his conſent. He determined therefore to make a will in favour of the archduke, ſecond ſon to Leopold, the reigning emperor. The queen of Spain alſo uſed her utmoſt endeavours to give the crown to that young prince, to whom ſhe was ſo nearly related. She accordingly new modelled the council; beſtowed the government of Milan upon prince Vaudemont; appointed the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt viceroy of Catalonia, and carried the ſick king to Toledo, under pretence that the air there was much more wholeſome than that of Madrid.

But all theſe meaſures were rendered abortive by the indiſcreet and imperious conduct of the court of Vienna. Charles now altered his mind, and determined not to make a will in favour of the archduke. On the other hand the marquis d'Harcourt, ambaſſador of Lewis XIV. managed the Spaniards with more dexterity and addreſs. Their inveterate antipathy to France decreaſed every day. The grandees were as unwilling as their maſter to diſmember the monarchy; and France alone ſeemed capable of preventing an incident ſo deſtructive to the honour and power of their country. They adviſed Charles therefore to give the preference to a prince of that nation. Pope Innocent XII. who then filled the papal chair, was conſulted on this intereſting ſubject, and approved the meaſure, as agreeable to the laws of Spain, and the intereſt of religion.

The French monarch, ignorant of this reſolution in favour of his family, cauſed 60,000 of his beſt troops to advance towards Catalonia, while a great number of ſhips and gallies cruized along the coaſts and entered the Spaniſh harbours. It was now abſolutely neceſſary for ſome meaſures to be taken; and the dying monarch ſacrificed the intereſts of his family to thoſe of his kingdom: he nominated the duke of Anjou, youngeſt ſon to the dauphin, heir to his dominions, with this proviſo, however, that the two crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united.

The parliament meeting on the 16th of November, the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein he obſerved, "That his calling them together ſo early was owing to an abſolute neceſſity of making ſome farther proviſion for the ſecurity of the kingdom by ſea and land; and recommended particularly the repairing the royal navy and fortifying the harbours. He reminded them alſo of making good the deficiences of the funds, diſcharging the national debt, and providing ſupplies for the enſuing year. He told them, he hoped that the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace, by the evident increaſe of their trade, which he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to promote and encourage; that he thought, however, it might receive a farther advantage, by paſſing a bill for puniſhing the unlawful and clandeſtine running of goods; and by employing the poor, who were become a burden to the nation: he declared himſelf to be fully aſſured of the love and affections of his people, which he ſhould endeavour to preſerve, by maintaining their rights and liberties, by ſupporting the eſtabliſhed religion, by diſpenſing juſtice with clemency and impartiality, by countenancing virtue and diſcouraging vice, and by declining no difficulties or dangers to promote their welfare and proſperity." Having particularly declared his intentions, he concluded his ſpeech in the following manner: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the public good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with God's bleſſing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flouriſhing people."

Though this ſpeech was certainly of the moſt kind and tender nature, yet it gave high offence to the commons. The ſpirit of party magnifies every thing. The expreſſion of "acting with confidence in each other," was conſtrued into an implication of a diſtruſt, or want of confidence in them, and they determined to reſent it. They accordingly returned no addreſs of thanks; but, on the 4th of December, preſented what may be conſidered as a remonſtrance; in which they declared, "That being highly ſenſible nothing was more neceſſary for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, the quieting of the minds of the people, and the diſappointing the deſigns of their enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament, they eſteemed it their greateſt misfortune, that, after having ſo amply provided for the ſecurity of his majeſty and his government, any jealouſy or diſtruſt had been raiſed of their duty and affection: and, at the ſame time, begged leave to repreſent, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and eſtabliſhing an entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament, if he would be pleaſed to ſhew marks of his high diſpleaſure towards ſuch perſons as ſhould preſume to miſrepreſent their proceedings to his majeſty; and they ſhould, on their part, diſcourage all falſe rumours and reports reflecting on his majeſty and his government, whereby any miſunderſtandings might be created between him and his ſubjects." *

Aſtoniſhed at this repreſentation, the king replied, "That no perſon had ever yet dared to miſrepreſent the proceedings of either houſe; and if they had, they would immediately have felt the higheſt marks of his diſpleaſure: and that he took very kindly the aſſurance they gave him of diſcouraging all falſe rumours and reports reflecting on himſelf and his government."

Theſe proceedings were ill calculated to produce the harmony ſo neceſſary between the different branches of the legiſlature, for rendering the nation reſpectable abroad, and happy at home. The commons did every thing in their power to mortify the king; and William gave them, in return, many indications of his reſentment. They paſſed a bill of reſumption, whereby the eſtates in Ireland he had given to his favourites were taken from them, and became again the property of the crown. But not ſatisfied with this victory, they proceeded to ſuch abſurd lengths in their career, that they came to a reſolution to addreſs his majeſty, that no perſon, who was not a native of his dominions, except the prince of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his councils of England or Ireland. But before this addreſs could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers; and, after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion.

A. D. 1700. During the ill-humour that ſubſiſted between the king and the houſe of commons, Charles II. of Spain paid the debt of nature. The death of this prince, who left no iſſue, ſeemed to threaten the balance of power in Europe. Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold, were related to him in the ſame degree; and the renunciation of Maria Tereſia of Auſtria, wife to Lewis, and the eldeſt daughter to Philip III. appeared to the enemies of France an engagement of very little weight. Nor was this of any great conſequence, becauſe the balance of power would be equally deſtroyed, whether Leopold or Lewis obtained the ſucceſſion. This was the true motive that induced William to ſign the treaty of partition, which, it was apprehended, would prevent a general war, as well as the two contending monarchs from becoming too powerful for the other princes of Europe. He was miſtaken; the emperor refuſed to accede to the treaty; and it appeared, on the death of Charles, that he had bequeathed his dominions to the duke of Anjou.

Lewis, for ſome time, heſitated whether he ſhould accept the bequeſt or not, from the proſpect of a war more formidable than any in which he had hitherto been engaged. But ambition ſoon decided in favour of the will. He, however, thought it neceſſary to juſtify his conduct to the king of England, and the States-general. In order to this, he repreſented, that the treaty of partition had occaſioned great and general complaints; that is was abſolutely impracticable to carry it into execution; and that, in renouncing this treaty, he made large ſacrifices to peace and the public good, having abandoned Sicily, Naples, and ſeveral other territories which France was to have enjoyed. But thoſe arguments were by no means ſolid, and the known ambition of the houſe of Bourbon gave great uneaſineſs to the powers of Europe. The States-general, for ſome time, refuſed to acknowledge the duke of Anjou king of Spain; but being in no condition to oppoſe the progreſs of Lewis, ſhould he attempt to invade their territories, they made a virtue of neceſſity, by acknowledging that prince king of Spain, under the title of Philip V. William diſſembled his intentions; and conſidering himſelf as deſtined to hold the balance of power, which was now on the point of being deſtroyed by the ambition of the houſe of Bourbon, he reſolved, if poſſible, to form a new league, for rendering their alarming attempts abortive.

William had met with ſo many mortifications during the laſt parliament, that he determined now to make a change in the miniſtry. He accordingly gave his confidence to the earl of Rocheſter, who was at the head of the Tories, and who undertook that the whole party ſhould exert all their power to ſupport the meaſures adopted by his majeſty. That nobleman was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the privy-ſeal was given to the earl of Tankerville; Sir Charles Hedges was made ſecretary of ſtate; lord Godolphin appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; and the management of the commons intruſted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto oppoſed the court with great warmth and ability.

The new miniſtry, however, ſoon found that they had not ſufficient weight of intereſt to carry the points they intended in the preſent parliament, which ſtood prorogued to the 15th of January. They therefore perſuaded his majeſty to diſſolve it, and call a new a new one; which was accordingly done, and the members appointed to meet on the 6th of Februray following.

In the mean time the Scottiſh parliament paſſed the following reſolution: "That in memory of the "great, and never to be forgotten, deliverance, "which it had pleaſed God to give that kingdom, "by means of his majeſty; and upon the preſervation of whoſe life their ſafety and happineſs, under God, depended; they would ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty and his government to the utmoſt "of their power, and maintain ſuch a number of "forces as ſhould be neceſſary for obtaining ſuch "ſalutary ends." Accordingly an act paſſed for keeping on foot a body of three thouſand men till the firſt of December 1702, and another for a land-tax to maintain theſe troops. Theſs acts being paſſed, the commiſſioner produced the king's letter, wherein his majeſty deſired that he might have eleven hundred men on his own account till the firſt of June following, which the parliament readily granted.

A. D. 1701. The uſual means of corruption had been exerted in electing the members for the new parliament; and venality prevailed ſo far, that the tories had a very conſiderable majority in the houſe of Commons. They met, according to appointment, on the 6th of February, but were prorogued to the 10th, when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker; and the next day the king went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. He obſerved that the death of the king of Spain, together with the declaration he had made with regard to his ſucceſſor, had occaſioned ſuch an alteration in the affairs abroad, that it required their particular attention; and that he did not doubt but their reſolutions thereupon would be ſuch as ſhould moſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the tranquillity of Europe. He requeſted ſupplies for the current year, and put them in mind of the deficiencies and public debts which were yet unprovided for; and at the ſame time recommended to them, the putting the royal navy into a reſpectable condition, and fortifying the ſea coaſts. And as the duke of Glouceſter, the only remaining child of the princeſs of Denmark, had lately paid the debt of nature, he obſerved there was now an abſolute neceſſity for their making a farther proviſion for the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and therefore recommended it to their early and ſerious conſideration. He alſo recommended the improvement of trade and making proviſion for the poor, and concluded with exhorting them to proceed in their reſolution, with ſuch vigour and unanimity, as would convince the world that they were united among themſelves, than which he obſerved, nothing could contribute more to preſerve tranquillity at home, and render the nation reſpected abroad.

In compliance with his majeſty's requeſt, the commons, after providing for the credit of the exchequer-bills, took into conſideration the great object of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown. This produced long debates, on the cloſe of which it was reſolved, that, in order to exclude every catholic prince from the ſucceſſion, the heir ſhould be of the church of England; that if he were a foreigner, the nation ſhould not engage, without conſent of parliament, in any war for the defence of the dominions he might poſſeſs out of the kingdom; that he ſhould not leave England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the ſame conſent; that when this act of limitation ſhould take effect, no foreigner, though a naturalized inhabitant, unleſs of Engliſh extraction, ſhould be admitted into the council, become a member of either houſe, or obtain, by a grant from the crown, any lands or inheritance: that whoever ſhould hold any penſion or lucrative employment under the king, ſhould be incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons; and that a pardon, under the great ſeal, ſhould be of no effect againſt an impeachmeat of the houſe. Having voted theſe regulations, which greatly reſtrained the prerogative, and implied a ſevere cenſure on the preſent government, it was reſolved that the princeſs Sophia, dutcheſs-dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter to James I. was the next heir in the proteſtant line, after the reſpective deſcendants of the king and the princeſs of Denmark. A bill was ordered to be brought in on theſe reſolutions; and, after paſſing both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

This buſineſs being done, the next object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament was, the partition treaty lately ſigned by his majeſty. The commons were ſo far from approving of the king's proceedings on this head, that they condemned them with the greateſt aſperity. They complained loudly of its having been ſigned without conſent of parliament; and obſerved not even common decency in their debates. Sir Edward Seymour compared the diviſion which had been made to the Spaniſh territories, to the diſtribution that highwaymen make of their booty; and Mr. Howe had even the inſolence to call it a felonious treaty; an expreſſion which ſo highly incenſed the king, that he is reported to have ſaid, he would have demanded perſonal ſatisfaction with his ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the diſparity of condition between himſelf and the perſon who had offered ſo outrageous an inſult to his honour.

The lords alſo were far from approving of the treaty, but their debates were guided by prudence and diſcretion. They examined its tendency with candour, and then repreſented it, in an addreſs to the king, as incompatible both with the intereſt of England and the ſafety of Europe. They prayed his majeſty to be adviſed by his own ſubjects, and place his confidence in them rather than in ſtrangers. They added, that ſince the French king's accepting the will of Charles II. was a manifeſt violation of the treaty, they humbly adviſed his majeſty, in future treaties with that prince, to proceed with ſuch caution as might carry a real ſecurity.

The king was highly offended at this addreſs; but he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment, and only returned for anſwer, "That their addreſs contained matter of very great moment; and he would always take care that all treaties he made ſhould be for the honour and ſafety of England."

Lewis XIV. having embraced the will of Charles II. made great preparations for ſupporting the duke of Anjou on the Spaniſh throne; and refuſed to grant any other fecurity, than that of renewing the peace of Ryſwick. This refuſal being communicated to the parliament, both houſes reſolved to requeſt his majeſty would concert meaſures with the ſtates-general for putting a ſtop to the deſigns of France in the Netherlands; aſſuring him they would always be ready to enable him to fulfil the conditions of the treaty ſubſiſting between England and Holland.

The king thanked both houſes for the aſſurances they had given him; and ſaid, he did not doubt but the readineſs they had ſhewn on this occaſion would greatly contribute to the procuring ſuch a ſecurity a they deſired. But he was far from approving thei addreſs, as it implied their diſapprobation of a new confederacy, which he was very deſirous of forming. They ſeemed to limit their aſſiſtance to the obtaining a new barrier in the Netherlands, without enterin into a war for the recovery of the kingdom of Spain. He therefore thought it moſt prudent to acknowledge the duke of Anjou's title to that crown, and to congratulate him on his acceſſion.

Th

The emperor, exaſperated at this incident, complained that he was abandoned by his allies at the very time he ſtood moſt in need of their aſſiſtance. He, however, determined to aſſert his right by force of arms; and accordingly ſent prince Eugene into Italy, at the head of an army, to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire.

During theſe tranſactions d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, employed every artifice to perſuade the ſtates of the cordial kindneſs of his maſter towards them. But the Dutch had too dearly experienced the French monarch's pretended love to their republic, to be eaſily perſuaded of the truth of his profeſſions; and therefore wiſely exerted themſelves in providing for their own ſecurity, by reinforcing their garriſons, and ſoliciting ſuccours from foreign powers. They alſo wrote a letter to king William, in which they expreſſed the moſt ſincere zeal for the intereſt of England, and earneſtly preſſed that the ſtipulated number of troops ſhould be immediately ſent to their aſſiſtance. Accordingly the Scottiſh regiments, which the king had retained in his own pay, were directly ſent them from Scotland. At the ſame time the king communicated the letter of the ſtates-general to the houſe of commons, who, having taken it into conſideration, came to the following reſolution, "that they would effectually aſſiſt his majeſty to ſupport his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe, and immediately provide the ſtipulated ſuccours for the ſtates-general."

The peers went ſtill farther: they addreſſed the king in a very warm, affectionate manner; requeſting that his majeſty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the ſtates-general, but that he would enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with them for their common preſervation, and invite into it all princes and ſtates that were concerned in the viſible danger ariſing from the union of France with Spain. They alſo exhorted him to enter into ſuch alliances with the emperor as his majeſty ſhould think prudent; aſſuring him of their reſolution to aſſiſt him in the moſt effectual manner.

But notwithſtanding both houſes had declared their reſolutions to ſupport his majeſty, they determined to ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt the partition treaty. The earls of Portland and Oxford, the lords Somers and Hallifax, by whoſe advice the treaty was ſuppoſed to have been concluded, were impeached by the commons; but the upper houſe declared the impeachments null and void. This exaſperated the commons, and the moſt alarming animoſities between the two houſes ſucceeded.

As the Tories were now become obnoxious to the people, the Whigs determined to exert their whole force againſt them. They openly charged them with being penſioners to the French king, whoſe intereſts they eſpouſed on all occaſions. They repreſented them as implacable enemies to the preſent government; and that all their views and actions tended ltimately to the reſtoration of the abdicated king nd his family. They even endeavoured to procure etitions from the city of London, and ſeveral of e principal counties of England, to expreſs their ſapprobation of the proceedings of the commons, d the preſent miniſtry; flattering themſelves with ing able, by that means, to procure a revolution favour of their own party. They, however, failed general; the county of Kent alone could be preiled upon to ſend up a petition to parliament; the oſt material parts of which were as follow:

" We, the gentlemen, juſtices of the peace, grand ry, and other freeholders, at the general quarterſſions of the peace at Maidſtone in Kent, deeply ncerned at the dangerous eſtate of this kingdom, d of all Europe; and conſidering that the fate of , and our poſterity, depends upon the wiſdom of our repreſentatives in parliament; think ourſelves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honourable houſe the conſequences, in this conjuncture, of your ſpeedy reſolutions and moſt ſincere endeavours to anſwer the great truſt repoſed in you by our country.

"And in regard that, from the experience of all ages, it is manifeſt that no nation can be great or happy without union; we hope that no pretence whatever ſhall be able to create a miſunderſtanding among ourſelves, or the leaſt diſtruſt of his moſt ſacred majeſty, whoſe great actions for this kingdom are writ in the hearts of his ſubjects, and can never, without the blackeſt ingratitude, be forgot.

" We moſt humbly implore this honourable houſe to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and ſafety may be effectually provided for; that your royal addreſſes may be turned into bills of ſupply; and that his moſt ſacred majeſty, whoſe propitious and unblemiſhed reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his allies before it is too late."

This petition, which was ſigned by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, ſeveral juſtices of the peace, and all the grand jury and other freeholders, was boldly delivered to the houſe of commons by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Colepepper, Juſtinian Champney, and William Hamilton, Eſqrs. The houſe was immediately in a flame: the petition was voted to be a ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious libel, calculated to deſtroy the conſtitution of parliaments and to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of theſe kingdoms. It was, at the ſame time ordered, that the five perſons who had preſented it to the houſe ſhould be taken into cuſtody.

This tyrannical exertion of power raiſed a great ferment in the nation, and the moſt indecent reflections were publiſhed againſt the Tories. Among the reſt a memorial appeared, ſigned Legion, againſt the houſe. "The Engliſh (ſaid the memorialiſts) ought no more to be ſlaves to the parliament, than to the king." They promiſed to ſecond him in all his meaſures, to ſet bounds to the exorbitant power of France; and concluded with this remarkable ſentence, "Our name is Legion, and we are many."

Theſe complaints of the people were far from being prejudicial to the king. The commons ſaw their error, and inſtantly altered their meaſures. They preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, wherein they declared they would ſupport him to the utmoſt; and deſired him to engage in ſuch alliances with the emperor, and other powers, as he ſhould think neceſſary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They voted the ſum of 1,500,000l. for the public expences, 30,000 ſeamen, and that 10,000 troops ſhould be ſent immediately to the aſſiſtance of the ſtates-general.

The miſunderſtanding, however, between the two houſes ſtill continued ſo great, that it was thought proper to put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament. Accordingly, on the 24th of June the king went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for, they attended with their ſpeaker, who, on preſenting the money-bills, addreſſed his majeſty as follows:

" Sir, it is with great joy and ſatisfaction that I attend your majeſty at this time, ſince your commons have complied with all your majeſty was pleaſed to deſire at their meeting. They have paſſed the bill of ſucceſſion, which has ſettled the crown in the proteſtant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your majeſty hath ſettled and preſerved. They have paſſed a bill for taking away thoſe privileges which might have proved burdenſome and oppreſſive to your ſubjects. They have given your majeſty thoſe ſupplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable your majeſty, when you are abroad, to ſupport your allies, procure either a laſting peace, or to preſerve the liberties of Europe by a neceſſary war."

After his majeſty had given the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts, he cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he returned both houſes thanks for the great zeal they had expreſſed for the public ſervice, and their ready compliance with what he recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the ſupplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preſervation of Europe.

William having given the command of the 10,000 auxiliaries, voted by the commons for the ſervice of the ſtates-general, to the earl of Marlborough; placed the earl of Pembroke at the head of the admiralty; appointed Sir George Rooke to command the fleet; ſettled the regency and other matters relating to domeſtic government, he embarked for Holland on the 1ſt of July. Immediately on his arrival at the Hague, he aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the ſtates-general, whom he addreſſed in a moſt affectionate ſpeech, wherein he aſſured them, "that he always came into that country with joy, but more ſo in this dangerous conjuncture, becauſe he foreſaw his preſence would be neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate: that he hoped to have paſſed the reſt of his days in repoſe and peace, and to have left that ſtate in a flouriſhing condition; but there had happened ſuch great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that he knew not what might be conſequences: that he could, however, aſſure their high mightineſſes, whether things were accommodated amicably, or whether they ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to arms, he perſiſted in the ſame zeal he ever had for their ſervice and proſperity: and that he could farther aſſure them the whole Engliſh nation was ready to aſſiſt the ſtates, and ſtrongly to contribute towards their defence, and to whatever might tend to the common ſecurity."

The States, in their anſwer, which was equally affectionate, told his majeſty, "That they could not omit to thank him for his aſſurances, not only in his own, but in the name of the Engliſh nation, in favour of themſelves and the common cauſe, well knowing how much they might rely upon a people whoſe courage had gained ſo much reputation in the world, and were always of opinion that their intereſts were inſeparable from thoſe of England."

William now ſpent ſome time in reviewing the frontier garriſons of the ſtates, and gave ſuch orders as he judged neceſſary for the better defence and ſecurity of the country. When he returned to the Hague, he was informed that the count d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, had delivered a letter from Lewis to the ſtates, accompanied with a memorial of his own, to notify his being called home by his maſter, and wherein he obſerved, "that the ties between their high mightineſſes and the king of England were too ſtrict, and they had too well made known their blind ſubmiſſion to the ſentiments of that monarch; and no doubt but that they had already taken a reſolution to make the ſame declaration to the moſt chriſtian king's ambaſſador."

On the 1ſt of Auguſt the ſtates-general returned a very ſpirited anſwer to this memorial, wherein they ſaid, "that they could not comprehend, why the effect of the union between them and the king of Great Britain ſhould be rather war than peace, ſince his Britannic majeſty on all occaſions had given ſufficient proofs of his inclination to peace: that they did not blindly follow the king of Great Britain's ſentiments, but had the utmoſt deference for his advice; tho' they acknowledged themſelves to be ſtrictly united to him by alliances contracted many years ſince for their mutual ſecurity: that he was one of the chief parties in the partition treaty; and that they had declared, previous to their entering on theſe negotiations, that they thought his conſent neceſſary, both with regard to thoſe reaſons and his private relation with the republic".

Soon after this a treaty was ſigned between the emperor England and Holland, againſt France, for recovering the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; and for the ſecurity of England and Holland with regard to their commerce and navigation, and of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, as well as a ſafe barrier to the Dutch.

Every method was now made uſe of, both by France and the allies, for increaſing their forces by ſea and land; but, perhaps, a declaration of war might have been ſome time farther off, had not an accident happened which haſtened the criſis. James II. paid the debt of nature at St. Germains on the 16th of September, in the 68th year of his age, and the 15th of his exile. In conſequence of this, a queſtion was ſtarted in the French council, what ſteps ſhould be taken with regard to his ſon. Lewis was inclined to give him the ſame titles his father had borne; but the miniſtry adviſed their maſter to remain paſſive, and ſuffer him to aſſume what titles he pleaſed. They enforced their advice with ſuch reaſons of ſound policy, that Lewis reſolved not to acknowledge the ſon of James II. as king. The ſame day, however, Mary of Modena, widow to the deceaſed king, went to Madam de Maintenon's apartment to ſpeak to the French king. She found him there, and with a flood of tears, conjured him not to treat her ſon, herſelf, and the memory of a king he had protected, with ſo much indignity as to refuſe a title the only remains of their former greatneſs. She obſerved, that as her ſon always received the honours of prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father, and that even William himſelf could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy the throne of which he had deprived him. She then obſerved, that whether he acknowledged the ſon of James or not, the Engliſh would, nevertheleſs, declare war againſt France, and that he would only feel the regret of having ſacrificed the moſt noble ſentiments to a fruitleſs precaution The entreaties of the royal widow were powerfull ſeconded by Madam de Maintenon. Lewis reſumed his former ſentiments, and James's ſon was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland by the title of James III, and this title was likewiſ recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savo and the pope.

As ſoon as William was informed of this tranſaction, he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to complai of this manifeſt violation of that treaty. At the ſame tim he recalled his ambaſſador, the earl of Mancheſte from Paris, with orders to return without takin leave, and M. Pouſſin, the French reſident, wa told to depart the kingdom.

It was in vain that Lewis declared, in a manifeſt he publiſhed on this occaſion, that he meant not t violate the treaty of Ryſwick, or to diſturb Willia in his poſſeſſion of the crown. The Engliſh, alre dy diſpoſed for war, conſidered themſelves as inſulte and breathed nothing but vengeance. The city London, and moſt of the counties in England, tran mitted addreſſes to his majeſty in Holland, declarin their ſenſe of the indignity offered him, and promiſin to ſupport his government againſt the pretender a all his enemies.

William, having concluded alliances with ſever foreign princes, and concerted meaſures with t ſtat ſtates for attacking the French frontiers the next campaign, embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 5th of November. A few days after his arrival the parliament was diſſolved, and a new one appointed to meet on the 30th of December. The reaſon alledged for the diſſolution of this parliament was, that his majeſty might have the ſenſe of the nation at this alarming conjuncture; but it is more than probable, that the chief inducement was that of preventing a revival of the heats and animoſities, between the two houſes, as it was feared they might delay the ſupplies neceſſary for the approaching war.

The new parliament met agreeable to the time appointed; and though the whigs had gained an inconteſtible majority, yet Mr. Harley, who was conſidered as the leader of the tory party, was choſen ſpeaker. The next day the king went to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I promiſe myſelf you are met together, full of that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and the late proceedings of the French king, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable addreſſes of my people.

“ The owning and ſetting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, is not only the higheſt indignity offered to me and the nation, but does nearly concern every man who has a regard for the proteſtant religon, or the preſent and future quiet and happineſs of his country, that I need not preſs you to lay it ſeriouſly to heart, to conſider what future effectual means may be uſed for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and extinguiſh the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and ſecret abettors.

“ By the French king's placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppreſs the reſt of Europe, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual meaſures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy: he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and diſpoſes of it as his own dominions; and by that means he has ſurrounded his neighbours in ſuch a manner, that though the name of peace may be ſaid to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniences of war.

“ This muſt affect England in the neareſt and moſt ſenſible manner, in reſpect to our trade, which will ſoon become precarious in all the various branches of it; in reſpect to our peace and ſafety at home, which we cannot hope ſhould long continue; and in reſpect to that part which England ought to take in the preſervation of Europe.

“ In order to obviate the general calamity with which the reſt of Chriſtendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded ſeveral alliances according to the encouragement given me by both houſes of parliament, which I will direct ſhall be laid before you, and which, I doubt not, you will enable me to make good.

“ There are ſome other treaties ſtill depending, which ſhall likewiſe be communicated to you as ſoon as perfected.

“ It is fit I ſhould tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament: all matters are at a ſtand till your reſolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be loſt.

“ You have yet an opportunity, by God's bleſſing, to ſecure to you and your poſterity, the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourſelves, but will exert the antient vigour of the Engliſh nation; but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold of this occaſion, you have no reaſon to hope for another.

“ In order to do your part it will be neceſſary to have a great navy, and to provide for the ſecurity of our ſhips in harbour; and alſo that there be ſuch a force at land, as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I do recommend theſe matters to you with that concern and earneſtneſs which their importance requires: at the ſame time I cannot but preſs you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preſerved, but by keeping ſacred that maxim, that they ſhall never be loſers who truſt to parliamentary ſecurity.

“ It is always with regret when I do aſk aids of my people; but you will obſerve that I deſire nothing which relates to any perſonal expence of mine: I am only deſiring you to do all you can for your own ſafety and honour, at ſo critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given ſhould be wholly appropriated to the purpoſe for which it is intended.

“ And ſince I am ſpeaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war, I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before you, and alſo gave my aſſent to ſeveral bills for ſtating and examining the public accounts, that my ſubjects might have the ſatiſfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any other way of examination, that it may appear whether there have been any miſapplications and miſmanagement, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really ariſen from the ſhortneſs of ſupplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

“ I have already told you how neceſſary diſpatch will be for carrying on that great public buſineſs, whereon our ſafety, and all that is valuable to us, depends. I hope what time can be ſpared will be employed about thoſe other very deſirable things I have recommended from the throne; I mean the forming ſome good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the ſuppreſſion of vice.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of diſputes and differences, and reſolved to act with a general and hearty conſent, for promoting the common cauſe, which alone can make this a happy ſeſſion.

“ I ſhould think it as great a bleſſing as could fall on England, if I could find you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy and fatal animoſities, which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed to make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy as to any, even the higheſt offence, committed againſt me.

“ Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes of your enemies, by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aſide parties and diviſions: let there be no other diſtinction heard amongſt us for the future, but of thoſe who are for the proteſtant religion and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who wiſh for a popiſh prince and a French government.

“ I will only add this, if you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the proteſtant intereſt, it will appear by your rightly improving the preſent opportunity.”

In anſwer to this excellent and patriotic ſpeech, the two houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes to his majeſty, which were moſt graciouſly received; and at the ſame time he gave them aſſurances of the great ſatisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection.

A. D. 1702. The utmoſt expedition was now uſed by parliament for completing the neceſſary armaments for carrying on the war with vigour, both by ſea and land. Forty thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice, and the ſame number to make up the complement of the army. The commons alſo voted, that whoever would advance or lend the ſum of 600,000l. for the ſervice of the fleet, and 50,000l. for the preſent ſubſiſtence of the land forces, ſhould be paid the principal, with intereſt after the rate of ſix per cent. out of the firſt aids granted by parliament.

The parliament (as well as the nation in general) were ſo irritated at the conduct of Lewis, that both houſes joined in an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him that no peace ſhould be concluded with France till reparation was made to the king and the people by the French monarch. They prepared a bill of attainder againſt the pretender, James's ſon; and another to oblige all perſons in office to take an oath to maintain the eſtabliſhed government, and the church of England, with a toleration for non-conformiſts. Ten peers proteſted againſt this bill, as appearing to them to impoſe a new obligation, as uſeleſs as it was ſevere.

William's attention was now wholly engaged in making preparations for the enſuing campaign. He had fully reſolved to put himſelf at the head of his army; but this he never accompliſhed. His life was drawing to a period, and an accident happened which haſtened the melancholy event. His health had been for ſome time viſibly declining; and he had retired to Hampton-court, where he amuſed himſelf with his favourite diverſions of riding and hunting. As he was taking the air on the 21ſt of February, in the park of Hampton-court, he unfortunately fell from his horſe and broke his collar bone. He was immediately carried into the palace, where the bone was ſet, and he returned the ſame evening to Kenſington. He ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovery, till the firſt of March, when a defluxion fell upon his knee, attended with very alarming ſymptoms. This prevented his going in perſon to the parliament houſe, as he before intended; but being very ſolicitous about the national affairs then depending, he granted a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, to ſeveral peers, for paſſing the bills then lying ready for the royal aſſent; among which were, a bill for the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales, and an act that the ſolemn affirmation and declaration of the people called quakers ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form.

His majeſty was ſo well recovered on the 4th of March, that he took ſeveral turns in the gallery; but being ſomewhat fatigued, he ſat down on a couch and fell aſleep. He was ſoon after ſeized with a fever; and, notwithſtanding all attempts to remove his complaint, the diſorder continued to encreaſe. He was ſenſible that his end was approaching, and met death with that firmneſs of mind which always diſtinguiſhed him. "I know (ſaid he to the phyſicians) that you have done every thing your art could do to aſſiſt me; but it is uſeleſs, and I ſubmit." He continued ſenſible to the laſt moment, and died about eight in the morning of the eighth of March, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

William III. (according to biſhop Burnet) was in his perſon of the middle ſtature, a thin body, and delicate conſtitution; ſubject to an aſthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave and ſolemn aſpect. He ſpoke very little; and when he did, his converſation was dry, and his manner diſguſting.

With reſpect to the character of this prince, it has ſhared the ſame fate which commonly attends thoſe who act in exalted ſtations. His friends have repreſented him as a perſon adorned with every virtue: his enemies as a prince deformed with every vice. But the frantic joy which his enemies ſhewed at his death ſufficiently confuted the latter, and is, perhaps, the greateſt eulogium on his memory.

He was generally unfortunate in the many battles he fought againſt the French, yet he muſt be allowed the title of a great general and a great king; for though he was repeatedly beaten, he generally gained much more by his defeat, than the victors by their good fortune. He had inſpired his troops with a confidence and courage which rendered them ſuperior to every danger, and every misfortune. His campaign in Ireland, and his taking Namur, were perhaps the only inſtances, when fortune favoured his arms; but though ſhe ſeemed to have delighted in traverſing his military projects, ſhe could never ſhake his courage, his fortitude, his equanimity, in which he equalled the moſt eminent warriors of antiquity.

In the government of his dominions he diſcovered an exquiſite diſcernment, and conſummate prudence. The principal powers of Europe conſidered him as a friend in whom they could repoſe an unlimited confidence: a diſtinction never before poſſeſſed by any king of England, and which William maintained by the moſt inviolable attachment to the intereſt of his allies, and an unwearied application to buſineſs. He checked the alarming progreſs of the French in Flanders and Germany; he was the ſupport of Europe, when ready to ſink beneath the force of the ambitious Lewis. The Engliſh are indebted to him for a knowledge of their own ſtrength as a commercial and maritime nation. Nor did the embarraſſments and obſtructions in his meaſures, by his parliaments, ever get the better of his ſolicitude for promoting the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms. Prejudice and party zeal, which blinded the writers of the laſt century, having now ſubmitted to juſtice and equity, William III. is juſtly conſidered as one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre.

But notwithſtanding all the virtues of William, we are far from repreſenting him as free from imperfections; he was ambitious; generoſity was not one of his favourite virtues; and he was juſtly blameable for that impolitic, or rather ungrateful partiality, which he, on all occaſions, diſcovered toward his foreign favourites. This was the principal cauſe of the diſtruſt between him and his people, and affords an example which all princes, who are called to the government of a foreign country, would do well to remember.

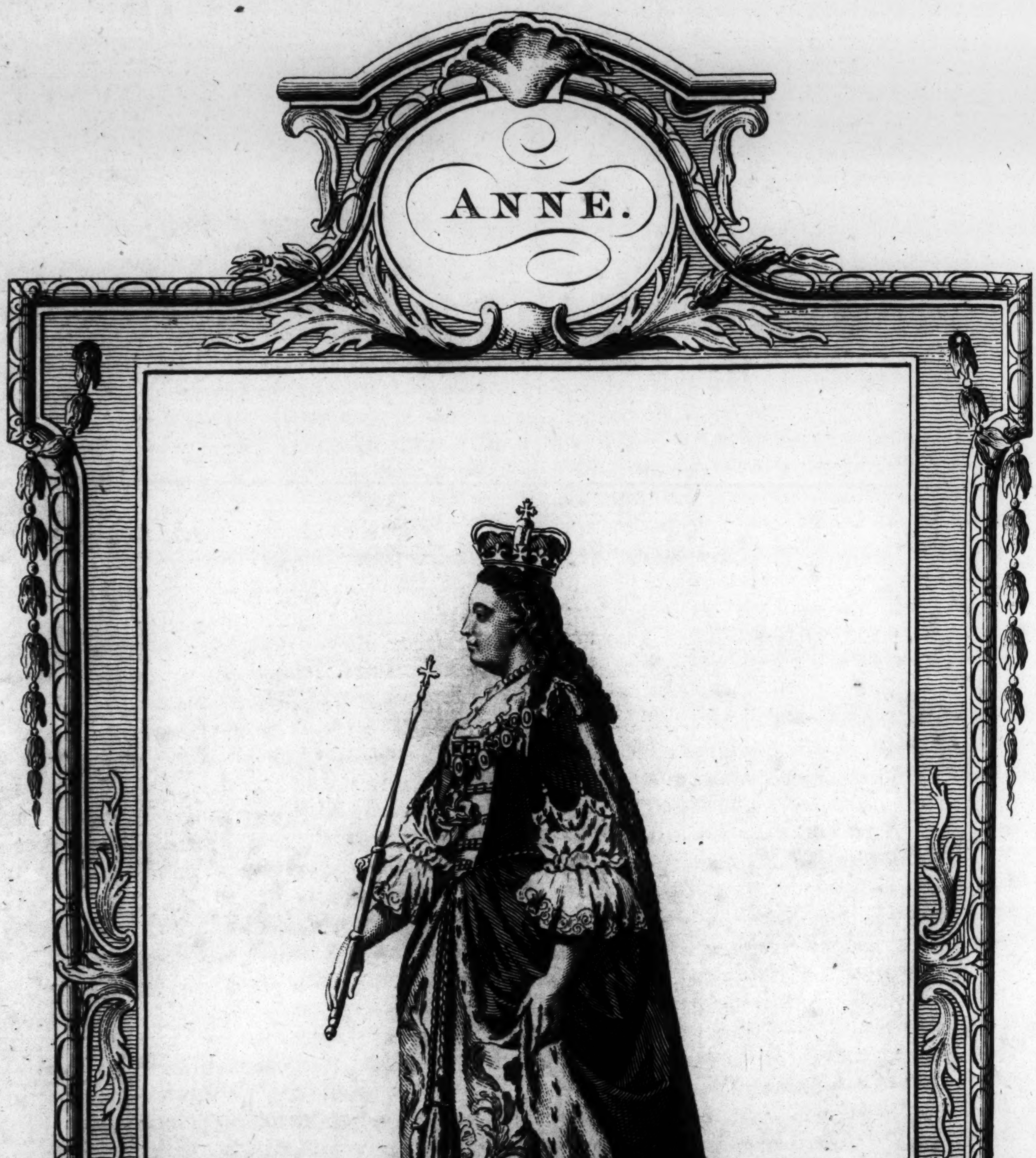
In a word, his virtues greatly over-balanced his failings; nor can any Engliſhman think on him but with gratitude, as an illuſtrious inſtrument in the hand of providence, for reſcuing theſe kingdoms from popiſh ſuperſtition and arbitrary power.

The only remarkable occurrences that happened during William's ſeparate reign were the two following:

In his ſeventh year a tax was laid on all widowers in England; by which a duke was to pay 12l. 10s. per annum; the other nobility, and inferior orders, in proportion; and the common people one ſhilling.

On the 8th of January, 1698, a dreadful fire broke out at Whitehall, occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of a laundreſs; by which accident all the body of the palace, with the council-chamber, and ſeveral adjoining apartments, were entirely conſumed; and it was with great difficulty that the Banquetting-houſe eſcaped ſharing the ſame fate.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM



ANNE.

Wale delin.

Taylor sculp.

SECTION II.

ANNE.

ON the death of William III. the crown, purſuant to the act of ſucceſſion, devolved on the princeſs Anne, ſecond daughter of James II. and ſiſter to the late queen Mary. The privy-council having been aſſembled during the late king's illneſs, they waited on the princeſs immediately after his death, and recognized her title to the throne. She received them with the moſt engaging affability, expreſſed her ſenſe of the great loſs the nation had ſuſtained, and of the heavy burden it brought upon herſelf in particular. But added, that the ſincere regard ſhe had to the religion and liberties of her country would influence her to leave nothing undone on her part to preſerve them invioalable, to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and the government as by law eſtabliſhed. She alſo declared her reſolution to carry on the preparations for oppoſing the exorbitant power of France; and that ſhe would loſe no time in giving her allies the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that ſhe would purſue the true intereſt of England, together with that of the confederates, for the ſupport of the common cauſe.

The parliament (which, by virtue of an act paſſed in the late reign, continued ſitting after the king's death) declared the princeſs Anne the lawful queen of theſe realms, and iſſued orders for proclaiming her, which was accordingly done, the ſame day, with the uſual ceremonies.

The whole nation promiſed themſelves a long ſeries of proſperity, under the government of this beloved princeſs. Her irreproachable manners, the gravity of her diſpoſition, and her firm attachment to the church, had already rendered her perſon dear to the people.

On the 11th of March her majeſty went to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnity, and delivered the following ſpeech to the parliament:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot too much lament my own unhappineſs in ſucceeding ſo immediately after the loſs of a king, who was the great ſupport, not only of theſe kingdoms, but of all Europe: and I am extremely ſenſible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

"But the true concern I have for our religion, for the laws and liberties of England, for the maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown in the proteſtant line, and for the government in church and ſtate as by law eſtabliſhed, encourages me in this great undertaking, which I promiſe myſelf will be ſucceſsful by the bleſſing of God, and the continuance of that fidelity and affection, of which you have given me ſo full aſſurance.

"The preſent conjuncture of affairs requires the greateſt application and diſpatch; and I am very glad to find in your ſeveral addreſſes ſo unanimous a concurrence in the ſame opinion with me, that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies, to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

"I cannot but think it very neceſſary, upon this occaſion, to deſire you to conſider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been ſo lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and ſecurity of both kingdoms.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I need not put you in mind that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government is expired.

"I rely entirely upon your affections for ſupplying it in ſuch a manner as ſhall be moſt ſuitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It ſhall be my conſtant endeavour to make you the beſt return for that duty and affection you have expreſſed to me by a careful and diligent adminiſtration for the good of all my ſubjects: and as I know my own heart to be entirely Engliſh, I can very ſincerely aſſure you, there is not any thing you can expect or deſire from me, which I ſhall not be ready to do for the happineſs and proſperity of England; and you ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious obſerver of my word."

This ſpeech was received with the higheſt ſatisfaction by the parliament. Both houſes joined in a warm addreſs of thanks to her majeſty; and on the 14th of March they voted, that the ſame revenue which had been ſettled on king William ſhould be ſettled on her majeſty for life. The ſame day the earl of Marlborough was elected a knight of the garter; and on the 15th he was appointed captain-general of all her majeſty's forces in England, and of thoſe which were employed abroad in conjunction with her allies.

The queen loſt no time in informing the confederates of her reſolution to purſue the meaſures of his late majeſty. She wrote a letter to the ſtates-general, aſſuring them that they ſhould find the ſame readineſs to purſue the meaſures for preſerving the common liberties of Europe, as they would had the life of the late king been extended to a much longer date. Animated by theſe aſſurances, the ſtates renewed their applications to the neceſſary buſineſs for carrying on the war with vigour; and publiſhed the queen's letter to refute the reports that had been artfully raiſed by the enemy, that the queen would not purſue the meaſures concerted by king William and the confederates. Marlborough arrived at the Hague on the 28th of March, in quality of her majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary to their high mightineſſes. He confirmed them in their reſolution for having recourſe to vigorous meaſures, and animated the league that was formed to humble France.

Perſuaded that the alliance formed by the late king would terminate with the breath of William, Lewis could not refrain his joy when the news of his death reached Verſailles. He immediately ſent inſtructions to his miniſter at the Hague, for renewing the negotiations with the ſtates, in order to detach them from the grand alliance. The French ambaſſador accordingly preſented a memorial, offering them the friendſhip of his maſter, and very advantageous terms, if they would agree to a treaty of peace. He added, that he doubted not of their accepting his offer, now they were no longer under the influence of the late king. But, at the ſame time, gave them to underſtand, that if, contrary to his expectation, they refuſed his offers, the forces of his maſter were ready to enter upon action; and they muſt now determine whether they choſe quiet and liberty, or war and ruin. "The choice (ſaid he) is in your own power, and I hope you will not ſacrifice the happineſs and tranquillity of your country to foreign intereſts."

The anſwer returned by the ſtates-general was worthy of a people who were determined to preſerve their liberty. "We have always (ſaid they) cheriſhed a high eſteem for his moſt chriſtian majeſty's friendſhip, nor ever done any thing to incur his diſpleaſure; but the alarming preparations for war ſo near on our frontiers, lay us under a neceſſity of putting ourſelves in a poſture of defence, and of aſking aſſiſtance from our allies. You are miſtaken, Sir, if you think we had not as much liberty to debate, and take ſuch reſolutions as were judged neceſſary for our preſervation, in the life-time of his Britannic majeſty, as at preſent. We cannot, indeed, enough deplore our misfortune, in being deprived of his wiſe conduct and councils, whoſe deſerts the republic can never forget; and we are reſolved to follow the ſame principles, and continue the ſame alliances we entered into during his life-time; and make uſe of ſuch other means as God hath put into our hands for maintaining our liberties and religion."

It is little to be wondered at that ſo ſpirited an anſwer ſhould render the negotiation abortive. The French ambaſſador returned to Paris, and the ſtates-general applied themſelves, with the utmoſt vigour, to the moſt likely meaſures for oppoſing the ambitious deſigns of the French. The allies were animated by the declaration of the queen; and the earl of Marlborough, after concerting meaſures for beginning the military operations, returned to England.

During theſe tranſactions abroad, the Engliſh parliament paſſed ſeveral bills; particularly an act for the better ſupport of her majeſty's houſhold, and the honour and dignity of the crown; an act for the ſtating the public accounts, and ſeveral private bills; when her majeſty came to the houſe of peers and gave them the royal aſſent. This being done, her majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein ſhe told them, it was with the greateſt pleaſure ſhe gave her aſſent to the act for ſtating the public accounts, thinking it highly reaſonable her ſubjects ſhould be ſatisfied how the large ſums they had granted her were expended; eſpecially when the common intereſt required a continuance of great taxes. She returned the commons thanks for their having continued to her, during her life, the ſame revenue they had granted to the late king, telling them, that though it would, in all probability, fall ſhort of what his had formerly produced, ſhe would, nevertheleſs, give directions that 100,000l. thereof ſhould be annually applied to the public ſervice. "I am willing, ſaid ſhe, to ſtraiten my own expences, rather than not contribute all I can to the eaſe and relief of my people."

A declaration of ſo generous and unexpected a nature could not fail of being highly agreeable to the parliament; and accordingly both houſes preſented her majeſty addreſſes of thanks, in which they mentioned her unparalleled goodneſs, in contributing ſo largely, out of her own revenue, to the relief of her ſubjects.

It was now warmly debated in council, whether the Engliſh ſhould engage as auxiliaries or principals in the war. The tories, with the earl of Rocheſter at their head, ſupported the former, and the whigs the latter. It was urged by thoſe who thought it moſt prudent to act as auxiliaries only, that in the laſt war, the emperor, and ſome other of the allies, had been very remiſs in furniſhing their quotas, and bringing their troops early into the field, whereby many advantages had been loſt, and the whole burden of the war had been, in a manner, thrown upon the Engliſh, who conſtantly ſupplied their deficiencies; and, from a delicate notion of honour, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country in the quarrel: whereas it would have been otherwiſe, had they acted only as auxiliaries; they would have had nothing more to do than to have ſent their quota of troops; and the burden of the war muſt have been borne by thoſe who were moſt nearly concerned in the diſpute.

Theſe arguments, however, were ſtrongly oppoſed by the whigs, the principal of whom were the dukes of Devonſhire and Somerſet, who inſiſted on the neceſſity of the Engliſh engaging as principals in the war; and the earl of Marlborough joined them in this opinion. He obſerved, on the occaſion, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed that the power of France could never be reduced within due bounds, unleſs the Engliſh engaged as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was ſo ſtrongly ſupported by the whigs, that the majority declared in favour of their opinion; and a declaration of war was ordered to be prepared againſt France and Spain.

Accordingly, on the 4th of May, the declaration was publiſhed, with the utmoſt ſolemnities; in which the queen reproached Lewis with interrupting the freedom of commerce and navigation; with having formed a deſign of enſlaving Europe; with having ſeized a conſiderable part of the poſſeſſions of Spain; and with having perſonally inſulted her, by acknowledging the ſon of James II. to be king of England.

Two days after publiſhing the above declaration, the lord Godolphin was conſtituted lord-high-treaſurer, a poſt he had for ſome time refuſed, but was at laſt prevailed upon to accept it by the earl of Marlborough, who refuſed to command the forces abroad, unleſs the treaſury was put under the care of Godolphin, on whoſe punctuality, in point of remittances, he knew he could depend. Marlborough being thus ſure of the finances, honoured with the higheſt confidence of the queen, ſecure of the favour of the parliament and people, bleſſed with a capacity equal to his intereſt, of indefatigable activity and invincible courage, made the neceſſary preparations for putting himſelf at the head of the allied army.

In the mean time the emperor and the ſtates-general followed the example of the Engliſh, and declared war againſt France and Spain. The declaration of the former turned principally on the flagrant injury that had been done to the Auſtrian family by the French king's accepting of the will of Charles II. in favour of his grandſon, the duke of Anjou. The ſtates-general obſerved, "That Lewis had long ſince caſt his eyes upon their provinces; that he had twice attacked them by a moſt unjuſt war, in order to open himſelf a paſſage to univerſal monarchy; that he was ſo far from intending to preſerve the peace of Ryſwick, that he aimed only at lulling the allies aſleep, by prevailing upon them to lay down their arms; and, by ruining the commerce of the Dutch, to render them incapable of making any effectual oppoſition to his ambitious deſigns; for that treaty was hardly ratified, before he began evidently to encroach on their trade, the great ſinew of their ſtrength, by openly refuſing the tariff promiſed by that treaty."

Lewis was highly incenſed at theſe declarations, eſpecially that of the ſtates, which he affected to treat with the utmoſt contempt; but did not publiſh his declaration of war till the beginning of July. He exerted all his power to engage the German princes in his intereſt, and was ſo far ſucceſsful, that the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle (Rodolphus and Anthony) were prevailed upon to declare in his favour.

The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, a ſtrong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French. The place was inveſted by the prince of Naſſau-Saarburgh, marſhal du camp to the emperor; but the badneſs of the weather and the overflowing of the Rhine ſo greatly retarded the progreſs of the beſiegers, that Keyſerſwaert was not taken till a month after the trenches were opened; and marſhal Bouſflers, who commanded the French army under the duke of Burgundy, eldeſt grandſon of France, was very near ſurprizing the city of Nimeguen, while the allied army was engaged in the ſiege. The earl of Athlone, who commanded a ſeparate army of the Dutch, arrived about an hour before the French, and poſted his army under the walls of Nimeguen, and by that means prevented the loſs of that important place; for which he received the thanks of the ſtates-general. Coehorn, with a detachment of 10,000 men, broke into Flanders, forced and demoliſhed the French lines between the two forts of St. Donat and Oſabella, which the French had been many months forming with great labour and expence, and laid the greater part of the Chatellany of Bruges under contribution. But on the approach of the marquis of Bedmer and count de Motte, he was obliged to retire under the walls of Sluys.

The earl of Marlborough was now at the Hague, regulating the operations of the campaign. Trained up to arms in the military ſchool of the great Turenne, he had more than once received the approbation and thanks of that conſummate maſter in the art of war, for his gallant behaviour. Equally ſkilled in the intrigues of the cabinet and the field, he poſſeſſed the happy art of gaining the hearts of all who were connected with him. Endowed with an exquiſite diſcernment, he always diſcovered the lucky moment, the very inſtant it preſented itſelf, and never failed to take the advantage it offered, either in the field or the cabinet. He thoroughly underſtood the intereſts of the powers he ſerved, and ſeldom failed to penetrate the deſigns of the enemy. Favoured in a particular manner with the confidence of the troops, he was able to avert the impending dangers by his prudence and foreſight, or pluck the wreath of conqueſt from the foe by his courage and preſence of mind.

Marlborough's firſt campaign gained him univerſal applauſe, and confirmed the expectations the allies had formed of his great abilities. He joined the army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen on the thirtieth of June, paſſed the Maeſe on the ſixteenth of July, and endeavoured to bring the French army, commanded by the duke of Burgundy and marſhal Bouflers, to a general engagement; but this he found impoſſible. The French choſe rather to abandon Spaniſh Guelderland to the diſcretion of the allies, than hazard a battle. They retreated under the canon of Nimeguen; and the duke of Burgundy, who came to the army merely to learn the method of conducting an engagement, learned nothing but how to avoid one.

The ſtates-general now requeſted Marlborough to make himſelf maſter of the towns in Spaniſh Guelderland, which would open entirely the navigation of the Maeſe, and on that account be of the utmoſt advantage to Holland. The general readily liſtened to their deſire, and immediately prepared to beſiege Venlo, which was accordingly inveſted on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, and on the twenty-fifth of September the town ſurrendered. Fort St. Michael was attacked on the eighteenth of September, and the garriſon ſurrendered on honourable terms, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month.

While this ſiege was carrying on, Marlborough detached general Schutz with a body of troops, to attack the town and caſtle of Wertz, both of which ſurrendered after a very ſlight reſiſtance.

In the beginning of October, Marlborough inveſted Ruremonde, which, after a ſtout reſiſtance of five days, ſurrendered to the allies, together with Stevenſwaert, both ſituated on the Maeſe. The army then marched towards Liege, and, on its approach, marſhal Boufflers, to whom the duke of Burgundy had now left the command of the French army, thought proper to retreat from thence to Tongeren, on the river Jecker, and thence towards Brabant; in order to defend ſuch places as were not, at that time, intended to be attacked.

When the allied army came before Liege, they found the city abandoned, and Marlborough took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition. The citadel, however, together with another ſtrong fort, called the Chartreuſe of Liege, held out for ſome days. The former, which was defended by eight French battalions, was taken by ſtorm on the 23d of October, the manner of executing which is thus related by Marlborough himſelf, in the account he ſent to the Engliſh court: "All things, ſays he, being prepared, and the ſignal given, our troops were out of their trenches, and marched towards the enemy without firing a ſhot, and with an order and intrepidity hardly to be paralleled. They then attacked the counterſcarp with ſuch fury, that the enemy were obliged to abandon the poſt; but our men, inſtead of forming a lodgment there, forced their paſſage into the covert-way: paſſed the mount, and aſcended the breach: whereupon the governor, who little expected ſo vigorous an attack, beat a parley: our troops, however, being already in the place would not hearken to it, and would have cut the whole garriſon in pieces, had they not thrown down their arms and called aloud for quarter, which was granted them. In this glorious action, the hereditary prince of Caſſel ſignalized his courage; he went a volunteer in the attack, at the head of the grenadiers, was the firſt man who mounted the breach, and with his own hands wreſted the colours from the French officer. Mr. Wentworth, brother to lord Reby, alſo ſerved as a volunteer in this action, and died glorioufly in the bed of honour. M. Vivlane, the governor, and the duke of Charoſt were made priſoners."

The citadel of Liege was extremely rich, the moſt opulent merchants and others having there depoſited their valuable effects, as in a place of ſafety. No leſs than 300,000 florins in gold and ſilver were found in it, beſides notes for about 1,200,000 florins more, drawn upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was, in ſhort, ſo conſiderable, that an Engliſh grenadier is ſaid to have received 1000 louis d'ors for his own ſhare.

With this conqueſt ended the firſt campaign, equally advantageous to the allies and the honour of Marlborough, who had now eſtabliſhed his military character beyond all controverſy, and entirely ſecured the affection of the ſtates.

The confederate army being ſeparated, the earl of Marlborough repaired to Maeſtricht, and embarked immediately on the Maeſe for Holland, in company with M. Gueldermanſel, one of the deputies of the ſtates, and the baron d'Opdam, general of the Dutch horſe, taking with him twenty-five ſoldiers, under the command of a lieutenant, by way of guard. But in paſſing down that river, a party of fifty-three men, belonging to the garriſon of Guelder, the only place in that province now belonging to the French, who lay ſkulking on the banks of the Maeſe, waiting for prey, obſerving the boat, ſuddenly ſeized the rope by which it was drawn; and haling it on ſhore, immediately diſcharged their pieces on the paſſengers; but having examined the ſeveral paſſports without knowing Marlborough, they ſearched the trunks and baggage, made the guard priſoners, and ſuffered the boat to proceed. The governor of Venlo, informed of this tranſaction, took it for granted that Marlborough was made priſoner, and carried to Guelder. Accordingly he marched out at the head of his whole garriſon to attack that place. The ſame account being carried to the Hague, filled the Dutch with the greateſt conſternation. The ſtates immediately aſſembling, reſolved, that all their forces ſhould march inſtantly, and threaten the garriſon with the utmoſt extremity, unleſs they inſtantly releaſed the general. But before theſe orders could be diſpatched, the earl arrived at the Hague, where he was received with every mark of the moſt perfect eſteem.

An expedition had been planned by the late king for reducing Cadiz, and it was now determined to carry it into execution. Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral of the fleet, and the duke of Ormond commander of the land-forces. The fleet, when joined by the Dutch, conſiſted of fifty ſhips of the line, thirty Engliſh, and twenty Dutch; and the tranſports had on board fourteen thouſand land-forces.

The fleet failed on the firſt of July, and on the twelfth of Auguſt anchored in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues diſtant from Cadiz. The troops were landed on the fifteenth of Auguſt, and ſoon after made themſelves maſters of Rota and Port St. Mary's. The ſtricteſt orders had been iſſued againſt plundering before the forces reached either of theſe places; but it was not in the power of the officers to prevent their hungry and thirſty ſoldiers from forcing the houſes where they expected to find refreſhments. Nor was it long before they made their way to the cellars, which they found ſtored with rich and ſtrong wines. They now became wholly ungovernable, plundered the city, and, being joined by the ſeamen, ſent the ſpoil on board the ſhips. They ſtripped the churches and altars of their plate, and the houſes of their treaſure and rich furniture; ſo that the value of the whole was about a million ſterling. The duke of Ormond was ſo highly incenſed at theſe violences, committed in contempt of his orders, that he commanded Sir Henry Bellaſis and Sir Charles O'Hara, who commanded the troops that took poſſeſſion of the place, to be put under arreſt, and would have proceeded with greater ſeverity, had the offenders been leſs numerous.

In the mean time, the garriſon of Cadiz had recovered from their conſternation; and the late exceſſes had ſo highly provoked the Spaniards, that they joined their army from every quarter in great numbers, determined to oppoſe the invaders of their country. The ſeaſon of the year was alſo now ſo far advanced, that the ſhips could not, without the utmoſt danger, continue longer in thoſe ſeas. The troops were therefore reimbarked, and the Engliſh left the Spaniſh coaſt, greatly chagrined at their diſappointment.

Though this expedition proved abortive, yet an incident happened which enabled them to perform an action of the utmoſt ſervice to their country. In their paſſage they were met by captain Hardy, commander of the Pembroke. He had been detached with ſome ſhips to Lagos, a harbour on the coaſt of Portugal, and had received information, that M. Chateau Renauld, with a ſquadron of French men of war, and the Spaniſh flota were put into Vigo, a ſea-port of Galicia, in Spain. Having imparted this important advice to Sir George Rooke, he immediately informed the Dutch admiral; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ſhould ſteer directly for Vigo. The next day he called a council of war, when the admiral's propoſal being unanimouſly approved, they directed their courſe immediately to the port where the enemy's fleet had taken ſhelter.

The weather proved ſo very hazy, that the inhabitants of Vigo did not ſee the combined fleet, till they were within a few miles of the harbour. They immediately fired almoſt inceſſantly on the fleet; but the Engliſh took very little notice of it, paſſing on with all their ſails to the harbour where the French fleet and galleons lay.

The paſſage into the harbour, which was not above three quarters of a mile over, was defended with ſeveral forts, batteries and breaſt-works on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom of iron chains and cables drawn acroſs the harbour, and buoyed up with top-maſts, &c. moored at each end to a ſeventy gun ſhip. Within this boom were moored five ſhips of the ſame force, with their broadſides to the entrance of the paſſage.

It was now determined, that as the paſſage into the harbour was ſo narrow, that the whole fleet could not attack the enemy's ſhips and galleons, without running foul of each other, a detachment of fifteen Engliſh and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ſhips, ſhould be ſent into the harbour in order to take and deſtroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb veſſels ſhould follow the rear of this detachment, and that the large ſhips ſhould move after them, and enter the harbour, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary. It was alſo determined that the land forces ſhould be ſet on ſhore at the ſame time, and attack the forts that defended the entrance of the harbour.

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the duke of Ormond landed early in the morning of the twelfth of October, in a ſandy bay about ſix miles from Vigo, at the head of 2,500 men; and not meeting with any oppoſition, he ordered the grenadiers to march, under the command of lord Shannon, to the fort that guarded the entrance of the harbour, where the boom lay. This ſervice he performed with the moſt intrepid gallantry, notwithſtanding there appeared at the ſame time about 8,000 Spaniſh foot, between the fort and the hills, they retired after a few ſkirmiſhes with the grenadiers, who alſo drove before them another party of the enemy, followed them to the fort, and made themſelves maſters of the lower battery. Upon this, lieutenant-general Churchill's regiment advanced towards the left, and took their poſts. After taking the two batteries, the enemy retired into an old caſtle, or ſtone-tower, and fired from thence for ſome time upon the Engliſh; but opening the gate, in order to make a ſally, the grenadiers forced their way into the tower ſword in hand, and obliged the garriſon, conſiſting of French and Spaniards, to ſurrender priſoners of war.

The taking of theſe fortifications greatly facilitated the attempt on the ſhipping. The admiral made a ſignal to weigh ſoon after the land forces were aſhore, and the whole ſquadron ſtood in towards the boom; but when the van was within cannon-ſhot of the batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were under a neceſſity of coming to an anchor; but a freſh gale ſpringing up ſoon after, they cut their cables, and ſtood directly for the harbour. Vice-admiral Hobſon, in the Torbay, who led the van, crowded all the ſail he could, and ſtood directly againſt the boom, which immediately gave way, and he entered the harbour. The reſt of the fleet were not ſo fortunate. The Dutch admiral and his ſquadron, who laid their ſhips broadſides to the boom, in order to add weight to the ſhock of the Torbay, ſtuck faſt, and they were obliged to cut themſelves a paſſage. The whole ſquadron now entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemies ſhips and batteries, which, however, they ſoon ſilenced. But Admiral Hobſon was in the utmoſt danger. He was boarded by a fire-ſhip, but had the good fortune to beat her off, though not till after his ſhip had received ſo much damage, that he was obliged to ſhift his flag on board the Monmouth.

After a moſt deſperate engagement, the French finding themſelves unable to contend againſt the ſuperior force and valour of the aſſailants, reſolved to ſet fire to their own ſhips, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. They accordingly burnt eight ſhips, ſix galleons, and two advice-boats, but ten French men of war and eleven galleons were taken. The Spaniards had, however, ſecured a conſiderable part of their plate, and other rich merchandize, on the appearance of the combined fleet. Near 14,000,000 of pieces of eight were loſt in ſix galleons that were burnt, and about half that value brought off by the conquerors.

When the action was over, the duke of Ormond propoſed to have made himſelf maſter of Vigo, and to have wintered in Spain, if the admiral could have ſpared him a ſquadron of men of war and proviſions for his troops; but the admiral declaring it was not in his power, the land forces were re-embarked, and on the 19th of October, Sir George Rooke, with twenty men of war, ſailed for England, leaving Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to convoy home the prizes. He, having burnt the ſhips that could not be got off, and taken 110 braſs cannon out of the enemy's ſhips and from their batteries, followed the grand fleet in a few days, and on the 7th of November they all arrived ſafe in the Downs.

Admiral Benbow was not ſo fortunate in the Weſt-Indies. He had, for ſome time, protected the trade, with great vigilance and ſucceſs, in that quarter of the world. That brave, but violent man, had incurred the hatred of ſeveral of his officers, which, joined with a daſtardly ſpirit, gave the enemy an advantage they could never otherwiſe have obtained. Benbow's fleet conſiſted of ſeven ſail of the line, and with this force he ſcoured the ſeas of the many privateers that were very injurious to the Engliſh trade. Being informed that M. du Caſſe, a French admiral, with ten ſail of ſhips, was expected at Hiſpaniola, Benbow determined, if poſſible, to intercept him. On the 19th of Auguſt, he had ſight of the enemy, and ſoon after began the engagement with three ſhips only; the other four falling a-ſtern, came not within gun-ſhot of the enemy. Had they done their duty, the whole French ſquadron muſt have fallen into their hands. Benbow, however, continued the fight, and ſoon diſabled one of the enemy's ſhips. But du Caſſe perceiving that he was not ſeconded by the reſt of his ſhips, attacked him with the utmoſt fury, and the admiral had the misfortune to have one of his legs ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot. He, however, continued the fight with the ſame intrepidity; but fearing, from the behaviour of his captains, that they would deſert to the enemy, he was obliged to retire to Jamaica. On his arrival, he iſſued a commiſſion to vice-admiral Whetſtone to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudſon, of the Pendennis, died before the trial; Kirby of the Defiance, and Wade of the Greenwich, were convicted, and ſentenced to be ſhot; Conſtable of the Windſor was caſhiered and impriſoned; Vincent of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having ſigned a paper, that they would not fight on the preſent occaſion; but as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court only inflicted on them the puniſhment of ſuſpenſion, nor was that to take place till the lord high admiral's pleaſure ſhould be known. Wade and Kirby were ſent home in the Briſtol, and, upon their arrival at Plymouth, ſhot on board the ſhip; a dead warrant for their immediate execution having lain there for ſome time. In the mean time admiral Benbow was ſo deeply affected by this miſcarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief having augmented the fever, occaſioned by his wound, it ſoon put a period to his life.

On the 2d of July her majeſty thought proper to diſſolve the parliament, and call a new one, which met for buſineſs on the 23d of October. The tories had ſo prejudiced the people againſt the behaviour of the whigs, that they had a very conſiderable majority in this parliament; a circumſtance very agreeable to the queen, whoſe partiality for that party was always remarkable. The commons having choſen Robert Harley, Eſq; for their ſpeaker, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with great ſatisfaction I meet this parliament; which I have ſummoned to aſſiſt me in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which we are engaged. I have called you together as early as was conſiſtent with your convenience in coming out of your ſeveral counties; and I aſſure myſelf of ſuch evidences of your affections to me, and your zeal for our common cauſe, as will not only give ſpirit and forwardneſs to our own preparations, but ſuch example and encouragement to our allies, as, by God's bleſſing, cannot fail of a good effect, for the advantage of the whole confederacy.

"I have met with ſo many expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction in all the counties through which I have lately had occaſion to paſs, that I cannot but look upon them as true meaſures of the duty and affection of the reſt of my ſubjects.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies as will enable me to comply both with our particular treaties and engagements already made, and ſuch others as may be neceſſary for the encouragement of our allies, and the proſecuting the war where it ſhall moſt ſenſibly affect our enemies, and be moſt effectual for diſappointing the boundleſs ambition of France.

"And that my ſubjects may the more chearfully bear the neceſſary taxes, I deſire you to inſpect the accounts of the public receipts and payments; and if there have been any abuſes or miſmanagements, I hope you will detect them, that the offenders may be puniſhed, and others be deterred, by ſuch like examples, from the like practices. I muſt obſerve to you, with ſome concern, that the funds given by the laſt parliament have, in ſome meaſure, fallen ſhort of the ſums propoſed to be raiſed by them; and though I have already paid and applied to the public ſervice the 100,000 pounds I promiſed to the laſt parliament, yet it has not ſupplied that deficiency.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot, without much trouble, take notice to you of the diſappointment we had at Cadiz. I have not yet had a particular account of that enterprize, nor of all the difficulties our forces may have met with there. But I have had ſuch a repreſentation of diſorders and abuſes committed at Port St. Mary's, as has obliged me to give the directions for the ſtricteſt examination of that matter.

"I am earneſtly deſirous, for all our ſakes, that this may prove a ſhort ſeſſion. However, I hope you will find time to conſider of ſome better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and to improve that manufacture, which is of ſo great conſequence to the kingdom. On my part, nothing ſhall be omitted for its encouragement.

"I am firmly perſuaded, that the love and good affection of my ſubjects is the ſureſt pledge of their duty and obedience, and the trueſt and juſteſt ſupport of the throne. And as I am reſolved to defend and maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed, and to protect you in the full enjoyment of all your rights and liberties; ſo I rely on your care of me. My intereſts and yours are inſeparable; and my endeavours ſhall never be wanting to make you all ſafe and happy."

Both houſes were ſo well ſatisfied with this ſpeech, that they preſented ſeparate addreſſes to her majeſty, which were full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of duty, eſteem and acknowledgment. The addreſs of the commons was remarkable for their prejudice againſt the memory of the late king. The purport of the addreſs was, that the aſtoniſhing progreſs of her majeſty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had retrieved the antient honors of the Engliſh nation. This expreſſion was very injurious to the memory of William, and therefore occaſioned long and very warm debates in the houſe. The word "retrieved" was particularly objected to, and the word "maintained" offered to be ſubſtituted in its room. But the tories ſupported the expreſſion, and it paſſed by a great majority.

On the 30th of October lord Shannon arrived from the confederate fleet, with the news of its ſignal ſucceſs over the French and Spaniards at Vigo. The 12th of November was appointed for a public thankſgiving for the ſucceſſes of the campaign, and the queen went to St. Paul's, attended by both houſes of parliament and the chief officers of ſtate. The duke of Ormond, who was now returned from his expedition, and happened to be that day one of the ſtaff officers in waiting, was received by the populace with the loudeſt acclamations of joy.

The next day his Grace went to the houſe of peers, when the lord-keeper returned him thanks, in the name of the houſe, for the ſignal ſervices performed at Vigo. The commons alſo returned the duke and Sir George Rooke, the thanks of their houſe for their gallant atchievements; though at the ſame time they drew up an addreſs to the queen, deſiring ſhe would order the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings, a requeſt with which her majeſty complied.

On the 21ſt of November the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, by Mr. Secretary Hedges, informing them, "that her majeſty, conſidering there was but a very ſlender proviſion made for the prince her huſband, if he ſhould ſurvive her; and that ſhe was reſtrained from increaſing the ſame by the late act of parliament for ſettling the revenue, thought it neceſſary to recommend the making a further proviſion for the prince to their conſideration." In conſequence of this meſſage the commons unanimouſly reſolved, "that the yearly ſum of 100,0000 pounds be ſettled upon his royal highneſs, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her majeſty." He was alſo exempted from that clauſe in the act of ſucceſſion, which excluded all foreigners from offices, though they were naturalized; and was created lord high-admiral of England. But the quality of huſband to the queen gave him no authority. Anne reigned alone; and he ſhared in her glory, without acquiring any part of it himſelf.

The earl of Marlborough being now returned from Holland, received the thanks of both houſes for his ſignal ſervices; and on the 2d of December her majeſty declared in the committee of council, "that ſhe was ſo ſatisfied of the eminent ſervices of lord Marlborough to the public and herſelf, both in the command of the army, and the entire confidence he had ſettled between her majeſty and her allies, the ſtates-general, that ſhe intended to create him a duke." On the tenth of the ſame month ſhe ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of commons.

ANNE. R.

"The earl of Marlborough's ſervices to her majeſty and to the public have been ſo eminent, both in his command of the army, and his having eſtabliſhed an entire confidence and good correſpondence between her majeſty and the ſtates-general, that ſhe has thought fit to grant the title of a duke of this kingdom to him and to the heirs male of his body, and alſo a penſion of 5,000 pounds per annum upon the revenue of the poſt-office, for the ſupport of his honour during her majeſty's life: if it had been in her majeſty's power, ſhe would have granted the ſame term in the penſion as in the honour, and ſhe hopes you will think it ſo reaſonable in this caſe as to find ſome proper methods of doing it."

This meſſage occaſioned great debates in the houſe, the reſult of which was an addreſs, ſhewing their inexpreſſible grief that her majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal commons ſaw any inſtances where they were unable to comply with what her majeſty propoſed to them; but they begged leave humbly to lay before her majeſty the apprehenſions they had of making a precedent for the future alienation of the revenue of the crown, which had been ſo much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the laſt reign, and which had been ſo lately ſettled and ſecured by her majeſty's unparalleled grace and goodneſs. They, however, declared themſelves infinitely pleaſed to obſerve, by her majeſty's late gracious acceptance of the duke of Marlborough's ſervices, that the only way to obtain her majeſty's favour was to deſerve well of the public, and begged leave to aſſure her majeſty, that whenever ſhe ſhould think fit to reward ſuch merit, it would be to the entire ſatisfaction of her people. The queen, in her anſwer to this addreſs, told the commons, "that ſhe ſhould always think herſelf much concerned to reward thoſe who had deſerved well of her, and that on this account ſhe had beſtowed ſome favours on the duke of Marlborough, and was glad to find they thought them well placed."

The Tories, who had greatly the majority in the houſe of commons, and were favoured by the queen, carried all before them with the utmoſt violence. Firmly attached to the church of England, they covered their animoſities under the pretence of zeal. Great part of the whigs, though, to all appearance, united with the church of England, at leaſt ſo far as not to ſcruple the ordinary oaths, frequented the aſſemblies of the non-conformiſts, without being deprived of any advantage as ſubjects. The reigning party, inſtigated by the hatred they bore them, were deſirous of excluding them from all employments. They conſidered as a real ſchiſm that occaſional conformity, which, under an appearance of ſubmiſſion, concealed a determined revolt from the orthodox faith. In conſequence of this opinion, a bill was brought into the lower houſe, the preamble to which condemned perſecution, though it ſeemed wholly calculated to promote it. Whoever had taken the oaths for holding a place, and afterwards frequented any of the aſſemblies of the non-conformiſts, became, according

cording to the tenor of this bill, incapable of holding ſuch employment, was liable to pay a fine of 100 pounds, and five pounds for every day he held his employment, after having been at any ſuch meeting: nor could he hold any other employment till after one whole year's conformity.

It was pretended, by the promoters of this bill, that a national church being requiſite, as well for the ſupport of religion as the tranquillity of the ſtate, it was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain it by truſting the civil power in the hands of ſuch only as were faithful to its rules and principles; that it was abſurd to give places of conſequence to a ſet of men whoſe conſciences were too tender to obey the laws, yet hardy enough to violate them; that it was contradictory to common ſenſe to be at the ſame time a conformiſt and a non-conformiſt, and to embrace ſincerely a communion to which they did not accede; and that this bill added nothing to the rights of the church of England, nor took any thing from the rights of toleration paſſed in the late reign.

In oppoſition to theſe arguments, the opponents of the bill alledged, "that the diſſenters were in general well affected to the preſent conſtitution; that in the laſt and greateſt danger to which the church was expoſed, they zealouſly ſupported her againſt all the papiſts, their common enemies, and have ever ſince continued to ſhew every mark of affection and ſubmiſſion to the government, in church and ſtate: that to lay any real hardſhip upon them, or give riſe to jealouſies and fears at ſuch a juncture, might be attended with dangerous conſequences: that toleration had greatly contributed to the ſafety and reputation of the church; and plainly proved, that liberty of conſcience and gentle meaſures were the moſt effectual means for increaſing the votaries of the eſtabliſhed religion, and diminiſhing the number of diſſenters: that the non-conformiſts could not properly be termed ſchiſmatics, without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated ſuch ſchiſm, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were even more ſevere than thoſe impoſed by law upon the papiſts for aſſiſting at the moſt ſolemn act of their religion; and, that toleration and tenderneſs had always been productive of peace and union, while perſecution and violence had never failed to excite diſcord, and extend ſuperſtition."

Notwithſtanding the forcibility of theſe arguments, they were not ſufficient to induce the Tories to lay the bill aſide: they ſupported it with all their intereſt, and the bill paſſed the lower houſe by a conſiderable majority. It was different in the houſe of peers, where many of the members were in the whig intereſt. A very warm debate enſued on the firſt reading, and ſeveral amendments were made to it, namely, that jacobite meetings ſhould be included; that the 100 pounds penalty ſhould be reduced to 20, and that the whole incapacitating clauſes ſhould be omitted. They alſo ſhortened the terms for information and proſecution, and exempted the diſſenters from holding offices for which they could not be qualified without taking the ſacrament, provided the act did not extend to univerſity churches, to thoſe of the French and Dutch, or to the governors of hoſpitals, or the aſſiſtants of corporations. Theſe amendments were refuſed by the commons, and ſeveral conferences between the two houſes were held on the occaſion; but as the lords perſiſted in adhering to their amendments, and the commons in refuſing them, the conferences broke up, and both parties publiſhed their proceedings, in vindication of their conduct. The whole intereſt of the court was exerted on this occaſion, but the bill was rejected by only one voice.

The convocation had been ſummoned to meet with the new parliament, but no buſineſs of importance was tranſacted, the diſputes between the two houſes preventing their taking notice of any thing that required their attention. The whole body of the clergy ranged themſelves into two different parties, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of "High Church" and "Low Church." The former accuſed the latter of being preſbyterian hypocrites, and the latter branded the former with being partizans of tyranny and perſecution.

A. D. 1703. In the beginning of January the queen informed the commons, that the ſtates-general had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons immediately reſolved, that 10,000 men ſhould be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies: but at the ſame time they entreated her majeſty to make it a point with the ſtates-general, that they ſhould put an immediate ſtop to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain; which they obſerved was a meaſure abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the war, as it would interrupt the enemy's trade, and expoſe them to the utmoſt difficulties; and they deſired England might not be charged with the pay of ſuch additional troops, but from the day that this ſtep ſhould be taken by the ſtates. The lords alſo addreſſed her majeſty to the ſame effect. She acknowledged the juſtneſs of their precautions, and promiſed to comply with their requeſts; in which promiſe ſhe was very ſincere, and the ſtates-general, much againſt their inclination, were obliged to publiſh a prohibition of all commerce with the ſubjects of France and Spain.

Diſputes ſtill ſubſiſting between the two houſes, her majeſty reſolved to prorogue the parliament. She accordingly went to the houſe of peers on the 22d of February; and, after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, ſhe put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe thanked them for the diſpatch they had given to the public affairs, for the large ſupplies they had given, and for the proviſion they had made for the prince. She told them ſhe hoped the diſſenters would reſt ſatisfied with the act of toleration, which ſhe was reſolved to maintain; that the members of the church would remember ſhe had been educated in their principles, and had been expoſed to great difficulties for maintaining them, and therefore they might be aſſured ſhe would make it her peculiar care to encourage and maintain the church, and tranſmit it, ſecurely ſettled, to poſterity. She thought ſome farther laws were neceſſary for reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and hoped they would endeavour to ſuppreſs pernicious libels; but above all, ſhe recommended union among themſelves; and concluded with acquainting them, that ſhe would apply her ſhare of the prizes taken during the war to the public ſervice.

The troubles and diſputes in Scotland were now riſen to ſuch a height, that it was feared the contagion would be propagated in England. The queen, deſirous of putting an end to all differences between the two kingdoms, had made an attempt to unite them, and an act of parliament was paſſed for that purpoſe. But though the Scots acknowledged her authority, and ſwore obedience, they ſeemed averſe to the project. They gave inceſſant inſtances of their inquietude, jealouſy, and the animoſity of parties, during a long ſeſſion of their parliament. The antient genius of the nation ſhewed its turbulent activity. Bills followed bills without number; the ſpirit of party had infected all their deliberations. One Fletcher, a furious and intrepid republican, aſſerted, that Scotland would be enſlaved if ſhe ſubmitted to the ſucceſſor of the crown of England without previouſly eſtabliſhing ſuch conditions of government as might ſerve her as a rampart againſt the Engliſh miniſtry. The conditions he propoſed for the queen's ſucceſſors were, That all places civil and military, together with all penſions, ſhould be conferred by parliament; that the preſident ſhould be choſen by the aſſembly; that during the receſs of parliament a committee of thirty-ſix members ſhould have the adminiſtration of government under the prince, ſhould act in quality of his council, and be accountable to the parliament of Scotland. He alſo propoſed that the ſucceſſor ſhould be elected by a majority of voices; and declared he would rather nominate a papiſt with theſe conditions, than a good proteſtant without them. Theſe propoſitions, however extravagant they may appear, were ſupported by a ſtrong party in the Scottiſh parliament, and they were reduced into the form of a bill. Fletcher had many imitators and many friends. The cry of liberty, and invective againſt the miniſter echoed from every part of the houſe. At laſt the queſtion was put whether they ſhould take into conſideration the ſupplies, or the ſtate of the nation. One of the members ſaid, that all the fruit of the labours and expences of the nation was only to burden them with freſh ſupplies, and bend their necks to the yoke of ſervitude. Another added that their liberties were deſtroyed, and that the privileges of parliament would ſoon ſhare the ſame fate; but that he would defend his own rights at the hazard of his life, and rather die a freeman than live a ſlave. The duke of Queenſberry, the queen's commiſſioner, oppoſed the deliberations on Fletcher's bill. This exaſperated the party ſtill more, and the earl of Roxborough declared, that if there were no other means of obtaining a right ſo eſſential to parliament, it ſhould be ſought by the ſword. The whole houſe was now in the higheſt ferment, and the duke of Queenſberry in the utmoſt danger of being cut to pieces. He however, appeaſed the ſtorm by promiſing that they ſhould purſue their meaſures in favour of liberty; and taking advantage of this interval of quiet, he prorogued the parliament.

In the mean time the greateſt preparations were making for the enſuing campaign. It had been agreed that the archduke Charles, ſon to the emperor, ſhould aſſume the title of king of Spain, demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and with the aſſiſtance of the maritime powers, undertake ſome enterprize of importance. The emperor had alſo promiſed to ſend ſo powerful an army into the field as to be able to drive the elector of Bavaria from his dominions; but he was ſo dilatory in his proceedings, that the French king broke all his meaſures by ſending a powerful reinforcement to the elector under the command of marſhal Villars. The imperialiſts were defeated near Donavert; the duke of Burgundy made himſelf maſter of Old Briſac; Tallard took Landau, and gained a victory over the prince of Heſſe. The emperor, who had now declared his ſon king of Spain by the title of Charles III. trembled for his empire.

The duke of Marlborough was the only ſucceſsful commander among the allies: that able general made himſelf maſter of Bon, Huy, and Limbourg. The Dutch general, Opdam, was defeated by the marſhal Boufflers, near Eckeren. Nor were the naval operations this year ſucceſsful. Hardly any thing was done againſt the enemy: Sir George Rooke, indeed, in a cruiſe to the bay of Biſcay, took a French Eaſt-India ſhip, worth 100,000 pounds, a man of war of thirty-ſix guns, and a Weſt-India merchantman, worth 40,000 pounds. But having been for ſome time in an ill ſtate of health, he returned home, and obtained leave to go to Bath.

By the ill ſucceſs of this campaign, Lewis was ſtill able to make head againſt the united efforts of the grand alliance: it was therefore reſolved to weaken him by detaching from his intereſt two of his principal allies, viz. the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal. The project ſucceeded; and Lewis, with amazement, heard, that the duke of Savoy was in actual treaty with the emperor. He immediately ſent orders to the duke of Vendoſme to ſeize and diſarm the troops of Savoy that were in his ſervice, to the number of 22,000 men. The duke, by way of repriſal, commanded ſeveral French officers that were in Turin, and the French ambaſſador himſelf, to be put under arreſt. This proceeding produced a ſecond order from Lewis to the duke of Vendoſme, to invade Savoy immediately, and to tranſmit the following letter, in his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's name, to his royal highneſs.

" Sir,

" If neither religion, honour, intereſt, alliance, or even your own hand-writing, are of any force between us, I ſend my couſin, the duke of Vendoſme, at the head of my armies, to make known unto you my intentions. He will allow you but twenty-four hours to reſolve what you have to do.

" Lewis."

In return to this conciſe epiſtle, the duke of Savoy publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth the neceſſity and juſtice of his proceedings, and ſent expreſſes to the confederated powers to ſolicit their aſſiſtance againſt the impending ſtorm.

Queen Anne, knowing the importance of the duke, as well as his ſelfiſh diſpoſition, aſſured him of her protection, and both ſhe and the ſtates ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Turin. In the mean time the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, who promiſed him all that France and Spain had refuſed him, viz. Montſerrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro, with more money than he received from France in ſubſidies. The money was to be furniſhed by England, for the emperor had ſcarcely ſufficient to pay his troops. In return the duke of Savoy acknowledged the archduke Charles as king of Spain, and prepared for the event.

Scarce had France received intelligence that ſhe had loſt this ally, but ſhe alſo heard that Portugal had deſerted her. Mr. Methuen, our ambaſſador at that court, had ſpared no pains to detach his Moſt Faithful Majeſty from his unnatural connections with the grand monarch. He repreſented to him, that ſhould the crowns of France and Spain ever devolve upon the ſame perſon, he muſt not expect to remain long a king. He alarmed his apprehenſions for his preſent ſafety, by painting to him in the moſt ſtriking colours, the acknowledged ſuperiority of the confederates by ſea, the weight of whoſe power he muſt certainly expect to feel, ſhould he at any time, in conſequence of an alliance with France, refuſe them the free uſe of his ports, and that his compliance with ſuch a demand would, on the other hand, render his friendſhip to France of little account. Theſe arguments had their full weight with his Portugueſe majeſty, who was moreover allured by the proſpect of a match between the infanta his daughter and the archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and the king of the Romans ſhould transfer all their pretenſions to the crown of Spain. A treaty was now ſet on foot, and ſoon concluded at Liſbon, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Portugal, and the ſtates-general. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that king Charles ſhould be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board 12,000 ſoldiers, with a great ſupply of arms and ammunition, and that 28,000 Portugueſe ſhould be ready to join him immediately at Liſbon.

In conſequence of theſe arrangements, the emperor made great preparations for ſending his ſon to Portugal, by way of Holland, and at the ſame time diſpatched letters to his Portugueſe majeſty and the queen of Great Britain, recommending him to their protection. About the middle of September, king Charles ſet out from Vienna for Holland, and paſſing through the territories of the elector of Hanover, was met by that prince, who complimented him on his acceſſion. At Duſſeldorp he was viſited by the elector Palatine and the duke of Marlborough, the latter of whom made him compliments of congratulation in the name of the queen. On the 2d of November his majeſty arrived at the Hague, where he repreſented to the ſtates, that the province of Limburgh belonged to him as king of Spain, and deſired he might have the civil government thereof; which the ſtates complying with, his majeſty appointed count Zinzerdorf to take poſſeſſion of the town and province of Limburgh in his name.

On the 9th of November the queen opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein ſhe took notice of the declaration by the duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumſtances very advantageous to the allies: ſhe told them, "that no proviſion was made for the expedition to Liſbon and the augmentation of the land forces, the funds had anſwered ſo well, and the prizes had turned out ſo valuable, that the public had not incurred any debt by thoſe additional ſervices: that ſhe had contributed, out of her own revenue, to ſupport the circle of Suabia, whoſe firm adherence to the alliance deſerved a reaſonable aſſiſtance: that ſhe would not engage in any unneceſſary expence of her own, that ſhe might have the more to ſpare towards the eaſe of her ſubjects: that ſhe recommended a union among themſelves, a diſpatch in the buſineſs before them, and above all deſired they would avoid all heats or bickerings that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and ſtate."

Both houſes preſented addreſſes of thanks to her majeſty for her ſpeech, much to the ſame effect. The commons, in theirs, acknowledged her goodneſs for having engaged the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy in the alliance; for contributing part of her own revenue to the public ſervice, and for her aſſiſtance to the circle of Suabia; and they aſſured her, that they would ſupport her majeſty in her alliance, and enable her to carry on the war with vigour.

The treaty with Portugal being now laid before the lower houſe, and duly conſidered, they voted 40,000 men, including 5,000 marines, for the ſea ſervice of the enſuing year; the like number of land forces to act in conjunction with the allies, beſides the additional 10,000; and they reſolved that the proportion to be employed in Portugal ſhould amount to 8,000. For the maintenance of theſe armaments, as well as for the diſcharge of the ſubſidies, payable to her majeſty's allies, they granted the ſum of 3,881,006l. 15s. They likewiſe preſented an addreſs to the queen, in which they aſſured her, that they would provide for the ſupport of ſuch alliances as ſhe had made or ſhould make with the duke of Savoy.

About this time, Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, and two other perſons, were ſent over from St. Germains to Scotland, with inſtructions to learn the ſtrength and ſentiments of the clans, and endeavour to perſuade ſome of the nobility and leading men to enter into a deſign the French had formed of reſtoring the pretender to the crown of that kingdom. Frazer had undertaken to raiſe a body of 12,000 highlanders, and Lewis was to aſſiſt them with ſome French troops. Frazer was no ſooner landed in Scotland than he waited privately upon the duke of Queenſberry, and informed him of the whole tranſaction, at the ſame time delivering him a letter from the late king James's queen, directed to the marquis of Athol. This letter was couched in general terms, that might have been addreſſed to any of the nobility, and the direction was written in a different hand, ſo that it was generally believed that Frazer, who had a private pique againſt the marquis, had forged it, in order to wreak his vengeance upon him. In conſequence of this ſervice, and of the informer's promiſing to make him acquainted with the whole correſpondence between the pretender and his friends in Scotland, Queenſberry provided him with a paſs, under favour of which he made a progreſs through the highlands, to ſound the chieftains. He afterwards propoſed a ſecond journey to France, pretending that he ſhould then be able to make more material diſcoveries, and the duke procured a paſs for him, under a feigned name, from the earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate. The duke had already imparted the diſcovery to her majeſty, but, at the requeſt of the informer, had concealed his name. The queen was the more readily induced to credit the particulars, on account of the evidence given by Sir John Maclean, who had lately come over from France to England, and had been apprehended at Folkſtone in Kent, from whence he was brought to London, in cuſtody of the queen's meſſengers. A perſon named Keith was apprehended at the ſame time, as was Mr. Lindſey, who had been under ſecretary to king James and the pretender. James Boucher, who had been aid de camp to the duke of Berwick, was taken on the coaſt of Suſſex, coming over from France. Such a number of rebels and outlaws coming over at this time, tended to confirm the truth of a conſpiracy being in agitation, though they made uſe of the ſpecious pretence, that their only deſign was to live peaceably at home, under her majeſty's government, for the future. Sir John Maclean, being examined at the earl of Nottingham's office, ſaid, that he was going to Scotland to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; but afterwards both he and Keith being more cloſely interrogated, acknowledged that they had heard ſome conſultations at St. Germain's concerning the ſending a body of troops to join the mal-contents in Scotland, but declared there was no other deſign on foot at this time, than to pave the way for the pretender's aſcending the throne after the queen's deceaſe. But now one Ferguſon, who had been concerned in almoſt every jacobite plot, came in voluntarily, and declared that Frazer had been employed by the duke of Queenſberry to draw ſome perſons whom that nobleman had a diſlike to, into a plot, but that there was in reality no ſuch thing in agitation. Theſe aſſurances, however, gained little credit, and the houſe of lords, taking theſe matters into conſideration, reſolved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the particulars, and ordered that Sir John Maclean and the other emiſſaries ſhould be taken into the cuſtody of the black rod, and no perſon admitted to ſpeak to them. This ſtep greatly offended her majeſty; ſhe thinking it too officious an interpoſition to take them out of the hands of her meſſengers, informed the lords, "that ſhe thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun, and that ſhe would, in a ſhort time, inform the houſe of the whole affair."

On the 17th of December, the queen went to the houſe of peers, and, in a ſpeech which ſhe made, informed both houſes, "that ſhe had unqueſtionable Information of the practices and deſigns carried on by the emiſſaries of France and Scotland, which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of theſe kingdoms, as they would ſee by the particulars, which ſhould be laid before them as ſoon as the examination could be carefully perfected, and made public without prejudice, and that, in the mean time, ſhe doubted not but, by this timely diſcovery, ſhe ſhould be able to give ſuch directions for their ſecurity, as would effectually prevent any ill conſequences from theſe pernicious deſigns." Notwithſtanding this ſpeech, the lords perſiſted in their reſolution to bring the enquiry into their own houſe, and proceeded to name their committee by ballot. The choice fell upon the dukes of Somerſet and Devon, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Somers, Townſhend and Wharton.

The commons (who were far from being on good terms with the lords) knowing that the queen was diſpleaſed with their proceedings, preſented an addreſs on the 23d of December, in which they expreſſed the juſt concern they were under to ſee her royal prerogative violated. They ſaid they were ſurprized to find that when ſeveral perſons, ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, were taken into cuſtody by her majeſty's meſſengers, in order to be examined, the lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wreſted them out of her majeſty's hands, and without her leave or knowledge, in a moſt extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them ſolely to themſelves, whereby a due enquiry into the evil practices and deſigns againſt her majeſty's perſon and government might, in a great meaſure, be obſtructed. They deſired her majeſty, that ſhe would ſuffer no diminution of her prerogative, in the exerciſe whereof they were reſolved to ſupport her, as well as in carrying on the war.

Fired with indignation at the charge brought againſt them by the commons, the lords reſolved to vindicate their honour, and exert their privileges. Accordingly they came to the following reſolution, "That by the known laws and cuſtoms of parliament, they had an undoubted right, whenever they conceived it to be for the ſafety of the crown and the kingdom, to take examination of perſons charged with criminal matters, whether they be in cuſtody or not, and to order that ſuch perſons as are to be examined, be taken into cuſtody by the ſworn officers of the crown, attending that houſe; and that the ſaid addreſs of the commons was unparliamentary, groundleſs, without precedent, &c." This reſolution they ſupported by a remonſtrance to the queen, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, and expreſſed in the moſt elegant ſtile.

In anſwer to this remonſtrance, her majeſty obſerved, that ſhe was ſorry for any miſunderſtanding that might happen between the two houſes of parliament, as it interrupted the public buſineſs, and gave her ſo much uneaſineſs: that ſhe could not avoid taking notice with particular ſatisfaction, of the aſſurances their lordſhips gave her, that they would carefully avoid every thing that had the leaſt tendency to occaſion them. She thanked them for the concern they expreſſed for the rights of the crown, and her prerogative, which ſhe declared ſhe ſhould never exert ſo willingly, as for the good of her ſubjects and the protection of their liberties."

When the commons peruſed the remonſtrance of the lords, they preſented another to the queen, in vindication of their own conduct; but this was couched in the language of irritated faction, by which, indeed, both houſes were too much actuated.

The anſwer returned by the queen to the commons was nearly the ſame with that ſhe had before returned to the lords. The commons, upon this, preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, praying her to re-aſſume the juſt exerciſe of her prerogative, and take upon herſelf the examination of the conſpiracy; declaring that the eſtabliſhing a committee of ſeven lords, for the ſole examination of the conſpiracy, was of dangerous conſequence, and might tend to the ſubverſion of the government.

A. D. 1704. The lords, however, notwithſtanding the addreſs of the commons, proceeded in their re-examination of the Scottiſh plot; and on the 29th of January the earl of Nottingham acquainted them, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the account, containing all the papers hitherto diſcovered in relation to that affair; but that there was one circumſtance that could not be properly communicated, without running a riſk of preventing a diſcovery of much greater importance.

Keith, who accompanied Frazer over to England, had, it ſeems, tampered with his uncle, to diſcloſe the whole ſecret of the correſpondence between the court of St. Germains and the Scottiſh jacobites. This was the circumſtance the queen was deſirous of concealing, till the ſucceſs of her endeavours ſhould be known, and which at laſt proved abortive. But the lords, not ſatisfied with the reſerve, preſented an addreſs, deſiring that all the papers, without diſtinction, might be ſubmitted to their inſpection, in order to enable them to penetrate to the bottom of this conſpiracy before the concluſion of the ſeſſion.

The queen conſidered this application as an affront, and returned for anſwer, "that ſhe did not expect to be preſſed in this manner immediately after the declaration ſhe had made; but hoped, that before the end of the ſeſſion ſhe ſhould be able to inform them of thoſe particulars which could not at preſent be publiſhed without the moſt palpable inconvenience." The queen, however, a few days after ſent the papers ſealed to the houſe; and all the lords were ſummoned to attend on the 8th of February, that they might be then opened and examined.

The lords being aſſembled according to the ſummons, they began with the moſt material paper, drawn up by the earl of Nottingham, entitled, "An account of the conſpiracy in Scotland," and was an abſtract of all the examinations the council had taken. They then proceeded to examine Sir John Maclean, who mentioned ſeveral circumſtances not to be found in Nottingham's paper. He named the perſons who ſat in council at St. Germains: he ſaid the command of the troops agreed to be ſent over to Scotland from France, was offered to the duke of Berwick, who thought proper to ſuſpend his acceptance, till trial ſhould be made, whether the duke of Hamilton, whom he judged the more proper perſon, would refuſe it: he likewiſe explained the particular directions which had been ſent to Scotland, in order to prevent the eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in that kingdom.

Theſe material omiſſions in Nottingham's paper cauſed many ſevere reflections on the conduct of that nobleman. It was even moved to cenſure the account he had given; but on the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative by eleven voices.

Having finiſhed the examinations, the lords voted, that there had been dangerous plots between ſome perſons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germains; and that the encouragement for this plotting aroſe, from not ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hanover. Theſe votes were ſignified to the queen in an addreſs, and the lords promiſed, that when this ſucceſſion ſhould be once ſettled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms, upon juſt and honourable terms.

During theſe diſputes between the two houſes of parliament, her majeſty ſent a meſſage to the commons, in which ſhe told them, "that having maturely conſidered the mean and inſignificant maintenance appointed for the clergy, in various parts of the kingdom, ſhe had remitted the arrears of the firſt fruits and tenths, to the ſaid poor clergy: that ſhe would grant her whole revenue ariſing out of this fund, as far as it ſhould become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the houſe of commons could diſcover any method by which her good intentions towards the clergy could be rendered more effectual, it would be at once a great advantage to the public and very acceptable to herſelf."

The commons, on receiving this meſſage, voted an addreſs to the queen, in which they expreſſed their thanks for her gracious meſſage, and her pious concern for increaſing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue; and aſſured her majeſty they would do their utmoſt to make her majeſty's charitable intentions more effectual. Accordingly a bill was brought in "for making more effectual her majeſty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majeſty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the firſt-fruits and tenths." They alſo repealed the ſtatute of mortmain ſo far, as to give free liberty to all men, either by deed or their wills, to give what they thought proper towards the augmentation of benefices. This part of the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of lords, where it was alledged it would be opening a door for the clergy to practiſe on the weakneſs of dying men. This argument was not, however, ſtrong enough to gain over the majority: the bill paſſed both houſes, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

The queen exerted herſelf to bring about a reconciliation between the two houſes, but in vain. Their animoſities, however, did not indeed hinder the more eſſential buſineſs of the nation; but as it was feared they might be productive of very fatal conſequences, the queen determined to put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, which was accordingly done on the 3d of April, when her majeſty, after thanking them for the large ſupplies they had granted, and the diſpatch they had given to the public buſineſs, added, "At the opening of this ſeſſion, I earneſtly expreſſed my deſires of ſeeing you in perfect union among yourſelves, as the moſt effectual means imaginable to diſappoint the ambition of our enemies, and reduce them to an honourable and laſting peace. And though this has not met with the ſucceſs I wiſhed and expected, yet being fully convinced that nothing is ſo neceſſary to our common welfare, I am not diſcouraged from perſiſting in the ſame earneſt deſires, that you would go down into your ſeveral counties ſo diſpoſed to moderation and unity as becomes all thoſe who are joined in the ſame religion and intereſt.

"This I am perſuaded will make you ſenſible, that nothing, next to the bleſſing of God, can ſo much contribute to our ſucceſs abroad and ſafety at home."

The affairs of Scotland alſo gave her majeſty great uneaſineſs. In order to ſettle the ferments in that kingdom, where the thirſt of independence was grown outrageous, ſhe conſented to an act of ſurety, which had paſſed the Scottiſh parliament. The purport of this act was, that in caſe the queen died without iſſue, the parliament ſhould immediately aſſemble and nominate a ſucceſſor to the crown, diſtinctly from the crown of England, unleſs a national eſtabliſhment, conformable to the laws of the country, and independent of the Engliſh councils, previouſly took place, and the court had not given the people a power to arm in their defence. Lord Godolphin, then prime-miniſter, adviſed her majeſty to yield, on this occaſion, to the neceſſity of circumſtances; though by this proceeding he expoſed himſelf greatly to the cenſure of the tories.

By this time the emperor's affairs were in the moſt deplorable ſituation. Preſſed on one ſide by the Hungarians who had ſhaken off the yoke, and under prince Ragotſki, were fighting for their liberty; and on the other by the elector of Bavaria, who held every thing upon the Danube, and threatened Vienna itſelf with a ſiege; he had no other reſource than that of imploring the aſſiſtance of her Britannic Majeſty. The duke of Marlborough ſtrongly preſſed the neceſſity of ſending immediate aſſiſtance to the emperor, and the queen accordingly returned a favourable anſwer to the memorial of that diſtreſſed prince. Marlborough arrived at the Hague about the beginning of May, and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the ſtates-general the danger which the empire, and even all Europe were threatened, if an immediate check was not given to the French and Bavarians in Germany. The ſtates, perſuaded that it would be bad policy to oppoſe him, though they were very deſirous of keeping the army in Flanders, gave their conſent; and prepared for carrying into execution the plan he had formed, that of marching into the heart of Germany, and delivering the houſe of Auſtria from impending ruin.

The duke marched with ſuch expedition that he reached Mildenheim on the 10th of June; where he was viſited by prince Eugene, and the next day by prince Lewis of Baden. A long conſultation was held by the generals, in which it was agreed that prince Eugene ſhould command a ſeparate army on the Rhine, and that the duke and prince Lewis ſhould command alternately. The march was proſecuted with the utmoſt expedition, till they reached the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, oppoſite to the Bavarian lines, where about 8000 French and as many Bavarians lay intrenched to guard the country they had conquered. Alarmed at the approach of the allies, the duke of Bavaria ſent a detachment of his beſt troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenberg, a riſing ground on the Danube, near Donawert. As that poſt was of very great importance, d'Arco had, for ſome time, employed his troops in throwing up entrenchments. Marlborough knowing his works were not completed, reſolved, if poſſible, to drive the enemy from their poſt. Accordingly, on the 6th of July, at three in the morning, he advanced at the head of a detachment of 600 foot, 30 ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch, and three battalions of imperial grenadiers, the reſt of the army following with the greateſt diligence. But the diſtance, badneſs of the road, and other incidents, ſo greatly retarded his march, that it was three in the afternoon before the artillery paſſed the river Wermitz, which runs by Donawert.

At length the attack was begun with the utmoſt intrepidity, by the Engliſh and Dutch, before the Imperialiſts could come up. The enemy made a gallant reſiſtance; but prince Lewis leading up the Imperialiſts, the entrenchments were forced; a terrible ſlaughter enſued; and the greater part of the enemy puſhed into the Danube, where numbers of them periſhed. The victory was complete; and the troops that had the good fortune to reach the oppoſite ſide of the Danube, fled in the utmoſt confuſion. Sixteen pieces of cannon and thirteen ſtandards were taken. Donawert immediately ſurrendered; and the elector of Bavaria, informed of the defeat of his troops, repaſſed the Danube, marched with the utmoſt precipitation, and encamped under the cannon of Augſburg. He was offered very advantageous terms, provided he would abandon the French intereſt, and join the grand alliance. At firſt the elector ſeemed to liſten to the propoſal; but being informed that marſhal Tallard had paſſed the Black Foreſt, and was advancing, by forced marches, to his aſſiſtance, he broke off the negotiation, declaring, that ſince the French monarch made ſuch powerful efforts to ſupport him, he thought himſelf obliged in honour to remain firm to his alliance. This conduct of the elector was highly reſented by the confederate generals, who detached thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons to lay waſte the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of its capital.

The utmoſt vigilance was exerted by prince Eugene for preventing marſhal Tallard from joining the duke of Bavaria; but all his endeavours proved abortive. The junction was made at Biberach, near Ulm, about the end of July. Marlborough immediately left his camp, and joined prince Eugene at Munſter; while prince Lewis of Baden formed the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt.

On the 12th of Auguſt, Marlborough and Eugene reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, whom they found advantageouſly poſted on a hill near Hochſtet, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were ſteep, and the bottom very marſhy. This advantageous ſituation did not, however, intimidate theſe two great generals: they reſolved to attack the enemy before they had time to fortify their camp; advice having been received that Villeroy was on his march for Wirtemberg, in order to deſtroy that country, and cut off the communication of the allies from the Rhine, which muſt have been attended with very fatal conſequences, could it have been effected. Orders were therefore iſſued that very night for all the baggage of the army to be ſent towards Donawert, and the troops ready to march by break of day. About ſeven in the morning of the 13th of Auguſt the allies appeared in ſight of the enemy's camp, where every thing was in a profound ſilence; not imagining the allies would dare to attack them in ſo advantageous a poſt. They were therefore thrown into the utmoſt confuſion at the appearance of our troops: they diſcharged two pieces of cannon to call in their foraging parties, and ſet fire to ſeveral ſmall villages that were between them and the allied army.

About nine in the morning the canonading began, on both ſides, and continued, without intermiſſion, till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarian armies conſiſted of near 60,000 men. The right wing was commanded by marſhal Tallard, and the left by the elector of Bavaria, aſſiſted by Manſin. The confederate army did not exceed 50,000 men. Prince Eugene commanded on the right; the lords Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley and Ingoldſby, the left; and the duke of Marlborough, as commander of the whole, took his ſtation in the center.

Such was the ſituation of the two armies when the battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th of Auguſt. There was a neceſſity for croſſing the rivulet already mentioned before the allies could attack the enemy, who had taken care to guard it with three ſquadrons of horſe, under the command of M. de Zurlauben, a Bavarian general, who fell ſo vigorouſly on the allies, that they were obliged thrice to give ground; but this handful of men not being properly ſupported, they were ſoon overpowered by numbers, and driven from their poſt. Had the French generals properly ſupported theſe brave troops, the allies would not have found the paſſage of the rivulet an eaſy taſk; but by neglecting this, they committed an error they could never retrieve. Their artillery played very hotly, but did very little execution; and the paſſage of the rivulet was effected in the face of the enemy. As ſoon as the center and part of the right had paſſed the rivulet in different places, they formed on the other ſide, without any interruption from the enemy, who remained quiet on the hills. Marlborough immediately led his troops to the attack of Tallard's cavalry. The French ſtood the ſhock, with great firmneſs, for ſome time; but were at laſt broken, and forced to give way. Tallard flew immediately to the village of Blenheim, where he had poſted twenty-ſeven battalions and twelve ſquadrons. Theſe troops formed a diſtinct army, and kept up a continued fire on Marlborough's diviſion, while he attacked the right wing. Tallard, having given his orders in the village, haſtened back to the place of action, where the duke, with a body of horſe and ſome battalions of foot between the ſquadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him, and which Tallard could not prevent.

In the mean time the cavalry of the confederates left wing, being now completely formed, aſcended the hill of Lutzingen with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, and charged the enemy's horſe with ſuch fury, that though they rallied ſeveral times, they were obliged at laſt to betake themſelves to flight. The victorious Marlborough now forced his way between the two bodies of the French army on one ſide, while the reſt of the generals got between the village of Blenheim, and Tallard's diviſion on the other. In this deſperate ſituation, Tallard flew to rally ſome of his broken ſquadrons; but the badneſs of his ſight completed his misfortune. He miſtook a ſquadron of Heſſians for his own forces, and was taken priſoner, together with many officers of diſtinction.

Prince Eugene had attempted the paſſage of the rivulet at a place where the banks of the ſtream were very ſteep, and the bottom rough and uneven. The leaſt oppoſition on the part of the enemy muſt, therefore, have rendered his efforts fruitleſs, and obliged him to retire and ſeek a more favourable ſpot for the execution of his purpoſe; but the enemy made none. He had no ſooner reached the oppoſite bank, than he attacked the left wing, commanded by marſhal Marſin, with the utmoſt vigour. But the imperial horſe behaved very ill on this occaſion; they were ſo intimidated by the conſtant fire of the enemy, that they could not be brought to advance within muſket-ſhot. The Daniſh and Pruſſian troops alſo gave back in the ſame manner; but being at length animated by the gallant example of their officers, they flew to the charge, and exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that they put the enemy to flight; and Marſin finding it in vain to make any farther reſiſtance, abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen, and was purſued as far as the villages of Morſelingen and Teiſſenhoven, whence he retired to Dillingen and Lavingen. The route now became general through the whole French and Bavarian armies: every one fled with the greateſt precipitation; numbers ran headlong into the Danube and periſhed.

The count de Bourg ſaved a ſmall part of the infantry by retreating over the marſhes of Hochſtet. But the little army cooped up in Blenheim was forgot. It conſiſted of twenty-ſeven battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, amounting in the whole to about 11,000 effective men, and the beſt troops in France. They were waiting at Blenheim for orders, and knew nothing of the rout of their army, till they were ſurrounded by the allies. It was impoſſible for them to make any effectual reſiſtance: the ſtreets were too narrow for them to form; and their own artillery, now in the hands of the allies, would ſoon have decided the conteſt. They, therefore, thought proper to lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Such was the event of the celebrated battle of Blenheim, or, as the French call it, the battle of Hochſtet; where the allies gained one of the moſt glorious and complete victories. The French army was almoſt entirely deſtroyed: of 60,000 men, ſo long accuſtomed to victory, not above 20,000 could be collected after the battle. Ten thouſand French and Bavarians

Smiths Bible 2 Mon [illegible]
5888 8.8
[illegible]

Bavarians were killed on the ſpot; the greater part of thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons periſhed in the Danube; 13,000 were made priſoners, including 1200 officers: the allies took 100 pieces of cannon, with 21 mortars, 129 colours, 110 ſtandards, 17 pair of kettle-drums, 3600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 loaded mules, two bridges of boats, and 15 pontoons; together with 24 barrels and 8 caſks of ſilver. The loſs of the allies amounted to about 5000 men killed, and 8000 wounded and taken priſoners.

The duke of Bavaria was obliged to fly, and abandon his country to the conquerors, who penetrated into Alſace, took Landau, and ſcattered terror in every region through which they paſſed. Marlborough ſignalized himſelf in the action, no leſs by his courage than by his military talents. His priſoner, Tallard, complimenting him on having conquered the beſt troops in the world, he anſwered, that his own were certainly better, becauſe they had conquered them. Marlborough received a recompence worthy of his ſervices. The emperor created him a prince of the empire; the ſtates received him with the ſame reſpect as if he had been the ſtadtholder; and his country received him with every demonſtration of joy.

The campaign in Portugal was far from being ſucceſsful. To fight in conjunction with heretics was conſidered by the Portugueſe as a kind of apoſtacy. It was therefore in vain to hope for ſucceſs: and accordingly, inſtead of making conqueſts in Spain, ſeveral of the towns of Portugal were taken by the enemy. The duke of Schomberg, who commanded the allied army, was ſo enraged at the behaviour of the Portugueſe, that he deſired leave to reſign his commiſſion. His requeſt was granted, and the earl of Galway ſent over to ſucceed him, with eight thouſand Dutch troops, who reached Liſbon the beginning of Auguſt.

The operations at ſea this year were very conſiderable. Sir George Rooke cruiſed for ſome time on the coaſt of Portugal; but being requeſted to aſſiſt in executing a deſign on Barcelona, projected by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, he readily gave his conſent, and took on board that prince with a detachment of land forces; but the attempt proving fruitleſs, he croſſed the Mediterranean, and came to an anchor in the road of Tetuan.

A council of war was now held on board the admiral's ſhip, where it was determined to make an attempt on Gibraltar, which was known to be ſlightly garriſoned. The next day the whole fleet got under ſail, and on the 21ſt of July came to an anchor in Gibraltar bay. The land forces, amounting to 1800, with the prince of Heſſe at their head, were landed, about four in the afternoon, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, in order to cut off all communication with the country. A ſummons was now ſent to the governor to ſurrender the town; but he anſwered he would defend it to the laſt extremity. The next morning the cannonade from the ſhips began with the utmoſt fury; and it was ſoon perceived that the Spaniards were driven from the ſouth mole head; on which all the boats of the fleet were manned and armed, and took poſſeſſion of the fortifications. The Spaniards immediately ſprung a mine, which deſtroyed all the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants and forty men, and wounded about ſixty. The ſeamen, however, kept their poſt; and having made themſelves maſters of a redoubt between the mole and the town, they turned the cannon againſt the enemy. A peremptory ſummons was now ſent to the governor, who, on the 24th in the morning, capitulated, and the prince of Heſſe took poſſeſſion of the place.

The town of Gibraltar being thus reduced, the admiral ſailed again into the Mediterranean, in order, if poſſible, to meet with the French fleet, that had, for ſome time, been lying at Toulon. He diſcovered them on the 11th of Auguſt, and on the 13th they were not above three leagues diſtant, and a little to the weſtward of Malaga. They now drew up in a line of battle, and lay ready to receive him. Their fleet conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips and twenty-four gallies, and the Engliſh of fifty-three ſhips. Sir George Rooke, aſſiſted by the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, commanded in the center; Sir Cloudeſly Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; and the Dutch formed the rear.

About four in the morning the action began, when the van and rear preſſed forward to a cloſe engagement, and ſoon obliged that part of the French line to give way; but the French center ſtood firm, and the fight was maintained with the greateſt obſtinacy till night obliged them to deſiſt. The French took advantage of the night to bear away to leeward; and the wind ſhifting before the day appeared, they were ſeen at leaſt three leagues to windward. Both ſpent the day in repairing the damages they had ſuſtained; and in the night the French ſtood away farther to the northward; nor could the Engliſh bring them to an engagement, though they followed them two days for that purpoſe. In conſequence of this Sir George ſailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips under Sir John Leake, ſet ſail for England, where he arrived in the beginning of September.

The parliament met on the 24th of October, and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which her majeſty obſerved, that the great and remarkable ſucceſs with which God had bleſſed her arms, infuſed an unanimous joy through the whole kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages would enable her to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England, as well as a firm ſupport for the liberties of Europe. She declared, that her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her ſubjects. She expreſſed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loſs of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them but who ſhould do moſt for the public welfare. "Such a temper as this (added ſhe) in all your proceedings, cannot fail of ſecuring your reputation both at home and abroad. This would make me a happy queen, whoſe endeavours ſhall never be wanting to make you a happy and flouriſhing people."

Both houſes waited on her majeſty the next day, with ſeparate addreſſes of thanks for her ſpeech. The lords congratulated her on the great and glorious ſucceſs of her arms under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without mentioning Sir George Rooke; but the commons congratulated her majeſty "as well upon the victory obtained by Sir George Rooke, as upon that obtained by the duke of Marlborough." They alſo aſſured her that they came diſpoſed to do every thing neceſſary for the effectual proſecution of the war, and that they would give ſuch a ſpeedy diſpatch to the public buſineſs as might enable her majeſty to purſue the advantages ſhe had obtained over the common enemy.---They were, indeed, as good as their word; for almoſt 5,000,000 were voted for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

The meaſures of the Scottiſh parliament, the act of ſurety, and the ſeeds of rebellion ſcattered through the kingdom, occaſioned the moſt diſagreeable apprehenſions. The matter was firſt opened in the houſe of peers by lord Haverſham, who obſerved, "that the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of Scotland had been poſtponed, partly becauſe the miniſtry of that kingdom were weak and divided, and partly from a received opinion that the ſucceſſion was never ſeriouſly and cordially intended by thoſe who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council:" he expatiated on the bad conſequences that might attend the act of ſecurity, which he ſtiled a Bill of Excluſion; "for," ſaid he, "can any reaſonable man believe, that thoſe who promoted that bill could ever be real friends to the ſucceſſion as ſettled by the Engliſh parliament?" He particularly mentioned that clauſe by which the heritors and burghs were ordered to exerciſe their fencible men every month: he ſaid, "that the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any in Europe, and that theſe were generally diſcontented; that the common people were very numerous, very robuſt, and very poor; and aſked, who was the man that could tell what ſuch a multitude, ſo armed and ſo diſciplined, might do under ſuch leaders, ſhould they find opportunities ſuitable to their intentions? Beſides, added he, I look upon it as of the laſt importance to England, that there ſhould not be the leaſt ſhadow or pretence for a neceſſity to keep up a regular ſtanding army in time of peace." Theſe particulars he earneſtly recommended to the conſideration of the houſe, and concluded his ſpeech with the following words of lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or ſuffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the ſparks that may ſet all on fire."

This ſpeech produced very warm debates in the houſe of peers, but the majority agreeing with lord Haverſham, they came to the following reſolutions; "That to prevent the inconveniences that might happen by the late act paſſed in Scotland, the queen might be enabled, on the part of England, to name commiſſioners to treat about an entire union with Scotland, provided thoſe powers be not put in execution till commiſſioners ſhould be named on the part of Scotland, by the parliament of that kingdom: that the traffic of cattle from Scotland to England ſhould be ſtopped: that orders ſhould be iſſued for ſeizing ſuch veſſels as ſhould be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her majeſty's enemies: that cruiſers ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe: and that exportation of Engliſh wool into Scotland ſhould be prohibited." On theſe reſolutions a bill for an union with Scotland was brought into the houſe, and being paſſed by the lords, it was ſent down to the commons, received the ſanction of that houſe, and afterwards the royal aſſent.

A. D. 1705. The duke of Marlborough being now returned home, at his firſt appearance in the houſe of peers, the lord-keeper, in the name of the whole houſe, congratulated him upon his ſucceſſes in the late campaign, and returned him their thanks for his ſignal ſervices. A committee of the houſe of commons alſo waited on his grace with the thanks of that houſe, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes: they alſo preſented an addreſs to the queen, intreating her to conſider of ſome proper means to perpetuate the memory of ſuch noble actions. On the 17th of January the queen returned an anſwer by the chancellor of the exchequer, in which ſhe acquainted the houſe, that ſhe was willing to grant the intereſt of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodſtock and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds were already granted for two lives, ſhe judged it proper to remove that incumbrance, and deſired the aſſiſtance of the houſe therein. In conſequence of this intimation, a bill was prepared, enabling her majeſty to beſtow theſe honours on the duke and his heirs, and deſiring her to advance the money to clear the incumbrances. The queen, beſides complying with this addreſs, ordered the comptroller of the board of works to build in Woodſtock a magnificent palace for the duke, to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Blenheim-houſe.

Such were the honours and rewards heaped upon the duke of Marlborough; while Sir George Rooke, who had ſpent his life in the ſervice, and who had done great honour to his country, was not only neglected, but diſmiſſed from his command, and ſuffered to retire to his ſeat in Kent. He was ſucceeded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who was then declared rear-admiral of England.

The good underſtanding that had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the two houſes was now interrupted by a queſtion relating to the rights of electing members of parliament. And, particularly, whether an elector's vote being refuſed by the officer appointed to take the poll, he might not bring an action at law againſt the offender? Several conferences were held between the two houſes in order to an amicable deciſion of the queſtion; but neither being willing to recede in the leaſt from the principles they had adopted, and the diſputes ſeeming to threaten very ſerious conſequences, the queen determined to put an end to the ſeſſion. Accordingly ſhe came to the houſe of peers on the 14th of March, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, and making a ſhort ſpeech from the throne, ſhe prorogued the parliament. On the fifth of April it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for calling a new one, purſuant to the act for triennial parliaments.

The Scottiſh parliament met on the 28th of June; but many of the members being abſent, the lord-commiſſioner adjourned the houſe till the 3d of July, when a letter from the queen was read to the aſſembly. In this letter her majeſty expreſſed herſelf to the following purport: "That at their laſt meeting ſhe recommended to them, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the ſettling of the ſucceſſion of that kingdom in the proteſtant line; and ſeveral particulars having ſince happened which ſhewed the great inconvenience of that matter continuing in ſuſpence, ſhe could not but at preſent moſt ſeriouſly renew the recommendation of that ſettlement, as being convinced of the growing neceſſity of it, both for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, the peace and ſafety of all her dominions, and for defeating the deſigns and attempts of all her enemies. And to prevent any objection to to the ſaid ſettlement, that could be ſuggeſted from the views or fears of future inconveniences that might happen to that kingdom from thence, ſhe ſhould be ready to give the royal aſſent to ſuch proviſions and reſtrictions as ſhould be found neceſſary and reaſonable in a caſe of ſuch importance; and, therefore, ſhe muſt recommend it to them, as the moſt neceſſary for all the ends already mentioned, that they ſhould proceed to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion before all other buſineſs." She ſaid, "ſhe was fully ſatisfied, and doubted not but they were, that great benefits would ariſe to all her ſubjects by an union of Scotland and England, and that nothing would contribute more to the compoſing of differences, and extinguiſhing heats that were unhappily raiſed and fomented by the enemies of both nations, than the promoting of every thing that had a tendency to procure ſo valuable an end; ſhe, therefore, heartily recommended to them to paſs an act for a commiſſion to ſet a treaty on foot between the kingdoms, as the parliament of England had done, for effectuating what was ſo deſirable, and for ſuch other matters and things as might be judged proper for her honour, and the good and advantage of both kingdoms for ever, in which ſhe ſhould moſt heartily give her beſt aſſiſtance."

The duke of Argyle, high-commiſſioner for Scotland, ſtrongly recommended the meaſures mentioned in the queen's letter to the conſideration of the houſe, and was ſeconded by the lord-chancellor. The affair of the ſucceſſion was accordingly taken into conſideration, when duke Hamilton propoſed that the treaty with England ſhould be firſt diſcuſſed, and the limitations ſettled before they proceeded any farther in the act of ſucceſſion. This was agreed to, and that nobleman made a motion for leaving the nomination of the commiſſioners to the queen. This occaſioned a very violent debate; but the queſtion being at laſt put, Whether the nomination ſhould be left to the queen or the parliament? the duke's motion was approved of by a ſmall majority. A bill was therefore brought in and paſſed by the houſe for treating about an union with England; but it was declared that the treaty ſhould not commence till the clauſe in the Engliſh act of parliament, declaring the ſubjects of Scotland, "Aliens," be reſcinded.

It is now time to attend to the affairs on the continent. The duke of Marlborough had, ever ſince the battle of Blenheim, employed his thoughts in forming a plan for improving the advantage he had gained by that action; and, after the moſt mature deliberation, none appeared ſo rational, as that of making an impreſſion on the frontiers of France. Accordingly, the Moſelle was pitched upon as the ſcene of action, and large magazines were formed at Triers. The ſtates-general having agreed to the project, and even contributed their part towards the carrying it into execution, Marlborough ſet out for Maeſtricht, in order to aſſemble his army. This was performed with ſuch expedition, that by the latter end of May the troops paſſed the Maeſe, and directed their march towards the Moſelle, under the command of general Churchill; while the duke himſelf ſet out for Raſtadt, to viſit prince Lewis of Baden. Here a long conference was held between theſe two celebrated generals, in which it was reſolved that a ſufficient number of German troops ſhould be left for ſecuring Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the command of general Thungen; and that prince Lewis ſhould advance at the head of a large detachment towards the Saar, in order to act in concert with the duke of Marlborough, in forming the ſiege of Saar-Louis, the taking of which would open a paſſage into the very bowels of France.

After paſſing the Saar, the duke encamped at Elſt, in ſight of marſhal Villars, who was poſted in that neighbourhood with a numerous army, but, upon the approach of the allies, he retired to Coningsmacheren.

As forage was very ſcarce in that part of the country, and, therefore, impoſſible for the allied army to ſubſiſt long between the Moſelle and the Saar, Marlborough ſent repeated remonſtrances to quicken the march of the imperialiſts: but neither his remonſtrances, nor thoſe of the deputies of the ſtates, had any effect. A few of the imperial troops were indeed detached from Lauterburg for the Moſelle, but they marched ſo ſlowly, that inſtead of being on the banks of the Saar by the ninth or tenth of June at the fartheſt, they did not arrive till the 20th, and even then there were neither horſes nor artillery provided.

In the mean time the French did not fail to make uſe of their ſuperiority in the Low Countries, where M. d'Auverquerque was in no condition to oppoſe their progreſs. They inveſted Huy, and carried on their attack with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than fourteen days the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, and encouraged by the abſence of the duke of Marlborough, the elector of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began to raiſe battlements before the citadel.

This diſagreeable news no ſooner reached the allied army, than the deputies of the ſtates repreſented to the duke of Marlborough, "that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt the army any longer in their preſent ſituation; that the Germans, by their delays, had rendered the beſieging Saar-Louis impracticable, and defeated the whole ſcheme for a campaign on the Moſelle: that it was to no purpoſe to continue in theſe parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands, in ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy." The duke was ſufficiently perſuaded of the truth of theſe repreſentations; but being willing to remain till the laſt extremity, he did not decamp till the 17th of June, when he found all his hopes of penetrating into the bowels of France rendered abortive.

The duke proſecuted his march with ſuch expedition, that he ſaved Liege, the enemy retiring at his approach with great precipitation. He ſoon after retook Huy, and obliged the enemy to retire behind their lines, from whence he determined to force them, though the French and Bavarians conſiſted of near 100 battalions, and 146 ſquadrons.

To facilitate this difficult undertaking, it was determined to make a falſe attack, in order to divide the attention of the enemy. Accordingly, the army under the command of M. d'Averquerque decamped early in the morning of the 17th of July, and marched towards Burdine on the other ſide of the Mehaigne. Marlborough made a motion at the ſame time, as if he intended to ſupport Averquerque in his attack of the lines in the neighbourhood of Meſſelin, where they were weakeſt. This feint produced the deſired ſucceſs; the French detached large bodies of forces to theſe parts; leaving the others, where the duke really intended to make his attack, in a very weak condition. As ſoon as night came on, the duke put his army in motion, while d'Averquerque repaſſed the Mehaigne to join, and both marched in conjunction to ſupport a detachment ordered to make an attempt on the enemy's lines near Heyliſham. This was the ſtrongeſt part of the whole, and conſequently where the enemy leaſt expected an attack. They were therefore ſeized with aſtoniſhment when the allies appeared, and incapable of making any effectual oppoſition, the greater part of their forces having been drawn off to guard the other parts.

The confederate troops paſſed the lines with very little oppoſition; but were afterwards attacked by twenty-four ſquadrons of Bavarian horſe, and twenty battalions. The diſpute was for ſome time very ſharp; but the horſe and dragoons of the right wing coming up, the enemy were put to flight, leaving behind them their ſtandards, colours and artillery. The marquis d' Alegre, and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, were taken priſoners, together with one major-general, two brigadier-generals, and 74 other officers.

Nothing farther of moment happened in Flanders, during the preſent campaign. The duke put his army into winter quarters, and, after concerting the operations of the next campaign with the emperor and the ſtates-general, he embarked for England.

The army in Portugal gained ſome advantages over the enemy, but not equal to what was expected. The Portugueſe, with their allies the Engliſh and Dutch, marched to the frontiers of Spain, and meeting with no enemy in the field on that ſide, they laid ſiege to d'Alcantara, in the province of Alentejo, which they ſoon took by ſtorm. The garriſon of Abuquerque, a town of no great ſtrength, capitulated. Several councils were afterwards held for ſettling the operations of the enſuing part of the campaign. The earl of Galway and general Fagel propoſed laying ſiege to Badajox; but that town being much better fortified than either of the former, and furniſhed with a garriſon of nine or ten battalions to defend it, the deſign was laid aſide for the preſent; and the army, about the middle of June, ſent into quarters of refreſhment.

In the mean time the marquis del Minas, who commanded a ſeparate body of Portugueſe in the province of Beyra, attacked the town of Salvaterra, in which was a garriſon of 360 men, who ſurrendered at diſcretion. The marquis afterwards plundered and burnt Sarea, but receiving intelligence that a ſtrong body of French and Spaniards were in full march againſt him, he thought proper to retire to Penamacos. As ſoon as the ſummer heats were abated, the earl of Galway again renewed his inſtances to form the ſiege of Badajox, which were not liſtened to till about the latter end of September, when an army marched towards that place, and on the 4th of October the trenches were opened. The ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour that, had it not been for an unforeſeen accident, the garriſon muſt ſoon have ſurrendered; but the earl of Galway being one day in the trenches, a cannon ball took off his right arm; and the command then devolving on general Fagel, he did not carry on the ſiege with that vigour his predeceſſor had done, which gave the marquis de Theſſe an opportunity of throwing a relief of 1000 men into the place. All hopes of reducing Badajox were now over: the allied army therefore abandoned the enterprize, and marched into winter quarters.

The ſucceſs in Catalonia, however, made up for this diſappointment. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, and the earl of Peterborough, reduced Barcelona, and the whole province of Catalonia ſubmitted to Charles. A very remarkable incident happened at the ſiege of Barcelona, which does the higheſt honour to the earl of Peterborough. While the viceroy was capitulating with the Engliſh general at one of the gates of the city, a party of German ſoldiers penetrated into the place, and began to pillage the houſes and maſſacre the inhabitants. The viceroy complained of this treachery. Peterborough aſſured him that he might depend on his honour, and deſired permiſſion to enter with his troops, promiſing to appeaſe the tumult, and return to finiſh the articles of capitulation. He was truſted, and marched into the city, followed by the Engliſh; where he ſoon put a ſtop to the diſorders, diſperſed the German ſoldiers, took from them their plunder, and returned to ſign the articles of the treaty.

After the reduction of Barcelona, a council of war was aſſembled, wherein it was reſolved, that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſhould ſail for England with the beſt part of the fleet: that Sir John Leake with a ſtrong ſquadron ſhould be left in the Mediterranean: that ſix ſhips ſhould remain with the earl of Peterborough; two more be ſtationed at Gibraltar; and a third and fourth to be employed, at the requeſt of his Portugueſe majeſty, in cruiſing for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with nineteen ſhips of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, ſailed through the Streights, and arrived at Spithead on the 16th of November.

The new parliament met on the 27th of October, when her majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which ſhe repreſented the neceſſity of acting vigorouſly againſt France, as the common enemy to the liberties of Europe. She recommended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which, ſhe ſaid, was without example, and merited all their endeavours to encourage him to perſevere in the ſame conduct. She informed them of her intention of iſſuing commiſſions for treating of an union with Scotland. She earneſtly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection among her people; and obſerved that ſome perſons had endeavoured to foment animoſities, and even to ſuggeſt in print, that the eſtabliſhed church was in danger. "Such (added ſhe) are enemies to me and my kingdom, and mean only to cover deſigns which they dare not publicly avow, by endeavouring to diſtract the nation with unmeaſurable and groundleſs diſtruſts and jealouſies." She declared ſhe would always affectionately ſupport and countenance the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; that ſhe would inviolably maintain the toleration; that ſhe would endeavour to promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing elſe that had a tendency to make them a happy and a flouriſhing people." And they (added ſhe) who ſhall concur zealouſly with me in carrying on theſe good deſigns, ſhall be ſure of my kindneſs and favour."

Both houſes were ſo well pleaſed with this ſpeech, that they preſented ſeparate addreſſes, in which they promiſed to aſſiſt her majeſty to the utmoſt of their power. And on the 13th of November the commons preſented a ſecond, in which they returned her thanks for her great care and endeavours to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh crown in the houſe of Hanover, and promoting the union of the two kingdoms; aſſuring her no endeavours ſhould be wanting on their part to aſſiſt her in perfecting ſo ſalutary a work.

A few days after the meeting of the parliament the commons preſented the thanks of the houſe to the duke of Marlborough, (now returned from abroad) for the ſignal ſervices he had performed during the laſt campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with the allies. The credit of this nobleman was indeed extremely high at this juncture: for the emperor having propoſed a lone of 500,000l. on a branch of his revenues, in Sileſia, the whole ſum, by the intereſt of Marlborough, was immediately ſubſcribed by the merchants of London. Public credit was very high at this juncture: the nation was bleſſed with plenty; the forces were well paid notwithſtanding the great quantity of coin exported for the maintenance of the war; the paper currency ſupplying the deficiency ſo well, that few murmurs were heard in the kingdom.

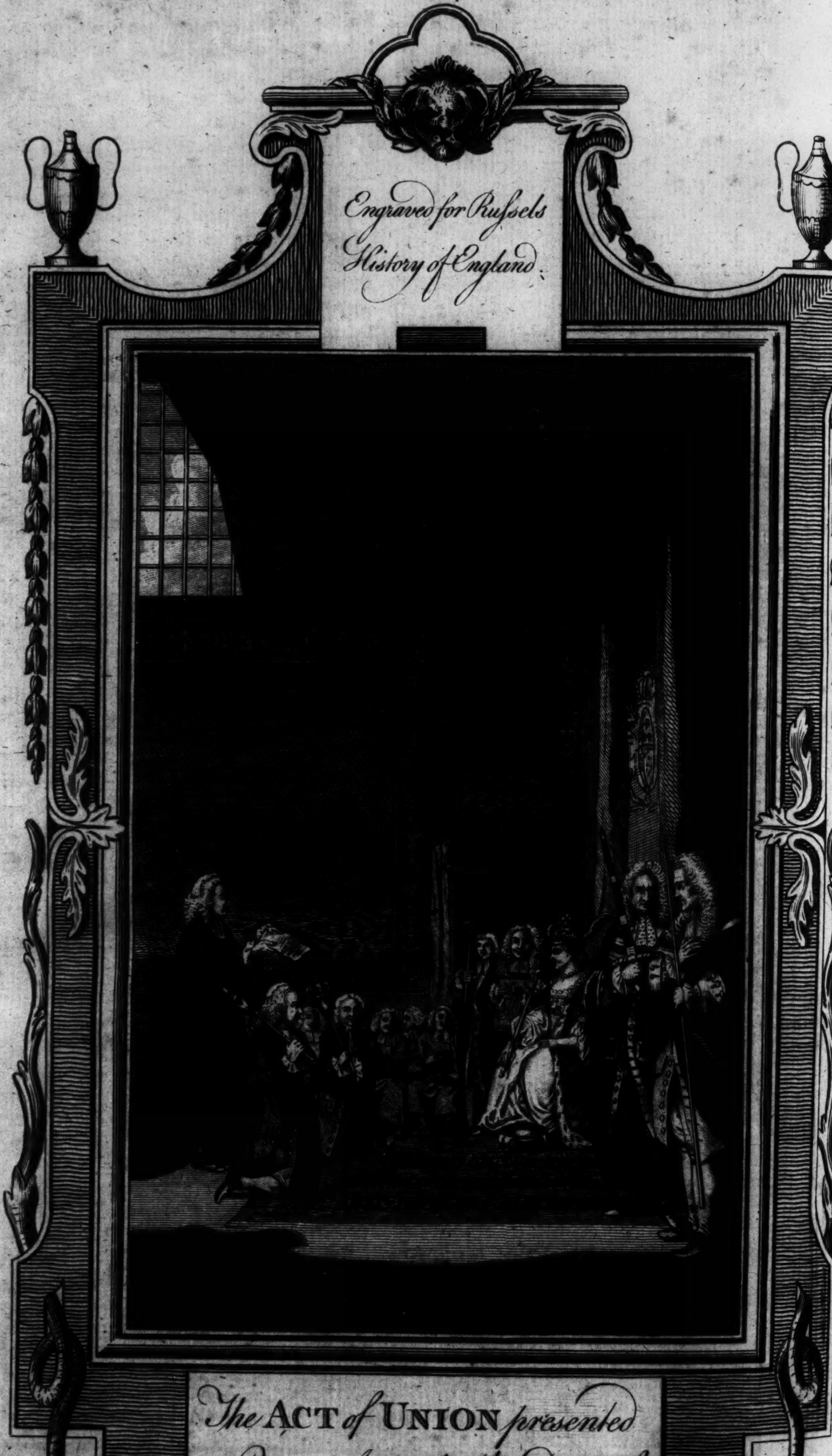
The firſt buſineſs of the parliament was to eſtabliſh the funds neceſſary for carrying on the war with vigour during the approaching campaign. This being done, they took into conſideration the union with Scotland; and the parliament of that kingdom having declared, that they would enter into no treaty with England till the act in which they were declared aliens ſhould be reſcinded, the two houſes immediately repealed that act, and alſo took off the ſeveral prohibitions and reſtrictions which had been laid upon the trade between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1706. The neceſſary ſupplies being granted, and ſeveral bills paſſed for the good of the nation, her majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the 19th of March, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe expreſſed her acknowledgements for the unanimity and diſpatch with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, and the zeal and affection they had ſhewn for her ſervice; after which the parliament was progued till the firſt of May following.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, her majeſty appointed commiſſioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland; a treaty which ſhe was very deſirous of concluding.

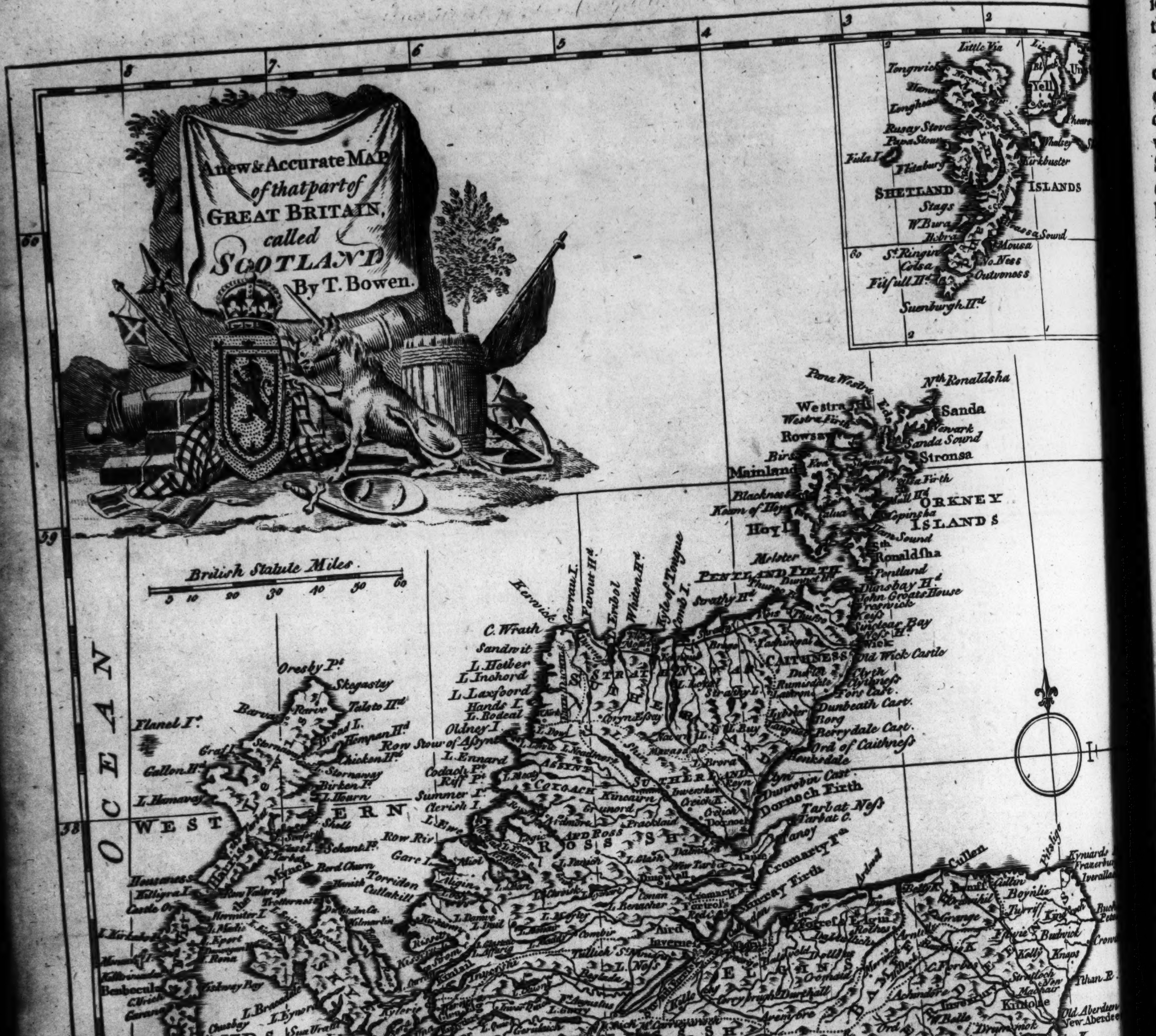
Every thing being ready for entering on this important work, the commiſſioners of both kingdoms met on the 16th of April, at the council-chamber in the cockpit, in order to negotiate an agreement that wa

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


Engraved for Ruſsels History of England.

The ACT of UNION presented to Queen Anne, by the Duke of Queensberry & Dover.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM


A new & Accurate MAP
of that part of
GREAT BRITAIN,
called
SCOTLAND
By T. Bowen.
British Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
WESTERN OCEAN
WESTERN ISLANDS
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY ISLANDS
PENTLAND FIRTH
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
ROSS SHIRE
INVERNESS
ARGYLE
PERTH SHIRE
EDINBURGH
PART OF IRELAND
ENGLAND
Longitude 7 West from 6 London

was for ever to put an end to the diſputes that had for ſo many ages ſubſiſted between theſe two ſovereignties.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners firſt propoſed to conclude a fœderal union like that ſubſiſting between the cantons of Switzerland; but nothing leſs than an incorporating union would ſatisfy the Engliſh, who were determined to take away effectually from the Scottiſh parliament the power of repealing the articles of this treaty. Purſuant to this reſolution, the lord-keeper of England propoſed, "That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhould be united into one nation, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; that it ſhould be repreſented by one parliament; and that the ſucceſſion of the monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majeſty's body, ſhould be ſubject to the limitations mentioned in an act of parliament made in England, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king William III. intitled, An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c."

Finding a fœderal union would not be accepted, the commiſſioners of Scotland agreed to the preliminaries propoſed by the lord-keeper, with this proviſo only, "That all the ſubjects of the united kingdoms of Great Britain ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation to and from any part or place within the ſaid united kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there ſhould be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom." No objection was made to this proviſo, except a reſerving ſuch particulars as, in the courſe of the negotiation, ſhould appear to be advantageous to the ſubjects of both countries.

Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the queen made them a viſit, in order to quicken their deliberations, and finiſh a treaty ſhe had ſo greatly at heart. They accordingly exerted themſelves, in order to ſatisfy the requeſt of her majeſty; and at length finiſhed the negotiation for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The following are the articles that compoſed this treaty of union.

ARTICLES OF UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhall, from the firſt of May, 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great-Britain; and that the enſigns armorial of the ſame united kingdoms be ſuch as her majeſty ſhall appoint, and the croſſes of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in ſuch a manner as her majeſty ſhall think fit, and uſed in all flags, banners, ſtandards, and enſigns, both by ſea and land.

II. That the ſucceſſion of the united monarchy of Great-Britain ſhall be to the princeſs Sophia, and her heirs; and that all papiſts, or perſons who marry papiſts, ſhall be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown of Great-Britain, agreeable to the proviſion for the deſcent of the crown of England made in the firſt year of the reign of their late majeſties, king William and queen Mary, intitled, An Act declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, &c.

III. That the united kingdoms of Great-Britain ſhall be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtiled the parliament of Great-Britain.

IV. That the ſubjects of the united kingdoms ſhall have freedom of trade and navigation within the ſame, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges and advantages, except where it is otherwiſe expreſſed in theſe articles.

V. That all ſhips or veſſels belonging to the Scots [at the time of ratifying the treaty of the two kingdoms in the parliament of Scotland] ſhall be deemed Britiſh built; the owners making oath that [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union in the parliament of Scotland] the ſame did, in the whole or in part, belong to them.

VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the ſame regulations of trade, and liable to the ſame cuſtoms and duties, except and reſerving the duties upon export and import of ſuch particular commodities, from which any perſon, the ſubject of either kingdom, are eſpecially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which, after the union, are to remain ſafe and entire to them, in all reſpects as before the ſame; and that from and after the union, no Scots cattle carried into England ſhall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private account, than thoſe duties to which the cattle of England are or ſhall be liable within the ſaid kingdom; and ſeeing, by the laws of England, there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats, ground or unground, are not expreſſed, that from and after the union, when oats ſhall be ſold for fifteen ſhillings ſterling per quarter, or under, there ſhall be paid two ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling for every quarter of the oat-meal exported in the term of the law, whereby and ſo long as rewards are granted for the exportation of grains. And that the beer of Scotland have the ſame reward as barley. And becauſe the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a diſcouragement to tillage, therefore the prohibition now enforced by the law of Scotland againſt importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond Sea, into Scotland, do, after the union, remain in the ſame force as at preſent, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great-Britain, for the diſcouragement of the importation of the ſaid victual from beyond ſea.

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the ſame exciſe upon the ſame exciſeable liquors, except only that the thirty-four Engliſh barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scots preſent meaſure, ſold in Scotland by the brewer at nine ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at two-pence the Scots pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not, after the union, liable, on account of the preſent exciſe on exciſeable liquors in England, to any higher impoſition than two ſhillings ſterling upon the aforeſaid thirty-four gallons Engliſh barrel, being twelve gallons the preſent Scots meaſure.

VIII. Foreign ſalt in England ſhall pay the ſame duty as in Scotland; [but becauſe the duties of foreign ſalt imported may be very heavy on the merchant importer, that therefore all foreign ſalt imported into Scotland ſhall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties upon ſalt; and that the merchant may have whatever quantity thereof his occaſions may require, not under a weight of forty buſhels at a time, upon his giving ſecurity for the duty of what quantities he receives, payable in ſix months.] By this article it was alſo provided, that ſalt made in Scotland ſhould be exempted for ſeven years from the Engliſh duty. But from the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties as ſalt made in England. [That Scotland ſhall, after the ſaid ſeven years, remain exempted from the duty of two ſhillings and ſixpence on home ſalt, impoſed by an act made in the ninth and tenth years of king William III. and if the parliament of Great Britain ſhall at, or before, the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſubſtitute any other fund in the place of the ſaid two ſhillings and four-pence of exciſe upon the buſhel of home ſalt, Scotland ſhall, after the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, bear a proportion of the ſaid fund, and have an equivalent in the terms of this treaty.] No ſalt whatſoever ſhall be brought from Scotland to England by land under certain penalties denounced: and for eſtabliſhing an equality in trade, it was provided, that all fleſh exported from Scotland to England, and ſhipped in Scotland to be exported beyond ſea; and proviſions for ſhips in Scotland and foreign voyages, may be ſalted with Scotch ſalt, paying the duty for what ſalt is ſo employed, and the like quantity of freſh ſalt pays in England, and under the ſame penalties, forfeitures, and proviſions for preventing frauds as are mentioned in the laws of England. And that for the encouragement of the herring fiſhery, there ſhall be allowed and paid to the ſubjects inhabitants of Great Britain, during the preſent allowances for other fiſheries, ten ſhillings and five-pence ſterling for every barrel of white herrings which ſhall be exported from Scotland; and that they ſhall be allowed five ſhillings ſterling for every barrel of beef or pork ſalted with foreign ſalt, without mixture of Britiſh or Iriſh ſalts, and exported for ſale from Scotland to parts beyond ſea, alterable by the parliament of Great Britain.

IX. That whenever the ſum of one million nine hundred, ninety-ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds, eight ſhillings and four-pence half-penny, ſhall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, ſhall be charged with the additional ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds, as the quota of Scotland for ſuch tax; and ſo proportionally for any greater or leſſer ſum raiſed in England on land; the ſaid quota to be aſſeſſed in the ſame manner as the aſſeſs now is in Scotland; but ſubject to ſuch regulations as ſhall be made in the parliament of Great Britain.

X. That Scotland ſhall not be charged with ſtamp-duties now in force in England.

XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

XII. Nor thoſe on coals or culm.

XIII. Scotland ſhall not pay the malt duty during its continuance in England, which was to expire the twenty-fourth of June 1707.

XIV. Scotland ſhall not be charged with any other duties impoſed by the parliament of England before the union, except thoſe conſented to in this treaty: and if the parliament of England in their proviſion for the ſervice of the year 1707 ſhall impoſe any farther cuſtoms, the Scots ſhall have an equivalent for the ſhare thereof they may be liable to. [And Scotland ſhall not be charged with any impoſition on malt made or conſumed in that kingdom during the war.]

XV. Stipulates, that whereas by the terms of this treaty, the ſubjects of Scotland, for preſerving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral cuſtoms and exciſe now payable in England, which will be applicable towards paying the debts of England, payable before the union, it is agreed that an equavilent ſhall be made to Scotland for ſuch part of the Engliſh debts, as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reaſon of the union, other than ſuch appropriations as have been made by parliament in England, of the cuſtoms and other duties on exports and imports, exciſes and all exciſeable liquors, in reſpect of which debts equivalent are herein before provided; which equivalent is here ſtipulated to be three hundred ninety-eight thouſand, eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings ſterling, to be granted by the parliament of England in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained. The diſtinction of this equivalent is in the ſame article applied, 1. For endemnifying private perſons from any loſſes they may ſuſtain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of that of England. 2. For endemnifying the ſufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland. 3. For diſcharging the public debts of Scotland. 4. For improving the manufacture of the coarſe wool of Scotland. 5. For encouraging and promoting the fiſheries, and ſuch other manufactures and improvements in Scotland, as may moſt conduce to the general good of the united kingdom: and for which end commiſſioners were to be appointed. [It ſeems the Scots were ſo inflamed by the deſtruction of their Darien and African company by the government of England, that nothing but the abſolute aſſurance of an equivalent for reimburſing their whole capital employment in that affair, with intereſt, amounting to two hundred and thirty-two thouſand, one hundred and ſixty-two pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny, could have induced them to agree to treat of the union, and they even inſiſted on the inſertion of the above clauſe.] That if the ſaid ſtock, capital and intereſt ſhall not be paid in twelve months after commencement of the union, that then the ſaid company may from henceforth trade, or give licence to trade until the ſaid whole capital ſtock and intereſt ſhall be paid.

XVI. That the coin be of the ſame ſtandard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland under the ſame rule as the mint of England.

XVII. That the ſame weights and meaſures be uſed throughout the united kingdoms as are now uſed in England; and ſtandards ſhall be kept in the burghs, agreeable to the ſtandard of the Engliſh exchequer.

XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade, cuſtom, and ſuch exciſes as Scotland is to be liable to, ſhall be the ſame as thoſe in England. Other laws in Scotland to remain as before the union, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be the ſame throughout the united kingdom; but no alteration ſhall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for the evident utility of the ſubjects of Scotland.

XIX. The court of ſeſſion and other courts ſhall remain in Scotland the ſame as before the union, ſubject, nevertheleſs, to ſuch regulations, for the adminiſtration of public juſtice, as ſhall be made by the parliament of Great Britain; and that hereafter none ſhall be named by her majeſty or her royal ſucceſſors to be ordinary lords of ſeſſion, but ſuch as have ſerved in the college of juſtice as advocates or principal clerks of ſeſſion for the ſpace of five years, or as writers to the ſignet for the ſpace of ten years, with this proviſion, that no writer to the ſignet be capable of being admitted a lord of ſeſſion, unleſs he undergo a private and public trial on the civil law before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the ſaid office two years before he be named to be a lord of ſeſſion, yet ſo as the qualification made, or to be made, for capacitating perſons to be named ordinary lords of ſeſſion, may be altered by the parliament of Great Britain.

XX. That all heritable offices, ſuperiorities, heritable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, be reſerved to the owners thereof as rights of property, in the ſame manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, this treaty in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

XXI. The rights and privileges of the royal burghs in Scotland, as they now are, ſhall remain entire after the union, and notwithſtanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, ſixteen of the peers of Scotland, at the time of the union, ſhall ſit and vote in the houſe of lords, and forty-five of the members of the repreſentatives of Scotland in the houſe of commons in the parliament of Great Britain, the choice whereof to be according to the act paſſed in Scotland for that purpoſe; which act is hereby declared to be valid, as if it were part of it, and engroſſed in the treaty: and in caſe her majeſty ſhall, on the firſt of May, 1707, declare this preſent parliament to be the firſt of Great Britain, the preſent parliament of England may be ſo on the part of England, and the ſixteen peers and the forty-five commoners for Scotland to ſit with them; ſuch parliament to continue no longer than the Engliſh parliament is allowed to continue.

XXIII. That the aforeſaid ſixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the preceding article, to ſit in the houſe of lords in the parliament of Great Britain, ſhall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they or any peers of Great Britain ſhall have after the union, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trial of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhall, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and have rank and precedence next and immediately after the peers of the orders and degrees in England at the time of the union, and before all peers of Great Britain, of the like orders and degree, who ſhall be created after the union.

XXIV. That from and after the union there ſhall be one great ſeal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall be different from the great ſeal now uſed in either kingdom; and that the quarter of the arms, as well as the rank and precedency of Lyon king at arms in Scotland, ſhall be left to her majeſty; and that in the private ſeal, ſignet, caſſet, &c. now uſed in Scotland be continued; but that the ſaid ſeals be altered and adapted to the union, as her majeſty ſhall think fit: that the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls and records whatſoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that they ſhall ſo remain, in all time coming, notwithſtanding the union.

XXV. That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, or any of them, ſhall, from and after the union, cloſe and become void, and ſhall be ſo declared to be by the reſpective parliaments of the ſaid kingdoms.

No proviſion was made in this treaty with reſpect to religion; for in the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, which empowered the queen to name commiſſioners for treating of an union, there was an expreſs reſtriction that they ſhould not treat of thoſe matters.

The above articles being agreed to, they were ſigned by the reſpective commiſſioners on the 22d of July, 1706; and the next day the lords commiſſioners waited on the queen with the treaty; when the lord-keeper, Cowper, in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners, made a ſpeech, congratulating her majeſty on the concluſion of a treaty which ſo happily united the different parts of this iſland under the ſame monarchy. The earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, ſpoke to the ſame effect on the part of the commiſſioners of that kingdom; to which her majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"My lords,

"I give you many thanks for the great pains you have taken in this treaty, and am very well pleaſed to find your endeavours and application have brought it to ſo good a concluſion: the particulars of it ſeem ſo reaſonable that I hope they will meet with approbation in the parliaments of both kingdoms. I wiſh, therefore, my ſervants of Scotland may loſe no time in going down to propoſe it to my ſubjects in that kingdom; and I ſhall always look upon it as a particular happineſs if this union (which will be ſo great a ſecurity and advantage to both kingdoms) can be accompliſhed in my reign."

While the miniſters of the two kingdoms were employed in eſtabliſhing an union between their reſpective countries, the armies of the belligerant powers were carrying on their hoſtile attempts with great fury. Lewis XIV. had determined to exert his utmoſt efforts in the courſe of this campaign, and had accordingly ſent very numerous forces into the field. His army in Flanders was commanded by the marſhal de Villeroy, a nobleman of great generoſity and a favourite at court; but an indiſcreet general, blindly confident, and deaf to counſel. He formed the deſign of ſurpriſing the duke of Marlborough before he could be joined by the Danes and Pruſſians, who were employed laſt year to act as auxiliaries. The French, accordingly, paſſed the Dyle early in May, and advanced directly towards the confederate army. It was in vain to hope that it was poſſible to ſurprize ſo vigilant a general as Marlborough. He was well informed of all their motions, and diſpatched an expreſs to the Danes to join him immediately, and was readily obeyed. Before this junction the allied army conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and 123 ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, provided with 100 pieces of cannon, twenty hawbitzers, and forty-two pontoons. About the ſame time the Danes joined the allied army, that of the French was joined by the marſhal Marſin's horſe, and by this addition their army amounted to ſeventy-ſix battalions and 132 ſquadrons. This ſuperiority determined Villeroy to give battle to the allied army, though he knew his hopes of ſurprizing the active Marlborough were rendered abortive.

The allies moved forward to meet the enemy, who had now taken poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Mont St. Andre, their right extending to the Mahaigne, and their left to Anderkirk, the villages of Offuz and Ramillies being in the center. On the 12th of May, about two in the afternoon, the allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook Yauſe, and the left near the village of Franquennes, which was occupied by the enemy. The action was begun on the left of the allied army, who puſhed a brigade of foot from their poſt on the Mahaigne. About the ſame time M. d'Auverquerque, the Dutch general, charged the French houſhold troops at the head of the horſe of the left wing. For near half an hour the ſucceſs was doubtful; but a reinforcement coming up, the French retired. Lieutenant Scultz was now ordered, with twelve ſquadrons, and twenty pieces of cannon, to attack the village of Ramillies, which was ſtrongly fortified with artillery. The attack was made with great vigour and reſolution; and the enemy at laſt driven from the village, who endeavouring to make their retreat, were moſt of them killed or taken priſoners.

In the mean time the Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the foot in the right of the enemy, cut twenty battalions of them to pieces, and made themſelves maſters of their colours and artillery. The French now began to retreat in good order, covered by their cavalry of the left wing; but the Engliſh horſe forcing their paſſage over the rivulet which ſeparated them from the enemy, attacked them with ſo much intrepidity that they entirely abandoned their foot, who were expoſed to all the fury of the cavalry. The French now gave way on all ſides, and it was not without difficulty that marſhal Villeroy and the elector of Bavaria ſaved themſelves by flight. An accident which now happened completed the deſtruction of the French army. Several of the waggons of the vanguard happening to break down in a narrow paſs, ſo obſtructed the paſſage, that neither the baggage nor artillery could proceed, nor could the troops defile in order. The opportunity was not neglected by the victorious horſe; they preſſed upon them ſo vigorouſly, that the French king's own regiment of foot called for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours. The purſuit was continued with great ſucceſs about five miles from the field of battle.

Few battles recorded in hiſtory were more complete than this of Ramillies. The greater part of the enemy's cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the allies, with above 120 colours, and ſeveral kettle-drums. The French loſt about 40,000 men, near one half of their army; while the loſs of the allies was not more than 2000. The French general retired with great precipitation to Bruſſels, while the allies took poſſeſſion of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem.

The battle of Ramillies was followed with the immediate conqueſt of all Brabant; the cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent, ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and acknowledged king Charles. Oſtend, though ſecured by a ſtrong garriſon, ſurrendered after a ſiege of ten days only. Menin, eſteemed the moſt finiſhed fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by 6000 men, ſubmitted to the ſame fate. Dendermonde ſuſtained a blockade of ſome weeks, which the duke of Marlborough afterwards ordered to be turned into a regular ſiege, which terminated in the garriſon's ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. Aeth was next inveſted, and ſubmitted on the ſame terms, after twenty days reſiſtance. Thus finiſhed this glorious campaign of the allies in Flanders, after which the army went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough returned to the Hague, and M. d'Auverquerque, being appointed commander in chief in the Netherlands, took up his reſidence at Bruſſels.

During theſe tranſactions in the Netherlands, the French army exerted themſelves in Italy, where Lewis had flattered himſelf with being able to make himſelf maſter of Turin, the duke of Savoy's capital; and almoſt the only place of ſtrength that prince had now left. Soon after the opening of the campaign the French attacked the imperialiſts at Calcinato, in the abſence of prince Eugene, drove them from their poſts, and obliged them to quit the territories of Breſciano, with the loſs of 3000 men killed and taken priſoners, beſides all their cannon and baggage.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Lewis ſent immediate orders to duke de la Feuillade to inveſt the city of Turin. This order was obeyed, while prince Eugene was on the other ſide of the Adige; and at too great a diſtance to come to its relief. Beſides, a long train of intrenchments thrown up along the bank of that river, ſeemed to render the paſſage impracticable. Fifty-ſix ſquadrons and 100 battalions formed the ſiege; which was opened on the eighth of June. On the 15th the French began to fire red-hot bullets, many of which fell near the duke's palace. His highneſs therefore ſent away immediately his wife and mother, with the young prince and princeſſes, to ſome diſtance from the city; and marched out himſelf on the 17th, leaving a numerous garriſon under the command of count Thuan, general of the emperor's forces. This ſtep was taken in order to amuſe the duke de la Feuillade; and, accordingly, the latter immediately quitted the direction of the ſiege in order to purſue the prince; but he being much better acquainted with the country, baffled his intention. Convinced that all his attempts to ſurprize the duke of Savoy would be in vain, he returned to the ſiege, leaving the duke of Aubeterre with forty ſquadrons and five battalions to watch the duke of Savoy's motions. The duke of Vendoſme had been poſted on the banks of the Adige from the 13th of May to the twentieth of June, in order to cover the ſiege of Turin; and thought himſelf certain that ſeventy battalions and ſixty ſquadrons were ſufficient to defend all the paſſages againſt prince Eugene. But that commander ſoon convinced him that he was miſtaken. He croſſed both the Adige and the Po, a river larger, and, in many places, more difficult to paſs, than even the Rhine itſelf.

Vendoſme had received orders to leave Italy, in order to take upon him the command of marſhal Villeroy's ſcattered forces in Flanders (that general having been diſgraced on account of his late defeat by the allies;) but before his departure he ſaw prince Eugene in a condition to advance to the relief of Turin.

Lewis, on recalling Vendoſme, ſent his nephew, the duke of Orleans, to command his army in Italy, who found, on his arrival, the troops in as much diſorder as if they had ſuffered a defeat. Eugene had before paſſed the Po in ſight of Vendoſme, and now croſſed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans; took Corpi, Corregio and Reggio; ſtole a march upon the French, and joined the duke of Savoy's army near Aſti on the firſt of September.

In the mean time the city of Turin was reduced to great diſtreſs; moſt of the ammunition being ſpent, and the French having made a lodgment on the counterſcarp. In this dangerous ſituation the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity of marching immediately to the defence of the place. Accordingly, they paſſed the Doria on the ſixth of September, and encamped on its banks. The next morning, at break of day, the army moved towards the enemy. Never, perhaps, was a bolder march than the allied army made on this occaſion; having a continual fire to ſuſtain from forty pieces of cannon, which the enemy had pointed to gall them.

The duke of Orleans perceiving that all his efforts were not ſufficient to ſtop the intrepidity with which the duke and the prince marched towards him, propoſed to quit the intrenchments, and give them battle. He was joined in this propoſal by the greater part of the general officers in the French army: but marſhal Marſin producing a written order from Lewis, which left every thing to his deciſion, in caſe of an action; and, giving his opinion to remain in the lines, the duke of Orleans was forced to acquieſce.

As ſoon as the confederate army came within half cannon ſhot of the French line, they drew up in order of battle, and began the attack with their artillery. On this the whole army moved in a moment; the infantry marched up with their muſkets to the foot of the intrenchments, and prince Eugene, putting himſelf at the head of the left wing, began the charge, which was made with ſuch aſtoniſhing vigour and activity, that in leſs than two hours he carried the enemy's line. The ſame was done by the duke of Savoy in the centre, and on the right; ſo that by noon the allies were maſters of the French camp, and the defeat of the army was become general. The duke of Orleans behaved with great preſence of mind, and received ſeveral wounds in the action. Marſhal Marſin was taken priſoner, after having his thigh ſhattered by a cannon ball, and died in a few hours after, under the amputation. The French loſt in the action near 7000 men, beſides 300 officers, and about 8000 private men taken priſoners ; 250 pieces of cannon, 108 mortars, 7800 bombs, 32,000 hand granades, 48,000 cannon balls, 4000 cheſts of muſquet balls, 86 barrels of gunpowder, all their tents and baggage, 5000 beaſts of burden, 10,000 horſes belonging to 13 regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commiſſary, all fell into the hands of the victors. The mules were ſo richly laden, that this part only of the booty was valued at near 130,000l. ſterling. The loſs of the confederates did not amount to 3000 men, killed, wounded or diſabled in the attack ; excluſive of 2000 of the garriſon of Turin, who had fallen during the courſe of the ſiege.

The duke of Savoy now entered his capital in triumph, and the duke of Orleans, finding it impoſſible to procure ſubſiſtence for his troops, retired into Dauphiné.

It would be unpardonable to omit the following ſingular circumſtance, which occurred during the above ſiege of Turin. The enemy had broke into one of the largeſt ſubterranean galleries belonging to the citadel, and the French engineer was rewarded with 200 Louis d'ors, for making the diſcovery. The French now concluded they ſhould make their way into the citadel by means of this ſecret paſſage, and accordingly poſted 200 grenadiers there. One Micha, a Piedmonteſe peaſant, who ſerved as a pioneer, and who, by his good natural parts, and long practice, had acquired ſuch a ſkill in his profeſſion as to be made a corporal of that corps, was then working near the ſpot, with about twenty men, in order to complete a mine ; but hearing the French buſy over his head in ſecuring their poſt in the gallery, he immediately perceived that his work was become uſeleſs, and that the enemy was poſſeſſed of a poſt that would be of infinite advantage to them : at the ſame time, he was convinced that it would coſt him his life to prevent them; his mine having no ſauciſſon, by which he might ſpring it with leſs danger. There was, however, no time for deliberation, and he inſtantly formed a ſcheme that would have done honour to the greateſt hero. He ordered his companions to withdraw out of the mine, and to fire a muſket as a ſignal, when they reached a place of ſafety ; at the ſame time, requeſting them to acquaint the duke, his maſter, that Micha implored aſſiſtance for his wife and children. His companions immediately retired, and on this intrepid pioneer's hearing their ſignal, he ſet fire to the mine, and thus ſacrificed his own life to the ſervice of his country. The 200 French grenadiers were blown up into the air, and the ſecret paſſage on which the enemy had placed ſuch flattering hopes, was totally obliterated. His companions faithfully delivered his meſſage to the duke, who not only provided for his widow and children, but ſettled a perpetual annuity of 600 livres a year upon Micha's deſcendants.

The French were equally unſucceſsful in Catalonia as in Flanders and Italy. Philip, aſſiſted by the marſhal de Teſſe, laid ſiege to Barcelona early in the ſpring. The city was defended by Charles, his rival, in perſon. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour, and the place at laſt reduced to extremity. The earl of Peterborough advanced to its relief at the head of 2000 men ; but finding it impoſſible to enter the city, he took poſt on a neighbouring hill, and harraſſed the beſiegers with perpetual ſkirmiſhes. The ſiege was, however, preſſed with ſuch vigour, that it was thought impoſſible for the beſieged to hold out many days, when the news of the approach of the Engliſh fleet obliged the French admiral, who had blocked up the place by ſea, to retire. Philip, however, ſeemed determined to carry on his approaches, even after the combined fleets of England and Holland came to an anchor in the bay : but the next morning he raiſed the ſiege in a very diſorderly manner, leaving behind him all his tents, and great part of his military ſtores, together with his ſick and wounded. The marſhal de Teſſe recommended the latter to the care of the earl of Peterborough. He could not have applied to a more humane general. The ſick and wounded felt the lenient hand of compaſſion, and were uſed with the greateſt tenderneſs. In the mean time, lord Galway took ſeveral Spaniſh towns, and penetrated to the capital itſelf, which was abandoned at his approach ; but Charles protracting his ſtay in Arragon, notwithſtanding repeated expreſſes, lord Galway was obliged to abandon Madrid, and retire before the Spaniſh army.

The pride of Lewis was now humbled to ſuch a degree as might have excited even the compaſſion of his enemies. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters, in his name, to the duke of Marlborough, and the deputies of the ſtates-general, containing propoſals for opening a congreſs. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial preſented by the marquis d'Alegre. He offered to cede either Spain and the Weſt-Indies, or Milan, Naples and Sicily, to Charles, to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages which had been committed in his dominions. The powers that formed the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conqueſts ; and England in particular thought herſelf entitled to an indemnification for the immenſe ſums ſhe had expended. Animated by theſe concurring conſiderations, queen Anne and the ſtates-general rejected the offers of France, declaring they would not enter into any negotiations for a peace, but in conſort with their allies.

During the campaign abroad, England and Scotland were engaged in treating of the union which had been agreed to by the commiſſioners between the two kingdoms. The Scottiſh parliament met on the 3d of October, when a letter from the queen was read to the aſſembly ; in which ſhe acquainted them, that the commiſſioners appointed to treat of an union between the two kingdoms had finiſhed the treaty, and hoped the articles would prove acceptable to her ſubjects of Scotland : that an entire and perfect union would be the ſolid foundation of a laſting peace ; it would ſecure their religion, their liberties, and their properties ; remove the animoſities that prevailed among themſelves, and the jealouſies that ſubſiſted between the two nations. She renewed her aſſurance of maintaining the government of the church ; and told them they had now an opportunity of taking ſuch ſteps as might be thought neceſſary after the union : deſired the neceſſary ſupplies till the parliament of Great Britain could provide for thoſe matters : and obſerved, that the great ſucceſs with which it had pleaſed God to bleſs her arms, afforded a nearer proſpect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union : and concluded with recommending calmneſs and unanimity in debating on this great and weighty affair, of ſuch importance to the whole iſland of Great Britain.

But notwithſtanding the union was ſo uſeful in the ſyſtem of government, and ſo neceſſary to the well-being of the ſtate, it met with the moſt violent oppoſition in the Scottiſh parliament. All parties ſeemed at firſt united to oppoſe it. The preſbyterians imagined their religion would be loſt; and the jacobites were enraged to ſee the pretender for ever excluded from the crown. The nobility were ſhocked at the loſs of their beſt privileges, by the total abolition of their parliament. The merchants trembled for their commerce,

commerce, notwithſtanding the advantageous liberty of trading to the Engliſh colonies. The nation in general conſidered itſelf as robbed of its rights, given up to ſlavery, and ſold to a foreign power. The duke of Hamilton, who headed the party that oppoſed the union, made a moſt vehement ſpeech againſt the treaty. "What!" cried he, "ſhall we abandon in the ſpace of one half hour, what our anceſtors have maintained for ſo many ages at the expence of their lives and fortunes? Are there here no deſcendants of thoſe brave patriots, who defended the liberty of their country againſt every aſſault? Where are the barons, where are the peers, who once joined their breaſts as a bulwark to the nation? Shall we ſacrifice the ſovereignty, the independency of our country, when our conſtituents call upon us to defend them, when they promiſe us ſupport?" Others obſerved, that to conſent to the treaty would be to overturn the conſtitution of the kingdom; that every people had their fundamental laws, which no authority could invade; that the exiſtence of the rights of parliament forming an eſſential part of the ſtate, the parliament itſelf had no right to diſpenſe with them: that the whole body of individuals ought to concur in the ſacrifice of their privileges; and that a ſacrifice of that kind was moſt palpably pernicious.

The clamour without doors was ſtill greater than within: the preſbyterian preachers employed all their power and credit to rouze the reſentment of their hearers againſt the treaty; nor did they labour in vain. The populace, tranſported with fury, erected the ſtandard of rebellion, burnt the articles of the union publickly, publiſhed a maniſeſto, and declared they intended to diſſolve the parliament. Even in the capital itſelf the people grew mutinous, and aſſaulted the houſe of Sir Patrick Johnſon, provoſt of Edinburgh, and one of the commiſſioners of the union; nor did the perſon of the high-commiſſioner eſcape inſult, the rabble throwing ſtones into his coach as he paſſed through the ſtreets though ſurrounded by his guards. Theſe tumults alarmed the miniſtry, and it was thought neceſſary to march ſeveral regiments of horſe and dragoons into the north of England, that they might be in readineſs ſhould the enraged multitude break out into open rebellion. At laſt, however, affairs took a more favourable turn; whether the influence of the court or the means of corruption prevailed over the national ſpirit; whether the advantages of the union appeared in the end to over-balance its inconveniences, and the firſt alarms ſubſiding, reaſon and argument took place; or whether all theſe operated in conſort, the Scottiſh parliament ratified all the articles with ſome ſlight alterations.

The Engliſh parliament met on the 3d of December, when her majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which ſhe congratulated them on the glorious ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms; deſired the commons would grant ſuch ſupplies as would enable her to improve thoſe ſucceſſes; and concluded with recommending diſpatch in public affairs, as the ſureſt method of convincing both friends and enemies of the vigour and firmneſs of their proceedings.

The parliament were highly pleaſed with her majeſty's ſpeech, and affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes. The commons, after examining the eſtimates, voted near 6,000,000 for the enſuing year; and when the ſpeaker preſented the money bills to her majeſty, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was gained before it could be ſuppoſed the armies were in the field, ſo the commons had granted ſupplies to her majeſty before the enemy could well know that the parliament were ſitting. The parliament alſo voted their thanks to the duke of Marlborough for the eminent ſervices he had done his country during the laſt campaign.

On the 7th of December the lords preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, expreſſing their deſire, that the honours and titles of the duke of Marlborough might be ſettled upon his poſterity by act of parliament, and begging her majeſty's direction therein, which ſhe was pleaſed ſoon after to ſignify; when a bill was brought in, paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The commons ſoon after preſented an addreſs to the queen, intimating, that as her majeſty was pleaſed to erect the houſe of Blenheim as a monument of the glorious actions of the duke of Marlborough, they were deſirous of making proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity to his poſterity, in whatever manner her majeſty ſhould think fit. To which the queen was pleaſed to anſwer, "that ſhe having ſettled a penſion of 5000*l.* per annum, out of the revenues of the poſt-office, on the duke of Marlborough, it would be agreeable to her, if it might be continued to his poſterity for ever." Accordingly a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, and ſoon after paſſed into an act.

A. D. 1707. On the 28th of January her majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that the treaty of union, with ſome ſmall alterations and additions, was ratified by the Scottiſh parliament: that ſhe had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped that it would meet with their approbation and concurrence. She deſired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent in caſe the treaty was ratified; and then, addreſſing herſelf to both houſes, concluded as follows:

"Your have now an opportunity before you of putting the laſt hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a laſting bleſſing to the whole iſland, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm ſecurity to the proteſtant religion.

"The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are ſo apparent, that I will add no more, but that I ſhall look upon it as a particular happineſs, if this great work, which has been ſo often attempted without ſucceſs, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the 3d of February the commons formed themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe on the treaty of union; when it was oppoſed with the utmoſt violence by the tory party. Sir John Packington obſerved, that the union might be compared to a forced marriage, where the woman does not conſent. "An act like this," ſaid he, "produced by corruption within doors, and by violence without, can never be permanent. The queen, obliged by her coronation oath to maintain the church of England, hath now farther engaged herſelf to ſupport the preſbyterian kirk of Scotland. How can two objects ſo incompatible be conciliated in the ſame kingdom? How can two nations, differing in a matter ſo eſſential, be united?" He concluded with obſerving, that the church of England being eſtabliſhed "jure divino," and the Scots pretending that the kirk was alſo "jure divino," he deſired the convocation might be conſulted on this critical circumſtance.

In anſwer to this colonel Mordaunt obſerved, tha for his part he knew of no other "jure divino" than God's permiſſion, and in this ſenſe the church o England and the kirk of Scotland might both be ſai to be "jure divino," becauſe God had permitted th former to prevail in England and the latter in Scot land. "The member who ſpoke laſt," continued th colonel, "may, if he pleaſes, conſult the convocation for his own particular information; but I believe th commons ſtand in no need of ſuch inſtruction: they are ſufficient judges of the propriety of their own meaſures; and in any event it would be derogatory to the rights of the commons of England to aſk, on this occaſion, the advice of any inferior aſſembly, who had no ſhare in the legiſlature."

The debate was continued for a conſiderable time with great ſpirit; till the Tory members, finding there was a very conſiderable majority againſt them, quitted the houſe. All oppoſition was now at an end: the commons examined the treaty, article by article; and on the 11th of February it was approved of by a great majority.

On the 15th it was taken into conſideration by the lords; but the debates were more ſolemn, and carried on with more deliberation than they had been in the lower houſe. Lord Haverſham obſerved, that the articles came to their lordſhips with the greateſt countenance of authority that it was poſſible for any thing to receive; but authority, though the ſtrongeſt motive to reſtrain the will, was certainly the weakeſt in the world to convince the underſtanding. He was not, he ſaid, againſt a fœderal union, a union in intereſt and in the ſucceſſion; but this was a matter of a different nature: the queſtion was, whether two nations, independent in their ſovereignties, with diſtinct laws and intereſt, and, which is not to be forgotten, of different forms of worſhip, church-government, and order, ſhall be united into one kingdom? That, in his opinion, this was an union compoſed of ſo many diſſimilar pieces, of ſuch jarring, incongruous ingredients, that he feared it would require a ſtanding force to keep the whole from falling aſunder, and breaking to pieces every moment. He farther obſerved, that by this act, 100 Scots peers, and as many commanders, were excluded the Britiſh parliament; gentlemen who as little thought of being excluded a year or two before as any of their lordſhips did then; that their rights were as well and as ſtrongly ſecured to them as their lordſhips were at that time, by the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the claim of right, and by act of parliament, whereby it was made high-treaſon to make any alteration in the conſtitution of the kingdom. He ſaid that the union was contrary to the ſenſe of the Scottiſh nation, as was ſufficiently evident from the murmurs of all ranks of people while the treaty was under conſideration by that parliament. But the argument on which he laid the greateſt ſtreſs, was the injury the good Engliſh conſtitution, juſtly allowed to be the moſt equal and beſt poiſed government in the world, might ſuffer by having the weight of 61 Scottiſh members, and thoſe too returned by a Scottiſh privy-council, thrown into the ſcale.

It was no difficult taſk to refute theſe arguments. Great affairs wear many different actions. The advantages and diſadvantages appear in contraſt; when the former preponderate, they ought to determine the debate. "The ſecurity and tranquillity of the kingdom," ſaid one of the advocates for the union, "will evidently be the fruits of this treaty. Our inveterate enemies, France and Popery, will be no longer formidable, when Great Britain is united into one body. With reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, a wiſe and moderate government may put an end to diſputes. Are not the Swiſs cantons united, though of different religions? And is not the German diet a proof that diverſity of creeds is no obſtacle to political union?"

A treaty ſupported by reaſon, and oppoſed only by weak arguments, carried the majority of votes. The parliament approved the union; and experience ſoon made thoſe phantoms vaniſh, which imagination had raiſed againſt the good of the public. A bill of ratification was now brought in, which paſſed both houſes; and on the 4th of March her majeſty went to the houſe of peers, when the bill being preſented to her by the dukes of Queenſberry and Dover, her majeſty received it with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of ſatisfaction, and after having given it the royal ſignet, addreſſed herſelf to the parliament as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction I have given my aſſent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

"I conſider their union as a matter of great importance to the wealth, ſtrength, and ſafety of the whole iſland; and, at the ſame time, a work of ſo much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now, all attempts that have been made towards it, in the courſe of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and ſpoke of hereafter to the honour of thoſe who have been inſtrumental in bringing it to ſuch a happy concluſion. I deſire and expect from all my ſubjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs one to another, that ſo it may appear to all the world they have hearts diſpoſed to be one people.

"This will be a great pleaſure to me, and will make us all quickly ſenſible of the good effects of this union.

"And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happineſs, that in my reign ſo full a proviſion is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the ſecurity of our religion, by ſo firm an eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion throughout Great Britain.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I take this occaſion to remind you of making effectual proviſion for the payment of the equivalent to Scotland within the time appointed by the act; and am perſuaded you will ſhew as much readineſs in this particular, as you have done in all the parts of this great work.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſeaſon of the year being now pretty far advanced, I hope you will continue the ſame zeal, which has appeared throughout this ſeſſion, in diſpatching what yet remains of the public buſineſs before you."

Thus, after many vigorous, tho' ineffectual, attempts for the purpoſe, was at length happily accompliſhed an union between England and Scotland, which took place on the 1ſt day of May 1707. And thus was a final period put to thoſe fatal quarrels that had ſo often deſolated great part of both kingdoms.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the French king determined to make another attempt to recover his affairs, and, if poſſible, procure an honourable peace. He ſent freſh troops into Spain, however neceſſary they might be in Flanders, where the victorious Marlborough triumphed over every oppoſition. The duke of Berwick, natural ſon to James II. commanded the army of Philip, and advanced to Almanza; while the allies, under the command of lord Galway, marched to meet the enemy. On the 14th of April, the two armies were in ſight of each other, and a general engagement was now unavoidable. This was the moſt fatal battle the allies ſuffered during the whole war; and the following account of it was publiſhed by authority.

"Our army entered the plain of Almanza about noon, formed into a line of battle, and marched in that poſition till they came within a mile of the enemy. Lord Galway, to ſupply our want of cavalry, had interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horſe: but the enemy having drawn from the left ſome ſquadrons to reinforce the right wing, lord Tyrawley, who commanded on the left wing, ordered the Portugueſe horſe of the left of the rear-line, commanded by the count of Attalaya, to double into our firſt line, in order to make an equal front with the enemy.

"On the 25th of April, about three in the afternoon, the earl of Galway poſted himſelf at the head of the Engliſh dragoons, and advanced to begin the battle with the enemy's right wing of horſe; the Portugueſe being ordered to take the charge as it ſhould come to them from the left, but not before the Engliſh and Dutch were actually engaged. While we were advancing, the enemy began to play upon us from a battery on a riſing ground, nearly in the front of their right; but our troops preſſing on to come to a cloſe engagement, the cannon on either ſide did very little execution; and a detachment of dragoons being ſent, under colonel Dormer, to attack the enemy's battery, they retired, with their artillery, with great precipitation. As ſoon as our left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horſe, they alſo advanced out of their line to meet our charge, and the engagement ſoon became very bloody and obſtinate on both ſides. The enemy, by the weight of their ſquadrons, forced ours to retreat ſome paces; but two regiments of foot, on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horſe in the firſt line, coming up, threw in their fire upon the enemy's flank and rear; and our cavalry, at the ſame time, renewing their charge in front, they were drove, in diſorder, through their own lines, with great ſlaughter.

"By this time the Engliſh and Dutch foot, who formed the center of our army, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freyſheim, were ſharply engaged, and broke through the enemy's firſt and ſecond line, bearing all down before them as far as the walls of Almanza: but this ſucceſs was not of long duration; for the enemy's ſquadrons of the ſecond line fell upon their flank, and forced our infantry back with great loſs.

"The enemy obſerving that the cavalry of our right did not advance with our left wing, detached ſome ſquadrons to fall upon the Portugueſe, who formed the right wing, under the command of the marquis das Minas. Theſe troops, in the moſt daſtardly manner, gave way upon the firſt charge; the whole horſe of the right wing fled, and abandoned their infantry, who were moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners. The battle ſtill continued on our left wing, the enemy ſtill charging us with freſh ſquadrons, but without ſucceſs; which the duke of Berwick perceiving, he ſent nine battalions, moſt of them French, who drew up before the firſt line of Spaniſh horſe, to oppoſe our brigade of foot, conſiſting of five regiments. At the ſame time, he brought up ſeveral freſh ſquadrons, to make another charge upon our left wing of horſe. The count de Attalaya, who commanded the Portugueſe horſe that were mixed with our dragoons, was caried off wounded. Our troops were now attacked on every ſide; and being left naked in the flanks by the cowardly flight of the Portugueſe wing, were ſurrounded and hemmed in on all ſides.

"In this dreadful ſituation, they formed themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make good their retreat, the enemy would have had no great cauſe to boaſt of the victory, the loſs on both ſides being nearly equal; but the men, after marching nine hours without any refreſhment, and fighting about ſix, were faint with fatigue: all their ammunition was ſpent; they ſaw themſelves abandoned by their own horſe, and in a country to which they were utter ſtrangers; deſtitute of proviſions, and cut off from all hopes of a ſupply. Theſe conſiderations induced them to ſurrender themſelves, amounting to thirteen battalions, priſoners of war. They accordingly diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke of Berwick, deſiring honourable terms, which were readily granted. The duke, who believed this body beyond his reach, immediately diſpatched the count d'Asfeldt to receive their ſurrender, on theſe conditions: that they ſhould be priſoners of war till exchanged; that they ſhould be all diſarmed, except the officers, who were to keep their ſwords; and that they ſhould have liberty to ſend for their baggage before they marched any farther. The Portugueſe, and part of the Engliſh horſe that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira."

The confederates loſt in this action upwards of 10,000 men, 2,000 of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and among thoſe ſeveral officers of diſtinction. Lord Galway himſelf was wounded in the face, and ſeveral others very dangerouſly. The loſs of the enemy on the field was nearly equal to that of the allies.

After this unfortunate battle, the earl of Galway retired with the poor remains of his army to the frontiers of Catalonia, in order to join Charles. The next day the duke of Orleans joined the French army, marched into Valencia, and reduced almoſt the whole province, together with its capital city, before the middle of May. He marched thence to Saragoſſa; and on his approach, that city, with the whole kingdom of Arragon, made their ſubmiſſion to him, imploring the duke to intercede for them to Philip. Orleans promiſed to uſe all his intereſt to obtain their pardon; but, at the ſame time, thought proper to diſarm them, and obliged them to purchaſe their peace with large ſums of money, and procure proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his army. The duke of Orleans cloſed the campaign with the taking of Lerida, which happened on the 2d of November; after which both armies retired into winter quarters.

In the mean time Villars became formidable in Germany; but France was ſtill in danger. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene paſſed the Var, and beſieged Toulon. The combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, blocked up the place by ſea, and aſſiſted in the reduction of this important place. Had the enterprize ſucceeded, Provence would have been loſt, and the allies might have carried the conqueſt much farther into France. But the operations were not puſhed with that vigour that ſeems to command ſucceſs. The ſecret of the expedition had not been kept, and a powerful reinforcement arrived before the place could be taken. It was therefore determined to raiſe the ſiege, but not before they had left evident marks of their viſit. Orders were therefore iſſued for a general bombardment, both by ſea and land. This dreadful farewell greatly diſtreſſed the enemy: eight ſhips of the line were burnt in the harbour, twenty-three were ſunk at the entrance of the mole, few of which could ever be recovered; ſeveral magazines, and above ſixty houſes, were deſtroyed in the city; and the devaſtations committed in the adjacent country were eſtimated at near 500,000 pounds ſterling.

The raiſing the ſiege of Toulon was followed by ſeveral other croſs accidents and loſſes to the allies. The very ſeaſons ſeemed to arm againſt them. Their fleets were greatly ſhattered by bad weather at ſea, by which ſeveral ſhips were loſt, or fell a prey to the enemy's cruiſers. England in particular ſuffered a ſenſible loſs in the unhappy fate of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who, on his return with the fleet to England, ran upon the rocks of Scilly, where his own ſhip the Aſſociation,

ſociation, together with the Eagle, Firebrand, and Romney were loſt, and all the crews periſhed *.

The campaign in the Netherlands was totally barren of events. The dukes of Marlborough and Vendoſme ſpent their time in marches and countermarches, in order to gain ſome advantages over each other; but theſe great generals were ſo remarkably cautious, that no action happened between the two armies, nor was there a ſingle town beſieged. The troops on both ſides returned, at the end of the campaign, into the ſame quarters they had occupied the preceding winter.

On the 23d of October, the firſt parliament of Great-Britain met (according to appointment) at Weſtminſter. The ſeſſion was opened by her majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which ſhe told them, that ſhe did not doubt but they came prepared to make the union ſo proſperous, that it might anſwer the moſt ſanguine hopes of her ſubjects, and the reaſonable apprehenſions of her enemies: that nothing was ſo material as to convince heir foes by demonſtrating, that the uniting their intereſts had not only improved their abilities, but alſo heir reſolutions to proſecute the war with vigour, till n honourable peace could be obtained. She oberved, that though the attempt upon Toulon had not een attended with the deſired ſucceſs, it had not been holly without effect. She mentioned the loſs we had ſtained in Spain, and the operations of the war in taly; and requeſted the ſupplies neceſſary for proſeuting the war during the approaching campaign. Then directing her diſcourſe to the late union, ſhe aid, "It is impoſſible but ſome doubts and difficulies muſt have ariſen on account of that meaſure, hich, however, ſhe hoped, were ſo far overcome, as o have defeated the deſigns of thoſe who would have ade uſe of that handle to foment diſturbances." Afer recommending ſeveral particulars rendered neceſry to be provided for by the articles of union, ſhe oncluded with aſſuring them, "that nothing ſhould e wanting on her part to procure her people all the leſſings that could follow from that happy circumance of her reign, and to extinguiſh the leaſt occaon of jealouſy, that either the civil or religious rights any part of her united kingdom could ſuffer by e conſequences of the union; and hoped they would ffer nothing to prevail with them to diſunite among emſelves, or abate their zeal in oppoſing the comon enemy."

In return to this ſpeech, both houſes preſented very ffectionate addreſſes to her majeſty; and immediately oted near 6,00,000 for the ſervice of the enſuing ear. They afterwards preſented an addreſs to her ajeſty againſt making any peace, as it could not be vourable to her and her allies, while Spain and the eſt-Indies, or any part of the Spaniſh monarchy, mained in the hands of the houſe of Bourbon. In ſwer to this addreſs, the queen thanked them for eir advice, told them ſhe was of the ſame opinion, d promiſed, in every particular, to direct her meares in ſuch a manner as to give ſatisfaction to them, d happineſs to her people.

A. D. 1708. Lewis XIV. was ſo irritated at the es beſieging Toulon, that he determined to retaliate e injury, by attempting an invaſion of Great-Brin. He knew that the generality of the Scots were ſperated by the union, and flattered himſelf that y would readily join a French army to place the ſon the late abdicated monarch on the Engliſh throne. e was not deceived with regard to the Scots. Highly erſe to an incorporating union with England, they could not, without the higheſt indignation, behold themſelves reduced to a ſtate of dependence upon the Engliſh; and thought no means ſo likely to ſhake off the yoke as that of bringing about a revolution in the government. Lewis accordingly received the moſt flattering promiſes of aſſiſtance ſhould he land a body of forces in that kingdom.

In conſequence of this, and the engagements of the Pretender to exert his utmoſt efforts, a fleet of men of war and tranſports was expeditiouſly fitted out at Dunkirk, and 10,000 land-forces, with many officers, a great quantity of ammunition, artillery and arms, were embarked. Major general Cadogan, her majeſty's envoy in Holland, gave immediate notice of theſe preparations; and then went to Bruſſels, and concerted matters in ſuch a manner with M. d'Auverquerque, that ten battalions of the Engliſh forces in Flanders were immediately drawn down to the coaſt, ready to be ſent to England. At the ſame time the Engliſh admiralty uſed ſuch diligence in fitting out a fleet, that three and twenty ſail of men of war, under the command of Sir George Byng, and the lord Durſley, appeared before Dunkirk on the 27th of February, when the enemy thought it impoſſible for England to have any fleet at ſea.

On the 9th of March the Pretender arrived at Dunkirk: but the ſight of the Engliſh fleet induced the French admiral, M. Fourbin, to ſend to court for freſh inſtructions. But Lewis ſent peremptory orders to his admiral to venture out of the harbour. The French admiral accordingly obeyed, and ſailed from Dunkirk, at a time when the contrary winds had drove the Engliſh from their ſtation. Their fleet was now increaſed to the number of forty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tenders. Sir George Byng being informed that the French had left Dunkirk, immediately ſailed in purſuit of them, and at the ſame time the forces were embarked at Oſtend, and convoyed to England by admiral Baker. Theſe forces, together with ſeveral regiments of horſe, marched for Scotland with all expedition. In the mean time Sir George Byng had, by his vigilance, rendered theſe precautions unneceſſary, arriving at the Frith of Edinburgh almoſt as ſoon as the enemy, whereupon they took the advantage of a land-breeze which ſprung up in the night, and bore away with all the ſail they could poſſibly carry. As ſoon as the day appeared, the combined fleet gave chaſe, but were out-ſailed, and, except the Saliſbury, a man of war formerly taken from the Engliſh, all the French ſhips eſcaped. They loitered about ſome time with intention to land at Inverneſs; but having no pilots, and the wind not permitting a frigate, which they had ſent for ſome proviſions, to get aſhore, they ſtood off, and, diſperſing themſelves, they, by the help of hazy weather, which prevented the confederate fleet from ſeeing them, got back to Dunkirk in a moſt ſhattered condition.

Lord Griffin, lord Clermont, Mr. Middleton, a lieutenant-general, his aid-de-camp, a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, five captains and two lieutenants, French officers; fifteen Iriſh officers, five companies of French infantry, 250 ſeamen, and all the officers of the ſhip, were taken priſoners in the Saliſbury. The lords Griffin and Clermont, with moſt of the other principal perſons, were ſent up to London, and committed to the Tower; as were alſo the duke of Hamilton, lord Belhaven, and ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry, on ſuſpicion of carrying on a correſpondence with the court of St. Germains; but moſt of the latter were ſoon after admitted to bail.

---

* Sir Cloudeſley's body being caſt aſhore was ſtripped by the ntry people, and buried in the ſand; but was afterwards diſered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed London, and interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a noble ument was erected, at the expence of the queen, to the memory of this gallant officer, as a mark of gratitude for the ſignal ſervices which he performed to his country. He was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; and by the force of his perſonal merit alone, without any particular patron, raiſed himſelf to the higheſt ſtation in the navy.

The only inconvenience that attended this attempt was a conſiderable run upon the bank, which it was feared would affect the credit of the nation. The commons immediately voted, "That whoever deſignedly endeavoured to deſtroy or leſſen the public credit, eſpecially at a time when the kingdom was in danger of an invaſion, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, and an enemy to her majeſty and the nation." The lord treaſurer alſo ſignified to the bank, that her majeſty would allow for ſix months an intereſt of ſix per cent. upon their bills. This advantageous propoſal induced ſeveral opulent noblemen and merchants to offer them very conſiderable ſums; and the directors having called in 20 per cent. on their capital ſtock, they were ſoon in a condition to anſwer all the demands made upon them by the timorous, the envious, or the diſaffected.

The parliament, which continued ſitting at Weſtminſter, by frequent addreſſes to the queen, gave public aſſurance that they would exert themſelves in defeating this bold attempt of the enemy. They likewiſe paſſed a bill, empowering her majeſty to impriſon all ſuch perſons whom ſhe had cauſe to ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt her perſon and government. This and ſeveral other bills being ready, on the firſt of April the queen went to the houſe, and gave them the royal aſſent; after which ſhe prorogued the parliament; and on the 15th diſſolved it by proclamation. At the ſame time new writs were iſſued for calling another, and a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the peers of North Britain to meet on the 17th of June, at Holyrood-houſe, in Edinburgh, in order to elect ſixteen peers to repreſent them in the enſuing Britiſh parliament, purſuant to the twenty-ſecond article of the treaty of union. The privy council of Scotland was diſſolved, and a new one conſtituted for the whole united kingdom.

Lewis, equally chagrined by adverſity as elated with ſucceſs, made ſtrong efforts to triumph over fortune. Notwithſtanding his loſſes were immenſe he ſtill found reſources. An army of 100,000 men, commanded by his grandſon the duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by the duke of Vendoſme, was to retrieve the honour of the French arms in the Low Countries. But theſe generals, unfortunately for Lewis, were of different diſpoſitions; the former pious, the latter licentious, and conſequently agreed but ill with each other. They, however, ſurprized Ghent and Bruges; advanced into Dutch Flanders, and laid the country under contribution.

As ſoon as the duke of Marlborough (who was at this time in Flanders) was informed of theſe proceedings, he immediately wrote to prince Eugene, deſiring he would haſten his march and join him, being determined to give the enemy battle. Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number, yet he thought this the moſt prudent ſtep, and the only method to prevent their progreſs. The prince had no ſooner joined the army than it was determined to paſs the Dender and offer the enemy battle. Confident of ſucceſs from their ſuperiority of numbers, the French inveſted Oudenard, from a perſuaſion that they ſhould be able to take it before the prince could join Marlborough's army. They were deceived. The allies marched with ſurpriſing expedition, and the French thought to raiſe the ſiege at their approach. The duke of Vendoſme was for drawing up the army in order to battle; but was oppoſed by the duke of Burgundy, who reſolved to continue his march. But an incident ſoon convinced him that it was now impoſſible to avoid an engagement. General Cadogan, at the head of ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons, fell upon ſeven battalions of foot poſted in the village of Heynem, a little below Oudenarde, upon the Schelde. The attack was made with ſo much ſucceſs, that the enemy was ſoon driven out of the village, and being purſued with a cloſe fire, a whole brigade threw down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The duke of Burgundy now endeavoured to diſengage his troops from the hollow ways and defiles through which they were marching, in order to draw them up in the plain; but the confederate generals were too experienced to give him time to effect his purpoſe; their army was already drawn up in order of battle, and advanced to the charge with great alacrity. The enemy faced about and formed, but with great diſorder, which was increaſed by the miſunderſtanding that prevailed between their two generals, the duke of Burgundy continually countermanding what the duke of Vendoſme had ordered. On the 12th of July, about four in the afternoon, the battle began, and continued with great firmneſs till ten at night. The allies had the advantage in every attack, and drove the enemy from one poſt to another, till night put an end to the combat. The foot were principally engaged in this action, the broken ground rendering it very difficult for the horſe to act. Marlborough perceived it, and detached the greater part of his cavalry from the right and left wing to a very conſiderable diſtance, where they fell upon the enemy both in flank and rear with ſuch impetuoſity, that the French were thrown into confuſion, part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Deynſe and Ghent, and another part to Courtray. The duke de Vendoſme, ſeeing the forces flying in every part, formed a rear-guard of about twenty-five ſquadrons, and the ſame number of battalions, wi which he ſecured the retreat of his forces. Thi precaution proved the ſafety of the whole Frenc army; for the next morning at day-break the duk of Marlborough detached a large body of horſe an foot, under the command of the lieutenant genera Bulau and Lumley, to purſue the fugitives; but th prudence of the duke de Vendoſme prevented them from executing their deſigns.

In this action, which was called the battle of Ou denarde, about 4000 of the enemy were left dea on the field of battle, 2000 deſerted, and abou 8000 were taken priſoners, including a great numbe of officers. The allies alſo took ten pieces of can non, about 100 ſtandards, eight pair of kettle drum and 4000 horſe. The loſs of the allies did not amoun to 1000, officers included.

This conqueſt was followed by an attempt that ſu priſed all Europe, namely, the laying ſiege to Li in ſight of a formidable army, which might at lea carry off their convoys, and by that means reduc them to the laſt extremity, if they did not attac them in their intrenchments. But, notwithſtandin all theſe circumſtances, the place was inveſted on th 30th of Auguſt; prince Eugene commanding o one ſide, and the prince of Orange on the othe while the duke of Marlborough encamped a Helchin to cover the ſiege. Liſle was the ſtronge town in Flanders, furniſhed with ammunition, an every neceſſary, and the garriſon had been late reinforced with one and twenty battalions of the be troops in France, commanded by marſhal Bouffler

The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigou while every effort was made by the French to oblig the confederates to abandon the undertaking. T dukes of Burgundy and Vendoſme marched towar the duke of Marlborough, and for ſome days cann naded his camp: but finding all their endeavours bring him to an engagement fruitleſs, and not dari to attack him in his ſtrong camp, they retired, a determined for the future to employ their troops cutting off the convoys coming with proviſions a ammunition for the beſiegers; and in covering th provinc provinces which were expoſed to the incurſions of the allies.

The duke of Marlborough had detached 6000 men to cover the march of 700 waggons coming from Oſtend with ſupplies to prince Eugene's camp. The duke of Burgundy had information of this convoy, and ſent an army of 20,000 men to intercept it. But the ſmall detachment that guarded the waggons made ſo noble a defence, under the command of major general Webb, that they obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of 7000 men killed on the ſpot. This action is called the battle of Wynenendale, and was one of the moſt glorious atchievements performed during the whole courſe of the war.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs the allies carried on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that on the 22d of October the town was ſurrendered, and the garriſon retired into the citadel, where they made a gallant defence till the 8th of December, when the marſhal delivered up the place. The garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and were eſcorted to Douay.

While the allies lay before Liſle, the duke of Bavaria made an attempt to reduce Bruſſels, which he had nearly effected, when the duke of Marlborough marched with the army to its relief, and prevented his deſign. On the 18th of December the duke inveſted Ghent, where the count de la Motte commanded with thirty battalions. On the 24th the trenches were opened, and notwithſtanding the numerous garriſon, the town ſurrendered on the 30th. After theſe two important conqueſts, the numerous army under the dukes of Burgundy, Berwick, and Vendoſme, began by degrees to diminiſh, and having ſuffered the duke to take Bruges, and every other poſt, at laſt retreated to their own country; while the generals of the allies, having ſettled the plan of winter-quarters, repaired to the Hague, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly.

In the mean time the duke of Savoy made himſelf maſter of the paſſes leading into Dauphiné. The emperor Joſeph, brother to the archduke Charles, got poſſeſſion of Landau, one of the keys of France. Paris now trembled, and the whole kingdom was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion.

During this campaign the Engliſh miniſtry had left nothing untried which might put the affairs of his catholic majeſty into good order, and, if poſſible, retrieve the terrible conſequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was by the 27th of March in Liſbon harbour; on the 23d of April he ſailed from thence for Barcelona, with near twenty ſail of the line, beſides tranſports, where he arrived on the 15th of May. Charles was now in a manner ſhut up in Barcelona, and had no hopes of being delivered, but by our fleet's tranſporting the German troops that lay ready for his ſervice in Italy. The firſt thing, therefore, that the admiral did was to ſend the tranſports, under the protection of a ſtrong ſquadron, to bring over theſe forces; after which it was determined to attempt the reduction of the iſland of Sardinia. Accordingly, on the 12th of Auguſt, the admiral appeared before Cagliari, the capital of that iſland, and after having bombarded it for a day and a night, general Wills landed, with about 800 men, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an attack, when the governor ſaved his troops any farther trouble by a ſpeedy capitulation: and at the ſame time the greateſt part of them entered into the ſervice of Charles. The whole iſland following the example of Cagliari, the ſeveral ſtates aſſembled, gave aſſurances of their loyalty and affection to Charles, and provided 30,000 ſacks of grain for the ſubſiſtance of his troops.

General Stanhope having formed a plan for the reduction of the iſland of Minorca, concerted with Sir John Leake the neceſſary meaſures for carrying it into execution, when they reſolved to obtain from count Staremberg, the commander in chief of the allied army in Spain, a few battalions of Engliſh, Spaniards, and Portugueſe; which being granted them, they ſailed from Barcelona on the 23d of Auguſt, accompanied by brigadier Webb and colonel Petit. They were alſo furniſhed with a fine train of Britiſh artillery. On the 26th they landed with 3000 men, about two miles from fort St. Philip, and formed the ſiege of the town. The garriſon conſiſted of 1000 Spaniards and 600 French mariners: but the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that by the end of September the place ſurrendered. According to the articles of capitulation the garriſon were tranſported on board our veſſels, ſome to France and others to Spain. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, with the loſs of forty men only, the reſt of the iſland gladly ſubmitted to the Engliſh government; and general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole iſland. After this important conqueſt, the general returned to the army in Spain, where an unſucceſsful attempt to ſurprize Tortoſa put an end to the campaign. Sir John Leake, with the largeſt ſhips ſailed for England, and on the 19th of October, arrived ſafely at St. Helen's.

While victory attended the confederates in every quarter, the queen had the misfortune to loſe her huſband, the prince of Denmark. He died about ten in the morning on the 28th of October, in the 56th year of his age. He was a prince of a very amiable character, without ambition or intrigue, and therefore incapable of giving offence to either party. He always contented himſelf with being the firſt ſubject, ſeldom interfering in buſineſs, though his office of lord high admiral gave him a claim to a very conſiderable ſhare. Her majeſty, who had been the moſt tender and affectionate wife, was inconſoleable for his loſs. He died at Kenſington, from whence his corpſe was removed, on the 11th of November, to the painted chamber at Weſtminſter, where it lay in ſtate till the 13th, when it was buried privately in Henry the ſeventh's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey.

About this time an event happened which engaged the attention of the whole nation. Count Mattheoff, the Ruſſian ambaſſador, was arreſted in the ſtreet at the ſuit of one Morton, a laceman, and inſolently treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a ſpunging houſe; nor could he obtain his liberty till he was bailed by the earl of Feverſham and a merchant in the city. This inſult on the perſon of an ambaſſador was loudly complained of, as an attrocious breach of the law of nations. Enraged at this inſult, the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe of ſeveral other powers, demanded redreſs. The Czar himſelf declared he would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the death of the offenders. The queen, who reſented the injury as much as the Czar, was very deſirous of making him ſatisfaction: but the laws of England admit of no ſuch puniſhment. She obſerved to the Czar that juſtice in this country is diſpenſed by the laws only; and no exception was found for a caſe of this nature. The judges of the queen's-bench granted informations againſt the laceman and thirteen others. They were found guilty, and the privileges of ambaſſadors again acknowledged; and the parliament paſſed a bill for ſecuring the privileges of foreign miniſters. The queen conſented to make apologies, by her miniſters, to the

Ruſſian court; and the Czar was ſatisfied. He could not help admiring, notwithſtanding his deſpotiſm, that mild legiſlation which is ſo attentive to guard the meaneſt ſubject from the attacks of arbitrary power.

The new parliament (being the ſecond of Great Britain) met on the 2d of November, and choſe Sir Richard Onſlow, by the queen's approbation, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. Her majeſty's grief for the loſs of her conſort not permitting her to go to the houſe, ſhe appointed commiſſioners to open the ſeſſion, in whoſe name the lord chancellor made a ſpeech, importing, "that the commiſſioners were appointed by her majeſty to acquaint them, that ſhe expected they would continue to proſecute the war with the ſame vigour and reſolution with which it had hitherto been conducted: that ſhe hoped they would enable her to make ſuch augmentation of her forces as they ſhould judge neceſſary for preſerving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that ſhe deſired they would prepare ſuch bills as might confirm and perfect the union; that if they would propoſe means for the advancement of trade and manufactures, ſhe would take pleaſure in enacting ſuch proviſions; and that, as ſhe had the moſt ſincere regard for the preſervation of their liberties, and the ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, ſhe would continue to exert her utmoſt endeavours to defeat the deſigns of the pretender, and of all his open and ſecret abettors."

Both houſes preſented addreſſes of condolance and congratulation to her majeſty; the former occaſioned by the death of her royal conſort, and the latter by the ſucceſs of her arms the laſt campaign. They proceeded to conſider of the ſupplies for the enſuing year; and an augmentation of 10,000 men was approved and judged neceſſary, to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour. They then voted the ſupplies, which amounted to 6,457,830l. In order to raiſe theſe ſums, they ſettled the land-tax at 4s. in the pound; and the bank of England agreed to add 400,000l. upon condition of their being continued a corporation for twenty-one years longer. They propoſed to receive ſupſcriptions for doubling their ſtock, to enable them to circulate 2,500,000l. in exchequer bills, deſiring that a fund might be appointed for paying off and cancelling the ſaid bills in ſome certain time: and that a fund be granted for paying 150,000l. yearly, being the intereſt for the ſaid ſum at ſix per cent. with ſome other conditions relating to the ſaid bills; which propoſal was received by the parliament, and enacted accordingly.

During this ſeſſion ſeveral important affairs came under the conſideration of the parliament; but the principal was the naturalization of foreign proteſtants. This propoſition was debated with great ſpirit in both houſes, and many forcible arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion. The whigs ſupported the bill; the tories oppoſed it. The former affirmed, that it would prove an effectual means of encouraging induſtry, improving trade and manufactures, and repairing the loſs of men which the war had occaſioned. They inſtanced the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, who, by inviting the French to ſettle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country, improved its trade and manufactures, augmented its revenues, and procured many other very conſiderable advantages. But the chief motive of the whigs for puſhing this bill was, to throw an additional weight of foreigners into the balance againſt the landed intereſt. The oppoſers of this act of naturalization objected, that ſuch a ſwarm of aliens might bring with them many dangerous conſequences to the conſtitution; that it was, in fact, inviting ſo many ſpies and informers among us, ſince it could not be ſuppoſed they would leave all affection for their mother country behind them, though they might gladly embrace, for the preſent, the aſylum offered them in this kingdom. It was ſaid, they would find means to inſinuate themſelves into many places of truſt and profit, and even to ſeats in the great aſſembly of national repreſentatives; and, by frequent intermarriages, contribute to the extinction of the Engliſh race. It was added, that they would greatly increaſe the number of our poor, already ſo great a burden to this country; and take out of the mouths of Engliſh tradeſmen and labourers great part of the bread they now earned by their induſtry. Theſe arguments, however powerful, were not ſufficient to prevent the bill from paſſing both houſes, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.[*]

Several enquiries were made, and great debates held, relative to the intended invaſion of Scotland; on the cloſe of which a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, under the title of, "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." By this law, trials for treaſon committed in Scotland were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with very little variation. This act was oppoſed by the Scottiſh members, as an encroachment upon the form of their laws: and they were joined by ſeveral of the Engliſh, who made it a maxim to oppoſe every meaſure of the court. But, notwithſtanding all their efforts, the bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. The queen, however, in order to make them eaſy, conſented to an act of grace, wherein all treaſons were pardoned, except ſuch as were committed upon the high ſeas; an exception levelled at thoſe who embarked with the pretender in his laſt expedition.

A. D. 1709. France was now not only compleatly humbled, but even trembled for its own ſafety. Reſources began to fail, credit was at a ſtand; and the people, vho had idolized their monarch in his proſperity, began to murmur againſt him when he became unfortunate. The ſeverity of the winter compleated the deſpair of the nation. The olive trees in the ſouthern provinces were deſtroyed, and the greater part of the fruit-trees killed by the froſt. There were no hopes of a harveſt, and very little corn in the granaries. The numerous armies of Lewis ſeemed to be periſhing for want, and that haughty monarch was reduced to the neceſſity of imploring a peace. He offered to demoliſh Straſburgh and Dunkirk, to abandon the pretender, and renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, to grant the ſtates-general the barrier they demanded in the Low Countries, and to treat with the emperor, agreeable to the treaty of Ryſwick. The more this proud monarch was humbled by diſtreſs, the more his misfortunes were inſulted. Prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and the grand penſioner Henſius, united in the ſame political views, were wiſely for reducing him to the laſt extremities. They were deſirous of preventing him from troubling the repoſe of Europe for the future. Accordingly they demanded, that as he gave up the crown of Spain, he ſhould take proper meaſures to ſee it vacated, and even employ his troops for that purpoſe. This was a propoſal nothing but the utmoſt diſtreſs could induce the French monarch to accept. He abſolutely refuſed it, and determined to carry on the war for ſome time longer, rather than ſubmit to ſuch unworthy conditions. "If I muſt uſe arms, (ſaid he) I ſhould rather chuſe to uſe them againſt mine enemies, than againſt my own children."

---

[*] In conſequence of this bill there came over, in the month of May this year, near 7000 of the poor Palatines and Swabians from the borders of the Rhine in Germany, who had been utterly ruined, and driven from their habitations by the French. It was at firſt propoſed to ſettle them in the New Foreſt of Hampſhire, where land might be parcelled out for them by ſhares or lots. This, however, was objected to, and ſome method remained to be concerted for their diſpoſal. At length it was agreed, that a ſufficient number of tents ſhould be erected for them on Blackheath, and near Camberwell, which was accordingly done, and a brief was granted throughout Great Britain for a collection for them. Some were taken into private houſes; 500 families of them were ſent into Ireland, where 24,000l. were granted by parliament for their ſupport. At length 3000 of them were ſent over to New-York, and ſettled upon Hudſon's River; but being badly received there, many of them removed to Penſylvania, where they were kindly entertained by the quakers, which afterwards proved the means of drawing thither many thouſands of German and Swiſs proteſtants.

Lewis, on this occaſion, had recourſe to a very extraordinary meaſure. He laid the unreaſonable demands of the allies before his people, in a circular letter; and after acquainting them with the additional burdens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to excite their indignation, to rouſe their honour, and even excite their pity. This produced the deſired effect: the people reſolved to expend their whole ſubſtance in defence of the honour of their king, and even to fight his battles without pay, rather than abandon him to the infamy of accepting ſuch humiliating terms. The manufacturers and labourers, who wanted bread, turned ſoldiers. Villars was appointed commander in chief; Boufflers, though his ſenior, conſenting to ſerve under him. This patriotic conceſſion acquired him more honour than if he had been intruſted with the principal command.

The allied army, which amounted to 110,000 men, aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Liſle on the 22d of June, and it was determined by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough to open the campaign immediately. Villars had taken poſſeſſion of a very advantageous camp in the plain of Lans, where he threw up entrenchments, in order to act on the defenſive. The allies, not chuſing to attack the enemy in their entrenchments, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Tournay. The town itſelf made no great reſiſtance; but the citadel was ſo ſtrong, both by art and nature, and ſo gallantly defended by lieutenant-general Surville, at the head of 4,000 men, that it held out a month againſt all the efforts of the allies, and was at laſt ſurrendered by an honourable capitulation.

Tournay being thus reduced, the victorious confederates reſolved to inveſt Mons; and Villars, in order to cover the place, poſted himſelf behind the woods of la Merte and Trainiere, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The French amounted to 120,000 men; and the allies, who were now joined by the Heſſians, to near the ſame number. On the 9th of September, the two armies were ſo near each other, that a cannonade began between them; and the allies perceiving that it would be impoſſible to inveſt Mons while the French army continued in its preſent ſituation, it was determined to attack the enemy in their entrenchments. Purſuant to this reſolution, batteries were erected on the wings and in the center of the allied army, and every thing prepared for making the attempt.

General Schuylemburgh and the duke of Argyle began the attack about eight in the morning, at the head of eighty-ſix battalions, ſupported by two-and-twenty ſquadrons, commanded by count Lottum. The attack and reſiſtance were equally obſtinate; but the aſſailants at laſt prevailed, and the left wing of the French were driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The right of the enemy, poſted in the wood of la Merte, and ſecured by triple entrenchments, was next attacked by the prince of Orange and baron Fagel, at the head of thirty-ſix battalions of Dutch troops. The battle was here ſupported with the moſt deſperate courage on both ſides. The French were obliged to quit the firſt entrenchment, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter from the ſecond. Marſhal Villars, having received a wound in his knee at the attack, was obliged to be carried from the field of battle. The loſs of their commander greatly depreſſed the courage of the French, and their reſiſtance, from that moment, became leſs vigorous. The prince of Orange having rallied his forces returned to the charge, and ſoon drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and out of the wood into the plain, where their horſe were all drawn up in proper order. The battle now became general, and the victory was diſputed with great vigour till three in the afternoon, when the French began to give way, and were purſued, with great ſlaughter, to the defile of Bavay.

This was the deareſt victory the allies purchaſed during the whole war; near 18,000 of their troops being ſlain on the field of battle, and among them ſeveral officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the enemy did not amount to more than 8 or 9,000; but the diſgrace of a total defeat, and even of being driven from their entrenched camp, ſtruck ſuch a panic into the French ſoldiers, that their generals did not think it prudent to make any farther attempt to ſave Mons, which ſurrendered about the middle of November, when both armies retired into winter quarters.

The campaigns in Spain and Portugal were alſo very unfavourable to the allies. The city of Alicant, garriſoned by two Engliſh regiments, had been beſieged, and held out for a conſiderable time againſt a very numerous army of the enemy, under count d'Aſfeldt. At length, the city being abſolutely untenable, colonel Richards, the commander, retired with his garriſon into the caſtle, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable. In conſequence of this, d'Aſfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined; and after lodging 200 barrels of gun-powder in the cavity, gave Syburg the governor to underſtand, that he might ſend two of his officers to inſpect the condition of the works. Syburg accepted the offer; and the chevalier accompanied them to the mine, where he told them that the thoughts of ſeeing ſo many gallant men periſh in the ruins of a place they had ſo bravely defended, induced him to make this offer of ſaving themſelves from deſtruction. But Syburg, with an obſtinacy that flowed rather from ſtupidity than valour, refuſed the offer. The centinels giving notice that the fire was ſet to the mine, Syburg ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, with ſeveral officers, when the rock opening under their feet, they fell into the chaſm and were cruſhed to death.

This dreadful incident, however, was not ſufficient to intimidate d'Albeaume, who ſucceeded to the command: he determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity. In the mean time a ſquadron of 18 Engliſh men of war, under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker, ſailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place, and came into Alicant road on the 17th of April, from whence they made a furious fire upon the town, and endeavoured to land ſome forces to throw into the caſtle; but the enemy had taken ſuch meaſures to prevent their landing, that the Engliſh thought proper to deſiſt from the deſign. General Stanhope, who commanded the land forces on board the fleet, ſeeing the impoſſibility of relieving the place, ſent a boat aſhore with a flag of truce, and an officer with a letter to the Spaniſh governor, wherein he offered to ſurrender the caſtle on honourable terms, which was accordingly done, and the garriſon ſent to Minorca. Thus was Alicant reduced, the only ſtrong place that Charles had in Valencia.

The parliament met on the 15th of November, and the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe told both houſes, "That the enemy had, in the beginning of the year, endeavoured, by falſe appearances, and deceitful inſinuations of a deſire after peace, to create jealouſies and diviſions among the allies; but that they had been diſappointed in their expectations, ſuch meaſures having been taken as rendered it impoſſible for them to diſguiſe their inſincerity: that God had been pleaſed to bleſs the arms of the confederates with a moſt remarkable victory, and other ſucceſſes, which had laid France open to the impreſſion of the allied arms, and conſequently rendered peace more neceſſary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign: that ſhe hoped they would enable her to proſecute the advantages ſhe had gained, by reducing within proper limits that exorbitant and oppreſſive power, which had ſo long threatened the liberties of Europe."

Both houſes preſented addreſſes of thanks to the queen for her ſpeech, congratulated her on the ſucceſs of her arms, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his ſignal ſervices. The commons were ſo eager for proſecuting the war with vigour, that they voted above 6,000,000 for the ſervice of the enſuing year.

Theſe immenſe ſums granted by parliament ſtruck the court of France with terror, as they ſufficiently demonſtrated that the credit of England was in its full vigour, while their own was reduced to the loweſt ebb. At the ſame time, it was evident that the Engliſh parliament was determined to carry on the war till the haughty Lewis was ſufficiently humbled.

The greater part of this ſeſſion was taken up in adjuſting a matter of a very ſingular nature, and which tended greatly to re-kindle the animoſity of parties. On the 13th of December, a complaint was laid before the houſe of commons by Mr. Dolben, againſt Doctor Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, for having preached and publiſhed two ſermons, containing ſeveral dangerous poſitions. Sacheverel was a clergyman of an over-heated imagination, but narrow capacity, and took every opportunity of venting his animoſity againſt the diſſenters. This complaint was ſeconded by Sir Peter King, and the ſermons were voted malicious, ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, highly reflecting upon her majeſty and government, the late happy revolution, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion as by law eſtabliſhed; tending to alienate the affections of her majeſty's ſubjects, and create jealouſies and diviſions among them. In purſuance of this reſolution, they ordered, that Doctor Henry Sacheverel, and Henry Clements, his bookſeller, ſhould attend the bar of the houſe.

Accordingly, on the 14th of December the Doctor was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himſelf the author of both the ſermons, and declared that he had received encouragement from the lord-mayor to print that intitled, "the perils of falſe brethren in church and ſtate." The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the lord-mayor was aſked, if he had commanded doctor Sacheverel to print the ſermon in queſtion. In anſwer to which, the lord-mayor declared he never deſired, ordered, or encouraged the printing of that libel. Upon this declaration, the commons ordered Mr. Dolben to impeach Sacheverel at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the names of all the commons of England; appointed a committee to draw up articles againſt him; and commanded the uſher of the black rod to take him into cuſtody.

On the 17th the Doctor petitioned the houſe, that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refuſed, and the commons ſeemed determined to carry on the proſecution with the utmoſt ſeverity. The lords, however, thought proper to admit him to bail, that he might be more at leiſure to draw up an anſwer to the charge. This he accordingly did, denying ſome articles, and endeavouring to juſtify or extenuate others. The commons having ſent up a replication, declaring they were ready to prove the charge, the lords appointed the 27th of February for the trial at Weſtminſter-hall.

A. D. 1710. This extraordinary trial commenced on the day appointed, and continued near three weeks, during which time all buſineſs was ſuſpended, and the capital thrown into the utmoſt ferment. The doctor was attended to and from Weſtminſter, during the time of his trial, by multitudes of people, crying out, "God bleſs the church and Sacheverel." They even proceeded to ſuch lengths, that they demoliſhed ſeveral meeting-houſes, and made bonfires in the ſtreets with the materials, at the ſame time ſhouting, with loud huzzas, "High-Church and Sacheverel."

The debates in the houſe of lords became ſo intereſting, that the queen herſelf was preſent. The earl of Wharton obſerved, that Sacheverel's doctrine of paſſive obedience might have the moſt ſerious and dangerous conſequences; that the principle of reſiſtance was the corner-ſtone of the revolution; that to ſuppoſe it unlawful, was to ſuppoſe a great part of the people, and the parliament itſelf, guilty of rebellion and injuſtice; that, of conſequence, the preſent government could not be conſidered as lawful, becauſe the queen's right was wholly derived from the revolution. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, the famous partiſan of William, juſtified reſiſtance from hiſtory, both ancient and modern. He alledged the examples of the miniſters, the Dutch, the conduct of Elizabeth in their behalf, and the ſuccours granted to the Hugonots; adding, that though the contrary opinion had prevailed, thoſe who affected to ſupport it were the firſt to plead for reſiſtance when they ſaw themſelves oppreſſed. The biſhop of Bath and Wells, who was more a tory in his principles than Burnet, agreed that reſiſtance might be lawful in certain extraordinary caſes; but added, that the doctrine ought not to be propagated among the people, who would be ready, on many occaſions, to abuſe it; and that the revolution, which ſhould be rather called a "Vacation," ought not to be cited as an example; that the term, "original contract," if not uſed with great reſerve, might inſpire the moſt pernicious ſentiments; and that obedience could not be preached with too much zeal, when reſiſtance was ſupported by indiſcreet apologies. Theſe reflections irritated the duke of Argyle: he aſſerted, "that the clergy had, in all ages, abandoned the intereſts of the people, and extolled the majeſty of kings, that they might govern them with greater eaſe; and that this was a ſufficient reaſon why they ſhould not interfere in political matters." Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed tories owned, that the doctor's ſermons were extravagant and abſurd; but inſiſted that they were not ſufficient to condemn him. He was, however, found guilty by a majority of ſeven votes; on which he was ſuſpended from the pulpit for three years, and his ſermons condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This ſentence was thought ſo favourable by Sacheverel's party, that they conſidered it as a victory over the whigs, and celebrated the triumph with bonfires and illuminations.

On the 1ſt of April, her majeſty went to the houſe, and, in a ſpeech to the lords and commons, expreſſed her concern for the neceſſary cauſe which had taken up ſo much of their time: ſhe declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and proſperity of the church than herſelf; and therefore ſhe thought it very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to inſinuate that the church was in danger under her adminiſtration. Her majeſty then prorogued the parliament.

During theſe tranſactions Lewis, ſeeing the miſeries of his people daily increaſe, and all his reſources fail, once more ſued for peace. The allies enjoyed the humiliation of his ambition. The negotiations were opened at the little town of Gertruydenberg, where the French ambaſſadors met with a thouſand mortifications. It was in vain that Lewis made ſuch offers as would have been ſhameful if neceſſity had not the ſame power over ſovereigns as over common men. He even offered to furniſh money ſufficient to drive his grandſon from the throne of Spain, in caſe he refuſed to abandon it, in exchange for a ſmall dominion that ſhould be aſſigned him. It was abſolutely inſiſted upon, that Lewis himſelf ſhould dethrone him by force of arms. This the French monarch refuſed, and the ambaſſadors returned to their reſpective countries.

Theſe conferences, however, did not retard the operations of the campaign. On the 15th of April, prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough ſet out from the Hague for Tournay, in order to aſſemble the forces which were quartered on the Maeſe, in Flanders and Brabant. They immediately advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines thrown up by the French to cover Douay and other frontier towns. On their approach, the troops left for the defence of the lines retired; and the allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough, with his diviſion, paſſed that river, and encamped at Vitry, while prince Eugene inveſted Douay. The French army, which was extremely numerous, and ſtill commanded by marſhal Villars, paſſed the Schelde and encamped at Bouchain, in order to give battle to the confederates. Upon their approach, an alteration was made in the diſpoſition of the allies, and proper precaution taken to give them a warm reception. Villars, whoſe real deſign was to interrupt the ſiege of Douay by continual alarms, advanced in order of battle; but viewing the ſituation of the confederates, marched back to the heights of Laurence, and there pitched his camp. On the 26th of June, the town of Douay capitulated; and the allies finding it impoſſible to attack the enemy in their fortified lines, undertook the ſiege of Bethune, which ſurrendered upon the 29th of Auguſt. The towns of Aire and Venant were alſo taken without much difficulty, after which the armies marched into winter quarters.

During this campaign, the war in Spain was carried on with great ſpirit, and each ſide, in its turn, experienced ſucceſs and diſgrace. General Stanhope, at the head of the horſe and dragoons of Charles's army, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almenara. Stanhope charged in perſon, and ſlew with his own hand general Ameſſaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spaniſh horſe were entirely routed, and the main body of the army retired with great precipitation to Lerida. The allies purſued them to Saragoſſa, where, on the 9th of Auguſt, an engagement enſued. The enemy was totally defeated, with the loſs of all their cannon, and the greater part of their colours. Out of forty battalions, not above 4,000 men eſcaped; and of ſixty ſquadrons, only 3,400; all the reſt being either killed or taken priſoners. Charles entered the town of Saragoſſa in triumph, the garriſon and citadel having ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; while Philip, with the wreck of his army, retired to Madrid.

Soon after this engagement, the Spaniſh army was conſiderably reinforced by detachments of French troops, and, at the ſame time, the duke of Vendoſme was ſent from France to take the command of them. On the 27th of November, the whole army ſurrounded general Stanhope, who was quartered in the little town of Brehuega. As the place was not tenable, and the general had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a vigorous reſiſtance, to ſurrender himſelf and all his forces priſoners of war. On the news of this misfortune, count Staremberg, one of king Charles's generals, aſſembled his forces, and about eleven in the forenoon began his march towards Brehuega; but the roads were ſo bad, that night came on before he reached the heights in that neighbourhood. On the 29th they were attacked by the enemy, who were twice their number, and Staremberg's left wing was entirely defeated; but his right maintained the fight with ſurpriſing valour and perſeverance until night, when Vendoſme retired in diſorder, leaving Staremberg maſter of the field of battle and all his artillery. The allies had, however, ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the attack, that the general, after having nailed up the cannon, retired to Catalonia, and afterwards to Barcelona.

No material circumſtance happened, during this campaign, on the Rhine, both ſides being equally incapable of entering upon action. The elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the imperial army, weary of ſo inactive a life, thought proper to reſign a command, from which he plainly perceived neither honour to himſelf, nor advantage to the general cauſe could accrue: count Gronſelt was appointed to ſucceed his highneſs.

The military operations were equally languid on the ſide of Piedmont: the duke of Savoy being indiſpoſed, the command of the forces was ſtill veſted in count Thaun, who attempted to croſs the Alps, in order to force his way into Dauphiné. But the duke of Berwick, who commanded on the frontiers of that country, had ſecured it by ſuch ſtrong entrenchments, that the imperial general found himſelf obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, and march his army back to their quarters.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the intrigues formed in England againſt the whig miniſters began to appear in a very diſtinguiſhed manner. A popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters had been excited by Sacheverel's trial; and the queen herſelf began to ſhew her attachment to the tories. The duke of Marlborough, though born to be an honour to his country, was a man, and therefore ſubject to failings. He was too fond of wealth and grandeur, and this gave a handle to his diſgrace. He daily loſt credit with the queen, becauſe he wanted to act the maſter rather than the ſubject. The caprice and intolerable haughtineſs of his ducheſs occaſioned an incurable rupture. The queen had now another favourite, and the tories determined to employ her intereſt in bringing about a total change in the miniſtry. Mrs. Maſham, the lady in queſtion, was intimately connected with Mr. Harley, the late ſecretary of ſtate, who directed her in the manner ſhe was to proceed with the queen, and ſuch ſprings it was neceſſary to put in motion, in order to affect the intended purpoſe. Mrs. Maſham was poſſeſſed of every requiſite to make her the agreeable companion and confederate. The ducheſs of Marlborough grew intolerably jealous, and, by her natural impetuoſity, widened the wound ſhe ſhould have endeavoured to cloſe. She wrote a very inſolent letter to the queen, in which, among other haughty expreſſions, ſhe ſaid, "Do me juſtice, and give me no anſwer." She was, however, ſoon ſenſible of her fault, and was very deſirous of making reparation; but neither her repentance, her prayers, nor her tears, had power to move a wounded heart ſhe had ſo long held in ſlavery. "You deſired no anſwer," ſaid the queen, and you ſhall have no anſwer."

In the mean time Mrs. Maſham neglected neither art nor opportunity to fix herſelf firmly in the affections of her royal miſtreſs; and ſucceeded beyond her hopes. In one of their converſations, ſhe artfully gave the ſubject a political turn, in the courſe of which ſhe informed her of many things to which ſhe was before wholly a ſtranger; and when ſhe perceived her curioſity was ſufficiently awakened, ſhe referred her, for farther ſatisfaction, to Mr. Harley, of whom the queen had entertained a very high opinion. He was accordingly admitted to ſeveral private conferences, and by him the queen was informed of the general diſcontent which prevailed in every part of the kingdom, at ſeeing its moſt eſſential intereſts ſacrificed to gratify the ambitious views of a private family. He aſſured her majeſty ſhe had nothing to fear from the malignancy of party; that by far the major part of her people were inſpired with the genuine principles of loyalty, and entirely devoted to her ſervice; and engaged, if ſhe would remove from about her perſon the petty tyrants who kept her enſlaved, and engage to call a new parliament, ſuch repreſentatives would be ſent to the houſe of commons, as were the trueſt friends to monarchy, to the eſtabliſhed church, and to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

Theſe arguments prevailed: the queen determined to ſhake off the yoke of the whigs, and ſupply their places with a tory miniſtry. Accordingly the earl of Sunderland, ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Godolphin, lord-treaſurer: the lord chancellor Cowper; the earl of Wharton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; lord Somers, preſident of the council; and ſeveral other whigs, were diſplaced, and their employments enjoyed by their rivals. Other changes followed, till at laſt no whig remained in any place of truſt. The parliament, in which the whiggiſh intereſt had prevailed, was diſſolved, and ſure meaſures were taken for obtaining a parliament of tories.

Though this change was entirely brought about by the intereſt of Mrs. Maſham, yet the trial of Dr. Sacheverel ſeems firſt to have rendered the queen uneaſy with regard to the principles of the whigs, who, in their ſpeeches on that memorable occaſion, had treated monarchical power in ſuch indecent terms, that the queen was alarmed: ſhe found herſelf, according to their doctrine, reduced to a mere ſervant of the people. This determined her to examine the matter to the bottom, and the conſequence was a total change of the miniſtry.

Dr. Sacheverel, whoſe trial had occaſioned ſo much noiſe, a feeble inſtrument in himſelf, but very capable of enflaming the populace, now became one of the principal agents of the court. He was appointed to a living in Wales, and repaired thither in triumph, with a pompous equipage. The univerſity of Oxford treated him as ſome illuſtrious perſonage; and the towns through which he paſſed expreſſed their zeal to do him honour. Thouſands of the populace ran before him with acclamations. The clergy in general encouraged the enthuſiaſm of the people, and every place reſounded with "The church and Dr. Sacheverel." This happened at the time of the general election; and no incident could have been of more advantage to the tories, of whom this parliament was almoſt wholly compoſed.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, when Mr. Bromley was choſen ſpeaker without oppoſition. On the 27th her majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe recommended the proſecution of the war with vigour, eſpecially in Spain. She declared ſhe was firmly reſolved to ſupport the church of England, to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution agreeable to the union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to ſcrupulous conſciences, and to employ none but ſuch as were ſincerely attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.

Both houſes preſented very affectionate addreſſes, and the commons immediately voted the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying on the war.

About the latter end of December the duke of Marlborough arrived in London, when her majeſty gave him to underſtand, that he might expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; adding, that ſhe hoped there would be a perfect harmony between him and her miniſters. The duke wiſely expreſſed no reſentment againſt the changes that had happened in the adminiſtration, the good of his country having determined him to continue at the head of the army as long as poſſible.

A. D. 1711. On the 2d of January the queen ſent a meſſage to both houſes, acquainting them that an action had happened in Spain to the diſadvantage of Charles, in which the Engliſh forces particularly ſuffered; and that ſhe had given orders for procuring troops to repair the loſs. This opportunity was ſeized by the houſe of commons for ſhewing their hatred to the old miniſtry. The duke of Marlborough, who had long been conſidered as an honour to his country, was now become the object of parliamentary cenſure; he who had humbled the pride, and checked the ambition of France, who had retrieved the honour of the Britiſh arms, and ſecured the liberties of Europe, was now become the object of contempt, and ſuffered the moſt ſhameful indignities. So uncertain is the favour of princes, and ſo changeable is the breath of popular fame! The people now inſulted the hero they had before almoſt worſhipped. He was accuſed of pride, avarice, cruelty, violence, extortion, fraud and rapine: even his courage was diſputed in the midſt of his victories. Never did Rome or Athens know popular clamour more abſurd or unjuſt. The parliament enquired, with the ſame partiality, into the unſucceſsful war in Spain. They cenſured the conduct of Galway and Stanhope, and loaded Peterborough, their rival, with encomiums. To blacken the former miniſtry, the houſe reſolved, that thoſe who had ſupported the bill for a general naturalization, in conſequence of which vaſt numbers of poor Palatines were brought into England, were enemies to the queen and the nation.

Though Harley had ſo eminently contributed to bring about the late change in the miniſtry, he ſoon loſt the confidence of the tories, becauſe he was too prudent to join in their violent meaſures. But a dangerous circumſtance ſoon after reſtored his reputation. The marquis de Guiſcard, a French refugee in the Engliſh ſervice, thinking his ſervices very ill repaid by a precarious penſion of 400l. a year, endeavoured, in vain, to obtain an audience of the queen, in order to ſolicit a more conſiderable appointment. The deſire of revenge, added to the moſt enormous ambition, now induced him to make his peace with the court of France; and, accordingly, he offered his ſervices in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris: but his packet being intercepted, a warrant was iſſued in order to try him for high treaſon. As ſoon as the warrant was ſerved he was carried to the Cock-pit in order to be examined, where ſeeing a penknife lying on the table, he took it up without being perceived by any of his attendants. Finding his correſpondence with Moreau was diſcovered, he deſired to ſpeak a word in private with Mr. ſecretary St. John, but this requeſt was refuſed; and that gentleman being out of his reach, he ſtepped ſtept up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee then," ſtabbed him in the breaſt with the penknife he had concealed. He repeated the blow with ſuch force, that though the weapon broke againſt the bone, without penetrating the cavity, the chancellor fell to the ground. Upon this Mr. ſecretary St. John cried out, "the villain has killed Mr. Harley," and immediately drew his ſword. His example was followed by ſeveral other members of the council, and Guiſcard received a number of wounds. He, however, made a deſperate defence; but being overpowered by the meſſengers and ſervants, he was conveyed from the council-chamber to Newgate, where he ſoon after died of a gangrene, occaſioned by the bruiſes and wounds he had received.

The injurious ſuſpicions that had been entertained of the miniſter vaniſhed, when an enemy to the ſtate had attempted his life. Both houſes addreſſed the queen on this occaſion, in which they declared, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had, in their opinion, drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction: that they would effectually ſtand by and defend her majeſty, and all thoſe who had the honour of being employed in her ſervice, againſt all the public and ſecret attempts of her enemies; at the ſame time beſeeching her majeſty to take all poſſible care of her ſacred perſon, upon whoſe life the welfare and happineſs of her people, as well as the happineſs of Europe entirely depended; and for that purpoſe to give directions for cauſing all papiſts to be removed from the cities of London and Weſtminſter. In conſequence of this addreſs, a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering the laws to be ſtrictly put in practice againſt papiſts. The earl of Rocheſter dying about this time, Harley became ſole miniſter; was created baron of Wigmore, and raiſed to the rank of earl by the antient titles of Oxford and Mortimer; and was ſoon after appointed lord-treaſurer.

On the 17th of April an expreſs arrived at the Engliſh court with the news that the emperor Joſeph I. died of the ſmall-pox at Vienna on the 6th of that month. He left the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and the German empire, together with his pretenſions to Spain and the Weſt-Indies, to his brother Charles, who was accordingly ſoon after elected.

On the 12th of June her majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for, ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, and then put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament.

Though the duke of Marlborough had loſt his power in the cabinet, yet he was ſtill at the head of the allied army, and appeared again with applauſe on the theatres of his victories. He left England in the month of January, and about the middle of April aſſembled an army at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay; while marſhal Villars drew together the French forces in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. The lines which Villars had formed to ſecure his army were thought impenetrable: he therefore bid defiance to all the efforts of the Engliſh general. Theſe lines began at Bouchain on the Scheld, and were continued along the Sanſet and the Scharpe to Arras; and thence along the Upper Scharpe, and the Ugy to the Canche, the openings between theſe rivers being entrenched and fortified with the utmoſt art and care. But difficulties only ſtimulated Marlborough to overcome them. He determined to make himſelf maſter of the French lines, and ſucceeded in a moſt extraordinary manner. By a feigned march he ſo artfully diverted the attention of Villars, that he entered the lines near Arleux, almoſt without oppoſition, on the 4th of Auguſt. This was juſtly conſidered as the boldeſt attempt that had been made during the whole war; and the honour of it was the greater to the duke of Marlborough, as his army was not only weakened by a large detachment which prince Eugene had carried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 of the beſt troops in his army for an expedition intended to be undertaken by ſea; ſo that the troops of the enemy were ſuperior in number to his own. This raiſed his reputation beyond all he had done formerly; it was conſidered as a maſter-piece of generalſhip, which had hardly ever been exceeded. Villars, on the contrary, was not only cenſured for his conduct at Paris, but even ridiculed by his own officers. Marlborough immediately diſpatched brigadier Sutton to London with the news that he had made himſelf maſter of the French lines, without the loſs of a man, though the enemy had boaſted they were impenetrable.

Marlborough now determined to beſiege Bouchain, contrary to the opinion of the deputies of the ſtates-general, who thought the attempt too difficult. The town was ſituated in the middle of a moraſs, ſtrongly fortified, well ſupplied with proviſions and ſtores, and defended by a numerous garriſon. Add to this, that Villars with an army ſuperior in number to that of the allies, was encamped within a mile of the town. The place was inveſted on the 10th of Auguſt by 30 battalions and 12 ſquadrons, commanded by general Fagel. The ſiege was puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, and the town ſoon laid in ruins by the artillery and bombs. Marſhal Villars attempted to raiſe the ſiege, but in vain. Marlborough had taken his meaſures ſo well, that his deſigns were rendered abortive; and the place ſurrendered on the 30th of Auguſt. Nor could the garriſon obtain any better terms than that of being priſoners of war.

The allies were now in poſſeſſion of the Maeſe almoſt to the influx of the Sambre, of the Scheld beyond Tournay, and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. Beſides the conqueſts in Germany they had alſo reduced ſo much of Guelderland, as had formerly been left to Spain by the treaty of Munſter; and likewiſe Limburg, Brabant, Mechlin in Flanders; two thirds of Hainault with their fortreſſes, the conqueſt of which was thought almoſt impracticable. By the taking of Bouchain, and the progreſs of the confederate army on the Scharpe and the Lys, they were become maſters of two rivers, which, by means of the Deule and its canal, had been ſerviceable to the French for many years in their continual invaſions of the Spaniſh Netherlands, of which they were wholly deprived. All theſe important conqueſts the allies had made during the courſe of this war, under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough; who, having given orders for ſecuring the navigation of the Scharpe to Douay, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying ſeveral poſts on that river and on the Scheld, left the army, and after a ſhort ſtay at the Hague, landed in England on the 17th of November.

In the beginning of this year the duke of Argyle was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to king Charles III. and commander in chief of her majeſty's forces in Spain. On the 29th of May his grace landed at Barcelona, where he had the misfortune to find the Britiſh troops in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. The French army was alſo in a wretched condition; and had Staremberg been properly ſupported by the allies, he might doubtleſs have obtained very ſingular advantages: but the remittances were ſo long in coming, that Argyle was obliged to borrow money on his own credit before the Britiſh troops could take the field. At length Staremberg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the paſs of Prato del Rey, where they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The duke of Argyle was ſoon after ſeized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendoſme now laid ſiege to the caſtle of Cordoua, which was vigorouſly defended till the end of December, when a detachment being ſent to the relief of the place, the beſiegers were defeated, 2000 of them killed upon the ſpot, and all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage taken. Staremberg was, however, unable to purſue this advantage. Argyle wrote preſſing letters to the miniſtry, and complained loudly that he was entirely unſupported; but all his remonſtrances were without effect, no remittances arrived, and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance.

The new miniſtry had for ſome time carried on a negotiation for peace with the court of France, and hoped to obtain ſuch advantages in point of commerce for the ſubjects of Great Britain, as would ſilence the clamours of detraction. They made no doubt of maintaining the ſuperiority they had gained in parliament, and it is not unlikely that ſome of them cheriſhed views in favour of the pretender, whoſe ſucceſſion to the crown would have demoliſhed the whig party, and firmly eſtabliſhed them in the adminiſtration. A private meſſage was therefore ſent by the earl of Jerſey to the court of France, intimating the queen's ſincere deſire of peace, and impoſſibility of carrying on a ſecret negotiation; for which reaſon Lewis was deſired to propoſe a renewal of the conferences with the Dutch, in which caſe the Engliſh plenipotentiaries ſhould have ſuch inſtructions, as would render it impoſſible for the ſtates-general to prevent the concluſion of the treaty. This intimation was extremely agreeable to the French court, but at the ſame time it ſeemed averſe to renew the conferences with the Dutch. Mr. Prior was therefore ſent to Verſailles to communicate the preliminary demands of the Engliſh, receive the anſwer of the French king, and know whether Philip had tranſmitted a power of treating to his grandfather. When Prior arrived at Fontainbleau he preſented the queen's memorial, in which ſhe demanded, "that the Dutch ſhould have a barrier in the Netherlands and the emperor one on the Rhine: that there ſhould be a ſecurity given for the Dutch commerce, and a general ſatisfaction to all the allies: that the ſtrong places taken from the duke of Savoy ſhould be reſtored, and that he ſhould poſſeſs ſuch towns and diſtricts in Italy, as had been ceded to him in former treaties; that Lewis ſhould acknowledge queen Anne and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and conclude a new treaty of commerce; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon ſhould be ceded to the crown of England: that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, ſhould be given up to the Engliſh, together with ſome towns on that continent, where the ſlaves might be refreſhed: that her majeſty's ſubjects trading to Spain ſhould have ſecurity for enjoying all the advantages granted by that crown to the moſt favoured nation: that the Engliſh ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of Newfoundland and Hudſon's bay: that both nations ſhould continue to enjoy the territories in North-America they might poſſeſs at the ratification of the treaty; and that ſubſtantial ſecurity ſhould be given, that the ſame perſon ſhould not enjoy the crowns of France and Spain."

Mr. Prior had no power to negotiate, and was ordered to return immediately, if the French ſtarted any difficulties. They, finding he was not ſufficiently empowered to treat, ordered M. Meſnager, deputy of the council of commerce in France, to attend him back to England, and at the ſame time gave him full power to ſettle the preliminaries of the treaty, which, after various diſputes, were ſigned on the 8th of October, by the French miniſter and the two ſecretaries of ſtate.

Theſe articles being communicated to the foreign miniſters reſiding in London, by Mr. ſecretary St. John, who at the ſame time notified to them, that her majeſty had fixed on the city of Utrecht for the place of congreſs, and that the conferences would begin on the firſt of January, count Gallas, the Imperial ambaſſador, treated them in ſo diſreſpectful a manner, that the queen ſent him a meſſage forbidding him her court, and at the ſame time informing him, that the ſooner he left England the more agreeable it would be to her. The ſtates-general likewiſe ſent over Mr. Buys, one of their deputies, to perſuade her majeſty not to give ear to any propoſals made by the court of France; but they were diſappointed in their expectations; the queen was determined to procure peace, and put a ſtop to the great effuſion of blood which had for ſo many years deluged half Europe. Accordingly the earl of Strafford, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague, was ordered to demand the immediate concurrence of the ſtates, declaring, in her majeſty's name, that ſhe ſhould look on any delay as a refuſal to comply with her propoſitions. Intimidated by this declaration, and being apprehenſive that by ſeparating their intereſts from thoſe of Great Britain they ſhould not be able to obtain a barrier to their mind, they, after long deliberation, thought it moſt prudent to acquieſce in the queen's meaſures.

A memorial was alſo preſented by baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from his electoral highneſs of Hanover, diſſuading her majeſty from treating with the court of France till the demands of the allies were fully complied with. In order to quiet the apprehenſions which the elector had been inſpired with by the inſinuations of the whig party, who repreſented all theſe meaſures as ſo many ſteps to bring in the pretender, the earl of Rivers, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Hanover, was ordered to aſſure that prince, that his ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould be effectually ſecured in the treaty.

Charles VI. wrote to the queen on the ſame ſubject, and with ſimilar arguments of diſſuaſion, but her majeſty did not honour his letter with an anſwer. However, in order to render all parties as eaſy as poſſible, ſhe wrote to the allies in general, explaining to them the ſteps ſhe had taken, and inviting them to the congreſs. She even condeſcended to have a conference with the dukes of Marlborough, Grafton, and St. Alban's; the earls of Dorſet and Scarborough; the lords Somers, Cowper, and others, on the ſame ſubject; but they remained fixed in their oppoſitions to a pacification.

On the 7th of November her majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe obſerved, "That notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the time and place for a general congreſs were finally appointed: that her allies, eſpecially the ſtates-general, whoſe intereſt ſhe conſidered as inſeparable from her own, had, by their ready concurrence, expreſſed an entire confidence in her conduct: that her chief concern was, that the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation ſhould be preſerved inviolate, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion as it was limited by parliament, in the houſe of Hanover: that ſhe ſhould uſe all her endeavours, in the enſuing negotiation, to obtain all the advantages of trade and commerce, which a tender and affectionate ſovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people: that with regard to the princes and ſtates who were engaged in the war, ſhe would leave no means unattempted to obtain for each of them all reaſonable ſatiſfaction: that as the beſt way to forward the treaty would be to make early proviſion for opening the campaign, ſhe hoped they would grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year; and begged they would proceed in th s affair with ſuch diſpatch, as might convince the enemy, that if ſhe could not obtain a good peace, ſhe was ready to proſecute the war with vigour."

As ſoon as the queen was retired, a motion was made in the houſe of lords for returning her majeſty thanks for her ſpeech; but the earl of Nottingham, who from being one of the chief ſupports of the tory party, had of late aſſociated with the whigs, propoſed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "that no peace could be ſafe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Weſt Indies were allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon." This motion occaſioned a violent debate, in the courſe of which the earl of Angleſea repreſented the neceſſity of eaſing the nation of the burdens occaſioned by an expenſive war: he even affirmed, that if ſome perſons who thought it their intereſt to prolong the war, had not interpoſed, an advantageous peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies. The duke of Marlborough, againſt whom this inſinuation was levelled, made a long ſpeech in his own vindication: he appealed to the queen, who was then in the houſe incog. whether he had not on all occaſions informed her and her council of all the propoſals offered by the enemy for a peace; and had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on that ſubject: he declared, upon his conſcience, and in preſence of the Supreme Being, before whom he ſoon expected to appear, that he was always deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace, and very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his own advantage, as had been falſely repreſented by his enemies. At laſt the queſtion was put, whether the earl of Nottingham's clauſe ſhould ſtand as part of the addreſs, and carried in the affirmative. The ſame clauſe was propoſed to be inſerted in the addreſs of the commons, but rejected by a great majority.

Perſuaded that while Marlborough continued at the head of the army, the ſtrongeſt oppoſition would be made to the offers of peace, the miniſtry determined to ſtrip him of all his poſts. The committee for examining the public accounts, having proved that he had received annually a conſiderable ſum from the victuallers of the army, the queen declared in council, that in order to enquire impartially into that affair, ſhe thought it neceſſary to diveſt him of all his employments. This declaration was the next day imparted to him in a letter wrote by the queen's own hand, in which ſhe took occaſion to complain of the treatment ſhe had received from him and his friends. It was now ſufficiently evident what reliance is to be placed on the favour of the people, when the object, however deſerving, is no longer in power. That great general, whom they had ſo lately in a manner deified and adored, and whoſe glorious actions filled every mouth with praiſes, was now become the object of the moſt indecent ſatire, and the moſt bitter invectives. He who had ſo lately poſſeſſed the favour and confidence of almoſt every power in Europe, now found himſelf unable to oppoſe the invenomed ſhafts of deſtructive party.

But notwithſtanding the miniſtry had found means to deſtroy the power of Marlborough, they perceived that it would be impoſſible to procure the approbation of the houſe of lords to the intended peace, unleſs ſome method could be found to turn the majority in favour of the court, it being now ſufficiently evident that it was in favour of the other party. Accordingly the queen was perſuaded to create no leſs than twelve new peers; a number which the miniſtry imagined would ſecure them the majority in the upper houſe.

A. D. 1712. Charles VI. thinking that of all the allies he was likely to be the greateſt ſufferer by a peace with France, thought proper to ſend prince Eugene to England, as a perſon the moſt likely to promote his intereſt with the queen, and alſo hoping that his preſence, with the aſſiſtance of the whigs, whoſe hatred to the new miniſtry appeared on every occaſion, would raiſe ſuch a flame of diſcontent in the nation, as might turn to the advantage of the advocates for war. His highneſs arrived in England on the firſt of January, and, though his buſineſs was far from being agreeable to the miniſtry, was received with all the reſpect due to his rank and diſtinguiſhed character. He was immediately admitted to an audience with the queen, who received him with great complacency, and, having peruſed the letter which he delivered to her from the emperor, ſhe told him, "She was ſorry that the ſtate of her health did not permit her to converſe with his highneſs as often as ſhe could wiſh; but that ſhe had ordered the treaſurer and Mr. ſecretary St. John to receive his propoſals, and confer with him as frequently as he ſhould think proper."

The chief buſineſs with which the prince was charged was to perſuade the queen from agreeing to the ſettlement of the crown of Spain on the houſe of Bourbon; and his memorial conſiſted of propoſals and methods for carrying on the war in that country with ſucceſs. Accordingly, as ſoon as the houſe of commons met, after the holidays, Mr. ſecretary St. John informed them that he had received her majeſty's commands to lay before the houſe a propoſal made her by prince Eugence, in the name of the emperor, for ſupporting the war in Spain. The ſubſtance of it was, "That his imperial majeſty judges that 40,000 men will be ſufficient for this ſervice; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to about four millions of crowns, towards which his imperial majeſty offers to make up the troops he has already in that kingdom, to 30,000 men, and to take one million of crowns upon himſelf."

This propoſal was received with great coldneſs in the houſe of commons; ſo that though Eugene was received with all the honours due to his birth and merit, he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceeding. He therefore haſtened back to the continent, to take upon himſelf the command of the army, in which he had now no competitor for glory.

In the mean time the examination into the conduct of Marlborough was deferred; but notwithſtanding all the regard and friendſhip Eugene ſhewed for that great leader, the commons kept no meaſures with the duke. They accuſed him of malverſation; and it is certain that too great a thirſt of wealth had ſullied the glory of that illuſtrious general. But that glory, and his eminent ſervices, were ſurely ſufficient to have thrown a veil over a few failings, eſpecially as he had it in his power to juſtify his conduct by orders from the miniſtry. He was, however, unwilling to inflame the nation, and prudently ſought refuge in foreign countries, to elude a proſecution carried on by a party who could not bear to ſee him any longer in power, or even enjoy, unmoleſted, the fruits of his victories.

The Dutch having ſhewn evident ſigns of diſpleaſure at the peace now in agitation, the commons, in revenge, attacked the treaty conclued ſome years before with the ſtates, by which the barrier was granted to them in the Low Countries. They repreſented to the queen, in a ſtudied remonſtrance, "that Holland had not furniſhed her contingent of troops, and that England had been overcharged 19,000,000 during the war." The ſtates-general publiſhed a memorial in vindication of their conduct; and the commons voted it a ſcandalous libel, injurious to the houſe, and tending to alienate the minds of the people from the preſent government.

In the mean time the conferences were opened at Utrecht with all the appearance of ſucceſs. The emperor and the ſtates-general continued obſtinate to their propoſals, and were for reducing the French monarch to the moſt humiliating conceſſions. The Britiſh miniſtry, therefore, found it abſolutely neceſſary to carry on the treaty without them, or break off the negociation. The French now delivered their ſpecific explanation of the offers for a general peace. Theſe were tranſmitted to London, and, as far as they related to Great Britain, were as follow:

"The French king will acknowledge, at the ſigning of the peace, the queen of Great Britain in that quality; as alſo the ſucceſſion of that crown according to the preſent ſettlement, and in the manner her Britannic majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

"His majeſty will cauſe all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his ſatisfaction.

"The iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, Hudſon's Bay, and ſtreight of that name, ſhall be yielded up entire to the crown of Great Britain; and Acadia, with Port Royal and the Fort, ſhall be reſtored entire to her majeſty.

"As to the iſland of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield up that alſo to Great Britain, reſerving only to himſelf the port of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fiſh as before the war.

"It ſhall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce, before or after the peace, as England ſhall chuſe; the conditions of which ſhall be made as equal as poſſible between the two nations."

Theſe offers occaſioned great debates in the houſe of lords; ſeveral of the members conſidering them as trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majeſty and her allies. Some endeavours were made to adjourn the debates, but in vain; and it was reſolved, without a diviſion, to addreſs the queen, repreſenting the juſt indignation the houſe entertained at the inſolence of France, in having propoſed to acknowledge her majeſty's title to theſe realms no ſooner than when the peace ſhould be ſigned; as alſo at the terms of peace offered to her and her allies by the plenipotentiaries of France; declaring, at the ſame time, that they would aſſiſt her majeſty to the utmoſt of their power in proſecuting the war, until they ſhould obtain a ſafe and honourable peace.

The duke of Ormond having been appointed commander in chief of the Engliſh forces, in the room of the duke of Marlborough, he paſſed over to the continent in the beginning of April; and on the 20th of May his grace, in conſort with prince Eugene, aſſembled the army between Douay and Marchienes, where it was found, upon a review, that the allied army conſiſted of 120,250 men. Prince Eugene ſoon after propoſed to attack the French army under marſhal Villars, or to inveſt the town of Queſnoy; but Ormond, who had now received freſh orders from Mr. ſecretary St. John, gave the prince and deputies of the ſtates general to underſtand, that her Britannic majeſty, having a proſpect that the negotiations would prove ſucceſsful, had commanded him not to act offenſively againſt the enemy.

The prince and the deputies of the ſtates were thunderſtruck at theſe orders, the latter of whom not only complained to the Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs, but alſo ſent over a letter to the queen, ordering their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. It contained an excuſe for the backwardneſs they had ſhewn in acting in conſort with her majeſty. They ſaid, "That all the difference between the queen and them, was a diſparity of ſentiments; and if for ſuch a cauſe, confederates united by the ſtrongeſt ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come." The Dutch envoy alſo received orders to publiſh copies of this letter in the public papers. This was accordingly done, and they were printed and diſperſed at the very time when the letter came to the queen's hand.

Incenſed at theſe proceedings, which were conſidered as a remonſtrance rather than a repreſentation, and an appeal to the people than an addreſs to the ſovereign, the queen wrote a very ſharp letter to the ſtates. At the ſame time the commons voted an addreſs to her majeſty, wherein they aſſured her "of the juſt ſenſe the houſe had of the indignity offered to her majeſty, by printing and publiſhing a letter from the ſtates-general; and humbly deſired that ſhe would ſo far reſent ſuch indignities, as to give no anſwers for the future to any letters or memorials that ſhould be ſo printed and publiſhed."

During theſe tranſactions, ſome events happened which had nearly rendered the whole ſcheme abortive. In the courſe of the preceding year the dauphin had died of the ſmall pox, and his title conferred on the duke of Burgundy; who alſo, on the firſt of February, paid the great debt of nature, ſix days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. Theſe were ſoon followed to the grave by their eldeſt ſon the duke of Britany: ſo that none remained alive of the duke of Burgundy's children except the duke of Anjou, at this time a very ſickly infant. A ſeries of misfortunes like theſe muſt be extremely ſhocking to Lewis in his old age: and equally alarming to the queen of England, who ſaw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child could divide the two monarchies of France and Spain: an union ſhe was abſolutely determined to prevent. Gualtier was therefore ſent to Paris with a memorial, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſenting the danger to which the liberties of Europe muſt be inevitably expoſed, if Philip enjoyed both the crowns of France and Spain, and therefore demanding, that in conſequence of his pure, voluntary, and ſimple renunciation, his title to the crown of France might be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry: and that the latter ſhould renounce all title to the crown of Spain, provided he ſhould aſcend the throne of France.

Philip yielded to neceſſity; and having ratified the renunciation of all future pretenſions to the crown of France, the queen agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms. Orders were immediately ſent to the duke of Ormond to put an end to hoſtilities. Her majeſty laid the plan of the treaty before both houſes; and notwithſtanding all the efforts of the whig party, they preſented ſeparate addreſſes, in which they thanked the queen for her great condeſcenſion in communicating theſe conditions to her parliament, and expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction of her conduct.

On the 21ſt of June the queen put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction at the addreſſes and ſupplies ſhe had received, and obſerved, that ſhould the treaty be broke off, the burdens of the war would be at leaſt continued, if not increaſed: that the preſent opportunity would be irrecoverably loſt, of Britain's eſtabliſhing a real balance of power in Europe, and improving her own commerce: and that if any of the allies ſhould gain ſomething by ſuch a proceeding, the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity.

When the duke of Ormond abandoned the allies, prince Eugene undertook the ſiege of Queſnoy; but almoſt all the foreign troops in Engliſh pay refuſed to follow him. In the mean time Lewis agreed to give up Dunkirk as a pledge to the Engliſh for his engagements, and waited with impatience the events of a critical campaign. Eugene took Queſnoy, and beſieged Landreci; while detachments from his army ravaged the country, and the kingdom of France was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. But the lines of Eugene were too much extended. Villars forced the entrenchments of general Albemarle, who was encamped at Denain, and the prince was unable to give him any aſſiſtance. He took Marchienes, where the magazines of the allies were formed; raiſed the ſiege of Landreci, retook Douay, Queſnoy, and Bouchain; and in one campaign became ſuperior to the conqueror, ſo long fluſhed with victory.

A. D. 1713. The ſucceſs of Villars greatly alarmed the allies; and they now began to perceive that all their efforts, without the aſſiſtance of England, would be in vain: they therefore came into the Engliſh meaſures, and the famous treaty of Utrecht was ſigned on the firſt of April.

By this treaty the French king acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain; and engaged for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, not to ſuffer the Pretender to return into France, nor any way to ſuccour or aſſiſt him.

“ That the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united under one head; that renunciations ſhould be made by both ſides in due form; and that they ſhould never be united under any pretence whatſoever.

“ That the trade between France and Spain ſhall be on the ſame footing as in the time of Charles II.

“ That the fortifications of Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. That the bay and ſtreights of Hudſon ſhould be reſtored, and ſatisfaction be made to the company for the damages they had ſuſtained.

“ That the whole iſland of St. Chriſtopher ſhould be hereafter poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and alſo Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

“ That the iſland of Newfoundland ſhould belong wholly to Great Britain; the French having only huts for drying their fiſh, and liberty to fiſh only from Cape Bona Viſta to the northern point of that iſland, and ſo down the weſtern ſide as far port Roche. But the French were to retain Cape Breton, and other iſlands in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

“ That the French in Canada ſhould not moleſt the five nations of Indians ſubject to Great Britain; nor the ſubjects of Great Britain moleſt the Indians under the protection of France.

“ That all letters of marque, counter-marque, and repriſal, be annulled.

“ That juſtice ſhall be done to the Hamilton family with regard to the duchy of Chatelrault; to the duke of Richmond concerning ſuch requeſts as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, with regard to certain lands to be reclaimed by him.”

A treaty of navigation and commerce was at the ſame time concluded; whereby a free trade was eſtabliſhed according to the tariff of 1664, except in a few commodities, which in 1699 were ſubjected to new regulations. It was agreed that the duties impoſed upon the productions of France imported into England ſhould not exceed thoſe laid on the ſame commodities from other countries; and that commiſſioners ſhould meet at London to adjuſt all matters relating to commerce.

It was alſo ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan in the Spaniſh Netherlands: that the duke of Savoy ſhould enjoy Sicily with the title of king: that the ſame title with the iſland of Sardinia ſhould be given to the elector of Bavaria, to indemnify him for the loſſes he had ſuſtained: that the ſtates-general ſhould reſtore Liſle and its dependencies; and that Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburgh, Ypres, and Newport ſhould be added to the other places they already poſſeſſed in Flanders: that the king of Pruſſia ſhould have Upper Gueldres in exchange for Orange, and the other eſtates belonging to that family in Franche Compté. The king of Portugal declared himſelf ſatisfied with the treaty, but the emperor poſtponed giving his anſwer till the firſt of July.

The parliament met on the 9th of April, when the queen, in her ſpeech, informed both houſes, that the treaty of peace was ſigned, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged: ſhe expreſſed her hopes that what ſhe had done for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip that ſubſiſted between her and the houſe of Hanover, might convince ſuch who wiſhed well to both, and had the quiet and ſafety of their country at heart, how vain all attempts were to divide them. Then, addreſſing herſelf to the commons, ſhe obſerved, that ſhe left it entirely to them to determine what force might be neceſſary for the ſecurity of trade by ſea, and for guards and garriſons; and then proceeded in the following manner: “ Make yourſelves eaſy and I ſhall be ſatisfied: next to the protection of divine providence I depend upon the affection and loyalty of my people; I want no other guarantee.” Then again directing herſelf to both houſes, ſhe ſaid, “ ſhe hoped they would concert proper meaſures for eaſing the foreign trade of the kingdom: for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fiſhery: for employing the hands of idle people: for ſuppreſſing the ſcandalous and ſeditious libels that were every day publiſhed; and for putting a ſtop to the impious practice of duelling.” She concluded her ſpeech with this pathetic exhortation; “ Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me conjure you all to uſe your utmoſt endeavours for calming mens minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cultivated. Let no groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, effect that which our enemies could not. I pray God to direct all your conſultations for his glory and the welfare of my people.”

Addreſſes of thanks and congratulations were immediately preſented by both houſes of parliament, and their example was followed by the houſes of convocation, and all the principal corporations in the kingdom.

The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and France being exchanged, on the 5th of May the peace was proclaimed in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnities.

On the 16th of July her majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which ſhe thanked both houſes for the good ſervice they had done the public; recommended to them the making her ſubjects truly ſenſible of what they had gained by the peace; and endeavour to diſſipate thoſe groundleſs jealouſies which had been ſo induſtriouſly fomented among the people, that unhappy diviſions might not weaken, and in ſome meaſure endanger, the advantage which had been gained. By her majeſty's command the lord chancellor now prorogued the parliament to the 28th of Auguſt, but it never ſat more; for on the 8th of Auguſt, a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and declaring her majeſty's intention of calling a new one. Accordingly, on the 18th of the ſame month, writs were iſſued in due form, and the new parliament appointed to meet on the 12th of November.

About this time the magiſtracy of Dunkirk ſent a deputation with an addreſs to the queen, humbly imploring her majeſty to ſpare the port and harbour of that town, and repreſenting that they might be uſeful to her own ſubjects. To this addreſs lord Bolingbroke, by her majeſty's order, returned the following anſwer, "that the queen had read with attention the addreſs he had preſented to her in the name of the magiſtrates of the town of Dunkirk; and ſhe had commanded him to tell them, that ſhe beheld with ſorrow the damages which the inhabitants of that town would ſuſtain by the demolition of its ramparts and harbours, but that ſhe did not think it convenient to make any alteration in a thing agreed on and determined by a treaty." Hereupon M. Tugge, the principal deputy, preſented a ſecond addreſs or memorial to her majeſty on the ſame ſubject, which he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed. The arguments it contained were, however, refuted by Addiſon, Steele and Mainwaring: and commiſſioners were ſent to ſee the fortifications of Dunkirk entirely demoliſhed. They were acccordingly razed to the ground, and the harbour filled up.

In the mean time the tories took care to manage the elections in ſuch a manner as to retain the legiſlative power in their own hands; but the queen's ill ſtate of health, and the conteſt among her miniſters, delayed for ſome time the meeting of the parliament. Oxford and Bolingbroke were at once competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for abilities; they were both aſpiring and ambitious, began to form ſeparate cabals, and adopt different principles. Senſibly affected by their diſſentions, the queen interpoſed both her advice and authority; but though an exterior accommodation was effected, their mutual animoſity continued to increaſe. Bolingbroke was powerfully ſupported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the chancellor, Sir William Windham, and Mr. Secretary Bromley: while Oxford, perceiving his authority began to decline, formed a deſign of retiring from public buſineſs.

On the 24th of December, her majeſty, who had ſome time before repaired to Windſor, was ſeized with an inflammatory fever. This accident revived the hopes of the jacobites; the public funds fell immediately, and ſo great a run was made on the bank, that the directors ſent one of their members to repreſent to the treaſurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The recovery of the queen, however, which happened in two or three days after, baniſhed the fears that had ſeized the principal perſons in the nation.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the emperor Charles VI. having rejected the terms of peace, propoſed to carry on the war, at his own expence, by the aſſiſtance of the empire; but his forces on the Rhine, commanded by prince Eugene, were ſo inferior in number to thoſe under Villars, that the prince could not prevent the French general from making himſelf maſter of the two important fortreſſes of Landau and Friberg. His imperial majeſty, however, ſtill flattered himſelf, that ſome fortunate event might cauſe an alteration in the affairs of Europe, favourable to his intereſt; and depended on the great abilities of prince Eugene for gaining ſome remarkable advantage over the forces of the enemy. But finding himſelf diſappointed in all his expectations, and, at the ſame time, unable to ſupport the expences of another campaign, he liſtened to the overtures of peace made by the electors of Cologn and Palatine; and the treaty was ſoon after ſigned by Eugene and Villars. Lewis, by this treaty, ceded to the emperor, Old Briſac and all its dependencies, Friberg, the forts in the Briſgau and the Black Foreſt, and fort Kehl. He alſo engaged to demoliſh the fortifications, oppoſite to Huningen, the caſtle at Sellingen, and all the works between that place and Fort Louis. On the other hand, the town and fortreſs of Landau were ceded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover; reſtored the electors of Bavaria and Cologn to all their dignities and dominions, and put the emperor into immediate poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands.

A. D. 1714. The new parliament met on the 16th of February, and was opened by commiſſion, (the queen not being ſufficiently well to attend) when Sir Thomas Hanmer was choſen ſpeaker; after which they adjourned till the ſecond of March.

During this adjournment the ratifications of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Spain were brought over to England, and peace was proclaimed on the 1ſt of March. The principal articles of this treaty were the following: "That the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united: that the proteſtant ſucceſſion ſhould be acknowledged, and never be oppoſed on any pretence: that navigation and commerce ſhould be on the ſame footing as in the treaty of 1667: that no licence ſhould be given to the French, or other nations, to introduce negroes, or any merchandiſes, into the Spaniſh dominions in America, except what might be agreed on by the treaty of commerce, and the privilege granted by the aſſiento of negroes; except alſo what ſhould be granted by the catholic king, after the aſſiento ſhould be determined: that the American dominions ſhould not be alienated from the crown of Spain, to France, or any other nation: that Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca ſhould be given up to England for ever: that no Moors were to come thither but on account of traffic: that all the Spaniſh inhabitants ſhould enjoy their eſtates and religion, or have liberty to ſell their eſtates, and retire: that the South-ſea company ſhould have the privilege of introducing negroes into ſeveral parts of America for thirty years, commencing with the year 1713, in the ſame manner as enjoyed by the French: that the Catalans ſhould have a full and free pardon, with the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and honours, and enjoy the ſame privileges with the inhabitants of both Caſtiles: that Sicily ſhould be yielded to the duke of Savoy; but in caſe of his dying without heirs, the kingdom ſhould return to Spain. By two ſeparate articles, the queen promiſed to perſiſt in the meaſures, by which ſhe had taken care, that no other part of the Spaniſh monarchy ſhould be torn from it; and obliged herſelf to procure the princeſs Urſini to be put into poſſeſſion of Limburg, or ſome other country in the Netherlands, which ſhould produce 30,000 crowns a year, purſuant to a grant made her by king Philip in the year 1711."

The day after peace was proclaimed with Spain, the parliament met, according to adjournment; when the queen went to the houſe of peers, and made a ſpeech to both houſes; in which ſhe told them, that ſhe had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greater part of the allies; and was perſuaded, with their hearty concurrence, her interpoſition might prove effectual to complete the ſettlement of Europe: that the ſituation of theſe kingdoms pointed out their true intereſt; for as this country can only flouriſh by trade, ſo it will be moſt formidable by a right application of its naval force. She complained, that effectual care had not been taken to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditious papers and factious rumours by which deſigning men had been able to ſink credit, and cauſe the innocent to ſuffer. She obſerved, that ſome had arrived to that height of malice as to inſinuate, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that ſuch perſons, who could thus diſtract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to diſturb the preſent tranquillity, and to bring real evils upon the public. She added, that after all ſhe had done to ſecure the religion and liberties of her people, and to tranſmit both ſafe to poſterity, ſhe could not mention theſe proceedings without ſome degree of warmth, and hoped the parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the poſſeſſion of the crown uneaſy, could never be proper means to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion. "I have done," ſaid ſhe, "and ſhall continue to do my beſt for the good of my ſubjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it ſhall be mine, to unite our differences; not by relaxing from the ſtricteſt adherence to our conſtitution in church and ſtate, but by obſerving the laws yourſelves, and inforcing a due obedience in others."

This ſpeech produced ſome debates in both houſes; but addreſſes of thanks were voted both by the lords and commons; and the queen, after thanking the lords for their affectionate addreſs, added, "That they who were neareſt the throne would, firſt of her ſubjects, feel the evil conſequences of any diminution of the regal authority: that it was a comfort to her ſhe had the aſſurance of their ſupport; and they might depend upon it, ſhe would never give way to the leaſt attempt on the juſt authorities of the crown, or any of their rights and privileges."

The next day the convocation complimented the queen in a joint addreſs "on her recovery and happy return to her royal city in health and ſafety;" concluding with their wiſhes, "That after a long and happy reign, ſhe might be able to tranſmit the protection of the church and ſtate to a proteſtant ſucceſſor in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, which her majeſty, to the great ſatisfaction and comfort of all her faithful and good ſubjects, had ſo often declared to be at her royal heart."

Notwithſtanding theſe affectionate addreſſes, the gall of party ſtill ſubſiſted, and the minds of the people were daily inflamed by pamphlets and papers. Addiſon, Steele, and Hallifax headed the whig party, and Swift was the champion of the tories. In the month of March a complaint was made in the houſe of commons of ſeveral ſcandalous papers lately publiſhed, under the name of Richard Steele, eſq; a member of that houſe. Sir William Wyndham declared, that theſe papers contained inſolent, injurious reflections on the queen herſelf, and could only be dictated by the ſpirit of rebellion. A day being appointed for his trial, Steele was ordered to attend in his place, when he owned the writings, and entered into a circumſtantial defence. Mr. Addiſon, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole were his principal defenders; and his opponents Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. Nothing, however, which could be alledged in his favour, had the leaſt weight with the majority, who were determined to condemn him; and accordingly two pamphlets intitled, "The Engliſhman," and "The Criſis," written by Richard Steele, eſq; were voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, and that the author ſhould be expelled the houſe of commons.

The lords taking into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, the leaders of the whigs repreſented the danger that threatened the proteſtant ſucceſſion, on account of the pretender's not being yet removed from Lorrain, and the ill condition the affairs of Europe were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved, that addreſſes be preſented to the queen; "Firſt, for an account of what ſteps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain, and what anſwers had been given by that duke. Secondly, an account of the negotiations of peace: what meaſures had been taken to render the peace univerſal: and what obſtructions her majeſty had met with. Thirdly, an account of the monies granted ſince the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal."

Theſe addreſſes were preſented without oppoſition. But the miniſtry perceiving that the whigs were forming ſeveral other motions which could not fail of greatly embarraſſing their meaſures, the lord-treaſurer moved to adjourn the houſe till the 31ſt of March, which was carried by a ſmall majority.

Though the miniſtry had increaſed their party during the receſs of parliament, yet the debates were carried on with great vehemence. No ſatisfactory account had been yet given with reſpect to the preſent reſidence of the pretender, who, it was aſſerted, ſtill continued in Lorrain. The earl of Sunderland ſaid, "that notwithſtanding the earneſt application made laſt ſeſſion by both houſes to her majeſty, to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to get him removed from thence, yet he was aſſured by baron Foſtner, the duke of Lorrain's miniſter, ſome weeks before his departure, that, to his certain knowledge, no inſtances had yet been made to his maſter for that purpoſe." To this lord Bolingbroke anſwered, "He wondered baron Foſtner could make ſuch a declaration, ſince he himſelf had made thoſe declarations to him in the queen's name." But lord Hallifax confirmed what the earl of Sunderland had advanced, by ſaying, "That baron Foſtner had told him as much but four days before; ſo that lord Bolingbroke muſt be miſtaken, at leaſt in point of chronology."

This debate brought on a motion of more conſequence; the queſtion was "whether the proteſtant ſucceſſion be in danger under the preſent adminiſtration?" This queſtion gave riſe to a very warm debate, which continued for near ſeven hours, during which time many warm ſpeeches were made againſt the miniſtry. That of the earl of Angleſea was remarkable. He ſaid, among other things, "That when he came into the houſe, he thought indeed the proteſtant ſucceſſion to be ſtill in danger on the part of France, whoſe intereſt it was to reſtore the pretender: but that after he had heard what ſo many noble members of that auguſt aſſembly, perſons of undoubted honour and probity, had alledged againſt the miniſters, and no anſwer offered to confute it, either by the miniſters themſelves or their friends, he could not believe the ſucceſſion to be in danger." He afterwards endeavoured to clear himſelf with regard to the ſhare he had in ſome late tranſactions. "I own," ſaid he, "I gave my aſſent to the ceſſation of arms, for which I take ſhame to myſelf, and aſk God, my country, and my conſcience pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, till that noble lord (turning towards the lord-treaſurer) had aſſured the council, that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her majeſty and her allies." Adding, "That, as the honour of his country, and the good of his ſovereign, formed the rule of his actions, ſo he had no reſpect of perſons; and if he found himſelf impoſed upon, he durſt purſue an evil miniſter from the queen's cloſet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the ſcaffold."

The lord-treaſurer, againſt whom the latter part of this ſpeech was levelled, ſaid, "That the peace was as glorious and advantageous as could be expected, conſidering the neceſſity of affairs, and the oppoſition the queen's miniſters had met with, both at home and abroad." Several lords replied, that no miniſters ever had it in their power to make ſo honourable and advantageous a peace as the queen's miniſters had. The duke of Argyle added, "That he had lately croſſed the kingdom of France, both in going to and returning from Minorca. That it was indeed one of the fineſt countries in the univerſe, but that there were marks of general deſolation in all the places through which he paſſed. That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms: that the reſt of the people were in the utmoſt miſery and diſtreſs; and, therefore, he could not apprehend what neceſſity there was to conclude a peace ſo precipitately with a prince whoſe dominions were ſo greatly exhauſted of men, of money, and of proviſions." With regard to the queſtion in debate, he ſaid, "That he firmly believed the ſucceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover to be in danger from the preſent miniſters, whom he durſt charge with mal-adminiſtration both within doors and without: that he knew, and offered to prove, that the lord-treaſurer had yearly remitted 4000l. to the highland clans in Scotland, who were known to be devoted to the Pretender, in order to keep them under diſcipline, and ready for any attempt: that, on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by diſbanding ſome regiments out of their turn, and by removing from their employments a vaſt number of officers merely on account of their known affection for the houſe of Hanover, were clear indications of the deſigns in hand: that it was a diſgrace to the nation to ſee men who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the poſts of ſeveral brave officers, who, after they had often expoſed their lives for their country, were now ſtarving in priſon for want of their pay." The lord-treaſurer now roſe, and, laying his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid, "I have, on ſo many occaſions, given ſuch ſignal proofs of my affection to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, that I am ſure no member of this auguſt aſſembly could call it in queſtion. At the ſame time I own I have remitted to Scotland, for two or three years paſt, 3800l. to the highland clans; but I hope the houſe will give me an opportunity of clearing my conduct with regard to that point. As for the reformed officers, I have given orders they ſhall be paid directly."

After ſeveral other ſpeeches, the queſtion was put, and carried in the negative by 12 voices only. But though the proteſtant religion was thus voted not to be in danger, lord Hallifax, in order to put their profeſſions of affection for the houſe of Hanover to the teſt, moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to the queen, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the ſpeedy removing the Pretender out of Lorrain; and that ſhe would, in conjunction with the ſtates-general, enter into the guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; and alſo with ſuch other princes as ſhe ſhould think proper." He was ſeconded by the earl of Wharton, who moved likewiſe, that, in the addreſs, "Her majeſty might be deſired to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould bring the Pretender dead or alive:" this motion was ſeconded by the duke of Bolton, who alſo moved, that the reward might be ſuitable to the importance of that ſervice. Nothing was ſaid in oppoſition to the motions: but it being late, ſome members expreſſed their deſire that the houſe ſhould adjourn. But the other ſide calling for the queſtion, it was unanimouſly reſolved that the addreſs ſhould be preſented.

When the addreſs againſt the Pretender was reported by the committee appointed to draw it up, the lord North and Grey made a long ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to ſhew the barbarity of ſetting a reward upon any man's head; which, he ſaid, was nothing leſs than giving encouragement to murder and aſſaſſination; and how repugnant ſuch a practice was to the laws of chriſtianity, the law of nature, and of all civilized nations. He repreſented in particular, "How inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of ſo auguſt an aſſembly in a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency." He concluded with ſaying, "No man either had more reſpect for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, or would do more to ſecure them than himſelf; but that they muſt excuſe him if he would not incur perdition for them." He was ſupported by lord Trevor, who ſaid, "What that noble peer had ſpoke was ſufficient to ſhew how inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with chriſtianity and the civil law; and, therefore, he would confine himſelf to the laws of England; and, if he knew or underſtood any thing of theſe, he was confident they were no leſs oppoſite to ſuch proceedings than the civil law. He knew he did not ſpeak there as a lawyer or judge, but as a peer: but he was ſo fully convinced of our law diſcountenancing all ſuch proceedings, that if ever ſuch a caſe ſhould come before him as a judge, he ſhould think himſelf bound in juſtice, honour, and conſcience, to condemn ſuch an action as murder; and, therefore, he hoped the ſupreme court of judicature in England, and the moſt auguſt tribunal in the univerſe, would not make a precedent for encouraging aſſaſſination;" and, therefore, he moved, "that the reward ſhould be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to public juſtice, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land, either in Great Britain or Ireland: and that her majeſty ſhould iſſue her royal proclamation, whenever in her great wiſdom ſhe ſhould judge it neceſſary." To this it was anſwered, "That however contrary ſuch a proceeding might be to the precepts of chriſtianity, it was warranted by the practice of the old Romans, of the moſt civilized nations in Europe, and of our own nation in particular. For, without recurring to remoter inſtances, we have the example of James II. who ſet a price on the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth." But theſe reaſonings were not well ſupported, and the motion was agreed to by a majority of ten voices. When the addreſs was preſented to the queen, ſhe returned the following anſwer:

"My lords,

"It would be a real ſtrengthening to the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, as well as ſupport to my government, that an end were put to theſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly promoted. I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders for having one iſſued. As for the other particulars in this addreſs, I will give proper directions therein."

The whig party were not a little diſſatisfied with this anſwer; and in order to give the queen all the mortification poſſible, the earl of Wharton propoſed this queſtion in the houſe of lords, "Whether the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under the preſent adminiſtration?" A warm debate enſued, but at length the ſucceſſion was voted out of danger, by a great majority.

On the very ſame day the above addreſs was preſented an incident happened which threw the miniſtry into the utmoſt confuſion. Moſt of the whig lords had held a conſultation at the houſe of lord Halifax, to which baron Schutz, envoy from the elector of Hanover, was admitted. In this meeting it was reſolved, that the baron ſhould take the firſt opportunity of demanding a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe of peers, as duke of Cambridge. Accordingly, Schutz made a viſit to the chancellor, and among other civilities acknowledged the affection he had ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions to the houſe of Hanover. The chancellor told him "he was extremely ſenſible of the honour he did him by this viſit and compliment; and deſired him to aſſure the elector of his entire devotion and ſervice; hoping that his highneſs gave no credit to the falſe reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread, in order to give him jealouſies of her majeſty's miniſters." The baron anſwered that he would not fail to diſcharge ſo agreeable a commiſſion; but he had a favour to aſk of him in the name of the electoral prince, that his lordſhip would be pleaſed to make out a writ for his ſitting in the houſe of peers as duke of Cambridge. Surprized at this unexpected demand, the chancellor told the baron, "That though it was unuſual to make out writs for peers who were not in the kingdom, yet he would immediately apply to her majeſty for direction." The baron anſwered, "he did not doubt the chancellor's performing the duties of his office. But, with regard to the objection of the duke's being out of the kingdom, he could aſſure him his electoral highneſs propoſed coming over very ſpeedily, and might, perhaps, be landed before the writ was made out." The baron now took his leave, and the chancellor deſired him to remember, "That he did not refuſe his demand, but thought proper to acquaint the queen of it, which he would do immediately." A council was directly held in the queen's preſence; and after very long debates it was reſolved, that the chancellor ſhould make out a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The queen was, however, ſo highly offended at the baron's making his application to the chancellor, before he had informed her of his intentions, that ſhe forbade him the court.

But though the writ was ordered to be made out for the duke of Cambridge, the miniſtry was determined he ſhould not viſit England; and a report prevailing that the princeſs Sophia intended to deſire the queen's approbation for the duke of Cambridge's coming into England, her majeſty, with the advice of her cabinet council, wrote that princeſs the following letter:

"Madam, Siſter, Aunt,

"Since the right of ſucceſſion to my kingdom has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been diſaffected perſons, who, by particular views of their own intereſt, have entered into meaſures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am living. I never thought till now, that this project would have gone ſo far as to have made the leaſt impreſſion on your mind. But, as I lately perceived by public rumours, which are induſtriouſly ſpread, that your electoral highneſs is come into this ſentiment, it is of importance, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of your family, that I ſhould tell you ſuch a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it ſome conſequences that will be dangerous to that ſucceſſion itſelf, which is not ſafe any other way, than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her prerogative. There are here (ſuch are our misfortunes) a great many people that are ſeditiouſly diſpoſed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raiſe, if they ſhould have a pretext to begin a commotion. I perſuade myſelf, therefore, you will never conſent that the leaſt thing ſhould be done that may diſturb the repoſe of me and my ſubjects.

"Open yourſelf to me with the ſame freedom I do to you, and propoſe whatever you think may contribute to the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am reſolved to maintain. I am, with a great deal of affection, &c."

At the ſame time her majeſty wrote the following letter to the duke of Cambridge:

"Couſin,

"An accident which has happened in my lord Paget's family, having hindered him from ſetting forward ſo ſoon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with reſpect to the deſign you have formed of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been firſt to me; ſo I expected you would not have given ear to it without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendſhip I have for you, and the electoral houſe to which you belong; and the true deſire I have that it may ſucceed to my kingdom: and this requires of me that I ſhould tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in your line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to me, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture.

"I am, &c."

The princeſs Sophia (who was now in the 84th year of her age) was ſo affected on the receipt of theſe letters, that the very day after ſhe was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, as ſhe was walking in the gardens of Herenhauſen, and died in the arms of the electoral princeſs, before phyſicians could come to her aſſiſtance. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth of England, only daughter of James I. This princeſs was of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution, and a perfect miſtreſs of moſt of the modern languages; her genius was equally turned for converſation or buſineſs, and hence ſhe became at once the ornament and delight of her court; her turns of wit were ſprightly and ſurprizing; her judgment ſolid and penetrating. Nothing could exceed the beauties and advantages of her converſation, but her letters; both were eaſy, entertaining and uſeful. She enjoyed a fund of happineſs within herſelf, which gave a reliſh to her retirements: but her care in government, and œconomy, ſhewed the juſt ſenſe ſhe entertained of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary without affectation; and her ſentiments of religion juſt and noble. She lived beloved, and her hearſe was bedewed with the tears of the good and the virtuous.

The leaders of the tory party, at the head of whom was lord Bolingbroke, determined, if poſſible, to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion; they, therefore, brought in the famous ſchiſm bill, it being thought neceſſary, for accompliſhing their ſcheme, to ruin the diſſenters. It was preſented to the houſe of commons by Sir William Wyndham, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the whole power of the whig party; but at length paſſed the houſe by a conſiderable majority.

It was ſtrongly ſupported in the houſe of peers by lord Bolingbroke, who, on its being read the firſt time, ſaid, "It was a bill of the laſt importance, ſince it concerned the ſecurity of the church of England, the beſt and firmeſt ſupport of the church and monarchy; both which all good men, and particularly that auguſt aſſembly, who derive their luſtre from, and are near the throne, ought to have moſt at heart, and, therefore, he moved that it ſhould be read a ſecond time." Lord Cowper replied, "That no man was more ready than himſelf to do every thing that ſhould appear neceſſary to attain the ſeeming intention of this bill, the preventing the growth of ſchiſm, and the further ſecuring the church of England. But that the enacting part would be ſo far from anſwering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to church and ſtate. That inſtead of preventing ſchiſm, and enlarging the pale of the church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion. That in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar ſchools were chiefly ſupported by the diſſenters, not only for the inſtruction and benefit of their own children, but likewiſe thoſe of poor churchmen; ſo that the ſuppreſſing thoſe ſchools would, in ſome places, ſuppreſs the reading of the Holy Scriptures."* On the other hand he obſerved, "that this bill ſtruck at the antient rights and prerogative of the houſe of peers; which, by the conſtitution, is the ſupreme court of judicature, and the dernier reſort in all cauſes; whereas, by this bill, the juſtices of the peace were impowered to hear and finally determine the offences againſt the ſame. I would, my lords, added he, rather enlarge than abridge the power of juſtices of the peace, were it only to encourage gentlemen to take upon them an office ſo troubleſome, and ſo unprofitable, unleſs it be, perhaps, in the county of Middleſex. But, at the ſame time, my lords, I ſhall never conſent to give up the birth-right and ancient privileges of this auguſt aſſembly, of which I have the honour to be a member."

The earl of Wharton attacked the ſupporter of the bill with the moſt poignant irony. "I am, ſaid he, agreeably ſurprized to ſee ſome men of pleaſure become on a ſudden ſo religious as to ſet up for patrons of the church. But I am aſtoniſhed that perſons who have been educated in diſſenting academies, whom I could point out, and whoſe tutors I could name, ſhould appear the moſt forward in oppreſſing them. This is ſurely but an indifferent return for the benefit the public has received from thoſe ſchools, which have bred theſe great men, who have made ſo glorious a peace, and treaties that have executed themſelves. I can, therefore, ſee no reaſon for ſuppreſſing theſe academies, unleſs it be from an apprehenſion, that they may produce ſtill greater geniuſes, that may drown the merits and abilities of theſe great men. To be ſerious, my lords, it is no leſs melancholy than ſurprizing, that at a time when the court of France proſecutes the deſign they have long ſince formed to extirpate our holy religion; when not only ſecret practices are uſed to impoſe a popiſh Pretender on theſe realms, but men are publickly inliſted for his ſervice: it is, I ſay, melancholy and ſurprizing, that at this very time a bill ſhould be brought in, which muſt tend to divide the proteſtants; and conſequently to weaken their intereſt, and haſten their ruin. But the wonder will ceaſe when we conſider, that madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this bill." He declaimed particularly againſt the word ſchiſm, with which the frontiſpiece of the bill was decorated, and ſaid, "It is ſomething ſtrange that they ſhould call ſchiſm in England, what is the eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland; and, therefore, if the lords who repreſented the nobility of that part of Great Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that in order to be even with us, and conſiſtent with themſelves, they would move for bringing in another bill to promote the growth of ſchiſm in their own country." He added, "That both in the bill itſelf, and alſo in the ſpeeches of thoſe who had declared for it, ſeveral laws were recited and alledged, but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned, it is the law of the goſpel, To do unto others as we would be done unto."

Some other very ſarcaſtical ſpeeches were made on this remarkable bill, and ſeveral amendments were made to it, which rendered it very different from what it appeared in its original ſtate. With theſe amendments it was carried in the houſe of peers by a majority of five voices, and afterwards received the royal aſſent: but the queen dying before it took place, the act was rendered ineffectual.

It now appeared ſufficiently evident that the lords were determined to cenſure the conduct of lord Bolingbroke; but the queen, in order to prevent the conſequences that might enſue, went to the houſe of peers, on the 9th of July, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The progreſs which has been made in public buſineſs, and the ſeaſon of the year, render it both convenient and neceſſary, that I ſhould put an end to this ſeſſion.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks for all your good ſervices to me and to your country, and particularly for the ſupplies you have given me, as well to defray the expences of the current year, as towards the diſcharging of the national debt. In our preſent circumſtances it could not be expected, that a full proviſion ſhould be made on both theſe heads. What you have granted ſhall be laid out with the beſt huſbandry, and to the greateſt advantage.

"My lords and gentlemen,

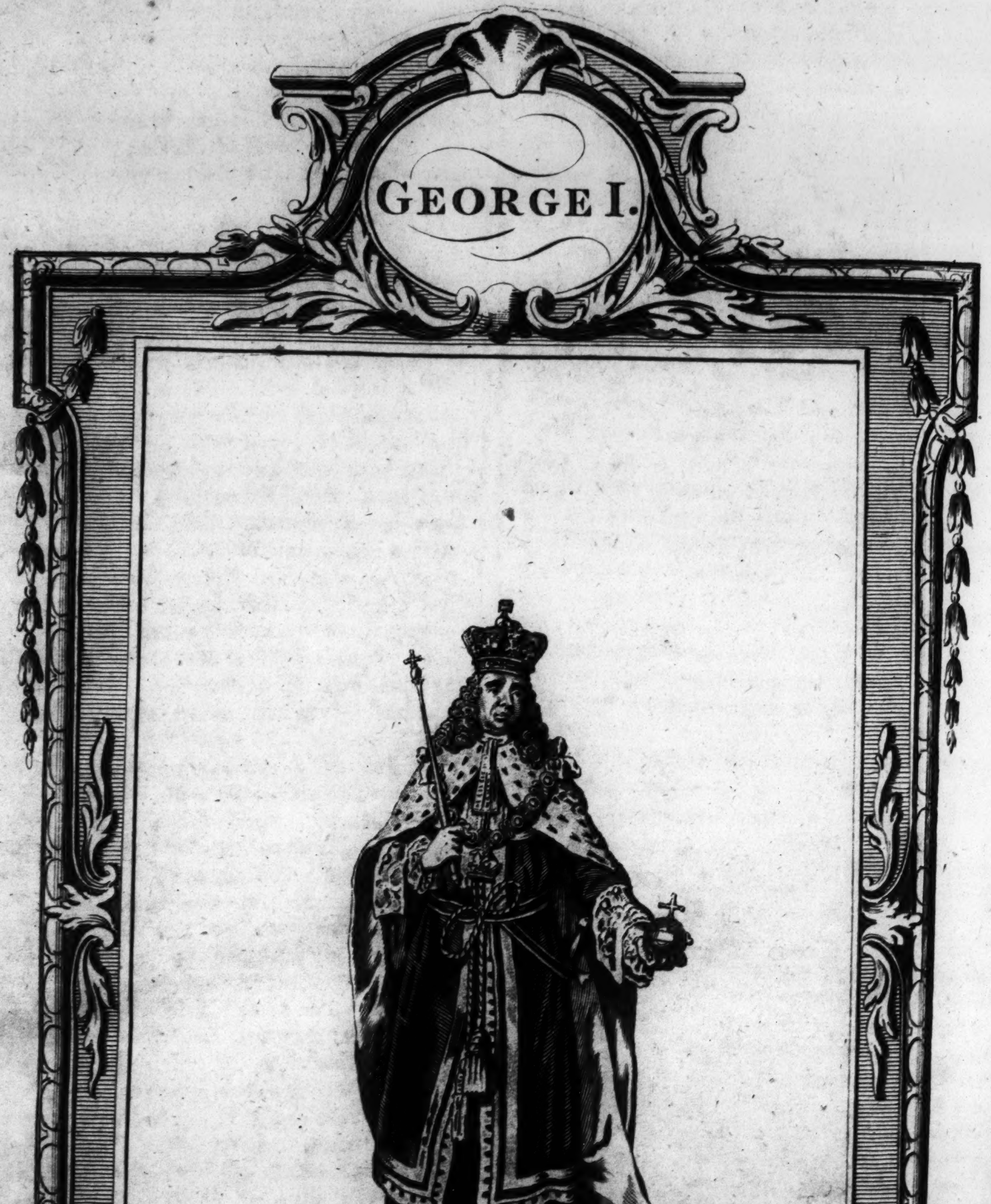
"I hope early in the winter to meet you again, and to find you in ſuch a temper as is neceſſary for the real improvement of our commerce, and of all the other advantages of peace. My chief concern is to preſerve to you, and to your poſterity, our holy religion, and the liberty of my ſubjects, and to procure the preſent and future tranquillity of my kingdom. But I muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable ends can never be attained, unleſs you bring the ſame diſpoſitions on your parts; unleſs all groundleſs jealouſies, which create and foment diviſions among you, be laid aſide: and unleſs you ſhew the ſame regard for my prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expreſſed for the rights of my people."

This was the laſt ſpeech the queen ever made to her parliament: her conſtitution was now quite broken; one fit of ſickneſs ſucceeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the diſcords that prevailed among her miniſters. While the parliament continued ſitting, they maintained ſome appearance at leaſt of unity, fearing an attack from that branch of the legiſlature; but their fears being now over, they laid no reſtraint upon their paſſions. Their diſputes became intolerable; they ſo far forgot their duty to her majeſty, and regard for their country, that whenever Oxford and Bolingbroke met in council, they ſtudied rather to oppoſe each other than to ſettle or purſue any regular plan of government. And their jealouſies arrived at laſt to ſuch a ſhameful height, that it is believed a quarrel that happened between them in the queen's preſence haſtened her death. It is certain that the ſevereſt reproaches paſſed between theſe miniſters on the 27th of July, when Oxford was deprived of the white ſtaff. He imputed his diſgrace to Bolingbroke, lady Maſham, and the chancellor, and told them, in the queen's preſence, "That he had been wronged and abuſed by lies and miſrepreſentations; but he ſhould be revenged, and leave ſome people as low as he found them."

Such confuſions, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on this event, had ſo violent an effect on the queen's ſpirits, that, on the 29th of July, ſhe was ſeized with a lethargic diſorder, and the next day, about ſeven in the morning, was ſtruck with an apoplexy. She, however, recovered, in ſome degree, the uſe of her ſenſes, and during that interval gave the white ſtaff to the duke of Shrewſbury, bidding him uſe it for the good of her people.

This was the laſt act of her government; for the council now took upon themſelves the direction of public affairs. Their firſt conſideration was the ſecurity of the kingdom, and orders were immediately iſſued to the four regiments of horſe and dragoons,

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM


GEORGE I.

Wale delin.
Vandroit sculp.

quartered in the neighbouring counties, to march with all expedition into the neighbourhood of London. At the ſame time, ſeven of the ten Britiſh battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark, with the greateſt expedition, at Oſtend, for England. An embargo was laid upon all ſhipping, and directions given for equipping all the ſhips of war that were in a condition for immediate ſervice. Nor was the elector of Brunſwick forgot: a letter was written to that prince, informing him of the dangerous condition of the queen's life; and deſiring him to repair to Holland with all convenient ſpeed, where a Britiſh ſquadron would attend to convoy him ſafe to England, in caſe of her majeſty's deceaſe. The miniſtry alſo took care to ſecure the ſea-ports, to over-awe all the jacobites in Scotland, and to prevent the friends of the pretender from aſſembling in England.

In the mean time every effort was uſed for the recovery of the queen; but the violence of her diſorder rendered the power of medicine ineffectual. After having dozed in a lethargic inſenſibility for near thirty-ſix hours, ſhe paid the great debt of nature, on the firſt of Auguſt, about ſeven in the morning, in the 50th year of her age, and the 13th of her reign.

Queen Anne was in her perſon of the middle ſize, and well proportioned, her hair of a dark brown, her complexion ruddy, her aſpect rather comely than majeſtic, her voice clear and melodious, and her preſence engaging.

During the reign of this princeſs juſtice flowed in an impartial and uninterrupted courſe; and both the church and ſtate experienced a profuſion of royal bounty. While her ſubjects laboured under the burden of an expenſive war, ſhe generouſly aſſiſted them with a very conſiderable part of her own revenue. She piouſly applied the firſt-fruits and tenths, one of the choiceſt flowers of the crown, to the maintenance of the poor clergy. She always expreſſed the greateſt concern for the advancement of religion, and with the pureſt zeal promoted the deſign of erecting churches to her Saviour's honour. She gave every encouragement to charity ſchools for the ſupport of the indigent youth of her populous capital, that the ſeeds of religion and virtue might be early ſown in their tender minds, and even the univerſities, thoſe celebrated ſeats of learning, always found her an indulgent patroneſs. She always ſhared in the joys and ſorrows of her ſubjects, nor ever concealed herſelf from their diſtreſs. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity; a tender mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent miſtreſs. In a word, if ſhe was not the greateſt, ſhe was, at leaſt, one of the beſt ſovereigns that ever adorned the throne of England.

Queen Anne had ſix children, but none ſurvived her. The duke of Glouceſter only reached his 12th year, all the reſt died in their infancy.

The only remarkable occurrence that happened during this queen's reign was the following:

On the 26th of September, 1703, about eleven o'clock at night, there aroſe the moſt dreadful tempeſt that had ever been known in the memory of man, attended with ſuch flaſhes of lightening and peals of thunder as filled every mind with terror and conſternation. The houſes in London ſhook from their foundations, and ſeveral of them falling, overwhelmed the inhabitants in their ruins. The Thames overflowed ſeveral ſtreets, and roſe to a conſiderable height in Weſtminſter-hall. London-bridge was almoſt choaked up with the wreck of veſſels that were beat to pieces in the river. Thirteen men of war were deſtroyed on the Engliſh coaſts, beſides a great number of merchant ſhips; and upwards of 1500 ſeamen periſhed. The loſs ſuſtained by the capital alone was eſtimated at near two millions, and the city of Briſtol ſuffered to the amount of 200,000l.

The greateſt improvements were made in learning and the polite arts during this queen's reign, which put her court, at leaſt, on a footing with that of Lewis XIV. in its moſt ſplendid days. Many of the great men, who had figured in the reigns of the Stuarts and William were ſtill alive, and in the full exerciſe of their faculties, when a new race ſprung up in the republic of learning and the arts. Addiſon, Prior, Pope, Swift, lord Bolingbroke, lord Shafteſbury, Arbuthnot, Congreve, Steele, Rowe, and many other excellent writers, both in proſe and verſe, need but be mentioned to be admired, and the Engliſh were as triumphant in literature as in war. Natural and moral philoſophy kept pace with the polite arts, and even religious and political diſputes contributed to the advancement of learning, by the unbounded liberty which the laws of England allow in ſpeculative matters.

BOOK XV.

From the Acceſſion of GEORGE I. *to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.*

GEORGE I.

AS ſoon as the late queen's death was made known, orders were immediately iſſued by the council for proclaiming George, * elector of Brunſwick, king of England; which was accordingly done on the very ſame day, at the uſual places, and with the accuſtomed ceremonies. The earl of Dorſet was at the ſame time appointed to carry the news of his majeſty's acceſſion, and to attend him in his voyage to England.

---

* This prince, when he acceded to the throne of England, s in the 55th year of age. He was endowed by nature with extenſive genius, cultivated by an excellent education; ich, together with his experience, rendered him perfectly able of ſupporting the weight of a crown, to which he was now called by the voice of the people. He had long been known to the Engliſh, having commanded a body of troops in the allied army, where his valour and conduct had gained him univerſal eſteem.

In the mean time the greateſt precautions were taken by the lords of the regency for guarding againſt a ſurprize. They diſpatched ſuch officers of the army as they knew they could truſt to their reſpective poſts; gave orders to reinforce the garriſon at Portſmouth, and ſent veſſels out to view the harbours of France, and diſcover whether any preparations were making for an invaſion of this kingdom. They choſe Mr. Joſeph Addiſon for their ſecretary, and ordered all letters and diſpatches directed to the ſecretary of ſtate to be ſent to him. This was a mortifying circumſtance to lord Bolingbroke, who was now obliged to ſtand at the door of the council chamber, with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from thoſe whom, but a few days before, he expected to command.

The parliament, in conformity to the act of ſucceſſion, met at Weſtminſter on the very day the queen died. On the 5th of Auguſt the lords-juſtices went to the houſe of peers, and the lord-chancellor, in the name of the reſt, made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he acquainted them, "that nothing had been omitted, ſince her majeſty's death, which might contribute to the ſafety of theſe realms: that they had, in conjunction with the council, proclaimed our lawful and rightful ſovereign king George; that ſeveral branches of the public revenue being expired by the queen's demiſe, he recommended to them to make ſuch proviſions as might be requiſite to ſupport the honour and dignity of the crown." He then, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, exhorted them to a perfect unanimity and firm adherence to their ſovereign's intereſt, as the only means to continue the preſent tranquillity.

Both houſes immediately agreed upon an addreſs of condolance for the death of the queen, and congratulations for his majeſty's happy acceſſion; promiſing to ſupport his right to the imperial crown of theſe realms, againſt the Pretender, and all perſons whatſoever, and deſiring his preſence among them. Theſe addreſſes being tranſmitted to his majeſty, were moſt graciouſly received, and he was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

"I take this firſt opportunity of returning you my moſt hearty thanks for your addreſs, and the aſſurances you have given me therein. The zeal and unanimity you have ſhewn upon my acceſſion to the crown, are great encouragements to me, and I ſhall always eſteem the continuance of them as one of the greateſt bleſſings to my reign. No one can be more truly ſenſible than I am of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of the late queen, whoſe piety and virtues ſo much endeared her to her people, and for whoſe memory I ſhall always have a particular regard. My beſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to repair this loſs to the nation. I will make it my conſtant care to preſerve our religion, laws and liberties inviolable, and to advance the honour and proſperity of my kingdoms. I am haſtening to you, according to your deſire, ſo affectionately expreſſed in your addreſs."

The parliament were ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that theyimmediately voted an addreſs of thanks; after which they granted the yearly ſum of 116,573l. during the term of thirty-two years, for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and the dignity of the crown.

Having diſpatched the other matters that lay before them, the lord's juſtices, on the 21ſt of Auguſt, went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the bills for the ſupport of the king's houſhold, for rectifying miſtakes in commiſſioners names for the land-tax, and for enabling perſons, reſiding in Great Britain, to qualify themſelves there for continuing in their reſpective employments in Ireland. The two houſes now adjourned to the 25th of Auguſt*, and were then, by his majeſty's command, prorogued to the 23d of September.

The court of France was greatly confounded on receiving the news of the late queen's death. They found it was impoſſible for them to oppoſe the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown, and therefore they acknowledged George, elector of Hanover, king of Great Britain. The pretender, who had been flattered with the hopes of aſſuming the Engliſh throne, both by the miniſters of France and England, no ſooner heard that the queen was either dead, or paſt all hopes of recovery, than he poſted immediately to Verſailles; but before he reached the palace, he was met by the marquis de Torcy, who told him, "That his moſt chriſtian majeſty was ſurprized at his being returned into his dominions, knowing the engagements he was under with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain in the houſe of Hanover; and therefore deſired him to quit his territories immediately." This unexpected reception greatly aſtoniſhed the pretender, who immediately departed, and again returned to the court of Lorrain.

On the 28th of Auguſt Mr. Murray arrived with expreſſes from Hanover, informing the regency that his majeſty had deferred his departure for ſome days, and ordered the lords-juſtice to remove lord Bolingbroke from his office of ſecretary of ſtate. This was accordingly done on the 31ſt, and not without particular marks of the royal diſpleaſure; for the ſeals were not only taken from him, but the doors of his office were locked and ſealed.

During theſe tranſactions the duke of Marlborough arrived in England; he landed at Dover the very day the queen paid the debt of nature. His grace had been invited over, firſt by the lord treaſurer Oxford, when he had formed a deſign of ingratiating himſelf with the whigs; and afterwards by lord Bolingbroke, who found it neceſſary to acquire a colleague to ſupport him in power, ſo that it is no wonder he made large promiſes to the duke. His grace ſeemed indeed ſo elated with returning greatneſs, that he for once loſt ſight of that prudence, which had hitherto been the invariable guide of his conduct. He endeavoured to make a public entry; and accordingly about 200 of the inhabitants of Southwark, with their member at their head, reſolved to attend him through the Borough. He was alſo eſcorted through the city by a like number on horſeback; but the populace, who had been poiſoned by the reports of the tories, did not receive him in the manner he expected.

On the 16th of September the king embarked for England, and on the 18th landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lord-chancellor at the head of the lords of the regency. His majeſty choſe to walk to his houſe in the park, accompanied by moſt of the nobility, and great numbers of the principal gentry, through an infinite croud of perſons of all conditions.

---

* On the 24th of Auguſt the remains of her late majeſty were depoſited with the uſual ſolemnities in Weſtminſter abbey. She was interred in the ſame vault with her late conſort prince George of Denmark.

The king made his public entry into London on the 20th of September, with great pomp and magnificence. Above 200 coaches belonging to the nobility and gentry, all drawn by ſix horſes, preceded the king's. He was met at St. Margaret's-hill in Southwark, by the lord-mayor, aldermen, recorder, ſheriffs and officers of the city of London, in whoſe name Sir Peter King, the recorder, made a congratulatory ſpeech. The lord-mayor delivered the city ſword to the king, who returned it, and he bore it in the proceſſion. The number of people aſſembled on this occaſion was amazing, all of whom teſtified their ſatisfaction by the loudeſt acclamations.

Few princes ever mounted a throne with greater eclat than did George the Firſt; notwithſtanding which his reign commenced with troubles. The animoſity that at this time ſubſiſted between the Whigs and Tories was much higher than ever. The whigs, who had been in diſgrace during the four laſt years of the late reign, were filled with reſentment at the uſage they had received from the tories, and hoped to have full ſatisfaction under a reign, the commencement of which they conſidered as the end of their humiliation. The tories were apprehenſive of a fall, and this had engaged ſeveral of their leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly oppoſite to meaſures for maintaining the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The king, highly eſteemed for his prudence, ſeemed capable of diſtinguiſhing the heats of faction, or at leaſt of turning them to the public good. Poſſibly he might have ſucceeded had he maintained an equal balance between the two parties, and endeavoured to unite them by a proper conduct and addreſs; but whether he thought it impoſſible to reconcile the turbulent paſſions of the two parties, or whether the prejudice he had conceived againſt the tories carried him beyond proper bounds, he gave all his confidence to their adverſaries.

Theſe meaſures tended only to widen the breach, and increaſe the number of enemies to the principles of the revolution. Not only the papiſts eſpouſed the intereſt of the abdicated family, but alſo great numbers of thoſe who profeſſed the tenets of the church of England; and it was feared they would join with the catholics, to dethrone a prince whom they conſidered as a foreigner. Neither the famous diſtinction between a king de jure and a king de facto, nor the doctrine of paſſive obedience, was yet forgot; and hence ſeveral refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

The changes that enſued were a farther proof that the tories were to expect no favour from the new king. Bolingbroke had been diſmiſſed before his arrival, and lord Townſend appointed ſecretary of ſtate in his room. The command of the army was taken from the duke of Ormond, and reſtored to the duke of Marlborough. The lord Cowper was made lord-chancellor; the earl of Wharton, lord privy-ſeal; and the earl of Sunderland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Devonſhire was appointed ſteward of the houſhold, in the room of earl Paulet; and Mr. James Stanhope, ſecretary of ſtate in the room of Mr. Bromley. The duke of Somerſet was made maſter of the horſe, the duke of St. Albans captain of the band of penſioners, and the duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. William Pulteney was made ſecretary at war, and Mr. Robert Walpole receiver and paymaſter-general of all the forces in Great Britain, and paymaſter to Chelſea hoſpital. This revolution extended to other public employments, and the whigs triumphed with as high a hand on this occaſion, as they had before been humbled and diſgraced.

Theſe changes being made in the government, his majeſty aſſembled his council, whom he addreſſed to the following effect: " That he was reſolved to maintain the churches of England and Scotland as by law eſtabliſhed; that he hoped to ſucceed without infringing that toleration granted to the proteſtant nonconformiſts, a toleration ſo advantageous to commerce and the public welfare; and that he would be particularly careful to ſecure property, that precious right of the ſubject, which eſſentially conſtitutes the happineſs of the nation.

On the 15th of October the king was crowned at Weſtminſter. There was never ſo great an appearance of lords ſpiritual and temporal, as on this occaſion; no leſs than ſeventeen archbiſhops and biſhops attended; all the dukes in and about London, except the duke of Buckingham; ſeventy earls and viſcounts, and among them the earl of Oxford and viſcount Bolingbroke, and as many barons. The demonſtrations of joy throughout the kingdom ſeemed to be general on this happy event, ſome few places excepted, where the populace ſhewed their hatred to the proteſtant ſucceſſion by riots and outrages.

The demolition of Dunkirk having been repreſented as not going on with that vigour as had been ſtipulated by the late treaty of peace, the Engliſh reſident at Paris was ordered to preſent a memorial to haſten the work, as alſo to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finiſhed. Lewis having returned an equivocal anſwer, Mr. Prior was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambaſſador to the French court, where he proſecuted the affair with great vigour. And as the barrier, now on the carpet between the emperor and the ſtates-general, was of great conſequence to the trade of this nation, general Cadogan was ſent to Antwerp to aſſiſt at the conferences.

During theſe tranſactions the number of mal-contents in England was conſiderably increaſed; the old clamour of the danger the church was in was revived; ſeditious libels were diſperſed among the people; and terrible tumults raiſed in different parts of the kingdom, particularly at Birmingham, Briſtol, Norwich, and Reading. The party cry was, " Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" The pretender, who went by the title of the chevalier de St. George, attempted to avail himſelf of this juncture, by publiſhing a manifeſto, wherein he complained that a foreign prince had been proclaimed contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtable law of hereditary right; obſerving that no act of parliament could ſet aſide that law, and that his ſubjects, by violating it, were no leſs injurious to themſelves than to him.

A. D. 1715. The preſent parliament conſiſting chiefly of tory members, it was judged altogether improper to continue it any longer at this critical juncture. Accordingly, on the 5th of January, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving it, and a new one was appointed to meet on the 17th of March. This proclamation was filled with complaints againſt thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves diſaffected to the eſtabliſhed government. It was added, " that his majeſty hoped ſuch perſons only would be elected as were capable of putting an end to the preſent diſorders, and that particular attention would be paid to ſuch as had ſupported the proteſtant ſucceſſion when in danger." Nothing could be more clearly pointed out to the whigs, nor mark more ſtrongly on which ſide he wiſhed the votes to fall. A very ſtrong oppoſition was, however, made by the tory party; but the influence of the court, and the ſpirit of liberty among the people, produced the deſired effect: a large majority were on the ſide of the revolution.

The new parliament met on the day appointed; and the commons having elected Mr. Spencer Compton

ton for their ſpeaker, the ſeſſion was opened on the 21ſt, with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"This being the firſt opportunity I have had of meeting my people in parliament, ſince it pleaſed God to call me to the throne of my anceſtors, I moſt gladly make uſe of it, to thank my faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs, which hath been ſhewn in defence of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all the open and ſecret practices that have been uſed to defeat it; and I ſhall never forget the obligation I have to thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion.

"It were to be wiſhed that the unparelleled ſucceſſes of a war, which was ſo wiſely and chearfully ſupported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a ſuitable concluſion; but it is with concern I muſt tell you, that ſome conditions, even of this peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great Britain, are not yet duly executed, and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious until we have formed defenſive alliances, to guaranty the preſent treaty.

"The pretender, who ſtill reſides in Lorrain, threatens to diſturb us, and boaſts of the aſſiſtance which he ſtill expects here, to repair his former diſappointments.

"A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

"The public debts are very great, and ſurprizingly increaſed, ever ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. My firſt care was to prevent a farther increaſe of thoſe debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ſhips, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occaſion for continuing ſuch an expence.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I rely upon you for ſuch ſupplies as the preſent circumſtances of our affairs require for this year's ſervice, and for the ſupport of the public faith. The proper eſtimates ſhall be laid before you, that you may conſider of them, and what you ſhall judge neceſſary for your ſafety, I ſhall think ſufficient for mine.

"I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the ſupport of the credit of the nation, than a ſpirited obſervance of all parliamentary engagements.

"The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil government, are ſo far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain and have been granted to me, will fall greatly ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. And ſince it is my happineſs, as I am confident you think it yours, to ſee a prince of Wales, who may, in due time ſucceed me on the throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with many children, the beſt and moſt valuable pledges of our care and concern for your poſterity, this muſt occaſion an expence, to which the nation has not for many years been accuſtomed, but ſuch as ſurely no man will grudge, and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reaſon to hope from you.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the iſſue of this firſt ſeſſion. Let no unhappy diviſions of parties here at home divert you from purſuing the common intereſt of your country. Let no wicked inſinuations diſquiet the minds of my ſubjects. The eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall be the rule of my government. The happineſs, eaſe and proſperity of my people ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but I ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe who would deprive me of that bleſſing which I moſt value, the affection of my people."

As ſoon as his majeſty left the houſe, the lords took the royal ſpeech into conſideration, and immediately voted an addreſs, the concluſive part of which was to the following effect: "that they would take ſuch meaſures as would preſerve the public credit, reſtore our trade, extinguiſh the very hopes of the pretender, and recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts; the loſs of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions, is by no means to be imputed to the nation in general." This gave occaſion to a very warm debate. The tories alledged, "that it was injurious to the late queen's memory, and claſhed with that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, which recommended to both houſes, the avoiding the unhappy diviſions of parties, and that it was unjuſt to condemn perſons without hearing them." Lord Bolingbroke, in particular, was very warm on this ſubject, and moved that part of the clauſe might be omitted. But it was carried againſt him, and the addreſs was preſented in its original.

The whigs now determined to enquire into the late negotiations, and a ſecret committee was appointed for that purpoſe. The famous Sir Robert Walpole was appointed chairman; who, after delivering the report, impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treaſon, as the author of a particular treaty concluded with Lewis XIV. Lord Coningſby immediately roſe, and ſaid, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand; I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk; I the judge: he the ſcholar; I the maſter. I impeach Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, of high-treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors. Mr. Harley, the earl of Oxford's brother, ſpoke in his defence. He alledged, "that the miniſter had done nothing but by the immediate order of the queen; that the peace of Utrecht was an advantageous peace, and, as ſuch, it had been approved by two parliaments."

On the 21ſt of June Mr. ſecretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors. The duke was defended by ſeveral members. Sir Joſeph Jekyll in particular ſaid, "That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be ſhewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a courſe of many years, exerted thoſe great accompliſhments for the good and honour of his country: that as the ſtatute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treaſon againſt him was founded, had been mitigated by ſubſequent acts, the houſe ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act againſt the duke, but only to impeach him of high crimes and miſdemeanors." This occaſioned a long and warm debate; but the queſtion being put, it was carried for his impeachment. The duke perceiving he was already pre-judged by his enemies, who were determined to carry on the impeachment with the whole force of their party, conſulted his own ſafety, by withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom.

Articles of impeachment were alſo drawn up by the commons, againſt Robert earl of Oxford, which being agreed to, lord Coningſby went up to the lords, and, at the bar of the houſe, impeached the ſaid earl of high-treaſon; demanding, at the ſame time, that he might be ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to ſafe cuſtody. The earl, after proteſting his innocence, obſerved, that if miniſters of ſtate, who only executed the orders of their ſovereign, were reſponſible for their conduct, every member of that houſe might one day be expoſed to the ſame misfortunes. He added, "My lords, I am about to take my leave of your lordſhips and this honourable houſe, perhaps for ever. I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, in a cauſe favoured by my dear royal miſtreſs. When I conſider that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done." He was ſuffered to return to his own houſe, in cuſtody of the Black Rod, in conſequence of his being ill of the gravel. The next day he was brought to the bar of the houſe, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his anſwer. But he was ordered immediately to the Tower, notwithſtanding his bad ſtate of health.

Theſe proceedings greatly contributed to increaſe the popular ferments. Tumults were raiſed in various parts of the kingdom againſt the friends and adherents of the new miniſtry. A general ſpirit of diſcontent, ſo openly maniſeſted, filled them with terror for their own ſafety, and the houſe of commons throught proper to addreſs the king to put the laws againſt rioters vigorouſly in force. A new law, called, "The Proclamation, or Riot-act," was prepared, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent, decreeing, that if any perſons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully aſſembled, ſhould continue together one hour after having been required in his majeſty's name to diſperſe, by a juſtice of the peace, or other officer, and heard the proclamation againſt riots read in public, they ſhould be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

On the 20th of July the king went to the houſe of peers, and having ſent for the commons he acquainted them that he had received certain advices of an attempt preparing abroad in favour of the pretender; and that a rebellion was actually begun at home: he therefore expected that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceleſs condition, but enable him to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary for the public ſafety. The commons immediately drew up an addreſs, in which they aſſured his majeſty, they would ſupport him, with their lives and fortunes, againſt all his open and ſecret enemies, and deſired him to raiſe ſufficient forces, as ſoon as poſſible, for the ſecurity of the kingdom; and the next day, the lords addreſſed him to the ſame effect.

The Habeas Corpus act was now ſuſpended, and orders were iſſued to arreſt all ſuſpected perſons. A reward of 100,000l. was offered to any one who ſhould take the pretender, dead or alive. Troops were raiſed, a fleet was equipped, and every neceſſary preparation made for the ſecurity of the kingdom.

On the 5th of Auguſt the articles of impeachment againſt the duke of Ormond were read in the houſe of lords, upon which warm debates enſued, but the ſeveral articles were at laſt agreed to by a great majority. The firſt of theſe articles charged the duke, with correſponding with the marſhal Villars, the French general, while he commanded the Britiſh army in Flanders. The ſecond, that he wickedly promiſed and engaged, that he would not attack the French army, nor engage in any ſiege againſt France. The third, that he did falſely, maliciouſly, wickedly, and traiterouſly adhere to the French king, and in purſuance of a promiſe he had ſecretly made to the marſhal Villars, he endeavoured to perſuade the general of the confederate army to raiſe the ſiege of Queſnoy, and, when he could not prevail, marched off with the queen's troops, and gave the general of the enemy advice of it. All the reſt of the articles conſiſted of the duke's conduct in Flanders reduced into a charge; and both he and the lord Bolingbroke being fled from juſtice, bills were brought in to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves by the 10th of September, and, in default thereof, to attaint them of high treaſon, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. Theſe noblemen having neglected to ſurrender themſelves within the time limited by this proclamation, the houſe of lords ordered the earl marſhal to raze their names and armorial bearings out of the liſt of peers; inventories were taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the duke's atchievement, as knight of the garter, was taken from St. George's chapel at Windſor.

The alarm of an intended invaſion was not without foundation. The tories had held a correſpondence abroad, and the pretender relied on the promiſes of Lewis XIV. but that prince dying on the firſt of September, the face of affairs in that kingdom was totally changed. The regency devolved to the duke of Orleans, who had neither the power nor inclination to ſacrifice the treaſures of the ſtate he governed to ſupport the intereſt of a wretched exile, who had very ſmall hopes of obtaining the crown he claimed as his birth-right.

The jacobites, however, had proceeded too far to think of retreating; and the earl of Mar erected the pretender's ſtandard on Brae-Mar on the 25th of September. He afterwards cauſed him to be proclaimed at Caſtletown, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, and ſeveral other places. Several ſuſpected perſons were ſeized, and committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh. Two veſſels found means to elude the vigilance of the Engliſh fleet, and landed ſeveral officers, together with a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, in Scotland. This was, however, the only aſſiſtance the pretender received from France. The regent found it his intereſt to cultivate a friendſhip with the Engliſh miniſtry. The rebels now publiſhed a maniſeſto, in which they gave their reaſons for taking up arms; enumerated the grievances of the nation, and promiſed to redreſs them.

The duke of Argyle, who had been appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, ſet out on the 9th of September, for that kingdom; and about the ſame time the earl of Sunderland offered his ſervice to go and raiſe the highland clans in the moſt northern counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted, and the Queenborough man of war was appointed to carry him thither. Several other Scottiſh peers, particularly the duke of Roxburgh, the marquiſſes of Anandale and Tweedale, the earls of Selkirk and Loudon, Roſs, Haddington, Forfar, &c. readily embraced this opportunity of ſhewing their loyalty to their king, and zeal for their country.

A dangerous conſpiracy was about this time diſcovered and rendered abortive in England. On the 2d of September lieutenant-colonel Paul, who had a company in the firſt regiment of foot-guards, was ſecured, and the next day ſent priſoner to the Gatehouſe. He was charged with enliſting men for the pretender's ſervice, and other treaſonable practices. The titular duke of Powis, a Roman catholic, was committed to the Tower for high-treaſon; and the lords Landſdown and Tuplin were alſo taken into cuſtody, and a warrant iſſued for apprehending the earl of Jerſey. At the ſame time, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope acquainted the commons, "that he was commanded by the king to communicate to them, that his majeſty, having juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that Sir William Windham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, ſen. of Combe, Mr. Thomas Foſter, jun. Mr. John Anſtis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, were engaged in a deſign to ſupport the intended invaſion of this kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them, and deſired the conſent of the houſe, to his cauſing them to be committed and detained, if he ſhould judge it neceſſary." This was unanimouſly agreed to and an addreſs preſented to his majeſty for that purpoſe.

The conſent of the houſe being thus obtained, warrants were immediately iſſued for apprehending the ſix members, two of whom, Hervey and Anſtis, being then in town, were immediately ſecured. Mr. Hervey, ſome few days after, ſtabbed himſelf with a knife, in two or three places of his breaſt; but the wounds did not prove mortal. Mr. Foſter bid defiance to juſtice, and with the aſſiſtance of two Romiſh lords, raiſed a rebellion in Northumberland. Sir John Packington was brought up to town from Worceſterſhire, and after being examined before the council, was honourably diſcharged. Mr. Kynaſton made his eſcape, and colonel Huſke, a captain in the foot guards was ſent down with a meſſenger to apprehend Sir William Windham, in Somerſetſhire. On their arrival, which was about five in the morning, they deſired to ſee Sir William immediately; but the porter told them he was in bed and could not yet be ſpoke with. The colonel told him he came expreſs, and that the perſon with him had a packet of letters of ſuch conſequence, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to inform his maſter of their arrival immediately. This alarmed the porter, and Sir William immediately leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the colonel, who told him he was his priſoner, the meſſenger at the ſame time ſhewing him the badge of his office. Sir William ſaid he readily ſubmitted; but deſired no noiſe might be made to frighten his lady, who was then with child. They now entered a chamber, where the colonel, ſeeing Sir William's coat and waiſtcoat lie, told him he had orders to ſeize all his papers, and that he muſt take leave to ſearch his pockets, where he found a bundle of papers, which he ſecured. Sir William would have diverted him by offering him the keys of his eſcrutore in order to ſearch for more; but the colonel had now ſecured thoſe of the utmoſt importance. Sir William deſired the colonel would ſtay till ſeven o'clock, when he would order his carriage to be ready; adding, he would only retire and put on his clothes, and take leave of his lady. This was granted; but the colonel ſoon found he had been too complaiſant; Sir William inſtead of retiring made his eſcape. On the colonel's return a proclamation was iſſued, promiſing 1000l. reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend Sir William.

Finding it would be in vain any longer to ſecrete himſelf, Sir William repaired to London, and ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Hertford, captain of one of the troops of life-guards. After a ſtrict examination before the council, he was committed to the Tower, notwithſtanding the duke of Somerſet offered to bail him. This refuſal ſo irritated the duke that he immediately reſigned all his employments.

On the 21ſt of September the king went to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion.

The deſigned inſurrection in the weſtern counties was ſo well concerted, and the the conſpirators ſo powerful and numerous, that the jacobites at Bath, depending on their majority, openly aſſerted, that the affair of Scotland was only a diverſion to draw the king's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would ſoon be made in the weſt. The government, however, having received information of the ſecret proceedings of the malcontents, took ſuch meaſures as rendered all their deſigns abortive. Their firſt attempt was intended to be againſt Briſtol, which they propoſed to make a place of arms. This was prevented by the earl of Berkley, lord-lieutenant of the county, and governor of that city, who repaired thither immediately, and took the neceſſary precautions for ſecuring that important place. Several perſons were apprehended, and among the reſt Mr. Hart, a merchant, who was charged with having collected a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores for the uſe of the conſpirators.

About the ſame time lord Windſor's regiment of horſe, under the command of major-general Wade, marched to Bath, which was both the rendezvous and one of the arſenals of the conſpirators. Upon a ſtrict ſearch the king's officers diſcovered and ſeized eleven cheſts of fire-arms, a hogſhead filled with baſket hilted ſwords, and another of cartouches, three pieces of cannon and one mortar, which had been buried under ground. About 200 horſes were ſeized, and eight of the principal leaders were committed to priſon.

The diſaffected in the north of England were more ſucceſsful than their brethren in the weſt. Meaſures had been concerted at London by the Pretender's friends, ſome time before the inſurrection broke out in Northumberland. The inſurgents received great aſſiſtance from captain John Shaftoe, a half-pay officer, and captain John Hunter, in North Tyne, who had a commiſſion from queen Anne to raiſe an independent company. Beſides theſe was captain Robert Talbot, an Iriſh papiſt, who had been in the French ſervice. He carried an account of the reſolutions formed in London, and by his advice every neceſſary precaution was taken for preventing any part of their ſcheme from tranſpiring.

The firſt appearance of their riſing in arms was about the latter end of September, when the earl of Derwentwater was informed that a warrant was iſſued by the ſecretary of ſtate for apprehending him, and that the meſſengers were already in the neighbourhood of Durham. This ſufficiently alarmed the whole party, and a meeting of all the chiefs was held, where it was reſolved to throw off the maſque, and openly declare their intentions. The Pretender was accordingly proclaimed in ſeveral towns with the uſual formalities. They did not doubt of being received very willingly into Newcaſtle; but on approaching the town, they were ſurpriſed to find the gates ſhut againſt them. They marched immediately to Hexham, where they ſeized all the arms and horſes they could meet with, and proclaimed the Pretender. Here they received advice, that the lord Kenmure, the earls of Nithſdale, Carnwath and Wintoun, who had taken up arms in the weſt of Scotland, had entered England to join them and advanced as far as Rothbury. They accordingly left Hexham on the 19th of October, and, after a long march, joined the Scots at night. They all marched the next day to Woller, where they received advice that the highlanders, who had croſſed the Forth under Mackintoſh were marching to join them, upon which they continued ther route to Kelſo in Scotland.

The miniſtry being informed of theſe proceedings, it was thought proper to demand from the ſtates-general, the 6000 men ſtipulated by the late treaty. The demand was immediately complied with, and the neceſſary preparations were made for their embarkation. But as it would be ſome time before the Dutch could land in England, Pitt's regiment of horſe, and three regiments of foot, had been ſent for from Ireland, and landed at Cheſter, the beginning of October. Aſſociations were alſo entered into throughout the kingdom for the defence of his majeſty's perſon and government; and the lords-lieutenants of the counties were impowered to form into troops or companies ſuch as ſhould be willing to aſſociate, and to grant them commiſſions in the king's name.

In the mean time orders were ſent to lieutenant-general Carpenter, (now at Newcaſtle,) to march immediately againſt the inſurgents. He accordingly left that place on the 25th of October, and advanced at the head of one regiment of foot and three of dragoons, towards Kelſo, where the rebels ſtill continued. A council of war was immediately called in their camp, and it was reſolved to march directly to Jedburgh. They did not long continue in that place; but by marches and countermarches gave general Carpenter the ſlip, and paſſed into England, reaching Lancaſter on the ſeventh of November. On their approach colonel Chartres, who commanded a few troops in that place, propoſed to blow up a fine bridge over which they were to paſs, in order to obſtruct their entry; but the inhabitants oppoſed this propoſition. The colonel, therefore, thought it adviſeable to leave the town, after having ordered ſome barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels.

The inſurgents, having entered Lancaſter, performed the uſual ceremony of proclaiming the Pretender, and levying the public revenues. Though the town could eaſily have been made tenable againſt a much greater number of forces than the government could at that time ſend againſt them, and though they expected ſuccours from different quarters, yet they continued no longer in Lancaſter than the ninth, when they left the place, carrying with them ſix pieces of cannon which they found in the town. They directed their march to Preſton, where the horſe arrived the ſame night, but the foot halted about mid-way. They entered the town without oppoſition, Stanhope's regiment of horſe, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on their approach.

As ſoon as general Carpenter was informed that the rebels were in full march towards Lancaſter, he reſolved to purſue them with the dragoons only; perſuaded he ſhould be joined by the king's troops in the weſt. He was not miſtaken, and his troops being joined by a conſiderable body under general Willes, they marched to Ribble bridge, fully reſolved to attack the inſurgents in Preſton. The very morning of their arrival general Forſter gave orders for the rebel army to march, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the king's troops were ſo near. He had depended for intelligence from the gentlemen of Lancaſter, who had promiſed that no party of the king's troops ſhould advance within forty miles of Preſton without his knowledge. He was accordingly ſurpriſed when he received advice that general Willes was within ſight of the town. He advanced, however, at the head of a party of horſe to view the poſture of the royal forces; and perceiving they were in full march towards him, he immediately returned.

The intelligence of the king's troops being ſo near did not in the leaſt intimidate the rebels, who with the greateſt expedition, made the neceſſary preparations for their defence. They barricadoed the avenues, and poſted detachments in the ſtreets, bye-lanes, and ſuch houſes as were moſt proper for galling their enemies. The gentlemen volunteers were poſted in the church-yard, under the command of the earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, Nithſdale, and Kenmure. General Forſter formed four grand barriers; the firſt a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintoſh, and ſupported by the gentlemen volunteers in the church-yard. The ſecond was ſituated at the head of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by Charles Murray. The third was near a windmill, and commanded by the laird of Mackintoſh. And the fourth in the ſtreet leading to Liverpool, commanded by major Millar, and Mr. Douglas. They threw up ſeveral intrenchments in an inſtant, and did every thing in their power to make a ſtout reſiſtance; but were guilty of one capital error, which ſufficiently diſcovered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the firſt intelligence of general Willes's approach, they had detached Macpherſon, at the head of 100 men, to take poſſeſſion of Ribble-bridge, which was the only paſs by which the royaliſts could march to Preſton; the river being fordable only in two places, one below, and the other above the bridge, both which could eaſily have been rendered impaſſable. (The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a ſtout reſiſtance from the king's forces.) But Mr. Forſter, inſtead of taking advantage of this paſs, which he might have eaſily done to the deſtruction of the royal forces, ordered his detachment to return to the town, and by that means gave them a free paſſage.

General Willes expected to have met with great oppoſition in forcing the paſs, and made all the neceſſary preparations for that purpoſe; but was greatly ſurpriſed to find it abandoned. He even ſuſpected there was ſome ambuſcade laid for him, and, therefore, reſolved to proceed with great caution. After viewing the hedges, and laying the way open for the cavalry to enter, he perceived not the leaſt appearance of an enemy. He, therefore, concluded they had abandoned the town, and were endeavouring by long marches to return to Scotland; but in this he was alſo miſtaken; for, on his advancing near the town, he perceived them in a proper poſture to give him a warm reception, though in a place where he could attack them with more eaſe than at Ribble-bridge. He immediately prepared for an attack, and diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner as he might beſt annoy them in the town, and prevent their eſcape.

After viewing the diſpoſition of the inſurgents, and finding all the avenues leading to the town ſtrongly barricadoed, with two pieces of cannon planted on each, he reſolved to make two attacks at the ſame time. Accordingly, a captain and fifty dragoons were drawn out of each of the five regiments, and ordered to attack the avenue leading to Wigan. Another large detachment were ordered to attack the avenue leading to Lancaſter.

The firſt attack was upon that barricade below the church, where old brigadier Mackintoſh commanded. He received the king's troops very gallantly, and with a terrible fire, both from the barricade and the tops of the houſes, obliged them to retire to the end of the town. At the ſame time lord Forreſter, who commanded the other detachment, entered the avenue of Wigan, and took poſſeſſion of two large houſes within fifty yards of the barricade, where he poſted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from theſe houſes, which overlooked the whole town, he greatly annoyed the enemy; and from thoſe houſes they received the greater part of the damage they ſuſtained during the action. Theſe houſes had been poſſeſſed by the highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintoſh, but they were called off to ſupport the barricade. This gave the king's troops an opportunity of ſeizing them, and perhaps ſaved the remains of that detachment, which ſuffered very greatly in this bold attack. The other barricades were attacked with great reſolution, but without ſucceſs; the king's troops being obliged to retire to the extremities of the town, and remain ſatisfied till the next day, night now hindering their farther approaches.

Hitherto the rebels appeared to have acted with courage and intrepidity, and to have the advantage, ſince they repulſed the enemy in every attack, with very little loſs. But they did not long continue in their reſolution to defend themſelves to extremity; for being informed next morning that general Carpenter was arrived with a reinforcement of troops to ſurround them, their courage failed them; and from that moment they acted with great irreſolution, and deſpaired of ſucceſs.

About ten in the morning general Carpenter, accompanied by the earl of Carliſle, lord Lumley, and colonel Darcy, arrived at Preſton, and marched himſelf to the Mancheſter ſide. He found that the rebels had been attacked the day before without ſucceſs, and that moſt part of the king's horſe and dragoons were crouded together in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, in ſo incommodious a manner, that it was impoſſible to draw up above three or four in front; and on viewing the ground towards the river, he ſaw that there were no troops poſted at the end of Fiſher-gate-ſtreet, to block up that part of the town, where ſeveral of the rebels were ſaid to have eſcaped the night before. This ſtreet leads to a marſh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river Ribble, where there were two good fords, being the high road towards Liverpool; and towards the end of the ſame ſtreet there was another barricade mounted with two pieces of cannon. General Carpenter, therefore, ordered colonel Pitt to poſt his two ſquadrons on that marſh; and going back to the end of the town, he ordered a communication to be made for the troops to aſſiſt each other, in caſe of a ſally from the rebels. Inveſted on all ſides, and ſenſible, when too late, of their condition, the inſurgents began to conſider what was to be done. The highlanders were for ſallying out upon the king's forces, and dying like men of honour, ſword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to make any ſally. The motion was not indeed communicated to the whole body; a capitulation having been propoſed by general Forſter, as it was expected good terms might be obtained from the king's officers. Colonel Oxburgh offered to go to the head quarters of the royaliſts and treat for a ſurrender. He accordingly repaired to general Willes, and offered to lay down their arms and ſubmit, on his promiſing to recommend them to his majeſty's mercy. The general told the colonel he could not treat with rebels; for as they had killed ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſame fate. The colonel replied, that he hoped, as he was a man of honour and an officer, he would not put perſons to death who were willing to ſubmit. Willes anſwered, all he could do for them was, that if they laid down their arms and ſubmitted themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, he would prevent the ſoldiers from cutting them in pieces, till he had received farther orders; adding, that he would give them no more than an hour to come to a final reſolution. Oxburgh returned into the town to acquaint Mr. Forſter of the general's anſwer. The Scots were very unwilling to accept of ſuch conditions, and Willes conſented to allow them a longer time to give their anſwer. At laſt they agreed to ſurrender themſelves priſoners at diſcretion.

In the above action about 130 men of the royaliſts were killed; but the loſs ſuſtained by the rebels was never known. Upwards of 1400 were taken priſoners, among whom were general Forſter, the earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction: the earls of Nithſdale, Wintoun, Carnwath and Kenmure, lord Nairn, and other Scottiſh noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of 143, beſides ſeveral vaſſals and ſervants. All the noblemen and leaders were ſecured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and enſign Erſkine, were tried by a court martial as deſerters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, ſon to the duke of Athol, was alſo condemned for the ſame crime, but reprieved. The common men were confined at Liverpool and Cheſter; the noblemen and moſt conſiderable officers were ſent to London, conveyed through the ſtreets pinioned like malefactors, and ſome of them committed to the Tower, and others to Newgate.

The very day on which the rebels were ſubdued at Preſton, a battle was fought at Dumblain, between the earl of Mar, who commanded the inſurgents, and the duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the royal army. The duke's forces, amounting to 3.500 men, were drawn up upon the heights above Dumblain, having that town at about a mile and a half on his left, and a wet boggy moraſs, called Sheriff-moor, on his right. The earl of Mar's army, amounting to about 9,000 men, were drawn up oppoſite the royal army. Mar, who knew his number was much greater than Argyle's, extended his lines as far as poſſible, in order to take him in flank, and in this diſpoſition advanced to the attack.

Argyle, who till now ſuppoſed that Sheriff-moor was impaſſable, ſaw that two or three nights froſt had rendered it capable of bearing. At the ſame time he perceived the rebels coming down the moor with an intent to flank him, having their right extended a conſiderable diſtance beyond the point of his left. He found himſelf therefore obliged to alter the diſpoſition of his front, to prevent his being ſurrounded; which, on account of the ſcarcity of general officers, was not ſo eaſily done. The battle was very obſtinate and very bloody; different accounts were given of it, and both ſides claimed the victory. But from the conſequences, it appeared that it was really on the ſide of the royaliſts. The earl of Mar retreated to Perth, and abandoned the deſign he had formed of croſſing the Forth and joining his ſouthern neighbours; nor was it ever after attempted. About 800 of the rebels were ſlain on the field of battle, and 82 taken priſoners, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

The rebels received another conſiderable ſhock in the loſs of Inverneſs, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Symon Fraſer, lord Lovat, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's intereſt, but now declared in favour of the government. A free communication was, by this means, opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sunderland had raiſed a ſtrong body of his vaſſals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth ſoon quitted the rebel army, and ſubmitted to the king. A conſiderable number of the clan of the Fraſers followed the example of lord Lovat, their chief, and declared againſt the pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine likewiſe withdrew from the army, to defend his own country; and the clans, ſeeing no likelihood of another action, returned to their reſpective habitations.

On the 15th of November general Cadogan, with the Dutch troops, arrived in England, and marched immediately to Edinburgh, a reſolution having been taken to diſlodge the rebels from Perth. A conſiderable train of artillery was alſo ſhipped at the Tower, and ſent to Scotland, for the uſe of the army.

In the mean time the Pretender, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation of his affairs in Scotland, reſolved to viſit that kingdom; he therefore poſted through France in diſguiſe, embarked on board a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk; and, on the end of December, landed at Peterhead, with ſix perſons only in his retinue, among whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. He paſſed through Aberdeen, incog. to Fetteroſſe, where he was met and complimented by the earls of Mar and Mareſchal, general Hamilton, and others of his adherents. From Fetteroſſe he repaired to Dundee, and thence to Perth, into which he made his public entry, and was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. Here he publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, and the ſoldiers were employed in fortifying the town; but on the approach of the Engliſh and Dutch forces, he abandoned Perth, retired to Dundee, and afterwards to Montroſe.

The inſurgents, having loſt all hopes of receiving any aſſiſtance from France, and finding themſelves cloſely purſued by the king's forces, began to be greatly diſcouraged. They called a council of war, in which it was reſolved that the Pretender ſhould retire in the evening. It happened fortunately for him, that there was then a ſmall ſhip in the harbour, deſigned for a gentleman whom the chevalier intended to ſend as ambaſſador to a foreign court. This ſhip was now ordered to convey the Pretender, with ſome of his particular friends, to the continent. Theſe were the earls of Mar and Milfort, the lord Drummond, and ſome other chiefs. Nine Engliſh ſhips of war were at that time actually cruiſing at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, but the night proved ſo remarkably dark, that the pretender's ſhip eſcaped the vigilance of the enemy, and landed him ſafely at Graveline in France.

The rebels no ſooner found that their prince had deſerted them, than they deſpiſed all order, diſbanded themſelves, and retired.

Such was the iſſue of a rebellion that had proved fatal to many noble families; and which, inſtead of promoting the intereſt of the Stuart family, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover.

During theſe tranſactions the barrier-treaty, after many difficulties and delays, which gave reaſon to ſuſpect that the imperial court never intended to conclude it, was finally adjuſted and ſigned at Antwerp by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the ſtates-general, and the king of Great Britain. By this treaty, the bounds of the imperial dominions in the Netherlands, as alſo thoſe of the ſtates-general, were finally determined; and the emperor became guarantee of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain, as the ſtates were before the ſigning of the treaty.

A. D. 1716. The parliament met on the 9th of January, when the king made a ſpeech to both houſes; in which he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of the army in ſuppreſſing the rebellion; upon the concluſion of the barrier-treaty between the emperor and the ſtates-general; alſo, on a convention with Spain, that would free the merchants of England trading to that kingdom from the impoſitions and hardſhips under which they had long laboured in conſequence of the late treaties: he likewiſe gave them to underſtand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between Great-Britain and the ſtates-general was now nearly concluded; and aſſured the commons, that he would freely give up all the eſtates that ſhould become forfeited to the crown, in conſequence of the late rebellion, towards defraying the extraordinary expences incurred on the ſucceſſion.

To this ſpeech addreſſes of thanks were ſeverally preſented by both houſes. The commons, in theirs, declared, they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured country, to proſecute in the moſt vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive councils, which had drawn down ſuch miſeries on the nation. Their proceedings were fully conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forſter, general of the Northumbrian rebels, and impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Wintoun and Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington, Kenmure and Nairne, of high-treaſon. They likewiſe brought in a bill of attainder againſt the earl of Mar, William Murray, ſtiled the marquis of Tullibardine, the earl of Linlithgow, and John lord Drummond.

The impeached lords all pleaded guilty, (except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for time to prepare for his defence) and on the 9th of February ſentence of death was paſſed on them by the lord-chancellor Cowper, who was created lord high ſteward on the occaſion.

The greateſt intereſt was made to ſave the lives of theſe noblemen. Their unhappy wives begged with tears the interceſſion of parliament. The houſe of lords preſented an addreſs, praying his majeſty to reprieve ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his clemency. The king anſwered very coldly, that he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſecurity of his ſubjects. The earl of Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill on the 24th of February. The earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were reprieved. The earl of Nithſdale was to have ſuffered with Derwentwater and Kenmure; but his mother ſaved him by a generous artifice: ſhe obtained permiſſion to take her laſt leave of him, ran to embrace him in priſon, and they inſtantly changed dreſſes. By this means he eſcaped, and ſhe continued in priſon. On being interrogated at the bar of the houſe of lords concerning the place of the earl's retreat, ſhe obſerved a profound ſilence. At laſt, in juſtice to her generous affections and virtues, ſhe was diſcharged. Wintoun alſo afterwards made his eſcape, as did Forſter and Mackintoſh out of Newgate. Twenty-two of the rebels were hanged in the country, and ſeveral at Tyburn; particularly colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Paul a clergyman, and Mr. Hall, a juſtice of peace.

This rigour exerciſed againſt the delinquents rendered the miniſtry odious to the people. The court was alarmed, and it was determined to take the moſt proper meaſures for preventing the effect. The preſent parliament was at the devotion of a miniſtry; but it was greatly feared a new one might not be ſo; they might poſſibly return upon the miniſtry the rigour they had exerciſed upon the people. The act of triennial parliaments, that bulwark of the national liberty, was juſtly alarming to a miniſtry, evidently inclined to deſpotiſm. It was indeed dangerous to attack a law of this importance, but the juncture was extremely favourable. It was therefore determined to repeal this act, though juſtly conſidered as the principal defence of the people againſt the attempts of arbitrary power. A motion was accordingly made in the houſe of peers for effecting this purpoſe. It was ſaid, that too frequent elections kept up the ſpirit and activity of parties, fomented family diſcords, brought on ruinous expences, and gave occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign powers; that in the preſent ſtate of affairs it was neceſſary to remedy the evil; and that there was no better method of extinguiſhing the flames of rebellion, which were always ready to break out anew, than by bringing in a bill for extending the duration of parliaments. Theſe arguments were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſeveral of the peers. "The fundamental laws of the kingdom," they ſaid "required frequent parliaments. They were eſtabliſhed by the cuſtom of many ages; they were particularly intereſting to the liberty and glory of the ſubject. What confidence could foreigners repoſe in a nation that would idly ſacrifice its moſt precious rights? The expence of elections, the cabals they might occaſion would be ſo far from weakening the new and dangerous ſyſtem, that they would promote it by the intereſt individuals would have in procuring ſeats in a long parliament. The miniſtry would find ſtronger means and motives to corrupt the members. And might not the ſame parliament that had effected its prolongation, effect alſo its perpetuity, which alone was wanting to deſtroy the privileges of the people, and the conſtitution itſelf?" Theſe arguments, however national, however forcible, were too weak to operate againſt the influence of the court. Diſputes and animoſities took place, but the two houſes paſſed the bill, and it ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

The king now intimated his deſire of viſiting his German dominions; but as there was a clauſe in the act of ſettlement which prevented him from leaving his realms without conſent of parliament, the clauſe was repealed by a new bill, which immediately paſſed both houſes. When this buſineſs was done, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion, declaring, that he had determined to viſit Germany, and had accordingly appointed his ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom during his abſence. He ſoon after embarked at Graveſend, and proceeded directly to Pyrmont, where he ſtaid ſome time to drink the waters for the benefit of his health.

The king had ſcarce left England, before the two parties that divided the nation, broke out into freſh animoſities; the diſorderly multitude are always ready to follow the example of their ſuperiors. The whigs had formed themſelves into ſocieties, and uſed to meet at different houſes in the city and ſuburbs, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mug-houſes, from the veſſels they uſed to drink out of, where whiggiſh healths were toaſted. One of the moſt famous of theſe houſes was in Saliſbury-court, Fleet-ſtreet, and rendered ſo by the following circumſtance. The company aſſembled there having on ſome occaſion given extraordinary demonſtration of their hatred and animoſity to the leading men of the oppoſite party, by malicious healths and reflections, the tory mob being informed of it were ſo incenſed, that on the 20th of July they came and attacked the Mug-houſe, which was kept by one Read, with an intent to demoliſh it; but the company ſending for a reinforcement from another Mug-houſe in Taviſtock-ſtreet, they obliged the aſſailants to fly for the preſent, though many of them returned, and kept lurking about the houſe the two following days; and on the third one Vaughan, who had been a Bridewell boy, inſtigated the mob to go to the Mug-houſe, and revenge their late affront. Accordingly they followed him with loud huzzas of "High church and Ormond, down "with the Mug-houſe!" Mr. Read bid them keep off or he would fire among them, but they not regarding him, he diſcharged his piece, and killed Vaughan on the ſpot, for which he was afterwards tried and acquitted. The mob ſtill continuing their outrages, breaking the windows, pulling down the ſign, gutting the houſe, breaking and deſtroying the furniture, &c. the ſheriffs of London came, and ordered the proclamation againſt riots to be read, which proving of no effect, a party of the guards were ordered to march to the place, at whoſe appearance the mob diſperſed. Five of the rioters, however, were taken, who being tried and convicted, were hanged before the houſe; which exemplary puniſhment effectually ſuppreſſed theſe tumultuous proceedings.

During theſe tranſactions at home the king concluded a private treaty with the duke of Orleans, regent of France, and the ſtates-general. By this treaty, which was known by the name of the triple alliance, the duke of Orleans engaged that the pretender ſhould depart immediately from Avignon, where he then reſided, to the other ſide of the Alps, and never be ſuffered to return to Lorraine, or France on any pretence whatſoever: that no rebellious ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould be allowed to reſide in that kingdom; and that the treaty of Utrecht, with reſpect to the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be fully executed to the ſatisfaction of his Britannic majeſty. This treaty alſo contained a mutual guarantee of all the places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers: of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England as well as that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defenſive alliance, ſtipulating the proportion of ſhips and forces, to be furniſhed to that power, which ſhould be diſturbed at home, or invaded from abroad. This treaty was no ſooner made public, than it excited great diſcontents both in France and England; but theſe clamours were little regarded by the king and the regent who had each ſecured the point he had chiefly at heart.

The king had materially ſtrengthened himſelf by theſe alliances; but while he was on the continent he diſcovered an inveterate enemy in the perſon of Charles XII. of Sweden. George had acquired the duchies of Bremen and Verden, of which Charles had been ſtripped by his enemies. The latter was therefore ſo incenſed againſt the former, that he determined, if poſſible, to ruin him; and accordingly undertook to head an invaſion in favour of the pretender. His ambaſſadors at London and the Hague ſecretly conſpired in this deſign. The meaſures were artfully taken, and every thing ſeemed to forebode ſucceſs.

Intimation of this intended conſpiracy being given to the king, he ſuddenly quitted Hanover, and returned to London. The next day after his arrival the Swediſh ambaſſador, count Gyllenbourg, was put under arreſt; and baron Gortz, the Swediſh reſident at the Hague, was alſo confined.

The plan of this intended invaſion was deeply concerted: a number of veſſels had been purchaſed, and were to repair under various pretences to Gottenburgh in Sweden, about the latter end of March, the ſeaſon when the eaſterly winds, which are fair for bringing ſhips from the Baltic to England, generally prevail. Eight thouſand foot, and 4000 horſe, all picked men, together with a formidable train of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition and proviſions, and arms ſufficient for 20,000 men, were to have been embarked on board theſe ſhips. The confederates were ſo ſure, of being joined by the diſcontented party in England, that the deſign had been intruſted to a very few perſons only; nor was there any formal treaty drawn up between the parties engaged in this affair; the mutual intereſt each had in the ſucceſs was thought more binding than the moſt ſolemn engagements.

In the mean time the arreſting the Swediſh ambaſſador, and ſeizing his papers, by which the whole plot was diſcovered, alarmed the other foreign miniſters reſiding at the court of London. They complained to the miniſtry of this outrage committed againſt the law of nations. The two ſecretaries of ſtate wrote circular letters to theſe reſidents, aſſuring them that in a few days they ſhould be made acquainted with the reaſons for this extraordinary proceeding. All, except the marquis de Monteleone, ambaſſador from Spain, were ſatisfied with this intimation. He replied, that he was extremely ſorry no other way could be found to preſerve the peace of the kingdom, than that of arreſting the perſon of a public miniſter, and ſeizing his papers, the ſacred repoſitories of his maſter's ſecrets; and that in whatever light thoſe two facts might ſeem to be underſtood, they very ſenſibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was far from being true; the Engliſh monarch acted conſiſtently with the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice in impriſoning his enemy. Gyllenbourgh had violated the law of nations by conſpiring againſt the prince to whom he was ſent in a public character; and therefore the Engliſh had an undoubted right to diſpenſe with the obſervance of the ſame law, by arreſting his perſon.

A. D. 1717. The parliament met on the 20th of February, when the king, in a ſpeech from the throne, informed them, that the inveterate rancour of a faction which they ſtill poſſeſſed, had again prompted them to ſtir up foreign powers to diſturb the peace of their native country, inſomuch that they choſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confuſion, than give over their darling deſign of impoſing a popiſh pretender. The letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenbourg were laid before the houſe, and ſoon after publiſhed by his majeſty's command. Both houſes addreſſed the king upon this occaſion, and, in ſuitable terms, expreſſed their reſentment. All commerce with Sweden was prohibited; and a ſquadron of thirty-two ſhips was immediately fitted out, which blocked up the Swediſh fleet in their own harbours, and prevented their putting in execution the deſign which they had been ſo long projecting. The king of Sweden, finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and in danger of feeling the reſentment of his Britannic majeſty, not only deſiſted from his enterprize, but alſo endeavoured to make a peace with him, which was ſoon after effected by the mediation of the regent of France.

On the 3d of April Mr. ſecretary Stanhope delivered a meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe of commons, informing them, that being deſirous, as far as poſſible, of ſecuring the kingdom againſt any future attempt of a foreign invaſion, he thought it neceſſary, that ſuch meaſures ſhould be early concerted with other princes and ſtates as might conduce moſt effectually to that end: and as this would require ſome expence, his majeſty hoped the commons would, by their aſſiſtance at this juncture, enable him to make good ſuch engagements as might eaſe his people of all future charge and apprehenſions on that account.

This meſſage produced great debates in the houſe: it was ſtrenuouſly urged, that to aſk money for alliances, without firſt acquainting them with the particulars, was no ways agreeable to the methods of parliament; and that new alliances ought not to be purchaſed with money. At length, however, it was propoſed to grant his majeſty a ſum not exceeding 250,000l. which after ſome debates was carried, though only by a ſmall majority. And thus Great Britain found herſelf engaged in continental connections, becauſe the reigning family poſſeſſed eſtates in Germany; an inconvenience which has more than once been felt, and which always muſt be felt whilſt a ſtanding army ſhall be thought neceſſary to the prince as it is uneaſy to the people.

The carrying this vote by ſo ſmall a majority alarmed the king, and a change in the miniſtry was thought neceſſary. Accordingly Sir Robert Walpole, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Pulteney, ſecretary at war; Mr. Methuen, ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Devonſhire, preſident of the council; and ſeveral others, reſigned their employments; ſo that the miniſtry underwent an almoſt total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addiſon were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Stanhope, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Craggs ſecretary at war; the earl of Berkely firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the duke of Bolton lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and the duke of Newcaſtle lord-chamberlain.

The earl of Oxford, who had been confined about two years in the Tower, availed himſelf of this quarrel in the miniſtry, to demand his trial. The moſt violent diſputes happened between the two houſes concerning the manner of the proceſs. The lords inſiſted that the commons ſhould firſt proceed to make good the articles of high treaſon againſt the earl, before they attempted to prove thoſe relating only to high crimes and miſdemeanors. The commons refuſed to proceed only as they ſtood in the impeachment. The breach became wider between the two houſes, and the lords refuſed a conference which had been demanded by the commons. The accuſers were now ordered to appear and make good their charge againſt the earl of Oxford; but this they refuſed, and the noble priſoner was ſet at liberty.

The commons were greatly enraged at the eſcape of this nobleman, whom they had marked out for deſtruction; and, as a laſt effort of their malice, they reſolved on an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to except the earl of Oxford out of the act of grace, which was intended to be brought into the houſe. This addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to comply with, and alſo forbid the earl to appear at court.

The act of grace having paſſed the commons, was carried up to the lords, on the 15th of July, where it alſo paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition. In the afternoon of the ſame day the king went to the houſe, and having given the royal aſſent to that, and ſuch other bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion.

The earl of Oxford, Simon lord Harcourt, Mr. Prior, Thomas Harley, Arthur Moore, and ſome others, were particularly excepted by name in the act of grace. By virtue of it the earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn were immediately diſcharged; but the lord Duffees was continued in priſon, with an allowance of 3l. per week. All thoſe who lay under ſentence of death in Newgate were diſmiſſed, as were thoſe that were detained, on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, and other priſons in the kingdom.

Soon after the act of indemnity was paſſed, count Gyllenbourg was diſcharged from his confinement, and an order was ſent to Holland to releaſe baron Gortz.

On the 2d of November the princeſs of Wales was ſafely delivered of a prince, who, on the 28th, was baptized by the name of George William. This affair was the unhappy cauſe of a diſpute between the king and the prince of Wales: for it ſeems his royal highneſs had intended the biſhop of Oſnaburg, his uncle, ſhould have ſtood god-father; but his majeſty, in compliance with the cuſtom which preſcribed that one of the principal lords of the court, commonly the lord chancellor for the time being, ſhould ſtand as ſecond god-father, had ordered the duke of Newcaſtle to ſtand. The prince, imagining the duke had officiouſly forced himſelf into this honour, expreſſed his reſentment in very warm terms to his grace; which his majeſty being informed of, looked on the prince's anger as expreſſed againſt himſelf, and ſent him immediate orders to leave St. James's; which he complied with, and took up his reſidence at Leiceſter-houſe, whither he was accompanied by the princeſs his conſort, though it was intimated to her that ſhe might remain at St. James's, as long as ſhe thought proper. This quarrel extended to the friends of each party, for as all in the king's ſervice were forbid to viſit the prince's court at Leiceſter-houſe, ſo moſt of his royal highneſs's ſervants forebore going to St. James's. After this affair, whenever his majeſty went abroad, he committed the adminiſtration to the lords juſtices.

The parliament met on the 21ſt of November, when the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he informed them, that he had reduced the army to very near one half, ſince the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion; and expreſſed his deſire, that all thoſe who were friends to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt, of which, as the church of England was unqueſtionably the main ſupport and bulwark, ſo would ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all proteſtants. Addreſſes of thanks were preſented by both houſes; and then the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance: 10,000 men were voted for the ſea ſervice, and the ſum of 224,857l. was granted for defraying the expence of the navy. The ſupply for the army next came under deliberation, when a very warm debate enſued upon the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Windham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, were for reſtricting them to 12000 men only; but the courtiers affirmed that 16,000 were abſolutely neceſſary. Mr. Shippen, among many other vehement expreſſions, ſaid, "that the "ſecond paragraph of the king's ſpeech, ſeemed "rather to be calculated for the Meridian of Ger"many than Great Britain; and that it was a great "misfortune that the king was a ſtranger to our lan"guage and conſtitution." Theſe words gave offence to ſeveral members, who affirmed this was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government, and moved that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen refuſing to retract, or excuſe what he had ſaid, was voted to the Tower by a great majority, and the number of land forces was fixed at 16,347 effective men; for the maintenance of whom the ſum of 650,000l. was allotted.

Complaint being at this time made of the ſcarcity of ſilver coin in the nation, occaſioned by the gold being rated too high; by the advice of Sir Iſaac Newton, and the approbation of the houſe of commons, the value of guineas was reduced from twenty-one ſhillings and ſix-pence, to twenty-one ſhillings, by which means the ſilver coin, which had been before exported in exchange for gold, was in ſome meaſure kept at home.

A. D. 1718. This year commenced with a circumſtance of a very peculiar nature. One James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, apprentice to a coach-maker, by frequenting Jacobite ſeminaries, and reading their books, had worked himſelf up to ſuch a height of enthuſiaſm, that he ardently wiſhed for an opportunity of aſſaſſinating the king, and actually wrote a letter to Mr. Leake, a non-juring clergyman, propoſing a ſcheme for effecting this horrid deſign, which he termed, "ſmiting the uſurper in his palace." Leake, terrified at ſuch a letter, immediately communicated the contents of it to Sir John Fryer, an alderman of London, who adviſed him to ſecure the author, when he called for an anſwer: this was accordingly done, and he was committed to Newgate. On his trial he was ſo far from repenting of his execrable deſign, that he openly avowed it, and declared that he thought it would have been a meritorious deed: thus his own confeſſion convicted him, and he was executed at Tyburn on the 17th of March*.

On the 21ſt of March the king went to the houſe of peers, and, after given the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

A ſhort time after the prorogation of the parliament, the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alliance, was concluded between the emperor, France, England and Holland, the purpoſe of which was, to induce Philip V. of Spain to join in the alliance, and to make peace with the emperor Charles VI. with whom he had been ſome time at variance. But Philip proving refractory, the king of England prepared to ſupport his mediation by force of arms.

Philip, taking advantage of the emperor's being engaged in a war with the Turks, equipped a ſtrong armament, and gave the command of it to the marquis of Leda; who, in purſuance of his orders, ſailed from Barcelona, and, landing at Cagliari, the capital of the iſland of Sardinia, which belonged to his imperial majeſty, reduced the whole iſland. He then proceeded to Palermo and Meſſina, and laid ſiege to the citadel of the latter.

In the mean time a fleet of twenty-one ſail of the line, commanded by Sir George Byng, arrived at Naples, where it was agreed that 2000 German infantry ſhould be ſent to Meſſina, for the relief of the citadel, under the protection of the Britiſh fleet. Accordingly, on the 6th of Auguſt they embarked, and three days after diſcovered the Spaniſh ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail, in the Faro of Meſſina. The Spaniards, on ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, ſtood away, but kept themſelves in order of battle. Sir George followed them all that day and the ſucceding night. The next morning eight of the Spaniſh men of war, with all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which Sir George Byng detached captain Walton, with ſix ſhips of the line, in purſuit of them. The admiral himſelf continued to chaſe the main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards made but a poor defence, and were ſoon totally defeated, and all taken, except three ſhips of the line and three frigates, which eſcaped to Malta.

Sir George Byng laid by for ſome days to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages the prizes had ſuſtained; during which he received a letter from captain Walton, informing him that he had taken four Spaniſh men of war, one of ſixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms. That he had burnt four others; one of fifty-four, two of forty and one of thirty guns, together with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel. Notwithſtanding this victory, the Spaniſh army proſecuted the ſiege of Meſſina with ſuch vigour, that the governor was, on the 29th of September, obliged to ſurrender the place by capitulation.

Philip was ſo enraged at the loſs of his fleet, that he immediately meditated revenge. On the 1ſt of September rear-admiral Guevara, with ſome ſhips under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made a ſeizure of all the Engliſh ſhips that were there. The ſame ſteps were taken in all the other ports of Spain, which was no ſooner known than repriſals were made on the part of the Engliſh.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, when his majeſty informed them of the treaties he had concluded, and added that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable propoſals, had broke through their moſt ſolemn engagements for the ſecurity of the Britiſh commerce; and that his catholic majeſty had given orders to all the ports of Spain, and in the

---

* On the ſame day the marquis de Paleotti, an Italian, and brother to the dutcheſs of Shrewſbury, ſuffered the like fate, having been convicted and condemned for the murder of his own ſervant in a tranſport of paſſion. Great interceſſion was made for him by his ſiſter, had ſeveral foreign miniſters; but his character was ſo deteſtable, that all the favour he could obtain was, to be executed by himſelf.

Weſt Indies to fit out privateers againſt the Engliſh. He ſaid, that he was perſuaded a Britiſh parliament would enable him to reſent ſuch treatment. He then recommended to them to conſider of proper methods for preventing frauds and abuſes in the revenue.

As ſoon as the king left the houſe, lord Carteret moved for an addreſs of congratulation to his majeſty on the ſucceſs of his arms. This motion produced very warm debates: the defeat of the Spaniſh fleet was thought by many to be an action contrary to the rules of good faith, and conſequently diſhonourable to England; while others extolled it as one of the nobleſt exploits which had been performed ſince the revolution. The addreſs, therefore, was warmly oppoſed by ſeveral members in both houſes, but without effect; for being carried in the affirmative by a great majority, it was preſented to his majeſty. The parliament therein declared their entire ſatiſfaction of thoſe meaſures which the king had already taken for ſtrengthening the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquillity in Europe; particularly in relation to the crown of Spain, and their reſolution to enable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to reſent the injuries that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two nations, but to ſupport him in the moſt effectual manner in ſuch farther meaſures as he ſhould judge neceſſary to complete the public tranquillity in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power, which muſt otherwiſe prove dangerous to the trade of this kingdom.

A bill which was brought in this ſeſſion, for ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt in theſe kingdoms, and another for limiting the peerage, occaſioned very warm debates; the former, however, paſſed into a law, but the latter was poſtponed to a future period.

A rupture with Spain had for ſome time been conſidered as inevitable, and on the 17th of December, his majeſty put it paſt a doubt by ſending a meſſage to both houſes, informing them, that all his endeavours to procure redreſs for the injuries done to his ſubjects by the king of Spain proving ineffectual, he had found it neceſſary to declare war againſt that monarch. This meſſage being read, a motion was made for an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him that the commons would chearfully ſupport him in the proſecution of the war, till Spain ſhould be obliged to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, and agree to ſuch conditions of trade and commerce, as the Engliſh were entitled to expect.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the prince de Cellamare, ambaſſador from Philip V. to the court of Verſailles, acted the ſame part there as count Gyllenbourg had done at London, by caballing with the French mal-contents, who were numerous and powerful, againſt the duke of Orleans. A ſcheme was actually formed for ſeizing the perſon of the regent and that of the young king, and entirely changing the face of that government. Every thing was in readineſs for executing this plot, and the conſpirators only waited for their laſt orders, when intimation of it was given to our king, who immediately ſent advice of this tranſaction to the duke of Orleans, and ſuch meaſures were taken at the French court as ſoon brought the whole intrigue to light. The prince de Cellamare was put under arreſt, and cardinal Alberoni, the Spaniſh miniſter and firſt propoſer of this ſcheme, had the vexation to find that he had, without any advantage from his project, violently offended a power, whoſe reſentment could not but prove extremely prejudicial, not only to himſelf, but even to the whole Spaniſh monarchy. This, however, did not prevent his purſuing another ſcheme, which he had formed for placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain. Conferences had been frequently held between him and the duke of Ormond, who at this time was in Spain, wherein it was agreed to give the chevalier an invitation to come to Madrid, to put himſelf at the head of a large body of auxiliary forces, which his catholic majeſty propoſed to lend him, in order to aſſert with ſucceſs his pretenſions to the Britiſh crown. Accordingly, the chevalier quitted the papal dominions, where he had taken refuge, and was received with great marks of friendſhip by Philip, who treated him as king of England. The earl of Stair, the Engliſh miniſter at the court of France, diſpatched the firſt intelligence of the deſigns of Spain. They propoſed ſending an armament of ten ſhips of war and tranſports, having on board 6,000 regular troops, with arms for 12,000 men, to be landed in the weſt of England, under the command of the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain general of his moſt catholic majeſty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reaſons he had ſent part of his troops, as auxiliaries to king James, to act for his intereſt in England and Scotland, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours for his reſtoration: and that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not deter any perſon from openly eſpouſing his intereſt, his moſt Catholic majeſty promiſed a ſafe retreat in his dominions to all ſuch as ſhould be obliged to leave their country on account of the ſhare they might take in this undertaking.

A. D. 1719. As ſoon as the Engliſh miniſtry received advice of this intended invaſion, the moſt effectual means were taken for rendering it abortive. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready: a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promiſe of 5,000l. to the perſon who ſhould ſeize him; and an embargo was laid on all ſhipping.

On the 10th of March his majeſty went to the houſe, and acquainted the parliament that he had received certain intelligence of an intended invaſion from Spain, in favour of the pretender; whereupon both houſes agreed in an addreſs, promiſing to ſupport him againſt all his enemies; they deſired him to augment his forces both by ſea and land, aſſuring him they would make good the extraordinary expence.

In the mean time the orders which had been given for preparing a fleet were executed with ſuch diſpatch, that on the 5th of April, Sir John Norris ſailed from Spithead to the weſtward with nine men of war; and on the 29th lord Berkeley ſailed from St. Helen's with ſeven more ſhips to join him. The troops in the weſt of England, where it was ſuppoſed the Spaniards intended to land, were reinforced by ſeveral regiments. Neceſſary precautions were alſo taken to guard the other coaſts; four regiments were ſent for from Ireland, and five from Holland. At the ſame time the regent of France cauſed ſeveral regiments of horſe, foot and dragoons, to march towards the coaſts of Normandy and Picardy; and the governor of the Auſtrian Netherlands ordered German troops to file off towards Oſtend, to be in readineſs to ſail for Great Britain, purſuant to the treaties of guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

The Spaniſh fleet, deſigned for the invaſion of England, ſailed from Cadiz on the 6th of March. It conſiſted of five ſhips of war and forty tranſports, having on board the duke of Ormond, and upwards of 5,000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, ſpare arms, and 1,000,000 of pieces of eight. On the eleventh they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which laſted forty-eight hours, and entirely diſperſed them. Their loſs could never be juſtly aſcertained; but ſeveral of their veſſels returned to Spain in a very ſhattered condition. A ſmall part of this embarkation, however, eſcaped; for the earls of Mareſchal and

Seaforth, with the marquis of Tullibardine, and about 400 men, chiefly Spaniards, on board three frigates and five tranſports, landed in the ſhire of Roſs in Scotland, where they were joined by upwards of 1500 Scots. Here they remained for ſome time, giving out that their inſtructions were not to remove from thoſe parts till they heard of the duke of Ormond's landing in England, or ſhould receive further orders from him. They ſoon after took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Donan, from whence they were driven by captain Boyle, commander of his majeſty's ſhip the Worceſter. On the 5th of June a body of forces, under the command of major-general Whitman, marched in purſuit of the rebels, and a few days after came up with them at the paſs of Glenſhiel, which they endeavoured reſolutely to defend, but on the near approach of the king's troops they deſerted it, and retired to another paſs called Strachel, where they were more advantageouſly poſted. The general took a view of their ſituation here, and being reſolved to attack them, diſpoſed his forces in a convenient manner for that purpoſe. The enemy had then about 300 Spaniards, 1,640 highlanders, beſides a ſecond body of highlanders, who were poſted on a hill, ſome diſtance off, with an intent to ſeize the baggage. His majeſty's forces did not much exceed 2,000 men. On the 10th they came to an engagement, but the rebels, after they had diſcharged their muſkets, ran away with great precipitation, and could not be brought to a regular battle. The general, however, drove them from rock to rock, and in that manner purſued them for three hours, when they got to the ſummit of the hill, after which they were ſoon diſperſed. The king's troops lay on their arms all the following night, and marched the next morning to Glenſhiel, where the remaining Spaniards, to the number of 274, ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion, and were afterwards conveyed to Edinburgh caſtle. Seaforth, Mareſchal and Tullibardine, made their eſcape to the Lewis or Orkney Iſlands, leaving their followers to provide for themſelves.

During theſe tranſactions the king of Sweden ſat down with his army before Frederickſhal, where he was killed by a ſmall ſhot, as he was giving directions in the intrenchments for an attack againſt his enemies This ſudden and unexpected incident gave a turn to the affairs of Europe. Charles was ſucceeded by his youngeſt ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora, who, on her acceſſion, gave ſufficient reaſons to believe, that ſhe deſigned to live peaceably with her neighbours.

In the mean time the duke of Orleans declared war againſt Philip V. and the command of the army appointed to invade the territories of that monarch was given to the duke of Berwick. In the month of April the marquis de Cilly advanced to Port Paſſage, where he found ſix men of war juſt finiſhed upon the ſtocks; theſe he burnt, together with timber, maſts and naval ſtores, to the value of half a million ſterling, and ſoon after the duke of Berwick laid ſiege to Fontarabia.

On the 18th of April the king went to the houſe, and in his ſpeech thanked the lords and commons for the zeal and affection they had ſhewn to his perſon and government during the late projected invaſion; after which he prorogued the parliament.

His majeſty having appointed lord-juſtices to govern in his abſence, ſet out, on the 11th of May, for his German dominions, where being arrived he concluded a peace with Sweden; for the queen and her council, having conſented to make the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden to the elector of Hanover, all the difficulties which had hitherto retarded a pacification were removed. During his ſtay abroad, the king offered his mediation to bring about a peace between Sweden, the Danes, the Ruſſians and the Poles. The Czar, however, rejected his proffered ſervice, being reſolved to proſecute his ſchemes of conqueſt. He ſent his fleet to the Scheuron, or Batſes, of Sweden, where his troops landed to the number of 15,000 men, and committed the moſt ſhocking cruelties.

In order to protect the Swedes from theſe deſtroyers, Sir John Norris was ordered into the Baltic with a large ſquadron, which in the beginning of September joined the Swediſh fleet. This junction of the Engliſh and Swedes defeated all the deſigns of Peter, who fearing his fleet ſhould experience the ſame fate with that of Spain, in the ſtreights of Meſſina, thought proper to recall his ſhips, and, the winter coming on, Sir John Norris returned to England.

A ſcheme had been concerted by the miniſtry for making a conqueſt of Corunna and of Peru in South America; in conſequence of which, 4,000 men, under the command of lord Cobham, were embarked at the Iſle of Wight, and on the 21ſt of September ſailed, under the convoy of five ſhips of war, commanded by captain Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruiſing off Fontarabia. When the ſquadron arrived on the coaſt of Galicia, it kept cruizing three days in the ſtation appointed for Johnſon to join them; but he not appearing, and the danger of lying on the coaſt at this ſeaſon of the year with tranſports rendering it neceſſary to take ſome meaſures for acting without him, the wind juſt at this time offering fair for Vigo, lord Cobham reſolved to attempt the reduction of that place. This ſcheme was executed with very little difficulty; for on the fifth day after the ſiege began, the citadel capitulated on honourable terms. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of iron cannon; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces of cannon, of which fifteen were braſs, and two large mortars, beſides above 2,000 barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms; ſeven ſhips were ſeized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers. Lord Cobham now ordered general Wade to embark with 1,000 men on board four tranſports, and to ſail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did, and having landed his men, marched to Ponta Vedra, which place ſurrendred without oppoſition; and on the 23d of October the general returned to Vigo. Lord Cobham finding it would be impoſſible to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces, cannon, &c. to be embarked, and on the 27th he ſailed for England, where he arrived about the middle of November.

In the mean time the French had made themſelves maſters of Fontarabia and Roſes, which being two of the principal keys to the kingdom of Spain, they threatened to carry their victorious arms even to its capital. In this dilemma, Philip, as the only expedient left him, had recourſe to peace, and for this purpoſe ſent orders to the duke de Boretti Landi, his miniſter at the Hague, to accede to the quadruple alliance. To compleat his humiliation, he was obliged to diſmiſs cardinal Alberoni from his ſervice, and even baniſh him the kingdom; the king of England and the regent of France, to whom that miniſter had rendered himſelf perſonally diſagreeable, refuſing to hearken to any propoſals while he continued in office.

On the 14th of November [*] the king returned to England, and on the 23d opened the ſeſſion of parliament

---

[*] On the 9th of this month one John Matthews, a printer in Little Britain, was executed at Tyburn, for printing and publiſhing a treaſonable libel, intituled, "Vox Populi Vox Dei, in which the Pretender's right to the crown of theſe realms was aſſerted, in breach of the ſtatute of the 4th of Queen Anne, which makes the aſſerting any ſuch thing in writing or printing high-treaſon.

liament with a ſpeech; in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of Britiſh arms and councils; that by their aſſiſtance he had hitherto ſurmounted all difficulties, and by the continuance of their help he doubted not of ſurmounting whatever might ariſe in future. Both houſes preſented addreſſes of thanks, which were filled with the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty and affection.

A. D. 1720. We are now come to a period which will always be remarkable in Engliſh hiſtory for the deſtructive South-ſea ſcheme, when the inſatiable hand of avarice threw the whole kingdom into confuſion. At the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament, his majeſty had earneſtly recommended the conſideration of proper means for reducing the national debt, which amounted to more than fourteen millions. A ſcheme was accordingly formed for reducing all the public funds into one, in order to diſcharge the whole. This plan was laid by Sir John Blount, one of the directors of the South-ſea company, a perſon poſſeſſed of all the art, plauſibility and boldneſs neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking. This ſcheme he communicated to Mr. Aiſlebie, chancellor of the exchequer, and alſo to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. It was conſidered by the miniſtry; and appearing to be very advantageous to the public, it was adopted.

It now remained to carry the plan into execution; and the South-ſea company laid a propoſal before the houſe of commons, offering to give 3,500,000l. for the privilege of taking in all the irredeemable debts, amounting to near 800,000l. per annum; and alſo the redeemable debts then at the bank and exchequer, moſtly bearing 5 per cent. intereſt, either by purchaſe from the proprietors, or by ſubſcriptions into their capital ſtock. This method of increaſing their capital was looked upon as a very valuable acquiſition, and excited the jealouſy of the bank of England, and, accordingly, the directors of that opulent body laid their propoſal before the commons. They offered to give above five millions for the ſame privilege. This rivalſhip proved the deſtruction of the whole. The South-ſea company made a ſecond propoſal: they offered no leſs than 7,500,000l. in caſe theſe debts ſhould be ſubſcribed, and in proportion for any part of them. They alſo propoſed to pay to the uſe of the public one year's purchaſe of all the irredeemable long annuities that ſhould be brought into their capital. The bank now made a ſecond propoſal, more advantageous, in ſeveral reſpects, to the public, than that of the South-ſea company. They obliged themſelves to give 1700l. bank ſtock for every 100l. irredeemable long annuities. But this offer was far from intimidating the South-ſea company. Determined, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, they offered to incorporate all the funds of the bank, Eaſt-India company, and exchequer into their own capital. It was not, indeed, thought proper to adopt this propoſal; but the very rumour of ſuch a ſcheme raiſed their ſtock to 120 per cent. They now offered 00,000l. more than the bank, and alſo four years and a half purchaſe upon all annuities they ſhould take into their capital; which, if all the annuities were taken in, the whole would amount to 3,567,503l. ſo that their whole offer was 7,567,500l. Beſides this, they not only offered to circulate one million of exchequer bills gratis, but to pay 3 per cent. for that million, and one year's purchaſe of ſuch annuities as ſhould be ſubſcribed into the company's capital in fourteen months.

This propoſal was adopted, and a bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of commons for that purpoſe. While the bill was under conſideration, the company's ſtock roſe to near 400l. per cent. The bill paſſed both houſes, but not without great oppoſition in the houſe of lords, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

On the 11th of June the king put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions; and for which he ſet out a few days after the prorogation of the parliament. Before his departure he was reconciled to the prince of Wales; which deſirable event was chiefly brought about by the mediation of the duke of Devonſhire and Mr. Robert Walpole.

At the time of the king's departure every thing ſeemed to promiſe domeſtic tranquillity: but the reſtleſs paſſion of avarice ſoon obliterated theſe pleaſing appearances, and threw the nation into the utmoſt diſtreſs. The South-ſea company finding their ſtock begin to ſink in its value, cauſed a notion to be propagated that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be given up to the Spaniards, in exchange for a large diſtrict in Peru, where the Engliſh trade to the South-ſea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffuſed with great induſtry, inſpired the people with ſuch extravagant hopes, that two millions of original ſtock were ſubſcribed in leſs than five days after the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament. The ſtock of the company roſe to above 1000l. per cent. The Miſſiſippi ſcheme in France, which had juſt turned that kingdom upſide down, was better founded. But the paſſion for riches, like other paſſions, is ſometimes too blind to be directed by experience, and too deaf to liſten to the voice of reaſon. The deſire of acquiring large fortunes drew into the ſnare a multitude of unhappy people, who became the dupes of intereſted artifice. The rage of ſtock-jobbing filled every head, and ſwallowed up every other idea. Whigs, tories, jacobites, the nobility, the clergy, phyſicians, lawyers, merchants, and the very women themſelves, were all animated with the ſame ſpirit: all converted their money into paper; and all believed they ſhould grow rich by parting with their riches. But this charm was of no long duration. It was ſoon found, that the South-ſea commerce, the ruinous foundation of theſe enormous proceedings, was far from being ſufficient to anſwer the views of avarice. Stocks, therefore, fell prodigiouſly; and ſeveral projects, ſet on foot by the fraudulent induſtry of covetouſneſs, were totally rejected. No money appeared; payment of the dividends was ſtopped, and public credit vaniſhed. Families, without number, were reduced to beggary; and the intoxication of frivolous and ſenſeleſs hope was ſucceeded by the cries of deſpair.

Recourſe was now had to the bank for ſupporting the South-ſea company. That corporation entered into an agreement to take a quantity of the South-ſea ſtock at 400 per cent. in payment for 3,775,000l. redeemable debt, which the company was to repay at Lady-day and Michaelmas of the enſuing year. This was afterwards called the Bank-contract, the very rumour of which cauſed the South-ſea ſtock to riſe prodigiouſly. But this riſe did not continue long. It ſoon appeared that this ſuppoſed contract had no real foundation, being nothing more than a temporary expedient to quiet the clamours of the people.

The directors of the bank, finding their property to be in danger of being ſwept away by that portentous tide of ruin, which bore down every thing before it, renounced their agreement; and the South-ſea company, deprived of this ſupport, ſunk under its own weight.

In the mean time repeated expreſſes were diſpatched to Hanover, repreſenting the ſtate of affairs to his majeſty, and earneſtly beſeeching him to haſten his return. He, accordingly, ſhortened his ſtay in Germany, and in the month of November arrived in England.

The parliament met on the 8th of December, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Since we laſt parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the ſouth wants only the form of a congreſs; and that of the north is brought much nearer to a concluſion. I ſhall, at a proper time, order the ſeveral treaties I have made to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the ſucceſs of our endeavours to eſtabliſh peace throughout Europe, and to ſecure and ſupport the proteſtant religion. At the ſame time, I can never ſufficiently expreſs my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has ſo much affected the public credit at home.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I do moſt earneſtly recommend it to you, that you conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore the national credit, and fix it upon a laſting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be aſſiſted in ſo commendable and neceſſary a work, by every man that loves his country, and eſpecially by the ſeveral great ſocieties of this kingdom. I hope you will, on this occaſion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper and reſolution, are neceſſary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you ſucceed, ſerve to increaſe that reputation you have ſo juſtly acquired; particularly, if you ſhall be able, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, to diſcharge a part of the national debt. I have ordered the ſeveral eſtimates to be laid before you of the expence of the enſuing year, and deſire you to diſpatch the ſupplies neceſſary for them.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am glad to obſerve to you, that our trade appears to have been more extended this year than in the preceding. We have the moſt flouriſhing navy of any nation whatſoever to protect us; and I hope you will turn your thoughts to the beſt methods for the ſecuring and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend upon my hearty concurrence to all ſuch proviſions as ſhall appear to you neceſſary for the good of my people."

After the uſual addreſſes, Grey Neville, eſq; moved, that the directors of the South-ſea company ſhould lay before the commons an account of their proceedings; and, in conſequence of this motion, ſeveral orders were made by the houſe. Sir Joſeph Jekyll moved that a ſelect committee ſhould be appointed to examine the particulars of theſe tranſactions. A bill was brought in, and received the royal aſſent, for reſtraining the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treaſurer, under treaſurer, caſhier, ſecretary, and accomptants, from quitting the kingdom for the ſpace of one year; and for diſcovering their eſtates and effects, ſo as to prevent them from being tranſported or alienated: a committee of ſecrecy was likewiſe choſen by ballott, to examine all books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the South-ſea act. Soon after all the principal officers of the South-ſea company were examined at the bar of the houſe, when all of them were declared criminal, and ſeverely reprimanded for their illegal conduct. A bill was brought in to diſable them from enjoying any office in that company, in the Eaſt India company, or in the bank of England. Mr. Knight, the treaſurer, who had been intruſted with the ſecrets of the whole affair, thought it moſt prudent to leave the kingdom: upon which a proclamation was iſſued, promiſing a reward of 2000l. for apprehending him.

A. D. 1721. Several perſons concerned in theſe iniquitous proceedings were now taken into cuſtody. Knight was ſeized at Tirlemont, and confined in the citadel of Antwerp, the ſtates of which place refuſed to deliver him up, and while expreſſes paſſed to and fro, he found means once more to make his eſcape. A ſufficient diſcovery was, however, made to convince the world, that a ſcene of the deepeſt villiany had been tranſacted. In ſome of the books, falſe and fictitious entries had been made, in others, entries with blanks; in ſome, entries with razures and alterations, and in others leaves had been torn out. It alſo appeared that, before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of 574,000l. had been diſpoſed of by the directors, to facilitate the paſſing the bill. The commons now came to ſeveral ſevere though juſt reſolutions, againſt the directors and officers of the South-ſea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers out of the eſtates of the delinquents. The ſum of two millions fourteen thouſand pounds was, accordingly, confiſcated out of their joint eſtates, towards making good the damage ſuſtained by the company, after a certain allowance had been deducted from each, according to their conduct and circumſtances. This was done by an act of parliament, which received the royal aſſent on the 29th of July, and ſoon after his majeſty paſſed the bill for reſtoring public credit. Thus, by the timely and vigorous reſolutions of the parliament, the South-ſea company was ſoon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public, and the calamities of the people, which had been carried to the moſt outrageous height, were in a great meaſure appeaſed, and tranquillity reſtored to the nation.

During the debates, which this affair occaſioned in the houſe of lords, the duke of Wharton made ſuch ſevere reflections on the miniſtry, that the earl of Stanhope, conſidering himſelf perſonally levelled at, replied with ſuch vehemency as produced a violent head-ach, which obliged him to quit the houſe. The ſame night he was bled and cupped, and the next morning ſeemed much better; but in the evening he fell into a drowſineſs, which was ſucceeded by a ſuffocation, and he inſtantly expired. Mr. James Craggs, the other ſecretary, was, in a day or two after this accident, ſeized with the ſmall pox, of which he died on the 16th of February. Lord viſcount Townſhend was appointed to ſucceed earl Stanhope, and the lord Carteret, Mr. Craggs. Mr. Robert Walpole, who had endeared himſelf greatly to his ſovereign, by his diſtinguiſhed aſſiduity in trying to reſtore the credit of the nation, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and firſt lord of the treaſury.

On the 10th of Auguſt his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he declared, that he entertained a moſt ſincere concern for the ſufferings of the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt the guilty, in the affair of the South-ſea ſcheme: that he had already given his aſſent to ſuch bills as they preſented to him for puniſhing the authors of the late misfortunes, and for obtaining reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe who had been injured by them in ſuch a notorious manner: that they could not fail to have obſerved the diſcontents occaſioned by this unhappy event, which had been induſtriouſly fomented and inflamed by wicked and ſeditious libels; but he doubted not but by their prudent conduct in their ſeveral counties, all the enemies of his goverment, who flattered themſelves with being able to blow up the preſent complaints into popular diſaffection, would be finally diſappointed in their deſigns and expectations.

Previous to the prorogation of the parliament a treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was ſigned at Madrid. At the ſame time a defenſive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain. Peace was alſo reſtored to the north, by a treaty concluded between Ruſſia and Sweden; and a treaty was likewiſe agreed to between England and the Moors of Africa.

On the 19th of October the parliament again aſſembled, when the king acquainted them, that peace was thoroughly reſtored to the north, by the concluſion of the treaty between the Czar and the king of Sweden, and that a great number of Britiſh ſubjects were delivered from ſlavery, by the treaty lately concluded with the Moors; deſired them to improve this favourable opportunity, by extending the commerce of the nation, particularly with regard to naval ſtores: took notice of the unſpeakable miſery and deſolation occaſioned by the raging of the plague in ſeveral parts of Europe, and recommended to them the taking effectual methods for ſuppreſſing the abominable practice of running of goods, by which the contagion might be brought into the nation.

A. D. 1722. The parliament continued ſitting till the 7th of March, when the ſupplies being granted, and the buſineſs of the ſeſſion diſpatched, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills; after which he diſſolved the parliament, and ordered a new one to be choſen.

Soon after the diſſolution of the parliament, the great duke of Marlborough paid the debt of nature. His faculties had been for ſome time greatly impaired; he was no longer capable of ſhining either in the ſenate or the field. He was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance and colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, by the earl of Cadogan.

The new parliament met on the 9th of October, when Spencer Compton, eſq. was re-choſen ſpeaker. The ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty informed them of new deſigns againſt his government; and that the conſpirators had made, by their emiſſaries, the ſtrongeſt ſolicitations to foreign powers for aſſiſtance, but were diſappointed in their expectations; notwithſtanding which, confiding in their numbers, and not diſcouraged by their former ill ſucceſs, they reſolved once more upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of the government; and that ſome of the conſpirators had been taken up and ſecured, and endeavours had been uſed for apprehending the others. Upon this it was moved, that the habeas corpus act ſhould be ſuſpended for a time, which, after ſome ſtruggle, was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, and ſeveral other noblemen, were committed to the Tower for high-treaſon, and the duke of Norfolk, who had been ſeized by his majeſty's order, was, with the conſent of the houſe of peers, ſent to the ſame place.

On the 21ſt of November Chriſtopher Layer, eſq. was tried at the King's-bench, Weſtminſter, on account of the ſaid conſpiracy. His indictment ſet forth, "That he had been employed in forming a " moſt traiterous, horrid plot, and conſpiracy " againſt his majeſty and his government, by inliſting men for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir " up a rebellion, and alſo that he had held a correſpondence with the pretender, by carrying letters " and treaſonable papers to him beyond the ſeas, " and from him to the diſaffected in this kingdom." After a trial of ſeventeen hours, he was brought in guilty by the jury, and received ſentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time, in hopes of his making diſcoveries, but he either could not or would not ſatisfy theſe expectations; and was at length drawn on a ſledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, his head being afterwards fixed upon Temple-bar.

A. D. 1723. But the principal perſon that felt the hand of power, on this occaſion, was the famous Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, a prelate of obſcure birth, but diſtinguiſhed merit, a friend to letters, and equally remarkable for his underſtanding and virtues. He was odious to the court becauſe he had not followed its principles; and odious to the whigs, becauſe he had not followed their ſentiments. Being impriſoned, he denied the juriſdiction of the houſe of commons, and declared he would produce his defence before the peers. The proofs againſt him were reduced to two letters, intercepted at the poſt-office, written in a very peculiar cypher, and, to all appearance, fabricated by his enemies. The commons paſſed a bill, whereby he was to be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, and be guilty of felony if he returned; and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him, without the conſent of parliament; but, nevertheleſs, he ſhould not forfeit his goods and chattels.

When this bill came before the lords, it met with a very ſtrong oppoſition. The duke of Wharton, earl Cowper, and the lords Bathurſt and Gower, ſpoke againſt it with great energy; they diſplayed the danger and injuſtice in departing, in ſo extraordinary a manner, from the fixed rules of evidence; that ſuch a practice muſt for ever ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe: that the admitting the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the poſt-office was a very dangerous precedent, eſpecially as, in this caſe, it was taken for granted, that thoſe clerks might carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds. They deſired to know from whom theſe clerks had received authority to intercept and open letters, eſpecially thoſe of a lord of parliament; and whether the clerks who copied theſe letters had themſelves intercepted the originals? or whether they had received them from any other perſon? "If ſuch proceedings as theſe (ſaid lord Bathurſt) are encouraged, we have no other part to take, but to retire into the country, and ſeek tranquillity and ſecurity, if we may find them, by our fire ſides. The leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt letter intercepted, may render us criminal." He inſiſted on the example of cardinal Mazarine, who ſaid, "That with two lines of a man's hand-writing, added to a ſmall number of circumſtances, proved by evidence, he ſhould be maſter of his life." Then turning himſelf towards the biſhops, who ſhewed very little favour to their brother, he expreſſed his indignation againſt the inveterate hatred of ſome perſons towards the biſhop of Rocheſter; "a hatred (added he) abſolutely inconceivable, unleſs they hold the ridiculous opinion of ſome ſavages, who believe they inherit not only the ſpoils, but the talents of an illuſtrious enemy, when they have ſlain him in battle." But notwithſtanding theſe and other powerful reaſons urged againſt the bill, it paſſed by a ſmall majority, and afterwards received the royal aſſent. Atterbury retired into France, where he met with repoſe, eſteem, and all the indulgencies that poliſhed ſociety can ſhew to men of ſuperior parts.

On the 27th of May the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the repeated inſtances they had given of their zeal and affection for his perſon and government, and of their inviolable attachment to the intereſt and welfare of their country.

Lords-juſtices were now appointed to govern in his majeſty's abſence, he having reſolved to viſit his German dominions as ſoon as the parliament broke up.

Before

fore his departure he was pleaſed to raiſe the ſon of Mr. Robert Walpole to a peerage; an honour which the father had refuſed. Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, William North, lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, and Thomas Cockran, eſqs; priſoners in the Tower; and David du Boyce priſoner in Newgate, were admitted to bail; and the royal pardon was granted to lord Bolingbroke, who owed this indulgence to the earneſt ſolicitation of lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently oppoſed at the council-board, by Mr. Walpole. On the third of June his majeſty embarked for Holland, and on the 11th of the ſame month arrived at Herenhauſen, being attended by both ſecretaries of ſtate.

Affairs now ſeemed to take a new turn on the continent. A congreſs had been held at Cambray, and another at Brunſwick, in order to ſettle the intereſts of the ſeveral princes of Europe, but affairs had been drawn out to ſuch a tedious length, that theſe princes entered into ſeparate negotiations to attain their ſeveral purpoſes. The Czar and the court of Sweden were on the point of concluding a treaty that ſeemed to threaten the loſs of Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover. The regent of France and the king of Spain had adjuſted all their differences, and the reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage: Mademoiſelle de Montpelier, ſecond daughter to the duke of Orleans, being betrothed to the prince of Auſtrias, and another daughter to Don Carlos, eldeſt ſon of Philip V. Theſe two princes offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than thoſe already ſubſiſting, but at the ſame time peremptorily demanded the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and likewiſe deſired, that his Britannic majeſty would openly declare againſt the Oſtend company, which had been eſtabliſhed by the emperor Charles VI. King George was greatly at a loſs how to proceed amidſt ſuch jarring intereſts. He was fearful that if he diſguſted the emperor, he might join the Czar and the court of Sweden, and promote the deſigns they had formed in favour of the duke of Holſtein's pretenſions to Sleſwick, which our king had guaranteed to his Daniſh majeſty. All Italy at this time exclaimed againſt the proceedings of the congreſs of Cambray, and memorials were ſent from the pope, the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuſcany, Parma and Modena, whoſe claims upon the houſe of Auſtria were now ſupported by France. Thus circumſtanced, the king acquitted himſelf in a manner which ſurprized all Europe. By his prudent negotiations he prevented the diſagreeing powers from breaking into an open rupture; and though he could not ſo far prevail on the emperor as to make him relax in his diſputes with Spain, or give up the Oſtend company, yet he brought him to promiſe faithfully a ſtrict obſervance of the treaties he had concluded.

While his majeſty continued abroad, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, paid the debt of nature; which gave the king great concern, as a mutual eſteem had long prevailed between them. His majeſty being apprehenſive that this event might occaſion an alteration in the ſentiments of the French court, prejudicial to his intereſt, determined to return as ſoon as poſſible to England, but being detained ſome time at Helvoetſluys by contrary winds, he had, during his ſtay there, the ſatisfaction of receiving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from France, of the great diſpoſition of that court to cultivate, and even improve, the union eſtabliſhed by the late duke of Orleans between the two crowns. The wind now being favourable, his majeſty ſailed for England, where he arrived on the 19th of December.

A. D. 1724. The parliament met on the 9th of January, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he congratulated them upon the ſucceſs of their endeavours laſt year for the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom, and told them that the riſe of the public credit, the flouriſhing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the great tranquillity of the people, were the happy conſequences of their prudent reſolutions; and it was to be hoped, that the few examples which were made of ſome notorious offenders, would be ſufficient to deter the moſt diſaffected from engaging in the like deſperate and wicked practices; deſired them to make uſe of the opportunity their own conduct had put into their hands, of conſidering of ſuch further laws as might be wanting for the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for exciting and encouraging a ſpirit of induſtry in the nation. He concluded with exhorting them to join heartily in every thing that might tend to promote the mutual happineſs of the kingdom, and to extinguiſh the hopes of thoſe who had been long reſtleſs in their endeavours to ſubject this nation to the train of miſeries inſeparable from popery and arbitrary power.

The principal, and, indeed, almoſt the only debate, during this ſeſſion of parliament, was in the houſe of lords, on the affairs of the army. During the laſt year an addition of 4000 men had been made to the land forces, on account of the conſpiracy; and it was now propoſed to continue the ſame number. The commons had agreed to it, and paſſed the bill; but the continuance of theſe additional troops met with great oppoſition in the houſe of lords. The earl of Orrery, and the lords Trevor, North, Grey, and Bathurſt, ſpoke with great force againſt it. They were anſwered by lord Townſhend and the duke of Argyle. The latter obſerved, "That if he ſaw the nation unanimous in opinion, that our religion, laws, liberties and properties, entirely depend upon the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and on the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his majeſty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army; but he was very much afraid that ſome people ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on diſbanding the additional troops, with no other deſign than that of weakening the government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their country in new troubles. And therefore thoſe noble lords who ſpoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their ſeveral counties, to aſſure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reaſons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely ſafe under his majeſty's government." After a long debate, the motion for diſbanding the additional troops was rejected, and the bill paſſed as ſent up from the commons.

The parliament having provided the annual ſupplies, and diſcharged ſuch buſineſs as lay before them, his majeſty, on the 22d of April, went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſeveral uſeful acts, cloſed the ſeſſion.

On the 16th of May the king ſent the following circular letter to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: "We being greatly deſirous to favour and encourage theſe ancient and laudable nurſeries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to anſwer the end of their inſtitution, by ſending forth conſtant ſupplies of learned and able men to ſerve the public, both in church and ſtate; and having obſerved that no encouragement or proviſion has hitherto been made in either of the univerſities for the ſtudy of modern hiſtory, or modern languages, the knowledge of which is highly neceſſary towards gratifying the youth committed to their care, for ſeveral ſtations, both in church and ſtate, to which they may be called: and having ſeriouſly weighed the prejudice that has occurred to the univerſities from this defect, perſons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either ſent directly abroad from ſchools, or taken away from the univerſities before the courſe of their ſtudies can be there completed, and opportunities frequently loſt to the crown of employing and encouraging members of the two univerſities, by conferring on them ſuch employments, both at home and abroad, as neceſſarily require a competent ſkill in writing and ſpeaking the modern languages; in order, therefore, to remedy theſe and the like inconveniences, we have determined to appoint two perſons of ſober converſation, and prudent conduct, of the degree of maſter of arts, or bachelor of laws, or of ſome higher degree, in one of the univerſities, ſkilled in modern hiſtory, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our profeſſor of modern hiſtory, one for the univerſity of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who ſhall be obliged to read lectures in the public ſchools, at ſuch times as ſhall hereafter be appointed. And we have farther determined, that each of the profeſſors ſhall have a ſtipend of 400l. per annum, and out of the ſtipend ſhall be obliged to maintain with ſufficient ſalaries, in the univerſity where he ſhall be eſtabliſhed, two perſons at leaſt, well qualified to teach and inſtruct in writing and ſpeaking the languages, which teachers ſhall be under the direction of the profeſſors reſpectively, and ſhall be obliged to learn at leaſt two of the languages, both the profeſſors and teachers taking eſpecial care that the times and hours, for teaching and inſtructing the ſcholars, be ſo ordered as not to interfere with thoſe appointed for their academical ſtudies; which profeſſors and teachers ſhall be obliged once every year to give in an atteſted account of the progreſs made by each ſcholar committed to their care, to our principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of ſuch among them as ſhall have qualified themſelves for our ſervice, by giving them ſuitable employments, either at home or abroad, as occaſion ſhall offer."

About this time Philip V. of Spain thought fit to abdicate his crown, and retire with his queen into the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo. In a bigotted letter, which he ſent to his ſon Don Lewis, prince of Auſtrias, he ſays, " preſerve ever a great devotion for the moſt holy virgin, and put yourſelf, as well as your kingdom, under her protection, ſeeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be needful for you and for them." This curious letter was accompanied by a ſolemn renunciation of the crown, which was publiſhed throughout the whole Spaniſh monarchy; and the council reſolved, that Lewis, as acknowledged prince of Spain, might aſſume the reins of government, without aſſembling the cortes or eſtates of the kingdom.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and the next day his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I am perſuaded you ſhare with me in the ſatisfaction I feel at the proſperous ſituation of affairs: peace with all powers abroad; and at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of the favour and protection of the divine providence: and theſe, with all their happy conſequences, will, I doubt not, by the bleſſing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

" The ſame proviſion by ſea and land, for the defence and ſafety of the nation, will continue to make us reſpected abroad, and, conſequently, ſecure at home. The ſame attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, will eſtabliſh credit upon the ſtrongeſt baſis, and raiſe ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry, as will not only enable us gradually to diſcharge the national debt, but will likewiſe greatly increaſe the wealth, power, and influence of this kingdom.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay before you the eſtimates of the expences of the enſuing year; and as they do not exceed what has been found, by experience, to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the kingdom, I make no queſtion but I ſhall have your ready concurrence in raiſing the ſupplies in ſuch a manner as ſhall be moſt eaſy to my people.

" There is one thing which I muſt mention to you as deſerving your particular conſideration. It is too manifeſt, that the funds eſtabliſhed for finiſhing the works at Greenwich hoſpital, and providing for a competent number of ſeamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be ſufficient to anſwer the expences of this great and neceſſary work. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that ſome method could be found out to make a farther proviſion for a comfortable ſupport to our ſeamen, worn out in the ſervice of their country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" You muſt all be ſenſible how much our preſent happineſs is owing to your union and ſteady conduct. It is, therefore, wholly unneceſſary to recommend to you unanimity and diſpatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occaſions ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt of your country, even under the greateſt difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your entire and effectual concurrence in every thing that may tend to the ſervice of the public, and to the good of my people."

The affairs of chief moment tranſacted this ſeſſion (excluſive of the uſual ſupplies) were, the regulating future elections in the city of London; an act to enable Henry St. John, late viſcount Bolingbroke, to enjoy his eſtates; and the trial of Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, againſt whom articles of impeachment for high crimes and miſdemeanors were lodged by the commons in the houſe of peers: the tenor whereof was, that he, during the time of his being lord high chancellor of Great Britain, received ſeveral exorbitant ſums of money, therein particularly ſpecified, of certain perſons, as a conſideration of their being admitted into the offices of maſters in chancery, though ſome of them were very unfit to be intruſted with ſuch employments; and that he had been negligent in ſecuring the effects of divers ſuitors of the ſaid court, which had been depoſited in the hands of the maſters, by which means ſeveral of the ſuitors had been very great loſers. The houſe of peers, after a long and full hearing, being ſatisfied of the proof of theſe crimes, gave the following judgement againſt him by their ſpeaker, Sir Peter King: " That " Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, be fined in the ſum " of thirty thouſand pounds, unto our ſovereign lord " the king; and that he be impriſoned in the Tower " of London, and there kept in ſafe cuſtody, until " he ſhall pay the ſaid fine." Accordingly he was committed, and detained a priſoner there till the 22d of July following; at which time having paid the fine impoſed upon him, he was diſcharged out of cuſtody.

A. D. 1725. This year was uſhered in with an inſurrection in Scotland. Ever ſince the union the Scots had unwillingly paid any of the taxes laid on the united kingdoms; and had behaved, on all occaſions, as if they thought themſelves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies of the government failed not to cheriſh this diſpoſition in the people, and, under the maſk of a pretended zeal for the old conſtitution, to inſpire the populace with a hatred of that which was now eſtabliſhed. The malt-tax occaſioned the greateſt clamour; and it was foreſeen that it could not be collected without expoſing the officers of the revenue to the utmoſt danger. At Edinburgh, indeed, the exciſemen were ſuffered to take an account of the malſters ſtock in hand; but thoſe at Glaſgow were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners of the exciſe at Edinburgh for protection and aſſiſtance, their lives being threatened if they dared to viſit the malt-houſes.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the commiſſioners applied to general Wade, commander of the forces in Scotland, who, on the 23d of June, ſent captain Buſhel at the head of two companies of ſoldiers to Glaſgow. On entering the town they perceived a great number of people, who ſaluted them with the moſt abuſive language, and threw ſtones at them as they marched along the ſtreets, crying out, No malt-tax. The officer deſired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provoſt gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him he could not put him in poſſeſſion of the guard-room, the populace having locked the door and carried away the key. Unwilling to exaſperate the rabble by breaking open the door, the officer ordered the guard to be kept at a public houſe, which he had hired for that purpoſe. Every thing continued quiet till about eleven at night, when ſeveral thouſands of the lower claſs of people aſſembled about the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbell, repreſentative in parliament for Glaſgow, and threatened it with deſtruction. Captain Buſhel, deſirous of putting an end to the tumult, before the rioters had committed any diſorders, ſent a meſſage to the provoſt, informing him of the miſchief they threatened to commit, and that he was ready to give him any aſſiſtance. The provoſt anſwered, that he thought the number of his ſoldiers too ſmall to oppoſe the rabble, and therefore he thought it more prudent not to make uſe of them. Encouraged by the timidity of the magiſtrate, they proceeded to carry their threats into execution, forced into the houſe, and ſtripped it of every thing that was portable. The magiſtrates took no notice of the riot; and though ſeveral of them were found next morning drunk in the houſe, not one of them was ſent to priſon. The officers of exciſe concealed themſelves from the fury of the populace, who threatened to puniſh them in the moſt dreadful manner. About four in the afternoon, the cabal began to aſſemble again; and captain Buſhel, not knowing what their deſigns might be, ordered the ſoldiers to be ready at the guard-room, which the provoſt had now cauſed to be opened. The mob did not, however, long keep their ſecret, they advanced towards the guards, crying, "Drive the dogs out of town: we will cut them to pieces." The officer deſired them to deſiſt, told them they intended to do them no hurt; but if they continued to provoke the ſoldiers, it would not be in his power to prevent their firing. This had no effect upon the rabble, they continued throwing large ſtones in ſuch quantities, that ſome of the locks and bayonets of the ſoldiers were broken, and ſome of them wounded. The ſoldiers were now ordered to fire over their heads to intimidate them; but this had no effect; they continued to advance, and threw ſtones in ſtill greater quantities. Exaſperated at this uſage, the ſoldiers fired among them, and killed three or four. This had the deſired effect; they were terrified, and retired to ſome diſtance. The provoſt now deſired captain Buſhel to ſave himſelf and his men by retreating out of town, as the rioters were collecting all the arms they could find; and that a deſperate engagement muſt otherwiſe ſoon enſue. The captain followed his advice, and marched directly for Dumbarton; but was followed ſeveral miles by the mob, and obliged to face about and fire upon them ſeveral times in order to ſecure his retreat.

As ſoon as he reached Dumbarton, he diſpatched a meſſenger to general Wade, informing him of the riot, and deſiring inſtructions how to act in future. The general perceived the danger, and ſaw the neceſſity of enforcing the laws. He therefore ſet out from Edinburgh, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, and the next day joined a body of forces that had been ordered to rendezvous on a moor within two miles of Glaſgow, conſiſting of two regiments of horſe, a detachment of dragoons, and about two regiments of foot. The general now informed the magiſtrates that he was preparing to march into Glaſgow, and the next day about two o'clock he entered the town. The troops advanced with ſilence and good order, and were diſtributed into quarters without any diſturbance. The next day the exciſemen proceeded to take an account of the maltſters ſtock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The terms of the act were complied with, and every thing continued in tranquillity.

On the 31ſt of May the king, after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, prorogued the parliament; and on the 3d of June ſet out for his German dominions.

While his majeſty was abroad, he entered into a treaty with France and Hanover. This tranſaction happened in conſequence of two treaties, one of peace, the other of commerce, concluded between the emperor and Philip V. who, on the demiſe of his ſon, had once more reſumed the ſovereign rule. There was nothing in the treaty of peace which could give offence to any of the powers in Europe, but the treaty of commerce was deemed highly prejudicial to the intereſt of Great-Britain, as the Oſtend company, which the emperor had eſtabliſhed, was to be ſupported by it; another probable conſequence of it was, the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to the Spaniards; and it was even rumoured, that there were ſecret articles in favour of the pretender. The imperial forces were now conſiderably augmented, and other powers were ſolicited to engage in this alliance, to which the Czar actually acceded. Theſe proceedings alarmed the king of Great Britain, and in order to counteract the deſigns of the new allies, he projected a defenſive treaty between England, France and Pruſſia, and which was known by the name of the treaty of Hanover. This alliance was limited to the term of fifteen years, and contained a mutual guarantee of the dominions poſſeſſed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, with an agreement to procure ſatisfaction for the proteſtants of Thorn in Poland, who had been oppreſſed by the papiſts, contrary to the treaty of Olivia.

A. D. 1726.

Theſe negotiations being finiſhed, the king ſet out on his return to England in the middle of December, and came to Helvoetſluys, where Sir John Norris waited with the convoy and yatchts; and on the 1ſt of January, about one in the afternoon, his majeſty embarked. A little after ſeven in the evening there aroſe a moſt violent tempeſt, which continued ſo high, and the wind ſo boiſterous for near 36 hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger; but on the fourth day his majeſty landed at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London.

The parliament met on the 20th of January, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed them, "that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged them to concert with other powers ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns: that the enemies to his government were already very buſy by their inſtruments and emiſſaries in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeemed moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſoliciting and promoting the cauſe of the pretender; but he perſuaded himſelf, notwithſtanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expected to receive, that the proviſion made by his parliament for the ſafety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually ſecure them from all danger of foreign invaſions, or domeſtic inſurrection: that when the world ſhould ſee, that they would not ſuffer the Britiſh crown and nation to be inſulted with impunity, thoſe who moſt envied the tranquillity and happineſs of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it ſubſervient to their ambitious projects, would have ſome regard to their own intereſt and circumſtances, before they preſumed to make any attempt upon ſo brave a people, ſtrengthened and ſupported by powerful alliances, and however deſirous of peace, able, and ready to defend themſelves againſt all aggreſſors: that ſuch reſolutions and ſuch meaſures, if timely taken, would, he was ſatisfied, be the moſt effectual means of preventing a war, and preſerving to his people the bleſſings of peace and proſperity."

The treaty of Hanover being laid before the houſe of commons, it occaſioned great debates. The members who oppoſed it alledged, that it would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made for the ſecuring our religion, laws and liberties, in the act for the further limitation and ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line. To this it was replied by the other ſide, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majeſty's foreign dominions of any aſſiſtance from this nation, for in that reſpect the king would be in a worſe condition upon his acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain than he was before, but that it was only deſigned to reſtrain the ſovereign for the future from engaging the nation in a war for the defence of any dominions not pertaining to the Engliſh crown without the conſent of parliament, who were to determine whether a war was, or was not, neceſſary. Mr. Pelham obſerved, that, for his own part, he was of opinion, that if, in the preſent juncture of affairs, his majeſty's foreign dominions ſhould be attacked or inſulted, this nation ought to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies; he therefore moved for an addreſs to the king, to return him thanks for communicating the treaty of Hanover to the Houſe, and to expreſs their juſt ſenſe of his majeſty's concern for the balance and peace of Europe, and to aſſure him, that in the juſtice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown, the houſe would effectually ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks that any prince or power, in reſentment of the juſt meaſures ſo wiſely taken by his majeſty, ſhould make upon any of his territories or dominions, though not immediately belonging to the crown of Great Britain. The oppoſition to this addreſs was ſo inconſiderable, that it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority: it was preſented on the 19th of February, to which his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me: your aſſurances, not to ſuffer my foreign dominions to be expoſed or inſulted, on account of the meaſures I have taken for the intereſt of theſe kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe. I have no view of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myſelf, or extending any part of my dominions at the expence of the other; and as my honour is the common cauſe and concern of my ſubjects, their particular intereſt ſhall, upon all occaſions, be my conſtant care."

The houſe of lords preſented an addreſs to the ſame effect, and received a ſimilar anſwer.

On the 24th of March, Sir Paul Methuen, knight of the Bath, delivered the following meſſage from the king to the houſe of commons:

"His majeſty having nothing more at heart than an earneſt deſire to ſecure his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns as have been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it neceſſary not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert ſuch other meaſures as may moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable ends: and as theſe ſervices will require ſome extraordinary expence, his majeſty hopes he ſhall be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, and to enter into and make good ſuch engagements, as the circumſtances and exigency of affairs may require."

This meſſage occaſioned a long debate in the houſe of commons; but it was at laſt agreed to comply with it, and an addreſs was voted to his majeſty, informing him that his faithful commons would ſupport him, and had agreed to the required augmentation.

By ſome miſtake, this meſſage had not been communicated to the houſe of lords, though the king mentioned his hopes of being enabled, by the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted. This omiſſion cauſed a very warm debate. The earl of Strafford aſſerted, "that the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the ancient privileges of the houſe of peers, who are the grand ſtanding-council of the ſovereign, the hereditary and perpetual guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to the king, the principal part of the legiſlature, and who, therefore, have a right to be conſulted in all matters of public concern." He moved, therefore, "that an addreſs be preſented to know, who adviſed his majeſty not to ſend the ſame meſſage to the houſe of peers, as was ſent to the houſe of commons." The lord Trevor, in order to prevent diſagreeable debates, moved, that the conſideration of that matter might be put off for a month; but lord Lechmere repreſented, "that the ſubject was of great importance to his majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, to the ancient conſtitution of parliament, and to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom; that it ought not to be poſtponed at all, much leſs for ſuch a length of time, as amounted to a laying it entirely aſide. That it muſt be for the ſervice and ſupport of the crown, upon all occaſions, to have the advice of both houſes of parliament; and as the meſſage was only ſent to the houſe of commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their lordſhips upon it, though it containted matters of the higheſt importance, it tended to undermine the foundation of the houſe of peers, and of the antient conſtitution of the kingdom. That the rights of the people of England were in ſome meaſure invaded, whenever they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of that houſe of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the ſubjects. And, therefore, if this debate ſhould be adjourned to ſo long a day, it might be inferred, from ſuch a dilatory proceeding, that their lordſhips were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people at this time, and as much determined to ſupport and defend both, as any of their anceſtors and predeceſſors had formerly been. That it was the unbounded, inherent, and fundamental right of the houſe of peers, to alter and amend all money bills which came from the commons; and though, in ſome late inſtances, the commons had diſputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and aſſert it. That, according to ancient uſuage, all demands of ſupply ſhould come from the throne in the houſe of peers; and, therefore, all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the conſtitution." He was anſwered by the lords Onſlow and Townſhend; and theſe were replied to by lord Bathurſt, who obſerved, "That the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and ſeparately from the lords, was indeed new and unprecedented. That this was ſo far from being the language of former times, that though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money bills, yet there was a time when they were ſo inconſiderable, as to apply to the lords to deſire them to provide money for the public ſervice. That if, at this time, the lords ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked in this manner, they might at laſt come to be voted uſeleſs, as they had formerly been. And, therefore, leſt any miſtake at this time ſhould be attended with ſuch ill conſequences as to encourage any evil miniſters hereafter to a total neglect of the houſe of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice ſhould be taken of it immediately, inſtead of deferring the further conſideration of it for a month." The earl of Scarborough ſaid, "He did not deny that the peers have a right to be adviſed with in all matters of importance, and to give their conſent to money-bills. But in the caſe before them it ſeemed needleſs to ſend the meſſage in queſtion to the houſe, becauſe their lordſhips had implicitly given their conſent to the augmenting the number of ſeamen, in their addreſs of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been ſuggeſted, that formerly the commons applied to the lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of it was, becauſe at that time none had any money to give but the lords, moſt of the lands being then in their hands; whereas ſince the reign of Henry VII. the caſe is very much altered; and, therefore, they ought not to conſider how things were formerly, but how they are at preſent, and act accordingly." Several other ſpeeches were made on this occaſion; but the adjournment took place, and the addreſs was afterwards rejected.

On the 24th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers; and having paſſed ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

During theſe tranſactions, Peter the Great, czar of Muſcovy, paid the debt of nature, and his empreſs Catharine ſucceeded him on the throne. This princeſs had conceived a diſtaſte to the Britiſh court, and, by the inſinuations of ſome Scottiſh people about her, had been brought to believe that it would prove no difficult matter to ſet up the ſon of the late king James II. and ſo overturn the government in Britain. This ſcheme was highly approved of by the Spaniſh court, who flattered themſelves that it would greatly facilitate their acquiſitions in Italy.

As ſoon as the Engliſh miniſtry were informed of the czarina's intentions, it was reſolved to ſend a fleet into the Baltic, the command of which was given to Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him Sir George Walton, rear admiral of the blue. On the ſeventeenth of April they ſailed from the Nore, with twenty ſhips of the line, one frigate, and two fire-ſhips; and on the 23d of the ſame month the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen. The next day Sir Charles preſented a letter to the king of Denmark from his Britannic majeſty; and ſoon after quitting Copenhagen, he anchored with his fleet near Stockholm. Having had an audience of his Swediſh majeſty, by whom he was moſt graciouſly received, he ſailed to the iſland of Narignan, within a few leagues of Revel. About the ſame time a ſquadron of Daniſh men of war ſailed from Copenhagen for the iſland of Bornholm, in order to join them.

The day after Sir Charles arrived at Narignan, he diſpatched lieutenant Burnet, in the Port-mahon, with a letter from the king to the czarina, incloſed in one to Pruxin. her admiral, who at this time was lying in the road of Cronſlot, with ſixteen Ruſſian men of war beſides gallies. In his letter to the czarina, the king had expoſtulated very freely with her majeſty on the ſubject of the armaments by ſea and land, which ſhe had been for ſome time preparing; and likewiſe on the intrigues which her miniſters had lately entered into with the agents of the Pretender. The Ruſſian court, enraged at the appearance of a Britiſh fleet upon their coaſts, was, at firſt, inclined to reſent it, but ſerious reflection convincing them that the Ruſſian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain, it was reſolved in council to order the ſhips and gallies to be laid up, and the empreſs wrote an anſwer to his Britannic majeſty, wherein ſhe expreſſed her ſurprize that ſhe had not received his majeſty's letter until his fleet was at anchor in one of her ports, ſince it would have been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and to the amity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, to expoſtulate with her on her armaments, and expect her anſwer, before he had proceeded to ſuch an offenſive meaſure. She aſſured him that nothing was further from her thoughts than any deſign to trouble the peace of the north; and with regard to the Pretender, ſhe ſaid, it was a ſtale and frivolous accuſation, which had been frequently uſed as a pretext to cover all the unkind ſteps taken againſt the Ruſſian empire.

Sir Charles having tranſmitted the czarina's anſwer to his majeſty's letter, determined to continue in the ſame ſtation, till he ſhould receive farther orders. In the mean time the Britiſh merchants in thoſe parts were greatly alarmed, apprehending that their perſons and effects were in imminent danger: but the czarina was pleaſed ſoon after to publiſh a declaration, in which ſhe aſſured them, that whatever hoſtilities might be committed by the Britiſh ſquadron, the merchants ſhould not be injured in their perſons, goods, poſſeſſions, ſhips going or coming, nor in any other manner whatſoever; and that, as well for the preſent as the time to come, they might freely, and at their pleaſure and beſt advantage, without any fear or apprehenſion, carry on their traffic in her empire, equally with all other nations in friendſhip with the Ruſſians, and on all occaſions be unalterably aſſured of her gracious care and protection, provided that they, through no diſagreeable meaſures or forbidden proceedings, rendered themſelves obnoxious. Sir Charles Wager had alſo liberty to furniſh his ſquadron with freſh proviſions as often as he pleaſed. At length, it being judged that the czarina's affairs were not in a ſituation to make any conſiderable attempt this year, the Britiſh fleet left thoſe parts, and returned to England.

Two other ſquadrons were likewiſe fitted out this year; one of which was deſtined to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of admiral Hoſier: the other, conducted by Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land forces, ſailed from St. Helen's on the 20th of July, entered the bay of St. Antonia, then viſited Liſbon, from whence he directed his courſe to the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruiſed off cape St. Mary's, ſo as to alarm the coaſt of Spain, and fill Madrid with conſternation, but no act of hoſtility was committed.

Admiral Hoſier had ſailed in April with ſeven ſhips of war. His orders were to block up the galleons in the Spaniſh ports; or ſhould they preſume to come out, ſeize, and bring them to England. Before his arrival at the Baſtimentos, near Porto Bello, the treaſure, conſiſting of above ſix millions ſterling, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama, in conſequence of an order ſent from Spain, by an advice boat, which had the ſtart of Hoſier. This admiral lay inactive on that ſtation till, from the terror, he became the jeſt of the Spaniards, when, a little before Chriſtmas, he ſailed to Jamaica, where he reinforced his crew, and then ſtood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had by this time ſeized the Engliſh South-ſea ſhips at La Vera Cruz, together with all the veſſels and effects belonging to that company. Hoſier finding it in vain to demand reſtitution, took ſome Spaniſh ſhips by way of repriſal; after which he continued cruiſing in thoſe ſeas, until the greater part of his men periſhed by the diſeaſes of that unhealthy climate, and his ſhips were entirely ruined by the worms. This brave officer who was reſtricted by his orders from obeying the dictates of his courage, ſeeing his people daily ſwept off by an outrageous diſtemper, and his ſhips expoſed to inevitable deſtruction, is ſaid to have died of a broken heart; while the Engliſh nation juſtly clamoured againſt this unfortunate expedition, in which ſo many lives were thrown away, and ſo much money expended without the leaſt advantage to the nation.

A. D. 1727. The parliament met on the 17th of January, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty, with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he told them, " That the ſudden conjunction between the emperor and the king of Spain, and the ſecret and offenſive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundation of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power, ſo directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling intereſts and privileges of this nation, that they muſt determine either tamely to ſubmit to the peremptory and unjuſt demands of the king of Spain, in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped and extended exerciſe of trade and commerce, or reſolve to be in a condition to do themſelves juſtice, and defend their undoubted rights againſt theſe reciprocal engagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the moſt ſolemn treaties. He added, that he had likewiſe received information from different parts, on which he could entirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom was one of the articles of the ſecret engagements; and if time ſhould evince that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to another, is made the price and reward of impoſing upon this kingdom a popiſh Pretender, what indignation muſt it raiſe in the breaſt of every proteſtant Briton? Nor were theſe fatal combinations confined to thoſe parts of the world alone: they even extended to Ruſſia; and had not the deſigns of that court againſt ſome of their neighbours been prevented by the ſeaſonable arrival of the Engliſh fleet in thoſe ſeas, a way had been opened for invading theſe kingdoms, and giving a powerful aſſiſtance to any attempt made from other quarters: that ſuch circumſtances would not ſuffer him and his allies to be idle ſpectators, and regardleſs of their own ſafety and the common cauſe of Europe; for which purpoſe his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had been at a great expence the laſt year in augmenting his forces; and the ſtates-general, ſenſible of the imminent danger, had not only acceded to the defenſive alliance concluded at Hanover, but came to ſtrong and ſeaſonable reſolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by ſea and land. He further told them, that the Spaniards had actually aſſembled a great body of troops in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, in order to attack and beſiege that place; but that he rather believed thoſe public and immenſe preparations were deſigned as an amuſement, and to diſguiſe the intended invaſion, which had been for ſome time agreed to be the firſt ſtep and beginning of the long premeditated rupture."

The circumſtances mentioned in this ſpeech raiſed the zeal and indignation of the commons to ſuch a height, that, in their addreſs, words ſeemed wanting to expreſs the deep reſentment at the inſults offered the king, at the invaſion of the moſt valuable branches of trade, at the deſigns formed againſt the nation, and to applaud the wiſe meaſures taken by the king to prevent the deſtructive deſigns formed againſt the liberties of Europe. They voted 46,000 men, together with a land-tax of 4s. in the pound.

The members of the upper houſe were not quite ſo complaiſant as thoſe of the lower. A violent debate at firſt ſeemed to promiſe a powerful oppoſition. Lord Bathurſt, after repreſenting the inconveniences of the war, obſerved, that conſiderable ſums had been diſtributed in different places to give ſucceſs to certain meaſures, and recommended it to the lords to make a ſtrict enquiry into an object of ſuch importance. " As to myſelf, (ſaid he,) I have never touched either Engliſh or Spaniſh gold; I am neither a Frenchman nor a Spaniard, but I ſhall always glory in being a true Engliſhman, and in ſpeaking and acting for the good of my country, while I ſhall have the honour of being a member of this houſe." The meaſures of the king were, however, voted to be honourable, juſt, and neceſſary.

The houſe of lords was not the only place where the king's ſpeech was examined. The court of Vienna was highly offended, and paſſed ſevere cenſures upon it. The count de Palms, ambaſſador from the emperor, had orders to preſent and publiſh a remonſtrance, wherein the king of England was charged with giving an imperfect, mutilated, or very groundleſs account of facts. It was inſiſted, that the article reſpecting the pretender was falſe; that there was no offenſive alliance between the emperor and Spain; that the treaty of Vienna was no infringement of the lawful rights of England; and laſtly, reparation for the injury done to his imperial majeſty by theſe calumnious imputations was required.

This memorial was highly reſented by the parliament. Both houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their indignation at the affront offered to his majeſty by the memorial of the count de Palms, and at his inſolence in diſperſing the ſame throughout the kingdom; aſſuring his majeſty, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a ſeditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. "The endeavouring," ſaid they in their addreſs, "to inſtill into the minds of any of your faithful ſubjects the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence of your majeſty's ſacred royal word, or to make a diſtinction between your majeſty and your people, is an attempt as vain as preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important ſuccours (confeſſed to have been received from Great Britain) gratitude, affection, and eſteem for this nation, will be beſt manifeſted, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour; and juſtice to the people, whoſe rights and privileges the beſt of kings is now defending, againſt the encroachments made upon them."

The ſecretary of ſtate wrote a letter to the count de Palms, ordering him to quit the kingdom immediately. The two powers attacked each other at the imperial diet, by writings replete with perſonal animoſities. Nothing leſs than a violent and obſtinate war was expected. The king entered into new negotiations with France, Sweden, Denmark, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. Support was alſo procured in Germany, but not without being attended with a vaſt expence to England.

The miniſtry now determined, if poſſible, to obtain a power to diſpoſe of the ſupplies. Accordingly, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, by Mr. Scroope, ſecretary to the treaſury, for empowering the king to apply ſuch monies as he might find neceſſary to defray expences, and fulfil ſuch engagements as already were, or might be contracted before the end of the year. This motion occaſioned a long and very warm debate. It was ſaid by the miniſterial party, "That his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more ſupplies this ſeſſion than what he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the year. But, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a farther expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties his majeſty had thought proper to enter into were not as yet finiſhed; and, therefore, that the parliament ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies: that the houſe had ſeveral times repoſed the ſame confidence in him, which he had never abuſed, eſpecially as it was now aſked only for a ſhort time." To this it was anſwered, "That the wiſdom of parliament had always taken precautions againſt the improper employment of the public money; that a power ſo unlimited, and of ſuch dangerous conſequence, could not be admitted under a free government; that it was eſſential to the welfare of the ſtate to preſerve the forms of parliament, to grant ſupplies upon eſtimates, and to apply the monies granted to the purpoſes publicly avowed and acknowledged as neceſſary; in ſhort, that if parliament ſhould diſpenſe with eſtabliſhed cuſtoms and principles, ſuch examples would become frequent, the crown would acquire an abſolute power of levying taxes, and the conſtitution of England would ſoon be annihilated. But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, the court party prevailed, and the bill paſſed both houſes by a conſiderable majority.

The parliament having diſpatched all the buſineſs before them, his majeſty, after paſſing the bills that were ready, put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech to both houſes:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I acquainted you at the opening of this ſeſſion with the dangers that threatened this kingdom, and the peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and diſpatch with which you have proceeded on the ſeveral points I then recommended to your care; for the confidence you have repoſed in me, and for the aſſurances you have given me of your ſupport and aſſiſtance, in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation, ſo openly and notoriouſly invaded and attacked.

"The ſiege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all diſpute, the end and deſign of the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I have made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the raſhneſs and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to ſuſpend in ſome meaſure my reſentment; and inſtead of having immediate recourſe to arms, and demanding of my allies that aſſiſtance which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have conferred with the moſt Chriſtian king and the ſtates-general, in making ſuch overtures of accommodation as muſt convince all the world of the uprightneſs of our intentions, and of our ſincere diſpoſitions to peace, and demonſtrate to whoſe ambition and thirſt of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if theſe juſt and reaſonable propoſitions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover; and that the convention between his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the king of Denmark is actually ſigned."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The vigour and chearfulneſs you have ſhewn in raiſing ſo effectually, and upon ſuch eaſy terms, the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, are not only inſtances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonſtrate the eſtabliſhed credit, power, and ſtrength of this kingdom."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It would have been a great ſatisfaction to me if, before your ſeparation, I had been able to ſpeak to you more poſitively, and with greater certainty, upon the preſent poſture of affairs; but as you have now diſpatched the public buſineſs, and the ſeaſon of the year requires your going into your reſpective counties, I choſe rather to put an end to the ſeſſion, than to keep you any longer together unneceſſarily. The proviſion you have made, and the union and harmony between me and my allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the divine aſſiſtance, either to withſtand and defeat the deſigns of our enemies, if their conduct ſhould bring upon us the neceſſity of a war; or to improve the bleſſings of peace, if peace can with any juſtice, honour, and ſecurity be obtained."

In the mean time the Spaniards laid ſiege to Gibraltar with an army of 20,000 men, well provided with artillery, ammunition, and warlike ſtores. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor of the place, had troops and neceſſaries ſufficient for making a brave defence, till ſupplies could arrive from England, for which preparations had been made. But there was little to be feared from the attempts of the Spaniards; their meaſures were ill planned and worſe executed: ſo that, after lying four months before the place, and loſing half their army by ſlaughter, ſickneſs, and deſertion, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize.

The hoſtile powers, notwithſtanding their reſentment, had not that paſſion for war which prolongs the miſeries of mankind. France effectually employed her mediation to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. Preliminaries were ſigned, whereby it was agreed, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years;

and that a congreſs ſhould be held within that period for finally determining all differences.

Two years had now elapſed ſince his majeſty laſt viſited his German dominions; and he reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity of enjoying that pleaſure. Accordingly, having eſtabliſhed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the 3d of June, and on the 7th landed at Vaert in Holland. The next day he ſet out for Hanover; and the following evening, between ten and eleven o'clock arrived in apparent good health at Delden. He ſupped heartily, reſted well, and proceeded on his journey about four the next morning. Between eight and nine o'clock he ordered the coach to ſtop, and finding one of his hands motionleſs, he ſaid, "I cannot move this hand." A ſhort time after this, his eyes began to move with great emotion, his mouth was diſtorted, and his tongue ſwelled, ſo that he was deprived of the power of ſpeech. He continued in this ſtate but a ſhort time before he was ſeized with a violent fit of the palſy; and though he recovered a little by the opening of a vein, he ſoon after became lethargic, and was conveyed in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnaburg, where he expired on Sunday the 11th of June, in his brother's palace, in the 68th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. His remains were interred at Hanover among thoſe of his anceſtors.

George I. was plain and open in his addreſs, grave and compoſed in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he aſcended the Britiſh throne, he had acquired the character of a circumſpect general; a juſt and merciful prince, and a wiſe politician, who perfectly underſtood and ſteadily purſued his own intereſt. With theſe qualities it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well diſpoſed to govern his new ſubjects according to the maxims of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the genius of the people. And if he ever ſeemed to deviate from theſe principles, we may be aſſured, that he was miſled by the venal ſuggeſtions of a miniſtry, whoſe power and influence were both founded on corruption.

He married the princeſs Sophia Dorothy, daughter and heireſs to the duke of Zell, by whom he had one ſon, who ſucceeded him in the throne; and a daughter married to the late king of Pruſſia.

The moſt remarkable occurrences that happened during this king's reign were the following:

On the 22d of April, in the year after his acceſſion, there happened the greateſt eclipſe of the ſun that had ever been known in the memory of man. It began about 7 minutes after 8 o'clock in the morning, and ended about 20 minutes after 10. The ſun, for near four minutes, was ſo totally darkened, that the moon and ſtars were as viſible as in the cleareſt evening; and the beaſts and birds were ſo confuſed, that they retired to their reſpective places of reſt with the greateſt precipitation. Two French mathematicians, by direction of the royal academy of Sciences, came over to obſerve it, and were entertained with great reſpect by the Royal Society of London, with whom they joined in making their obſervations on this ſingular phænomenon.

On the 13th of December, 1718, the ſtream of the river Thames was reduced ſo low by the dryneſs of the ſeaſon, and a ſtrong weſterly wind, that the people walked acroſs it in different parts, as alſo through moſt of the arches of London-bridge.

In the 7th year of this king's reign, inoculating for the ſmall pox was firſt introduced into England from Turkey. The importing of it is attributed to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who reſided ſome time with her huſband at the Ottoman court, where ſhe had an opportunity of ſeeing the Turkiſh method of performing the operation; a deſcription of which is given in the letters publiſhed under her name. The experiment was firſt tried with ſucceſs on ſeven condemned criminals, which was immediately followed by the inoculation of prince Frederick, the two princeſſes Amelia and Caroline, the duke of Bedford and his ſiſters, with many other perſons of diſtinction, who underwent the operation with great ſucceſs. But notwithſtanding the method of inoculation received ſuch a diſtinguiſhed ſanction, the practice of it was greatly diſapproved of till about the year 1760, ſince which time it has generally prevailed, not only in England, but moſt parts of Europe; and ſeveral public hoſpitals have been erected for the benefit of the indigent.

In the month of April, 1724, died Doctor Henry Sacheverel, who bequeathed a legacy of 500l. to his friend and patron, the baniſhed biſhop of Rocheſter.

In the following year Orator Henley, the ſon of a worthy Divine, ſet up a new ſect, under the title of an Oratory: to promote which, he informed the public, that on the 3d of July the oratory would be opened; that the fundamental authority of this inſtitution, conſidered as a church, would be the ſame with that of all the modern churches; that is, "a legal liberty of private judgment in religion, which is the very principle of the reformation, the baſis of all the proteſtant intereſt, and the moſt valuable branch of the freedom of our conſtitution." At the ſame time, in order to prevent any diſturbance that might ariſe on account of his ſeparation from the church, in which he had been ordained a prieſt, he reſolved to ſhelter himſelf under the canon of the toleration act; for which purpoſe he took the oaths of abjuration and allegiance before the bench of juſtices at Hicks's-hall. The place he firſt adapted for his oratory was no leſs ſingular than the novelty of its inſtitution, being a ſort of wooden booth built over the ſhambles in Newport-market, near Leiceſter-fields, formerly uſed for a temporary meeting-houſe of a Calviniſtical congregation: after which he moved near the weſt entrance into Clare-market. Notwithſtanding his private fortune was greatly increaſed by money paid for admiſſion into his oratory for upwards of 35 years, yet he could never form an eſtabliſhed congregation; nor did it appear that his religion gained him one proſelyte; his whole ſyſtem and conduct for that time exhibiting nothing more than ſatire, burleſque and grimace.

SECT. II.

GEORGE II.

AS the late king died abroad, his death was not known in England till the 14th of June, four days after the event happened, when Sir Robert Walpole received an expreſs with the melancholy news. At this time the prince and princeſs of Wales were at Richmond, whither Sir Robert immediately repaired with the important intelligence; on the receipt of which they haſtened to Leiceſter-houſe, where they had for ſome time kept their court. On their arrival there, they were received by a number of the lords of the privy-council, and other diſtinguiſhed perſonages, who ſigned an inſtrument for proclaiming his royal highneſs king of theſe realms; and the next morning the ceremony was performed at the uſual places and with the accuſtomed ſolemnities.

George II. was in the 44th year of his age when he acceded to the throne of England; at which time the ſituation of affairs was particularly favourable. The nation was in a very flouriſhing condition. Commerce, the great idol of the Engliſh, was every day improving, and riches flowed in from every quarter. The navy was on a very reſpectable footing; near 200 ſhips of war were either cruiſing in different parts, or ready to ſail, on the ſhorteſt warning, to protect our trade, or annoy the enemy. Several regiments of well-diſciplined troops were quartered in different parts of the three kingdoms, ſo as to overawe the diſaffected, and ſecure the peace and tranquillity of the whole; while they ſtrengthened the hands of government, and gave the new ſovereign an aſcendancy, which for many years had been unknown to his predeceſſors.

The parliament aſſembled immediately on receiving the news of the late king's death, purſuant to an act made for that purpoſe in the reign of queen Anne; but on the ſame day it was prorogued, by commiſſion, till the 27th of the ſame month.

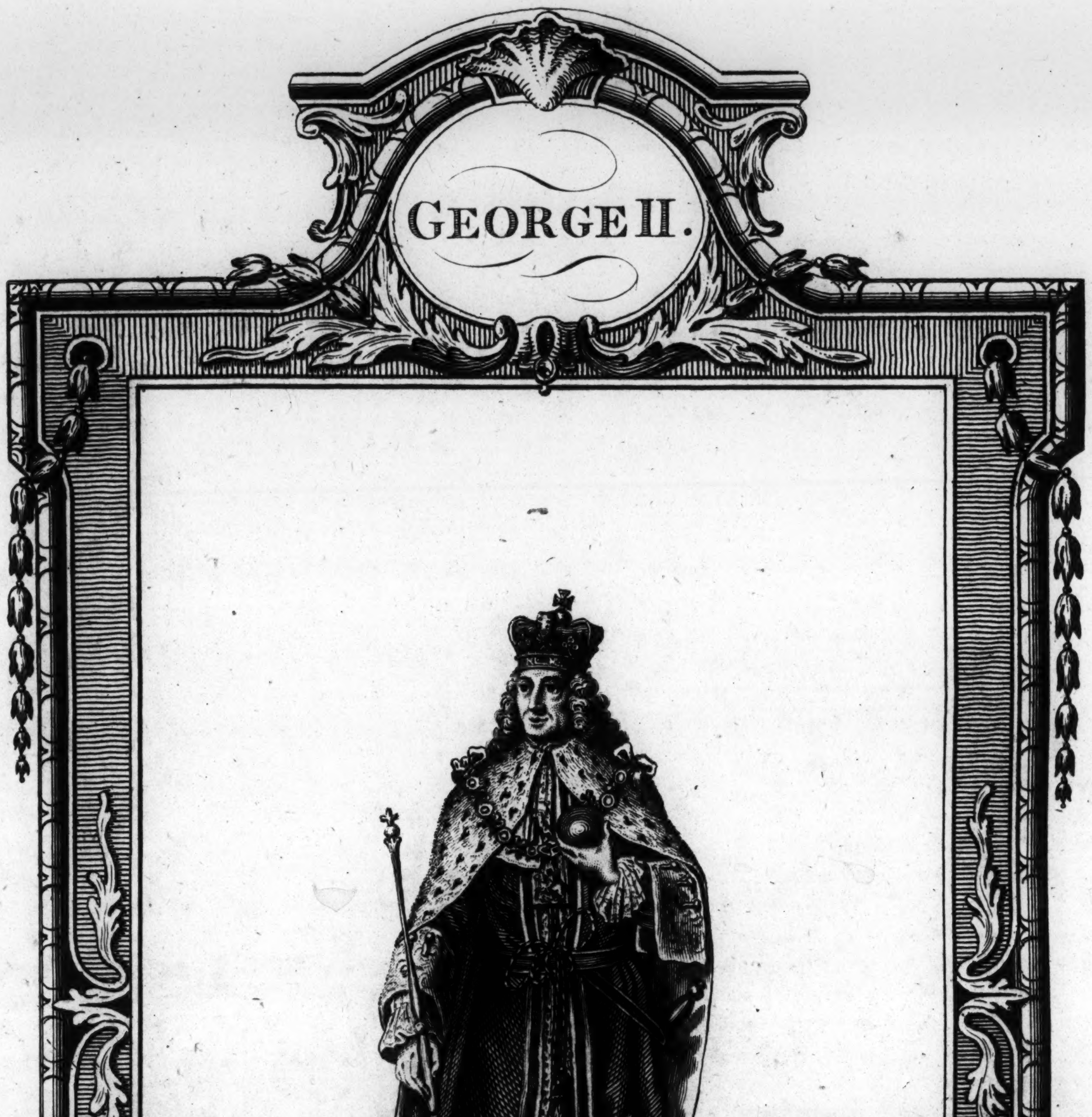
In the mean time the king cauſed all the privy-counſellors, who compoſed the council of his father, to form that of his own. The ſyſtem of politics eſtabliſhed in the late reign was ſtrictly adhered to: Sir Robert Walpole kept poſſeſſion of the treaſury, and all the great officers of ſtate were continued in their reſpective places.

On the 27th of June the parliament met, agreeable to the royal proclamation, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he declared, that it ſhould be his conſtant care to preſerve the conſtitution in church and ſtate inviolable in all its parts, and to ſecure to all his ſubjects the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights: he promiſed to leſſen the public expence as ſoon as the circumſtances of affairs would permit: he obſerved to the commons, that the grant of the greateſt part of the civil liſt revenues was now determined, and that it would be neceſſary for them to make a new proviſion for the ſupport of him and his family; and he recommended it to both houſes to diſpatch the buſineſs that ſhould be neceſſarily before them, as the ſeaſon of the year and the circumſtances of time required their preſence in the country.

Both houſes preſented addreſſes of condolance and congratulation; immediately after which the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, took into conſideration a motion for a ſupply to his majeſty. Sir Robert Walpole having obſerved, that the annual ſum of 700,000 l. granted to and ſettled upon king George I. had fallen ſhort every year, and that his majeſty's expences were likely to increaſe by reaſon of the largeneſs of his family, moved, that the entire revenues of the civil liſt, which produced about 800,000 l. per annum, ſhould be ſettled on the king during his life. Mr. Shippen, an avowed enemy to the reigning miniſtry, and a ſhrewd ſarcaſtic ſpeaker, oppoſed this motion, as inconſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in them as repreſentatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exerciſing the right of giving away the public money. He ſaid, the ſum of 700,000 l. was not obtained for king George I. without a long and ſolemn debate, and every member who contended for it at this time allowed it to be an ample royal revenue: although his majeſty's family ſhould be enlarged, a circumſtance which had been urged as one reaſon for the motion, he preſumed the appointments of prince Frederick would be much inferior to thoſe ſettled on his majeſty when prince of Wales; beſides, it was to be hoped that many perſonal, many particular expences in the late reign, eſpecially thoſe for frequent journies to Hanover, would be diſcontinued, and entirely ceaſe. He propoſed, that inſtead of granting an addition to the civil liſt, they ſhould reſtrict that revenue to a certain ſum, by concluding the queſtion with theſe words, "In like manner as they were granted to "George I. ſo as to make up the clear yearly ſum "of 700,000 l." To theſe particulars, which were indeed unanſwerable, no reply was made, even this mark of decency was laid aſide as idle and ſuperfluous. The queſtion was put. The houſe agreed to Sir Robert's motion, and a bill was brought in upon the following reſolutions: "Firſt, That towards the ſupply granted to his majeſty for the ſupport of his houſhold, the ſame revenues which were payable to his late majeſty during his life, be granted and continued to his preſent majeſty during his life. Secondly, That the ſame revenues be continued from the death of his late majeſty."

The commons having received a meſſage from the king, recommending the making further proviſion for the queen, in caſe of his majeſty's demiſe, it was taken into conſideration by a grand committee of that houſe, when they reſolved, "firſt, that a proviſion be made for the queen, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, of 100,000 l. per annum during her life, together with his majeſty's palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Old Park. Secondly, that his majeſty be enabled to charge the ſaid 100,000l. on all or any of the duties and revenues for the better ſupport of her majeſty's houſhold, &c. which ſhall ſubſiſt after his majeſty's deceaſe."

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions bills were brought in, which paſſed both houſes, and on the 17th of July received the royal aſſent. The ſame day his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he thanked the commons for the


GEORGE II.
Wale delin.
White sculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

the proviſion they had made for the ſupport of his family and the civil government, and for the ample proviſion they had made for the queen. Then addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, he added, "It is a great happineſs to me to ſee the nation in ſo proſperous and flouriſhing a condition, at the higheſt pitch of glory and reputation, of great weight in holding the balance of Europe, defending themſelves in their juſt privileges and poſſeſſions, and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great Britain."

After his majeſty had concluded his ſpeech, he prorogued the parliament to the 29th of Auguſt; but before that time it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for chuſing a new one.

On the 11th of October the ceremony of their majeſty's coronation was performed at Weſtminſter-abbey with great ſplendor and ſolemnity: the biſhop of Oxford preached on the occaſion, and the day was celebrated with the moſt extraordinary rejoicings in all parts of the kingdom.

Before the concluſion of this year a treaty or convention was concluded at Weſtminſter, between his Britannic majeſty and the duke of Brunſwic Lunenburgh Wolfenbuttle; by which the duke engaged to guarantee all his majeſty's dominions in Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany; and likewiſe to furniſh a body of 5000 men, for which his Britannic majeſty engaged to pay him a yearly ſubſidy of 25,000l. for four years. By a ſeparate article in this convention it was ſtipulated that the duke's troops were not to be obliged to paſs over to Great Britain or Ireland, but ſhould be employed either in the replacing troops that might be drawn from his majeſty's dominions, or be put into the garriſons of the ſtates-general, in caſe any of their troops ſhould be ſent over to Great Britain.

A. D. 1728. The new parliament met at Weſtminſter on the 23d of January, when the commons unanimouſly choſe for their ſpeaker Arthur Onſlow, eſq. knight of the ſhire for the county of Surry; a gentleman of extenſive knowledge, approved integrity, and abilities every way equal to the diſcharge of that important office, which he afterwards fully juſtified in a longer ſeries of public and irreprehenſible ſervices in that ſtation than had ever been diſcharged by any of his predeceſſors.

The ſpeech with which his majeſty opened the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament breathed an air of frankneſs and ſincerity. He told them, that he was very ſenſible of the diſagreeable and uneaſy ſituation in which their affairs were at preſent placed, and had been greatly concerned to ſee many of the inconveniences of a war attending his ſubjects, without any opportunity of reſenting the injuries they had ſuſtained, or gaining, in return, any of thoſe advantages which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of his arms, might probably have ſecured to them: that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and though there was great reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon be opened, and all obſtructions removed, yet it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the Engliſh nation many advantages, which would be entirely loſt through a diſcontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely deſirous of reducing the national expences, and would not fail to ſet about this neceſſary and important work, as ſoon as the intereſt of his people would permit. He earneſtly recommended to their conſideration the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country; a conſideration, he ſaid, well worthy the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and commerce: that he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital, and proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch unanimity, zeal and diſpatch, as to convince the world that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wiſh the diſtreſs of their country, or give occaſion, from the proſpect of diviſions, that might be excited and fomented at home, to interrupt or diſappoint their expectations from abroad.

This ſpeech produced the deſired effect: the commons voted 15,000 ſeamen for the ſervice of the current year, and 22,955 land forces. The laſt vote was not, however, carried without a warm debate on the general topics of ſaving to the nation; the danger of the conſtitution from a numerous ſtanding army, and the little effect which the augmentation of troops raiſed laſt year produced, or was likely to produce, in favour of Great-Britain, and which ought therefore now to be reduced.

The next conſiderable debate aroſe from the money voted for the maintenance of the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay. The ſum amounted to 230,933l. for 12,000 men, horſe, dragoons, and foot. Theſe troops had been engaged by the earneſt requeſt of the late king, and to anſwer the ends of the treaty of Hanover. This was explained by Mr. Horatio Walpole, the miniſter's brother, who ſaid, that the tranquillity of Europe being ſtill precarious, the original reaſon which had been approved by the parliament for taking theſe troops into Britiſh pay, ſtill ſubſiſted. He was anſwered by Sir William Wyndham, who endeavoured to ſhew, "that the demand was prepoſterous, becauſe, by the treaty of Hanover, the contracting parties were to furniſh their contingencies either in troops, ſhipping, or money, within two months after demand made by the party attacked." To this it was replied, "that though the treaty did leave it in the option of the party called upon, not to furniſh his contingencies ſooner than two months after requiſition; yet the ſtate of affairs in Europe rendered it prudent for his late majeſty to have in readineſs, at all events, the troops ſtipulated, which were cheaper to the nation, and more convenient for the common cauſe, than any Britiſh forces that could be employed: that the differences which, ſince the ſigning of the treaty of Hanover, had ariſen between the courts of Great-Britain and Pruſſia, (one of the three principal contracting parties in the treaty of Hanover) having occaſioned a material and unforeſeen diſappointment in the carrying the purpoſes of that treaty into execution, the reaſon for hiring and continuing the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay became indiſpenſable: that experience had evinced the method to be wiſe and proper, becauſe it had preſerved the tranquillity of Germany, an object highly meriting the attention of the Britiſh nation; and that, upon the whole, not only prudence, but neceſſity required it ſhould be continued till the event of the approaching congreſs at Cambray ſhould be known."

It was eaſily ſeen, from the very beginning of the debate, that the queſtion would be carried by the miniſtry; but the oppoſition, probably for no other reaſon than that of knowing the ſtrength of their party, called for a diviſion, when it appeared that 280 were for the queſtion, and 84 againſt it.

Extraordinary ſupplies being neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing year, a propoſition, in conſequence of a motion in the houſe of commons, was made by the lords of the treaſury, to the directors of the bank. This propoſal was, that the bank might advance 1,750,000l. for the purchaſe of 70,000l. per annum of the duty upon coals, to be converted into annuities; and that the bank be impowered to ſell or diſpoſe of thoſe annuities, at ſuch times and in ſuch proportions as they ſhould judge proper; and that the ſinking fund ſhould be applied to pay off 1,000,000 at the bank.

This propoſal was very readily agreed to by the directors of the bank; but the city of London thought proper to preſent a petition to the houſe of commons with regard to the coal tax. They repreſented that the duties already laid on coals and culm, brought into the port of London only, conſiderably affected their trade; and that the inequality of that burden was a great diſcouragement to the manufactures, as well as a great hardſhip upon the whole trading people in and about the city of London. They therefore prayed the houſe to take theſe reaſons into conſideration, and grant them ſuch relief as they ſhould think meet. This petition was ſupported by the anti-miniſterial party, but was rejected by a great majority.

On the 26th of February, the whole ſupply, amounting to near 4,000,000 was voted; and the particulars of the diſtribution of the money granted laſt year had been laid before them. But in this account 250,000l not being particularly ſpecified, they addreſſed his majeſty for a particular and diſtinct account of that ſum. In anſwer to this addreſs, Sir Paul Methuen, by his majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe, that the late king, his majeſty's royal father, having, on the like occaſion, received from the laſt parliament the moſt dutiful acknowledgments of his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements as he thought would beſt conduce to the ſecurity of this kingdom and the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and, at the ſame time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of their future ſupport in all ſuch farther meaſures as he ſhould find neceſſary and expedient for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms: and a power being accordingly given by parliament to his late majeſty, for iſſuing and applying ſuch ſums of money as he ſhould find neceſſary, for anſwering and defraying ſuch expences and engagements as had been, or ſhould be made for theſe great and neceſſary purpoſes; ſome part of the money mentioned in this addreſs had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late majeſty; and the remaining part had been applied by his majeſty for carrying on the ſame neceſſary ſervices, for ſtrengthening his alliances, in fulfilling engagements of the utmoſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and to the general tranquillity of Europe, and which required the greateſt ſecrecy. His majeſty therefore hopes, that this houſe will repoſe the ſame confidence in him, and be aſſured that the money has been neceſſarily expended, purſuant to the power given by act of parliament, and for the uſes and purpoſes therein directed; and that a particular account thereof cannot be given, without manifeſt prejudice to the public."

Though this anſwer was not without a precedent, yet it was far from being conformable to the conſtitution of parliament. The oppoſition would not let ſlip ſo fair an advantage; they attacked the miniſtry with all the power of reaſon and eloquence. They repreſented, that the anſwer was unparliamentary; that if ſuch were accepted, the parliament muſt give up their moſt valuable privileges, thoſe of enquiring into the diſpoſal of public money, and the conduct of corrupted and corrupting miniſters, to thoſe very miniſters who ought to be the objects of their cenſure. It was added, "That the anſwer was vague and frivolous, and might be made with equal propriety upon all occaſions of enquiry into the diſpoſal of public money." On the other hand, it was urged, "That this anſwer was conformable to an anſwer returned in the late reign, upon a ſimilar addreſs; that there was no more reaſon for diſtruſting his preſent majeſty, than there was for diſtruſting his father; and the houſe of commons was ſo well ſatisfied on that occaſion, that inſtead of expreſſing any ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction, they had returned the crown an addreſs of thanks for that anſwer." Sir Robert Walpole added, "That it was impoſſible the public ſervice, alluded to, conſidering the various complication of intereſts on the continent, could be carried on if every ſhilling expended for the intereſt of the common cauſe, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world." Theſe reaſons appeared ſatisfactory; for, on the queſtion's being put, it was carried by a very conſiderable majority.

On the 4th of March, the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt. The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a grand committee, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers, when a court member moved for the following reſolution, "That it appears to this houſe that the monies already iſſued, and applied towards diſcharging the the national debts, incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, together with the ſum of 655,000l. to be iſſued at Lady-Day next, amount to 6,000,645l. 5s. and 1d-¼." The intent of this motion was evidently to appeaſe the clamour which had been raiſed by an aſſertion of Mr. William Pulteney's, that the public debts had increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund. The anti-miniſterial party on the other hand, exerted all their abilities to expoſe the fallacy of this motion. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, whoſe great knowledge of public buſineſs and foreign tranſactions, was univerſally allowed, put himſelf at the head of the debate upon this occaſion. He was ſupported by his relation Mr. W. Pulteney, Mr. Shippen, and many more of the principal men in the oppoſition.

Mr. Daniel Pulteney was a cool but weighty ſpeaker; and though other members in the oppoſition had brighter parts, none of them poſſeſſed ſuperior abilities. Mr. W. Pulteney had by ſtudy carefully improved an excellent natural underſtanding; he was perfectly ſkilled in the knowledge of the Britiſh conſtituion, maſter of a rapid and perſuaſive eloquence, and ſpoke with great freedom and courage. Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, ſhrewd and ſarcaſtic. Sir William Wyndham was nervous, manly, and full of ſenatorial dignity. Theſe great men, in the warmeſt terms, declaimed upon the profuſe miſmanagement of the public money. They inſiſted, that notwithſtanding the very liberal grants which had been made by parliament, during the laſt and preſent reign, notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhment of the late ſinking fund, the national debt was annually encreaſing, and that too in a time of profound peace, a circumſtance which yielded a very melancholy proſpect, ſince at this rate the public debts muſt increaſe farther in caſe of a foreign war, or domeſtic commotion; ſo that the heavy and numerous taxes, under which the people at preſent laboured, ſeemed likely to be entailed on them to the lateſt poſterity. Several arguments were made uſe of to ſupport theſe aſſertions, notwithſtanding which the miniſterial party carried their point, and the motion was agreed to without a diviſion.

Though Sir Robert Walpole was ſenſible that he had greatly the ſuperiority of numbers in the houſe in his favour, yet he now reſolved to eſtabliſh his credit with the nation. He knew that the writers for the oppoſition had by numbers and calculations perſuaded the people, that the ſinking fund, which had been extolled as a growing treaſure, ſacred to the diſcharge of national incumbrances, had, by a ſhameful miſapplication, proved of little or no ſervice to the purpoſe for which it was originally intended. Such a notion prevailing among the public could by no means be favourable to the adminiſtration. In order, therefore, to retrieve his character, the miniſter made a ſolemn appeal to the tribunal of majeſty itſelf, by cauſing a repreſentation to be drawn up, containing a particular detail of the national debts diſcharged and incurred ſince the 25th day of December, 1716, with the ſtate of the ſinking fund, and of the public credit.

This repreſentation, being approved of by the houſe, was preſented to his majeſty, who returned a very favourable anſwer; wherein he obſerved, "that he was highly pleaſed with a performance which could not fail to give general ſatisfaction to all his people, by removing thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions which had been propagated and diſperſed through the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flouriſhing ſtate of the public credit were too ſenſibly felt and ſeen, not to be confeſſed and acknowledged by every impartial perſon: that the proviſion made for gradually diſcharging the national debt was now become ſo certain and conſiderable, that nothing (but ſome unforeſeen event) could alter or diminiſh it; a circumſtance that afforded the faireſt proſpect of ſeeing the old debts diſcharged without the neceſſity of incurring new incumbrances; and that they might be well aſſured, that it ſhould ever be his particular care and ſtudy to maintain and preſerve the public credit, and improve the ſinking fund, and to avoid all occaſions of laying new burdens upon his people."

This anſwer, fraught with ſo many expreſſions of tenderneſs for his ſubjects, paved the way for a meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe of commons, which was delivered on the 4th of May by Sir P. Methuen, and conſiſted in a demand of a vote of credit, to fulfil certain engagements concerted and entered into, with the advice and concurrence of the laſt parliament, for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for reſtoring and preſerving the peace of Europe. This meſſage was productive of a long and violent debate; but notwithſtanding all the efforts of the oppoſition, it was carried by 237 againſt 101, that his majeſty's requeſt ſhould be granted. This compleated the triumph of the miniſter, who now ſeemed to have ſet his foot upon the necks of his adverſaries.

The attention of the parliament, during the remainder of this ſeſſion, was greatly engaged in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances which the king had laid before them. They likewiſe made an attempt to amend the ſtatute of limitations, which in the ſequel, however, did not ſucceed. They paſſed the mutiny bill, together with thoſe relating to the public ſupplies, and ſome others of a private nature. Theſe having received the royal aſſent on the 28th day of May, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion, having thanked the commons for the effectual ſupplies they had raiſed, and in particular for having impowered him to borrow 500,000l. for the diſcharge of wages due to the ſeamen employed in the navy.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, ſignior Como, agent from the duke of Parma, was ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, his maſter having offered a great inſult to king George, by inviting the Pretender to reſide in his dominions, and receiving him with the honours due to the king of Great Britain.

In the beginning of December, the nation was agreeably ſurprized by the ſudden and unexpected arrival in England of his royal highneſs prince Frederick, the king's eldeſt ſon, who ſet out from Herenhauſen on the 24th of November, attended by the marquis de la Foreſt, his lord-chamberlain, and lieutenant-colonel Delaunay, of the Hanoverian guards, who had been ſent by his majeſty, they being then at the Engliſh court, to bring over his royal highneſs, ſome doubts having been urged in the privy-council concerning the non-reſidence of a prince of Wales in Great Britain. The marquis paſſed for an Engliſh gentlemen by the name of Compton, and the prince for his ſon. Arriving in this manner incognito at Helvoetſluys, they went on board a packet then ready to ſail for Harwich, where his royal highneſs arrived on the third of December, lodged at Colcheſter that night, arrived at Whitechapel the next evening about ſeven, and from thence proceeded in a hackney coach to St. James's. The next day he was introduced to the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. There was a brilliant and numerous court to congratulate his royal highneſs on his ſafe arrival, who was ſoon after addreſſed on the ſame occaſion from all parts of the kingdom.

During theſe tranſactions in England, a congreſs was opened at Soiſſons on the 29th of June. The Britiſh miniſters were William Stanhope, eſq; Horatio Walpole, eſq; and Stephen Poyntz, eſq. Thoſe of the emperor were the counts Zinzendorf and Windiſgratz, and the baron Pentendreedter. Thoſe of the French court were the cardinal de Fleury, the marquis de Fenelon, and the count de Brancas. From Spain were ſent the duke de Bournonville, the marquis de Santa Cruz, and don Ignatio de Bernachea. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Ruſſians, the Poles, the dukes of Holſtein, Parma, Bavaria, and the count Palatine, had likewiſe their ſeveral ambaſſadors there. But this numerous train of plenipotentiaries did little more than aſſemble in form, and produce their credentials, for after ſix months ſpent in ceremonies and diverſions they broke up, and ſeparated without adjuſting any one material point in diſpute.

A. D. 1729. The parliament met on the 21ſt of January, when his majeſty, in a ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them, "that the plan of a proviſional treaty had been approved by him and his allies, but that no ſatisfactory anſwer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumſtance created a ſtate of uncertainty which gave him great uneaſineſs: but he hoped they would believe, that nothing but a regard for the eaſe and intereſt of his people could have prevailed upon him rather to ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniences, with the daily proſpect of a ſafe and honourable peace, than precipitately kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into greater and ſtill more enormous expences: that he was ſorry to find that the ſtate of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had all of them reſolved to make the ſame preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces: that he had ſome reaſon to believe that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings by the hopes which were given them from hence of creating diſcontents and diviſions among his people; but he was perſuaded that their known affection for him, and a juſt regard for their own honour, and for the intereſt and ſecurity of the nation, would determine them effectually to diſcourage the unnatural and pernicious practices of ſome few, who ſuggeſted the means of diſtreſſing this country, and afterwards clamoured at the inconveniences which they themſelves had occaſioned."

The commons, after voting an addreſs to his majeſty, immediately proceeded to examine the eſtimates,

mates, and 15,000 ſeamen were voted for the enſuing year. But a motion being made for continuing the ſame number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, and which amounted to near 23,000 men, a warm debate enſued, in which Mr. William Pulteney and Mr. Shippen particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They endeavoured, from hiſtory and experience, to prove the dangers into which a ſtanding army brought the conſtitution. They urged that the court of Vienna having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a general pacification, there ought to be a reduction of that augmentation of the army, which the differences lately ſubſiſting with the houſe of Auſtria had induced the parliament to agree to. Theſe arguments were treated as abſurd by Mr. Horatio Walpole, and other firm adherents of the miniſter, who ſaid, that as no definitive reſolution in favour of peace had been made by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the reduction of our national troops, during ſuch a ſtate of indeciſion, would only encourage the powers with whom we were then at variance, to inſiſt upon higher terms. The queſtion was now put for continuing the army upon the ſame footing as the preceding year, which paſſed by a great majority.

In the mean time great depredations were made by the Spaniards on our ſhips and ſettlements in America, which ſo greatly exaſperated the Engliſh, that they were deſirous of immediately repelling their inſults: but the miniſtry, who were entirely devoted to peace, urged, that as ſomething deciſive muſt ſhortly happen, it was moſt eligible, as the nation had waited ſo long, to wait a little longer before it broke out into open hoſtilities. Taking advantage of the popular ſentiments, the oppoſition improved every opportunity of reviling and expoſing the government, who for the ſake of one man ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of their country. In order to counteract theſe attempts, Sir George Oxendon made a motion in the lower houſe for an addreſs to his majeſty, in anſwer to his ſpeech from the throne, to acknowledge his majeſty's great goodneſs and wiſdom in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the moſt expeditious methods of bringing the negotiations at Soiſſons to a ſpeedy and favourable concluſion, expreſſing their grateful ſenſe of his majeſty's watchful care for the eaſe and intereſt of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expenſive war, as long as there was any proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace; and finally aſſuring him that the houſe, in an entire confidence of his majeſty's tender regard for his own honour and that of the nation, reſted fully ſatisfied, that as ſoon as neceſſity required, he would not fail to take the firſt opportunity of doing juſtice to himſelf and the nation, in ſecuring the trade and commerce of the kingdom.

The oppoſition, however, took care to prevent this ſcheme from ſucceeding, and even to return it back upon the miniſtry, by rendering them obnoxious to the trading part of the kingdom. In order to this they moved for an amendment in Sir George's propoſed addreſs, and that the word "reſtore" ſhould be ſubſtituted in the room of "ſecure" the commerce of the kingdom. This, it muſt be owned, was nothing more than a play upon words; but it anſwered the intention of the propoſers, by giving riſe to a warm debate on a point the miniſterial party were unable to defend, their paſſive behaviour with regard to the inſults of the Spaniards. Sir William Yonge, a frequent and florid ſpeaker, but whoſe private life had been ſuch as had created him many powerful enemies, and the prepoſſeſſion which prevailed againſt him had extended itſelf to his parliamentary and miniſterial character, exerted all his abilities on this occaſion to refute the arguments brought by oppoſition for the amendment. He ſaid, that the difference between reſtoring and ſecuring commerce was a diſtinction without a difference; becauſe ſuppoſing, which he would not by any means admit, the Britiſh commerce was ruined, it muſt be reſtored before it could be ſecured. He obſerved, that whatever was juſt in the outcry againſt the Spaniſh depredations was, in a great meaſure, owing to the intolerable avarice of ſome Engliſh interlopers, who carried on an unlawful traffic with the ſubjects of Spain in America, in defiance of treaties, and the law of nations, as well as to the manifeſt prejudice of the fair Britiſh trader.

After various other debates on this occaſion, the queſtion was at length put, whether the addreſs ſhould ſtand in its original form; which was carried by a great majority.

This victory of the miniſtry was, however, of very little conſequence; for the Spaniards, about this time, having ſeized ſome of our ſhips engaged in a lawful trade, the indignation of the public could not be any longer reſtrained. Petitions were delivered to the commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade for ſeveral years, from the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. The houſe having conſidered theſe petitions, preſented an addreſs to the king, requeſting his majeſty to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations, procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, and ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce, &c. navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. His majeſty aſſured them, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people in an affair of ſuch diſtinguiſhed importance.

During theſe debates in the houſe of commons, the lords had taken into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom, particularly the poſitive demand made by the court of Spain, for the reſtitution of Gibraltar, founded on a letter written by the late king to his Catholic majeſty, a copy of which was laid before the houſe. The lords engaged in the oppoſition took occaſion from this letter to declaim violently againſt the miniſtry, and moved to reſolve, "That for the honour of his majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken in the treaty now depending, that the king of Spain do renounce all claim and pretenſions to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca, in the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt manner."

This motion, however, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the court party. They inſiſted, in the firſt place, that the pretenſions of the court of Madrid were in themſelves abſurd and frivolous, ſince it appeared from the copy of the letter before them, his majeſty had only ſaid, he would take the firſt opportunity to regulate the article of the reſtitution of Gibraltar with the conſent of his parliament. The promiſe was therefore nothing more than conditional, and could not, in any ſenſe, be binding to his Britannic majeſty, unleſs his parliament ſhould give their conſent. They ſaid further, that, in their opinion, Great Britain had a much better right, by the treaty of Utrecht, to Gibraltar and Minorca, than ſhe poſſibly could have, by any perſonal act or renunciation of his Catholic majeſty. The deſiring therefore any ſuch act would, in ſome meaſure, imply a kind of invalidity of the right by which theſe poſſeſſions were already held. They ſaid, it was not to be doubted, that the king and kingdom of Spain would readily embrace the firſt opportunity of recovering theſe places; nor would any renunciation, however ſtrong and peremptory, prevent their ſeizing ſuch an opportunity, whenever it ſhould offer. Beſides, ſhould his Catholic majeſty, as there was reaſon to believe he would, refuſe to grant any ſuch renunciation as was now propoſed, all Europe would be apt to think that Great Britain held theſe conqueſts by a very weak and invalid title. Many other like arguments were made uſe of, after which the queſtion was put, and a negative paſſed upon the motion. The court party, however, did not think it prudent to ſuffer a matter of ſo much importance to paſs wholly neglected. A meſſage was ſent to the commons, inviting them to a free conference in the painted chamber, relating to the ſubject in debate, which being complied with by that houſe, the lords deſired their concurrence to the following reſolution, "that they do entirely rely upon his majeſty that he will, for maintaining the honour, and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the preſent treaty to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca." The oppoſition in the lower houſe were not, however, to be moved from their firſt principles: they inſiſted ſtrenuouſly upon a ſpecifical renunciation of thoſe places on the part of Spain; and the excellency of the arguments they made uſe of on this occaſion brought over many members from the court party, ſo that when the queſtion was put, the miniſtry carried their point by a great majority.

The commons thus agreeing with the peers in their reſolution, a joint addreſs was preſented to the king, from both houſes, on the 25th of March; in anſwer to which his majeſty declared, "that he would take care to ſupport his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca."

A grant of 115,000l. being voted to make good the deficiency in the civil liſt, it met with a warm oppoſition in both houſes. It was alledged, "that inſtead of a deficiency in the civil liſt revenues, there was a conſiderable ſurplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the ſum deſigned for the civil liſt; and this at a time when the public debts were increaſed, and when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country." They obſerved, "that if the produce of the civil liſt revenue ſhould not amount to the yearly ſum of 800,000l. the deficiency muſt be made good by the public; whereas no proviſion was made, by which, if the produce of thoſe revenues ſhould exceed that ſum, the ſurplus ſhould accrue to the benefit of the public: that by this precedent, not only real deficiencies, but alſo ſupplies were to be given for arrears ſtanding out at the end of every year, which ſhould come on before the ſupplies could be granted, though the ſupply given to make good arrears in one year would certainly increaſe the ſurpluſages in another: that the revenues of the civil liſt were variable in their own nature; and even when there is no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: theſe might eaſily be increaſed by the management of deſigning miniſters, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of ſtating accounts." All theſe arguments were, however, of no avail; every motion made by the minority was rejected, while thoſe of the moſt deſpotic nature, propoſed by the court-party, were carried by an amazing majority.

The complicated buſineſs of this ſeſſion had been attended with ſuch warm arguments, that altercation was now out of breath; and no material matter remaining to be adjuſted, each party wiſhed to retire from the buſtle of buſineſs; the one to enjoy its triumph, the other to brood over its diſcontent. On the 14th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſeveral bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions; and on the 20th day of the ſame month he ſet out for Hanover.

In the month of September this year, Victor Amadeus II. King of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, reſigning his crown to his ſon Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, and reſerving to himſelf a revenue of 100,000l. per annum, retired to the caſtle of Chambetry. In October, Peter II. czar of Muſcovy, and grandſon of Peter I. died in the 15th year of his age at Muſcovy, and was ſucceeded on the throne by the princeſs Ann Ivanowna, ſecond daughter of Ivan Alexowitz, elder brother of the firſt Peter. In November, died Pope Benedict XIII. Cardinal Laurentio Corſini was raiſed to the pontificate in his room, and aſſumed the name of Clement XII.

All this time the negotiations at Soiſſons ſeemed at a total ſtand: but at length it was agreed to open conferences at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England, France and Spain. The earl of Harrington, who, previous to this, had been appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to his catholic majeſty, had the management of this treaty on the part of Great Britain, in conjunction with Mr. Keene, the Engliſh plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid.

No material obſtacle ariſing, the treaty was ſigned on the 9th of November; by which it was ſtipulated, "that all former treaties and conventions between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, ſhould be as amply confirmed as if they had been expreſsly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majeſties ſhould guarantee to each other their reſpective dominions; and in caſe either of them ſhould be attacked, the other ſhould furniſh to the party ſo invaded a body of 12,000 men: that all ſuch engagements contracted by his Britannic majeſty, in conſequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were conſiſtent with the treaties ſubſiſting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, ſhould be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the Engliſh and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould be reſtored to its former footing, and orders ſhould be inſtantly diſpatched on all ſides for that purpoſe: that his Catholic majeſty ſhould make reparation for all the damages that had been done by his ſubjects to thoſe of the other two parties: that commiſſaries ſhould be nominated with ſufficient powers, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who ſhould aſſemble at the court of Spain, within the ſpace of four months after the ratification or ſooner, if poſſible, to decide whatever concerned the ſhips and effects taken on either ſide: that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe examine and decide, according to treaties, the reſpective pretenſions which relate to the abuſes that were ſaid to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other reſpective pretenſions in America founded on treaties, whether with reſpect to the limits or otherwiſe: that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe diſcuſs and decide the pretenſions which his Catholic majeſty might have by the treaty of 1721, to the reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the Engliſh fleet in 1718: that the ſaid commiſſioners, after having examined, diſcuſſed and decided the above-mentioned claims and pretenſions, ſhould make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who by the preſent treaty promiſed, that in the ſpace of ſix months after making the ſaid report, they would cauſe to be executed punctually and exactly what ſhould have been ſo decided by the ſaid commiſſioners. His Catholic majeſty engages to ſend 6,000 of his troops, without loſs of time, to garriſon Leghorn, Porto, Ferraro, Parma and Placentia, for the better ſecuring and preſerving the ſucceſſion of thoſe ſtates in favour of Don Carlos, and to be ready to withſtand any enterprize and oppoſition that might be formed to the prejudice of what had been already regulated touching the ſucceſſion. The contracting powers alſo promiſe to take the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma to admit theſe garriſons, upon their promiſing to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that ſhould not be contrary to the right of ſucceſſion reſerved to the infant Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle directly nor indirectly in the government of the places where they ſhould be garriſoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, all the honours due to ſovereigns in their own dominions; and as ſoon as the ſucceſſion of theſe territories ſhould be quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don Carlos, his Catholic majeſty engaged to withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons: the contracting princes agree, on their parts, to become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, after he ſhall have once obtained them. By the thirteenth article of this treaty, the kings of England and France promiſe to ratify and guarantee all the particular regulations that ſhall be concerted between his Catholic majeſty and the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, relating to the aforeſaid garriſons. The fourteenth and laſt article ſtipulates, that the ſtates-general of the United Provinces ſhall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be diſpatched within the ſpace of ſix weeks at fartheſt."

Such were the contents of the famous treaty of Seville, which, by the concurrence of other events, afterwards produced a material alteration in the ſyſtem of Europe.

A. D. 1730. The parliament met on the 3d of January, when his majeſty (who had been ſome time returned from his German dominions) opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed both houſes, that he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from a war. He aſſured them that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemmification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt; and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction both of his land and ſea forces. He then concluded with recommending to their conſideration the ſtate of public credit, and the hardſhips of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons were no ſooner returned to their houſe, than Sir Robert Walpole laid before them the treaty of Seville; and one of his friends moved for a particular and loyal addreſs to the throne, almoſt in the very words of the ſpeech. This motion was oppoſed by the country party, who were for ſaying no more than, "To aſſure his majeſty of the ſteady and zealous attachment of the houſe to his royal perſon, government and family; and that the houſe would effectually ſupport his majeſty in all meaſures neceſſary for the honour and dignity of his crown, and the intereſts and welfare of his people."

In ſupport of this alteration and omiſſion, many ſevere things were ſaid of the treaty, which had been publiſhed ſome time. Sir John Hind Cotton ſaid, that the miniſtry had impoſed upon his majeſty in calling the peace an abſolute one, becauſe the moſt important intereſts of Great-Britain were left to a future diſcuſſion. On the contrary, the miniſter maintained, that the peace was abſolute, and that no difference could happen in the execution of it, unleſs the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raiſe them by the diſſention that might happen at home. Several other ſpeeches were made on both ſides, but the motion for the omiſſion was rejected by a great majority.

The debates in the houſe of lords, when the treaty of Seville came before them, were of great importance, and carried to a conſiderable length. It was urged, that his imperial majeſty would certainly detach himſelf from a people whoſe miniſters had concluded a treaty ſo eſſentially different from the quadruple alliance. To this it was replied, that there never was, nor could be, any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; and that introducing Spaniſh, inſtead of neutral troops, into the garriſons of theſe dominions, could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had, in the ſtrongeſt manner, ſtipulated, that the troops ſhould be withdrawn as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to theſe duchies, which was a principal object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured. It was farther urged, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in queſtion, and the quadruple alliance; yet the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining ſatiſfaction and ſecurity to our commerce, were conſiderations that ought infinitely to outweigh any appreheníion from a reſentment that could be founded only upon pride and ambition.

Great exceptions were alſo taken by the lords in the oppoſition at the ſixth article, whereby the merchants, and others, who had ſuffered greatly by the Spaniſh depredations, were obliged to repair to the court of Spain, in order to make proof of their loſſes. This was repreſented as not only a diſcouragement to the ſufferers, but derogatory to the honour of the nation. This was, however, conſidered as an unreaſonable objection, ſince it was neceſſary for the merchants to apply where only they could have redreſs. The commiſſaries were to meet at the court of Spain; they could not properly meet elſewhere, becauſe the validity or invalidity of the captures complained of muſt be diſcuſſed in thoſe courts where the proofs remained; and the law of nations eſtabliſhes the ſentence of the court of admiralty of that nation where the capture is made, and to be final in all caſes, and in all parts. Had the Spaniards been the complainants, the cauſes muſt have been tried in Great Britain.

After a very tedious debate, objections being made to almoſt every article, the treaty was approved by a very conſiderable majority. It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that the miniſtry, in concluding it, were chiefly deſirous of preſerving the public tranquillity, by which England was every day making immenſe acquiſitions of wealth, and improvments in commerce. But this was totally deſtructive of the views of the oppoſition, who well knew that the power of the miniſtry could only be ſhaken in a time of war and commotion. On the other hand, the miniſtry treated the oppoſition they met with too ſuperciliouſly within doors, and too incautiouſly without. Secure of their own numbers in the houſe of commons, and perſuaded that the oppoſition proceeded only from views of intereſt and ambition, they did not enter into that length and ſolemnity of debate that was neceſſary either for the conviction or converſion of the few who oppoſed their meaſures from principle only. They carried their meaſures rather by dividing than debating. Many noblemen and gentlemen of independent fortunes were provoked at this method of proceeding, and reſented it by voting againſt the miniſtry. This gave the public ſuch unfavourable impreſſions of his majeſty's meaſures, that nothing either ſpoken or wrote on the ſide of the miniſtry received the leaſt countenance.

In the mean time his imperial majeſty was not quite ſo paſſive as the Britiſh miniſter and his friends had repreſented him; ſo far from looking upon the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Tuſcany and Parma as a trifling variation from the quadruple alliance, he reſented both the matter and the manner of it in the ſtrongeſt terms, as a downright infraction of treaties, derogatory to his honour, and dangerous to his intereſts, as well as to the rights of the empire. Neither did he ſeem diſpoſed to expreſs his reſentment by words only; for he made actual preparations for ſending a number of forces into Italy, with orders to oppoſe the execution of the treaty of Seville; but being in want of money, he ſet a negotiation on foot in England, the only country where he could raiſe it, for a loan of 400,000l. Such a proceeding greatly alarmed our miniſtry: they reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent the ſucceſs of this negotiation; and for this purpoſe a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to prohibit his majeſty's ſubjects to lend any ſum of money to any foreign prince, ſtate, or potentate, without licence firſt obtained from his majeſty, under his privy-ſeal, or ſome greater authority. This, however, was not to extend to prohibit any ſubſcription to the public funds or trading companies of foreign kingdoms.

When this bill was read a ſecond time, Mr. Daniel Pulteney oppoſed it in very ſtrong terms. He obſerved, "that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations on the continent: that the article of lending money was ſo advantageous, that the Dutch, when engaged themſelves in a war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms, and ammunition to the enemy: that this bill would diſable the Britiſh merchants from lending money to the king of Portugal, a reſtriction that might be attended with very bad conſequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the miniſtry with too great and extenſive a power; and that while the licenſing power remained in the crown, the licences would be iſſued through the hands of the miniſter, who by that means might put many thouſands a year into his pocket: that while this bill reſtrained the merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the ſtock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption: that it was well known for whoſe benefit this complaiſance was deſigned; but that jobbing in the ſtocks of foreign nations, ſo far from being encouraged, ought to be principally prohibited; this kingdom having ſuffered ſeverely by that means already, without being able to obtain the leaſt relief or aſſiſtance from the miniſtry."

Mr. Barnard poſitively declared he would never conſent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, and a grievous hardſhip on individuals. He then propoſed an exception by which the prohibition ſhould be reſtricted to the emperor alone, without extending to other powers. But the bill, which was vindicated by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-generl, and ſupported by the whole weight of miniſterial influence, not only paſſed through the houſe, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The commons, having examined the eſtimates for the enſuing year, voted 17,709 men for the land ſervice: they continued the ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle; and in order to defray theſe and other neceſſary expences they granted the ſum of 2,280,000l. Theſe meaſures were ſtrongly oppoſed by the anticourtiers, who made ſeveral motions, which they were certain, if agreed to, would render the miniſter uneaſy; and if rejected, would make him unpopular. The two following of theſe were the principal: firſt, "that an addreſs be delivered to his majeſty, humbly to repreſent, that the houſe having, in conſideration of the preſent ſtate of affairs, voted ſuch a number of land forces for the current ſervice of the year, aſſured themſelves that his majeſty, from his juſt regard to the conſtitution of the kingdom, as well as his earneſt deſire to eaſe his people of every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, will take the firſt opportunity to make a farther reduction of thoſe forces, if the ſtate of affairs will admit, before the concluſion of this or the beginning of next ſeſſion of parliament." The ſecond motion was, to bring in a bill "for making more effectual the laws in being for diſabling perſons from being choſen members of parliament who had any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office held in truſt for them from the crown."

The firſt of theſe motions was rejected by the houſe of commons without a diviſion; but the queſtion was carried in favour of the ſecond by a very great majority; notwithſtanding which, after great debates, it was thrown out by the houſe of lords, and in conſequence of this proceeding, a proteſt was entered by twenty-ſix peers.

During this ſeſſion ſeveral acts were paſſed in favour of the ſubjects; among which were the following: an act for appropriating one million of the ſurpluſage ariſing from the ſinking fund, towards the diſcharge of the national debt. An act for extinguiſhing the duties upon ſalt. A third, for the better regulation of juries; and a fourth for explaining and amending an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, "An act for the relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons."

The national buſineſs being finiſhed, on the 15th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, the concluſive part of which ran thus:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very glad that, for the general ſatisfaction, you entered into the ſtate of the nation; and it is a great happineſs to ſee, after ſo many unjuſt and unreaſonable clamours, raiſed with all poſſible art, induſtry, and malice, that upon mature deliberation, and the moſt ſolemn debates, you were ſo far from finding any thing worthy of blame or cenſure, that all matters which came under your cognizance met with your approbation.

"This muſt inſpire all mankind with a juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries who, from a ſpirit of envy and diſcontent, continually labour, by ſcandalous libels, to alienate the affections of my people, and to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonour of me and my government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament.

"But I entirely rely upon your prudence and your concern for the peace and happineſs of your country, to diſcountenance all ſuch ſeditious practices, and to make my people ſenſible, that theſe wicked proceedings have no other view and end than to create confuſion and diſtraction amongſt us."

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament ſeven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America arrived in England. They were brought by Sir Alexander Cummin, and introduced to the king, at whoſe feet they laid their crown and regalia, and by an authentic deed acknowledged themſelves ſubject to his dominion, in the name of all their countrymen, who had veſted them with full powers for this purpoſe. They gave their aſſent in the moſt ſolemn manner to articles of friendſhip and commerce propoſed to them by the government; and being loaded with preſents ſuited to their taſte and inclination, were re-conveyed to their own country.

A great remiſſneſs of government prevailed at this time in England. Peace, both at home and abroad, continued to be the great object of the miniſter. Proſperity in commerce introduced luxury; hence neceſſities were created, and theſe drove the lower claſs of people into the moſt abandoned wickedneſs. Averſe to all penal and ſanguinary meaſures, the miniſter gave not that encouragement to the ordinary magiſtrates that would enable them to give an effectual check to vice among the multitude. This produced a very pernicious effect among the higher claſs; ſo that an almoſt univerſal degeneracy of manners prevailed. It was not ſafe to travel the roads or walk the ſtreets; and often the civil officers themſelves dared neither to repel the violences, nor puniſh the crimes that were committed. A ſpecies of villains now ſtarted up, unknown to former times, who made it their buſineſs to write letters to men of ſubſtance, threatening to ſet fire to their houſes, in caſe they refuſed their demands; and ſometimes their threats were carried into execution. In ſhort, the peculiar depravity of the times became at length ſo alarming, that the government was obliged to interpoſe, and a conſiderable reward was offered for diſcovering the ruffians concerned in ſuch execrable practices.

A. D. 1731. The parliament met on the 21ſt of January, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. It was generally ſuppoſed that the obſtinacy of the emperor would occaſion a war, he having given orders for a large body of troops to march into Italy, to oppoſe the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons, ſtipulated by the treaty of Seville. The king hinted at this in his ſpeech; and almoſt the whole of it conſiſted of earneſt exhortations to his parliament to enable him to be ready to carry the treaty into execution by arms, if force ſhould be found neceſſary.

As ſoon as the commons returned to their houſe, a very loyal addreſs, in anſwer to the king's ſpeech, was moved for by Mr. Campbell; but the oppoſite party made a motion that all the complimentary part of it ſhould be left out, and only promiſe to concur with ſuch means as ſhould be abſolutely neſſary to procure the ſatisfaction due to the allies, and provide for the intereſts of the people; and then to inſert the following words: "aſſuring ourſelves, that his majeſty will take effectual care to prevent the breaking out of war upon the Rhine, or in the Auſtrian Netherlands; the preſervation of which, in the hands they now are, is of the greateſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and the maintenance whereof has coſt the nation ſo much blood and treaſure."

The principal ſpeakers, in ſupport of this motion, were Sir William Wyndham, and Meſſrs. Daniel and William Pulteney, who enjoyed the infinite advantage of having on their ſide all the popular topics, which experience has ſince evinced, in many caſes, to have been mere ſounds; and yet, at that time, were of ſuch force, that the court party durſt not diſpute them. The power of France was repreſented as threatening the liberties both of England and Europe. Evidence was again offered to be produced of their having cleared and repaired the harbour of Dunkirk, contrary to the treaty of Utrecht. Great complaints were made of their encroachments upon us in the Weſt-Indies; and all was aſcribed to the pernicious connections we had lately run into with them. It was farther repreſented, that, for England to join with France in any attempts againſt the emperor, either in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, would be acting againſt the moſt eſtabliſhed maxim of the late glorious confederacy, that had humbled the power of France under the duke of Marlborough; and that it would undo the balance of power, which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and was the chief acquiſition which England or Europe had obtained by that confederacy. Some obſervations were likewiſe made on the danger and inexpediency of the houſe promiſing indiſcriminately the firſt day of the ſeſſion, to ſupport all his majeſty's meaſures and engagements, before they knew what they were; and that, in fact, ſuch an aſſurance rendered all their future deliberations, for that ſeſſion, totally uſeleſs.

Several of the miniſterial members were in ſome degree ſtagnated at the forcibility of theſe arguments, particularly Sir Robert Walpole and his brother, lord Hervey, and Sir William Young. Being profeſſed whigs, they could not, with conſiſtency, deny, that it would be very dangerous for public liberty, ſhould England co-operate with the French upon the Rhine, or in Flanders, againſt the emperor; and yet nothing could be more plain, than that the amendment propoſed was impolitic in itſelf, and diſreſpectful to his majeſty. In the courſe of the debate, they publicly declared their ſentiments on this head; obſerving, "That if the amendment was agreed to, it would be attended by the worſt of conſequences, both at home and abroad, and appear as if his majeſty had intended any thing that was not abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſt of England, and ſtrictly agreeable to the principles of public liberty: that ſuch an inſinuation could only tend to diſcourage the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion at home, and animate their enemies abroad; and therefore they ought to truſt to his majeſty's wonted prudence; and, that the putting ſuch words in the addreſs would look like an incroachment upon the prerogative of the crown, and directing the operations of the future war." Lord Hervey obſerved, "That the houſe of Auſtria, as well as the houſe of Bourbon, might, by its ambition, deſtroy that balance of power, ſo juſtly dear to England: that as the conduct of the French court upon the continent could give no juſt umbrage, the deſtroying the houſe of Bourbon, only to enable the houſe of Auſtria to riſe on its ruins, was highly abſurd: that he did not doubt but his majeſty had ſufficient intereſt with his allies, to concert meaſures which would prevent every bad conſequence apprehended, and, that to agree to the propoſed alteration, would be making proclamation to all Europe, that the emperor might act as he pleaſed, ſince he was invulnerable at preſent in Italy, by the ſituation of his dominions, and the great number of troops he had there: if, therefore, the allies ſhould agree, that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine, or in the Netherlands, his majeſty and his allies had nothing to do, but meekly ſubmit to laws impoſed by the court of Vienna."

Theſe arguments being admitted by the houſe, and the propoſed alteration on the point of being rejected, one of the members moved, that it ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "that they would ſupport his majeſty's engagements, ſo far as they related to the intereſts of Great Britain." But the amendment being ſubject to the very ſame, if not greater objections than the former, they were both rejected, and the addreſs, as moved for, was voted without any diviſion.

This matter being adjuſted, the anti-courtiers reſolved once more to revive the penſion-bill, which had been rejected in the laſt ſeſſion. The motion was introduced with great ſolemnity; and after paſſing, with very little oppoſition through the houſe of commons, was ſent to the houſe of peers, where it was thrown out. A remarkable ſpeech was made on this occaſion by the biſhop of Bangor, wherein he plainly proved, that, under the maſk of popularity, this motion concealed the moſt dangerous tendency, and concluded in the following words: "Though this bill, at firſt ſight, ſeems to be a ſelf-denying bill, and to ſome particular members, may prove ſo; yet the commons, conſidered as an houſe of parliament, will find in it, no doubt, a great enlargement of power; and whatever tends to break the balance between the powers, eſſential to this conſtitution, muſt, ſooner or later, prove the ruin of the whole. An independent houſe of commons, or an independent houſe of lords, is as inconſiſtent with our conſtitution, as an independent, that is, an abſolute king; and whoever loves the liberties and laws of his country will no more deſire to ſee the one than the other. Let bribery be puniſhed; let corruption be puniſhed; but not by giving ſo much ſtrength to one power of this conſtitution, as ſhall make it able to overbear the reſt."

The anti-courtiers did not fail to repreſent this ſpeech in the moſt heinous light. They cauſed it to be circulated throughout the kingdom, with their own notes and commentaries upon it; wherein they endeavoured to prove, that his lordſhip only expreſſed the ſentiments of the miniſter, who had formed a deſign of ſubverting the conſtitution, by deſtroying the independency of the two houſes of parliament.

The miniſterial party carried every queſtion with ſuch facility, that the minority imputed it to the remiſſneſs of their friends in not attending the houſe; and having no compulſive power over them, they endeavoured to obtain one by the following method. A call of the houſe being ordered and held, two members, who were conſidered of the country party, were, by their friends, moved to be taken into cuſtody for non-attendance; but, on the interpoſition of the court party, they were held excuſed; which ſerving as a precedent, the ſame lenity was extended to ſuch as could plead excuſes of indiſpoſition, being on the road, or any other trivial cauſe. The majority, however, having afterwards taken this affair into conſideration, found that they had treated it with too little attention; and agreed, that certain days ſhould be appointed for the defaulters to attend; and, in caſe of diſobedience of theſe orders, they were to be taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms.

This great preparation, on the part of the minority, was intended to ſtrengthen a ſecond attack they meditated upon the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſians in Britiſh pay: for, after the houſe had been furniſhed with all neceſſary papers, a motion was made for referring the eſtimate of the 12,000 Heſſian troops in the pay of Great Britain, to the committee of ſupply. This motion occaſioned a very warm debate. Mr. Daniel Pulteney obſerved, "that wars had happened on the continent of Europe, of which, though foreign to the intereſt of England, ſhe had borne the expence." In reply to this, it was urged, "that commerce had connected England with the continent, though nature had disjoined her from it: that the Engliſh, by their influence on the affairs of the continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and in order to maintain theſe, they were ſometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that ſome countries of Europe, which conſumed a great number of Engliſh commodities, had ſo little communication with the ſea, that they were inacceſſible to our fleets; and, therefore, if they lay the trade of the Engliſh under any hardſhips or inconveniences, or offered them any inſults or indignities, the Engliſh had no other means of aſſerting their rights, or recovering their wrongs, than by employing ſome of the powerful ſtates upon the continent to ſupport their reſentment: that this had frequently been found a very uſeful expedient to England; but that ſhe could not any longer avail herſelf of it, than while ſhe, in her turn, was ready to perform as friendly offices for thoſe ſtates. They aſſerted, that it was upon this very principle that the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Heſſian troops were taken into Britiſh pay; and that thoſe two meaſures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obſtinacy of the emperor: that upon the ſame principle likewiſe was founded the treaty of Seville, which, by our engaging for the introduction of 6,000 Spaniſh troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of thoſe garriſons. It was alſo obſerved, that the Heſſians, who were in Britiſh pay, were the only curbs the emperor had in Germany; conſequently, that the diſmiſſion of theſe forces would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which might coſt Great-Britain many millions to extinguiſh.

Theſe were the principal arguments made uſe of during the courſe of this debate, and by which the parliament was determined to continue the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops. Arguments to the ſame purport were urged when the ſubſidy to the duke of Wolfenbuttle was brought upon the carpet. The minority affected to treat that prince with great contempt for his inſignificancy and indigence; and in order to protract the time, and expoſe the meaſure as much as poſſible, a motion was made, and agreed to, for reading the third ſection of an act paſſed in the reign of William III. for the further limitation of the crown; wich ſays, "In caſe the crown ſhall come to any perſon, not being a native of England, this nation ſhall not be obliged to go to war for defence of dominions not belonging to this crown." They likewiſe addreſſed for all the papers and treaties relative to the ſubſidy; but the ſame being referred to a committee of the whole houſe, by the majority of 194 againſt 112, the queſtion paſſed in the affirmative, and the prince ſubſidy was continued.

The anti-courtiers now ſuppoſing themſelves more conſiderable than ever, and knowing that the management of foreign affairs had created public murmurs againſt the miniſter, reſolved to diſtreſs him as much as poſſible on that ſubject, by making motions, which if carried in the negative, would heighten the ill impreſſions already conceived of him. They accordingly addreſſed for all the papers relative to the treaty of Seville; for an account of the progreſs of the commiſſaries appointed by his majeſty and the king of Spain in conſequence of that treaty, for adjuſting the demands and reparations due to the merchants of Great-Britain. The eſtabliſhment of a civil government at Gibraltar had been long a favourite point with the people; but being attended with great difficulties, it had not yet been put in execution: they therefore carried an addreſs for an account of all the proceedings that had been had on that account, and for declaring Gibraltar a free port, ſince the laſt application of the houſe to his majeſty on that head. Another cauſe for an addreſs, and which appeared too plauſible to be refuſed, was, the non-compliance of the Spaniards with the treaty of Seville in commercial points, and their continuing in a manner to block up Gibraltar. This addreſs was for copies of ſuch repreſentations as his majeſty had received from the governor of Gibraltar, and from his majeſty's miniſter at the court of Spain, in relation to any works carried on at Gibraltar by the Spaniards ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Seville; together with ſuch orders as had been given thereupon. All theſe papers were accordingly laid before the houſe, but very little uſe was made of them, except furniſhing the heads of the party with materials for pamphlet-writing, which now raged in England to an exceſſive height.

The buſineſs of the remaining part of this ſeſſion conſiſted chiefly of projecting means for relieving the ſubject from the abuſes of the law, and likewiſe from the exorbitant and unreaſonable rates exacted (by a Society called the Charitable Corporation) from the induſtrious poor, for money they ſupplied them with upon goods pledged, &c. This affair being referred to a committee, after proper examination of perſons and papers, it appeared that the corporation had taken, for large ſums they had lent, ten per cent. under colour and pretence of reaſonable coſts and charges: upon which a bill was brought into the houſe, and afterwards paſſed, for regulating the lending of money upon pledges, and for preventing uſury and extortion.

The national buſineſs being now finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 4th of May, went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready for the royal aſſent, prorogued the parliament.

The diſputes which had happened in the execution of the treaty of Seville, by the haughtineſs and obſtinacy of the court of Spain, threw Europe, at this juncture, into a very extraordinary ſituation. The emperor alledged, that the treaty was an encroachment upon him, as head of the empire; and that Don Carlos ought to have been introduced into Italy, and the ſucceſſion of the dominions there ſecured to him, by his receiving the inveſtiture of them from the emperor, and by the conſent of the empire; both which were ready to be granted when demanded. He alſo aſſerted, that the ſucceſſion of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court of Spain.

In the beginning of this year, the duke of Parma died ſuddenly, and the imperial troops took immediate poſſeſſion of his dominions; but the ducheſs of Parma, in order to retard the ſucceſſion of Don Carlos, was prevailed upon to declare herſelf with child; upon which the imperialiſts publicly avowed, that they had taken poſſeſſion of the duchies under the auſpices of the emperor, in the name of the infant Don Carlos, the heir, provided he did not come armed, but in a pacific manner; and a ſalvo was included for the iſſue of the pregnant ducheſs, if it ſhould prove a male.

The Spaniſh emiſſaries immediately informed that court of this tranſaction, and likewiſe that a negotiation was far advanced between the courts of Vienna and London; whereby it was agreed, that the contracting parties in the treaty of Seville ſhould guarantee the pragmatic ſanction, by which the emperor's female iſſue was to ſucceed to his hereditary dominions. This intelligence, added to the commercial diſputes which ſtill ſubſiſted between the courts of Great-Britain and Spain, ſo greatly exaſperated the latter, that the marquis de Caſtelar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, ſigned a declaration to the miniſters of the allies of the treaty of Seville, in the name of the king his maſter, importing, "that his Catholic majeſty looked upon himſelf as entirely free from the obligations of the ſaid treaty."

On the 16th of May, a treaty was actually ſigned between his Britannic majeſty and the emperor. It conſiſted of nine articles, the ſubſtance of which was as follows:

By the firſt a mutual guarantee of all the territories belonging to the contracting powers is ſtipulated.

The ſecond ſtipulates a general guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction in favour of the emperor's female heirs.

By the third, his imperial majeſty conſents to the introduction of the Spaniſh troops into the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; and binds himſelf to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the conſent of the empire for that purpoſe.

The fourth ſtipulates that all parts of the treaty ſhall be duly and truly executed.

The fifth entirely aboliſhes all navigation to the Auſtrian Netherlands, excepting the ſending, once only, two ſhips from Oſtend, and by this article alſo commiſſioners are to meet on the part of both powers at Antwerp, for ſettling a tariff between Great Britain and the Auſtrian Netherlands.

By the ſixth, it is agreed, that all points of difference amongſt the contracting powers, or any of their allies, ſhould be amicably adjuſted; and that the preſent treaty is not to derogate from the force of any of the former treaties ſubſiſting between either of the contracting parties, or their allies, excepting ſo far as they are inconſiſtent with the preſent treaty.

By the ſeventh, the Engliſh, touching their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, are to be treated on the ſame footing as they were in the reign of Charles II. of Spain, and as it is uſual to treat a nation with which we are in ſtrict friendſhip.

The eighth fixes eight months after the ratification for the acceſſion of the other powers, who ſhall be invited into the treaty.

By the ninth, which is alſo the laſt article, ſix weeks are allowed for exchanging the letters of ratification.

Beſides theſe, there was a ſeperate article, which declared, "that the guarantee entered into by the contracting powers ſhould not extend to the emperor's dominions, which might be attacked by the Turks." At the ſame time, his Britannic majeſty declared authentically, "that notwithſtanding the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into the ſtrong places of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been ſettled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his imperial majeſty and the empire, or to the ſecurity of the kingdoms and ſtates, which his imperial majeſty actually poſſeſſes in Italy; or, laſtly, to the preſervation of the quiet and dignity of thoſe duchies; and therefore he renews to the emperor the guarantee of thoſe countries." But to take away all ſuſpicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he publiſhed a declaration, of the ſame force and date with the treaty, importing, "that if the pregnant ducheſs-dowager of Parma ſhould be delivered of a ſon, the introduction of the Spaniſh troops to that duchy ſhould ſtill take place; and that if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed of a daughter, Don Carlos was immediately to be put into poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, by an eventual inveſtiture from the emperor and the empire." And his imperial majeſty farther declares, "that in caſe the ducheſs-dowager ſhould be delivered of a daughter, he will immediately withdraw his troops from the duchies of Parma and Placentia, to give way to the peaceable poſſeſſion of Don Carlos."

Though the ſtates-general appeared as one of the principal contracting parties in this treaty, yet it was pretended that the nature of their government required ſome time before they could formally accede to it: but the real fact was, that the ſtates, at the inſtigation of the French, who were greatly chagrined by this ſecond treaty of Vienna, reſented, at firſt, their being excluded from all the negotiations previous to a treaty in which they were inſerted as principal contracting parties. France had, at this time, ſuperior influence in their government, either to the emperor or Great-Britain, as ſeparate powers, but was not equal to them jointly: and the Dutch, after making ſeveral reſtrictions, acceded to the treaty.

France was highly offended at the guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction by Great-Britain and the ſtates-general; and it was even ſuppoſed that their reſentment had prompted them to attempt an immediate invaſion of this kingdom, a large body of troops being aſſembled at Dunkirk. To prevent any deſign of this kind from ſucceeding, the coaſts of Kent were covered with regiments of horſe and foot, who received orders to march thither from all parts of the kingdom.

Theſe apprehenſions being at length diſſipated, and news arriving that general Stampa, with the imperial forces, had taken formal poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, in conſequence of the ducheſs having declared herſelf not pregnant, Sir Charles Wager was diſpatched with a large ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, to Spain, in order to attend Don Carlos with the Spaniſh troops to his new dominions. His Catholic majeſty, however, thought proper to diſcharge Sir Charles from the trouble of taking Don Carlos under his care, and only deſired him, in conjunction with his own admiral, to convoy the Spaniſh troops to Italy, which requeſt being complied with, the Britiſh ſquadron returned to England. In the mean time the young prince having travelled by land as far as Antibes, embarked at that place on board the Spaniſh gallies, and on the 27th of December landed at Leghorn, where he was received with all poſſible marks of joy and reſpect.

A. D. 1732. The parliament met on the 13th of January, when the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, "That the general tranquillity of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully anſwered; that ſhare of credit and influence which the crown of Great Britain had had in accompliſhing that difficult and diſagreeable work, and which redounded ſo much to the honour and intereſt of the nation, as it was univerſally confeſſed abroad, would, he was confident, be agreeable to his people, and acknowledged with gratitude by his parliament: that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe had been employed in finding means to execute the meaſures which the contracting powers had concerted for procuring the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various jarring and contending intereſts, hard to be reconciled and united in effectuating a point of ſo much importance; the ambitious views and hopes of obtaining on every ſide farther advantages, and the natural jealouſies and ſuſpicions ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned; all theſe oppoſite principles and purpoſes had kept in ſuſpenſe and unexecuted what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and had occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſt of the nation." He then concluded in the following manner: "This happy ſituation of affairs, I promiſe myſelf will inſpire you all with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch ardent zeal for the public welfare, as becomes a parliament ſenſible of the great bleſſing they enjoy: the duty and affection of my ſubjects is all the return I deſire for my paternal care and concern for them: my government has no ſecurity but what is equally conducive to the happineſs and to the welfare of my people; and their happineſs has no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of my government; our ſafety is mutual, our intereſts inſeparable."

From this ſpeech it is ſufficiently evident, that his majeſty and his miniſters imagined the ſucceſs and wiſdom of their conduct had ſtopped the mouth of oppoſition, and given univerſal ſatisfaction to the people. But in this they were miſtaken; the oppoſition continued as ſtrong and violent as ever. The very motion for an addreſs was oppoſed, the miniſtry ridiculed for the inconſiſtency of their negotiations, and ſome of them perſonally attacked with the ſevereſt reflections.

The commons, however, immediately took the ſupply into conſideration, when Sir William Strickland, ſecretary at war, moved for 17,709 men for the ſervice of the current year. This motion occaſioned long and warm debates. Strong and powerful arguments were made uſe of by the oppoſition for a reduction; notwithſtanding which, when the queſtion was put, it was carried by a great majority, "that the ſtanding army ſhould be maintained without reduction."

Senſible of the acrimony with which all their meaſures, both at home and abroad, were repreſented, the miniſtry reſolved to make an eſſay towards recovering their popularity with the landed intereſt of England. This was no other than that of leſſening the land-tax by reviving the duty upon ſalt. Accordingly, when the houſe was reſolved into a committee, Sir Robert Walpole ſaid, "That in raiſing the ſupply voted, his majeſty was deſirous that the burden ſhould fall as equally as poſſible upon all his ſubjects: that it had long reſted upon the gentlemen of the landed intereſt; and that as no tax could be more general than that upon ſalt, though at the ſame time ſeverely felt by individuals, however poor, he moved, that, towards raiſing the ſupply granted to his majeſty, the ſeveral duties upon home-made ſalt, granted, by ſeveral acts of parliament, to king William, be revived, and granted to his majeſty for the term of three years. In order to ſupport this motion, he ſaid, he hoped the land-tax might be reduced one ſhilling in the pound; and obſerved how hard it bore upon antient Engliſh families, who had many children, and but ſmall eſtates to ſupport them; but the reducing the land-tax might reſtore them to their antient hoſpitality and figure in their ſeveral counties; both which, by the preſſure of that impoſition, were now greatly reduced."

This ſpeech, however, was not received with that pleaſure the miniſter ſeemed to expect. Mr. Plummer, in very ſtrong terms, endeavoured to prove, that the reaſons for taking off the ſalt duty was ſuch as muſt always ſubſiſt againſt ever reviving it; becauſe it was very juſtly conſidered as a tax that, of all others, was moſt burdenſome to the poor, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of this kingdom: that the very character of a right tax was wanting in this; for it was ſo far from taxing the luxuries of life, that it taxed the moſt ordinary neceſſaries: that the motion, if complied with, tended to diſtreſs the landed gentlemen more than the land-tax itſelf: becauſe, by diſabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade, it diſabled tenants from paying their rents; and that it was, beſides, highly impolitical, ſince the revival of it might tend to alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty. "I only deſire," continued, he, "every landed gentleman to conſider what he would make of his eſtate, if we had no trade, no manufactures, nor any number of populous towns in England. Who would be ſuch a fool as to deſire to be relieved of one ſhilling in the pound upon the land-tax, when he muſt pay as much for the ſalt made uſe of in his family; and when at the ſame time he diminiſhes the yearly income of his eſtate much more than one ſhilling in the pound, nay much more than any land-tax ever amounted to in England. The land-tax is but an annual diminution of a gentleman's eſtate; he may, perhaps, be free from a part of it the enſuing year; but if, by the decay of our trade, and the charge laid upon the poor farmer, he is obliged to lower the rents of his eſtate, that will be a diminution which, I fear, will endure for ever."

This oppoſition was not expected, and therefore the arguments were the more difficult to be anſwered; eſpecially as the oppoſition conſidered the tax in the moſt minute particulars. The bill, however, paſſed the houſe by a conſiderable majority. It was oppoſed with the ſame vigour in the houſe of peers; and when it paſſed near twenty lords entered their proteſts.

In the laſt ſeſſion ſome complaints had been made to the houſe of commons againſt the Society called, "The charitable corporation;" which affair now became very ſerious. This company was firſt erected in 1707, and their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor upon ſmall pledges, and to perſons of better rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods. At firſt their capital was limited at 30,000l. but had been increaſed by licenſes from the crown to 60,000l. In the month of October George Robinſon, eſq; their caſhier, and John Thompſon, their warehouſe-keeper, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs, when it ſoon appeared that a moſt vile ſcene of villainy and corruption had been carried on, there being but 30,000l. left to anſwer a capital of 60,000l. the remainder having been embezzled by means which could not be diſcovered. Hereupon the proprietors preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, repreſenting, that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital, and many of the proprietors were reduced to abſolute beggary; they, therefore, humbly prayed, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, the houſe would be pleaſed to examine into the ſtate and condition of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as the houſe ſhould think proper.

As ſoon as this petition was read, a ſecret committee was immediately appointed to proceed on the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors for embezzling the capital and cheating the proprietors. Many perſons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conſpiracy: ſome of the firſt characters in the nation did not eſcape ſuſpicion and cenſure. Sir Robert Sutton, and Sir Archibald Grant, having had a conſiderable ſhare in theſe fraudulent practices, were expelled the houſe: and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them and other delinquents from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

In the mean time the committee received a letter from John Angelo Belloni, an eminent banker at Rome, informing them, that Thompſon was ſecured in that city, with all his papers, and confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo; that the papers had been tranſmitted to a perſon at Paris, who ſhould deliver them up on certain conditions ſtipulated in favour of the priſoner.

From ſeveral concurring circumſtances, and the characters of the perſons concerned in conducting this intelligence, the committee inferred, that it was no other than an artifice to inſinuate a favourable opinion of the Pretender, as if he had procured the arreſt of Thompſon, from his zeal for juſtice, and affection to the Engliſh nation: the propoſals contained in the letter were, therefore, rejected with diſdain, and both houſes concurred in an order, that the letter ſhould be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange: and the lower houſe came to the following reſolution: "That it was an inſolent, audacious libel, attempting, by falſe and inſidious inſinuations, to impoſe upon the parliament and people of Great Britain; and by ſpecious pretences, and profeſſions of eſteem, affection, and compaſſion, to amuſe the unhappy ſufferers of the Charitable Corporation with vain and deceitful hopes of relief: that the ſaid letter was, in itſelf, abſurd and contradictory, conceived, at the beginning, in terms, and in the ſtyle of power and authority, or as proceeding from ſome extraordinary intereſt and influence, but concluding in the perſon and character of a private banker at Rome, who agreed, upon certain conditions in behalf of John Thompſon, to deliver certain books and papers belonging to the ſaid Thompſon; that the conditions required and demanded in favour of Thompſon ſeemed, at the ſame time to be vague, evaſive, and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himſelf and his accomplices, without any proſpect of benefit to the corporation: and that the whole tranſaction appeared to be a ſcandalous artifice, calculated partly to delude the unhappy, and partly to diſguiſe and conceal the wicked practices of the profeſſed enemies to his majeſty's perſon, crown and dignity."

Another, but a more daring and barefaced inſtance of the abuſe of parliamentary confidence, happened to be diſcovered this ſeſſion, by the unwearied application of lord Gage. Certain commiſſioners had been appointed to ſell the Engliſh eſtates forfeited by the rebellion of the year 1715; and among others, the forfeited reverſion of one that had belonged to the Derwentwater family, which was adjudged worth 9,000l. a year: this reverſion had been ſold, in a clandeſtine manner, by two of the commiſſioners only, to one Mr. Smith, a friend of theirs, for the trifling ſum of 1,000l. This affair was no ſooner known abroad, than it made a very great noiſe, and, by the indefatigable pains which lord Gage took, the whole ſcene of iniquity was minutely detected; in conſequence of which a bill was prepared in the lower houſe, to make the ſale void. Dennis Bond, eſq. (one of thoſe concerned in the Charitable Corporation affair) and ſerjeant Birch, commiſſioners for the ſale of the forfeited eſtates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and expelled the houſe, of which they were members. During this ſeſſion, no leſs than five members of parliament were expelled for the moſt ſordid acts of knavery; a melancholy proof of national degeneracy.

The parliament having granted the neceſſary ſupplies, his majeſty, on the firſt of June, went to the houſe of peers, and after having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, and informed both houſes that he intended to viſit his German dominions, cloſed the ſeſſion; a few days after which he ſet out for Hanover.

The private domeſtic occurrences of this year are not worth mentioning in a general hiſtory; but an oppoſition very dangerous to the miniſter was now fomenting in the nation. The debates about the revival of the ſalt-duty, and ſome other ſurmiſes, which had taken riſe from the complaints the officers of the revenue in general made of the collection of the duties on wine and tobacco, two capital branches of the revenue, impreſſed the public with a notion, that either a general exciſe, or an exciſe on theſe two articles, was intended by the miniſter. The whole nation was alarmed even before the miniſter had openly declared his intention.

A. D. 1733. The king being returned from his German dominions, the parliament met on the 16th of January, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech from the throne; in which he adviſed them to raiſe the annual ſupplies in the leaſt burthenſome

ſome manner they could project; and exhorted them to avoid heats and animoſities, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be diverted by any ſpecious pretences, from ſtedfaſtly purſuing the true intereſt of their country.

But however inoffenſive this ſpeech might appear, yet an addreſs, which was nothing more than its eccho, was ſtrongly oppoſed. Sir John Barnard opened the debate, and ſufficiently ſhewed by his ſpeech that he was no ſtranger to the ſcheme intended to be brought into the houſe by the miniſter, and that both himſelf and all his friends in the oppoſition were determined to exert all their power to render it abortive. He concluded with propoſing an amendment to the addreſs, implying, "that the manner of raiſing the ſupplies ſhould be conſiſtent with the trade, intereſt and liberty of the nation." Mr. Sandys ſeconded his motion; and Mr. Shippen moved for adding, "and ſuch as ſhall be conſiſtent with the honour and juſtice of parliament." The addreſs, with theſe amendments, being agreed to, was preſented to his majeſty, who was pleaſed to return a very gracious anſwer.

Among the number of debates which engaged the attention of the commons, that relating to the depredations of the Spaniards was the moſt intereſting. It was opened by Sir Wilford Lawſon, who made a motion to addreſs his majeſty, "that there be laid before the houſe copies of the reports made by his majeſty's commiſſioners in Spain, together with all letters and papers relating thereto, and what ſatisfaction had been made to the ſubjects of Great Britain for the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the depredations of the Spaniards in Europe or the Indies, purſuant to the ſecond ſeparate article of the peace concluded at Seville."

Sir Robert Walpole well knew that this motion was made merely to diſtreſs him; but he could not, without the utmoſt danger to himſelf, prevent its paſſing. The Britiſh reſident had preſented ſeveral memorials to the court of Spain, complaining that nothing had been done to prevent the depredations ſo long complained of in the American ſeas. At laſt, the following cedula was obtained from the king of Spain:

"Whereas the Britiſh miniſter reſiding at this court, has repreſented to me, that notwithſtanding the orders I have iſſued to hinder the Spaniſh privateers in America from committing hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and their ſhips frequenting thoſe ſeas; nevertheleſs not only ſuch perſons as have patents from ſome of the governors, or ſome of the ports in my dominions, but alſo ſome who have no patents at all, continue their hoſtilities, under a pretence of preventing an illicit commerce; while the governors refuſe to admit of the complaints given in by the Engliſh, who have experienced ſuch unjuſt moleſtations, or to indemnify them of the loſſes they may have ſuffered hereby. My reſolution is, that the orders already iſſued for that purpoſe ſhould be repeated: whereby I command by theſe preſents, all governors in any port or place of my dominions in America, not to ſuffer any of my ſubjects to moleſt or abuſe the Engliſh, or any of their ſhips that ſhall ſail in thoſe ſeas, as long as they keep in their proper diſtances, and are not concerned in any illicit trade; and that my governors take ſpecial care, that my ſaid ſubjects do conform exactly, and indiſpenſibly to the royal laws and ordinances which treat of thoſe matters; and if any of my ſubjects ſhould commit any exceſs, contrary to thoſe laws, I command my governors to puniſh them, with all the ſeverity that the offence they ſhall have committed requires; as alſo ſuch as, without patents, ſhall go to ſea in order to commit hoſtilities, and make unlawful prizes; that the ſaid governors do hearken to, and admit all complaints that ſhall be made to them, from the miniſters or chief commanders of Great Britain, either by word of mouth, or by writing; taking care to do them juſtice at all times; and to give them teſtimonies of all that ſhall be tranſacted, and that ſatisfaction be given them, for the loſſes they may have ſuſtained unjuſtly by the ſubjects, who may have occaſioned them, and who ought to make them good; for ſuch is my will: and the aforeſaid governors are to underſtand that they ſhall be made accountable for the exceſſes committed by the privateers; becauſe, before they grant them patents to go to ſea, they ought to examine them who the perſons are, and inſiſt upon proper ſecurities."

Theſe conceſſions were far from being ſatisfactory to the parliament. It was inſiſted upon by the oppoſition, that the expreſſion in the catholic king's cedula, of proper diſtances to be kept by Britiſh ſhips on the coaſts of America, was a fallacious condition, and tended to defeat the whole purpoſe which England ought to expect from the cedula. Becauſe it was impoſſible for ſhips, ſailing from one Britiſh colony to another, to be able to perform their voyages without being ſometimes forced by accidents of winds and tides to come within diſtances of the Spaniſh coaſts, which the Spaniards might judge to be improper diſtances, and therefore a ſufficient cauſe for capture, according to the ſecret orders they might have from the Spaniſh court.

After various other debates, the motion was at length carried; and the addreſs was preſented to his majeſty, who returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

During theſe diſputes, the ferment of the nation daily increaſed, from the expectation of a plan formed by Sir Robert Walpole, and generally known by the appellation of the Exciſe-ſcheme, which the miniſter had openly declared he intended to bring into the houſe. The nature of this ſcheme was ſtill a ſecret; yet it was confidently given out by the oppoſition to be nothing leſs than a general exciſe, tho' the miniſter had never entertained any thought of that kind. He added, that all he intended was to prevent the frauds committed in collecting the duties upon wine and tobacco. The 14th of March was appointed for laying the whole ſcheme before the houſe. In the mean time, ſeveral pamphlets and papers were publiſhed on the ſubject of exciſe, and the whole painted in the moſt horrid colours by the anti-miniſterial writers. Theſe writings produced the deſired effect; they raiſed an univerſal clamour againſt the miniſter, even before it had been offered to the parliament.

On the 14th of March Sir Robert, in a long ſtudied ſpeech, explained his ſcheme. He began with taking notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his propoſal, before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices had originally ariſen from ſmugglers and unfair traders, who had enriched themſelves by cheating the public; and that theſe had been ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted by another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds daily committed in that branch of the revenue ariſing from tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill uſage they had met with from their factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters; upon the injury done to the fair trader; and upon the loſs ſuſtained by the public in reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted, that the ſcheme he was going to propoſe, would remove all theſe inconveniencies, prevent numberleſs frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add 2 or 300,000l. a year to the revenue. He entered into a long detail of the frauds practiſed by the unfair dealers in thoſe commodities; he recited the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the duties on wine and tobacco; he declared he had no intention to promote a general-exciſe; and he endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to his plan, which he now proceeded to explain. He propoſed to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms: that the former ſubſidy of three-farthings per pound, chargeable on imported tobacco, ſhould be ſtill levied at the cuſtom-houſe, and payable, as before, to his majeſty's civil liſt: that the tobacco ſhould then be lodged in warehouſes appointed for that purpoſe by the commiſſioners of exciſe: that the keeper of each warehouſe, appointed alſo by the commiſſioners, ſhould have one lock and key, and the merchant importer another; and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured till the merchant ſhould find vent for it either for foreign or home conſumption; that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound, paid at its firſt importation, and then exported without any farther trouble: that the portion deſigned for home conſumption ſhould, in the preſence of the warehouſe-keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconveniency of paying the duty on importation, or of giving bond, and finding ſecurities for the payment before he found a market for the commodity: that all the penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould, for the future, be applied to the uſe of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majeſty, and in the country by the judge of aſſize upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner, without the formality of proceeding in courts of law and equity.

Such was the ſubſtance of the famous exciſe-ſcheme, the propoſing of which occaſioned the moſt intereſting debate that could happen in a Britiſh houſe of commons. It held till two o'clock the next morning, and was managed by the moſt able ſpeakers on both ſides of the queſtion. Thoſe who argued againſt the ſcheme, accuſed the miniſter of having miſrepreſented the frauds, and made falſe calculations with regard to the hardſhips under which the planters were ſaid to labour. They affirmed, that the planters had never thought of complaining till they were put upon it by letters and applications from London: that the ſcheme was ſo far from being calculated to relieve the planters, that the factors would be expoſed to ſuch grievous oppreſſions, as would render it impoſſible for them to continue the trade, whence the planters muſt be ruined; and that, after all, it would not prevent the frauds againſt which it was ſaid to be provided: that from the examination of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, it appeared that thoſe frauds did not exceed 40,000l. a year, and might, in a great meaſure, be aboliſhed by a due execution of the laws in being; conſequently, the ſcheme was unneceſſary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as it tended to promote a general exciſe, which was in all countries conſidered as a very grievous oppreſſion. They ſuggeſted, that it would produce an additional ſwarm of officers and warehouſe-keepers appointed and paid by the treaſury, which could not fail of multiplying the dependents on the crown, and enable it ſtill farther to check the freedom of elections: that the traders would become ſlaves to exciſemen and warehouſe-keepers, as they would be debarred all acceſs to their own commodities, except at certain hours, when they were attended by theſe officers: that the merchant, for every pound of tobacco he ſhould ſell, would be obliged to make a journey, or ſend a meſſenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay; and that if a law ſhould be enacted in favour of this ſcheme, it would, in all probability, be, ſome time or other, uſed as a precedent for introducing exciſe laws into every branch of the revenue; and whenever this happened, the boaſted liberties of England would be totally extinct.

But uotwithſtanding theſe, and other powerful reaſons, which were urged by the oppoſition, the queſtion being put, upon a motion made by the miniſter, that the preſent duties on wine and tobacco ſhould, from and after the 24th of June next, ceaſe and determine, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-one. The other reſolutions ſubſequent to this, for altering the cuſtoms to an inland duty upon theſe commodities, and for appropriating this inland duty to the ſame uſes as the cuſtoms, were paſſed without a diviſion.

On the 16th the committee made their report, and a very long and warm debate enſued; but the queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, purſuant to theſe reſolutions. It was accordingly preſented to the houſe on the 4th of April, and read the firſt time; and, after a very powerful oppoſition, ordered to be read a ſecond time.

The whole trading part of the nation was now alarmed; and the lord-mayor having procured a copy of the bill, laid it before the common-council, where it was unanimouſly reſolved to petition the houſe againſt it. The petition was immediately drawn up, and preſented to the houſe by the ſheriffs. As ſoon as it was read, Sir John Barnard roſe, and, in a very expreſſive manner, repreſented how much the city and citizens of London, as well as all the other trading cities and towns in the kingdom, would be affected by the bill for altering the method of raiſing the duties payable upon tobacco, and how juſt reaſon they had to inſiſt upon being heard by their council againſt it. He ſaid, that he would not entertain a ſuſpicion that the miniſtry wiſhed not to hear every thing that could, with reaſon, be advanced againſt the bill; and therefore moved, that the petitioners might be heard by their counſel againſt it.

This motion met with a ſtrong oppoſition: the miniſter and his friends inſiſted, that it had always been the practice of the houſe never to receive any petition, much leſs to admit counſel to be heard againſt any bill for impoſing taxes on the ſubject; becauſe it would then be impoſſible ever to paſs any ſuch bill, as the number of petitions preſented againſt it would, doubtleſs, be too great to examine during one ſeſſion of parliament; that no inconveniency could ariſe in refuſing to admit council to be heard againſt it, becauſe every man, and every body of men, had their repreſentatives in that houſe, who would certainly eſpouſe their cauſe, ſhould they think themſelves aggrieved by any particular hardſhip.

In anſwer to this it was obſerved, that the houſe had never pretended to any particular cuſtom of refuſing petitions, except againſt thoſe bills which were called money-bills; that is, ſuch as were brought in for raiſing money for the ſervice of the current year; and that even with a regard to them, there were precedents where the houſe had admitted the parties, whom they thought to be particularly intereſted, to be heard by their counſel againſt the paſſing ſuch bills; that the admitting counſel, even in ſuch caſes, could never prevent their paſſing, becauſe the houſe could order all perſons petitioning to be heard at one time; and give ſuch directions, that it could never take

ake up many days to hear every thing that could be objected by every one of the petitioners: that tho' every part of the nation had their repreſentatives in that houſe, yet it was very well known, that ſpeaking in public was not the talent of every man; whence it might happen, that the particular perſons, or part of the nation that would be moſt aggrieved, might not have any ſuch members who could lay their caſe properly, clearly, and fully, before the houſe; and therefore it was proper, even with regard to money-bills, to admit parties to be heard by counſel againſt them, when it appeared that they were particularly intereſted in the tranſaction. But with regard to the caſe before them, there was not the leaſt pretence for refuſing the requeſt of the petition, becauſe the bill againſt which it was preſented was no money-bill; on the contrary, it was inſiſted on by the advocates for it, as one of the greateſt arguments in its favour, that there were no new duties to be impoſed; it was a bill intended only to alter the method of collecting the taxes already impoſed; and therefore it could never be pretended, that there was any practice or cuſtom of the houſe to refuſe parties intereſted to be heard againſt ſuch a bill: that if there had been ſuch a cuſtom introduced, it ought not to be obſerved, eſpecially when ſo conſiderable a body as the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, came with an humble petition to be heard againſt the bill, which they thought would not only be highly injurious to them in particular, but deſtructive to the trade and commerce of the whole nation. The motion was, however, rejected by a majority of ſeventeen only. The petition was therefore ordered to lie upon the table till the bill ſhould be read a ſecond time.

During the debates on this famous bill the minds of the people were wrought up to ſuch a pitch of fury and reſentment, as ſeemed to threaten nothing more than a rebellion. The houſe was ſurrounded with crouds of people; and moſt of the principal merchants in London attended in the court of requeſts and lobby of the houſe of commons. This exaſperated the miniſter, who, after declaring that he did not conſider the clamours without doors to be the voice of the people, concluded his ſpeech with the following incautious and inflammatory expreſſions: "Gentlemen may ſay what they pleaſe of the multitudes now at the door, and in the avenues leading to this houſe: they may call them a modeſt multitude, if they will; but whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited ſo long at our door: it may be a very eaſy matter for ſome deſigning, ſeditious perſon, to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them; and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they may end: he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could, with the ſame facility, appeaſe them. For this reaſon, I muſt think, that it was neither prudent nor regular to uſe any methods for bringing ſuch multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever. Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit: it may be ſaid they came hither as humble ſupplicants; but I know whom the law calls ſturdy beggars; and thoſe who brought them hither could not be certain but that they might have behaved in the ſame manner."

This part of the miniſter's ſpeech threw the whole houſe into a flame; and it was ſome time before the temper of the members was ſettled ſufficiently to renew the debate. At laſt Sir John Barnard aroſe; and after making ſeveral obſervations on the beginning of the miniſter's ſpeech, ſaid, "that any ſet of gentlemen or merchants might take what method they pleaſed to ſolicit their friends and perſons of figure and character, to come down to the court of requeſts, and to our lobby, in order to petition their acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project they think may be prejudicial to their intereſts. This is the undoubted right of the ſubject, and what has been always practiſed. The honourable gentleman talks of ſturdy beggars: I do not know what ſort of people may now be at our door, becauſe I have not lately been out of the houſe, but I believe they are the ſame ſort of people that were there when I came in; and then, I can aſſure you, that I ſaw none but ſuch as deſerved the name of ſturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever. It is well known, that the city of London was ſufficiently apprized of what was this day to come under our deliberation. Where they procured their information, I know not; but I am very certain they had a right notion of this ſcheme; and were ſo generally and zealouſly bent againſt it, that whatever methods may have been uſed to call them hither, I am ſure it would have been impoſſible to have found any legal method to have prevented their coming."

Notwithſtanding the miniſter had carried his point with regard both to the London petition, and the bill's being read a ſecond time, yet he thought it highly prudent not to puſh his ſcheme any farther. He could not hope that the majority ever would be greater, and a queſtion of ſuch importance to the public tranquillity, carried by a majority of only ſeventeen, was worſe than loſt. He, therefore, wiſely determined to let it drop; and, accordingly, when the day came for its being read a ſecond time, Sir Robert Walpole moved that it might be put off till the 12th of June next.

Such was the end of the famous exciſe ſcheme, a project which the populace were perſuaded threatened the entire deſtruction of their liberties; and the miſcarriage of which was celebrated with the greateſt rejoicings throughout the metropolis.

The national buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 11th of June, went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he ſeverely reflected on the authors of the heats and animoſities that had been lately ſpread through the nation. "I cannot," ſaid he, "paſs by, unobſerved, the wicked endeavours that have been lately made uſe of to inflame the minds of the people, and, by the moſt unjuſt miſrepreſentations, to raiſe tumults and diſorders that almoſt threatened the peace of the kingdom; but I depend on the force of truth to remove the groundleſs jealouſies that have been raiſed of deſigns carrying on againſt the liberties of my people; and, upon your own fidelity to defeat and fruſtrate the expectations of ſuch as delight in confuſion. It is my inclination, and has always been my ſtudy, to preſerve both the religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects. Let it be your care to undeceive the deluded, and to make them ſenſible of their preſent happineſs, and the hazard they run of being unwarily drawn, by ſpecious pretences, into their own deſtruction."

During theſe tranſactions in England, Auguſtus II. king of Poland, paid the debt of nature. This event, which happened in the month of February, involved Europe in freſh troubles. Staniſlaus, father-in-law to the French king, and the elector of Saxony, ſon to the deceaſed king, were candidates for the Poliſh ſceptre. The former was ſupported by France, and the latter by the emperor, the czarina, and the king of Pruſſia. The Imperial and Ruſſian troops encamped on the frontiers of Poland, and the king of France ordered the duke of Berwick to aſſemble an army on the Rhine, in order to enter Germany, in caſe the Imperial forces made any attempt to diſturb the election at Warſaw.

On the 25th of June, the diet of the election was opened with the uſual ceremonies, and Staniſlaus, being unanimouſly choſen king, appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations. The Saxon party, however, ſoon increaſed to 10,000 men, proteſted againſt the election, and joined the Ruſſian army. Staniſlaus, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe ſuch powerful antagoniſts, retired to Dantzick, attended by the primate and French ambaſſador; and ſoon after the elector of Saxony was proclaimed king of Poland, by the biſhop of Cracow, under the name of Auguſtus III.

In the mean time, Lewis XV. having concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, the duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine, and undertook the ſiege of Kehl, which in a few days capitulated. The king of Sardinia declared war againſt the emperor, and, having joined a body of French forces commanded by marſhal Villars, drove the Imperialiſts out of the Milaneſe.

The emperor, dreading the effects of ſuch a powerful confederacy againſt him, offered to accommodate all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of England; and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Madrid, made propoſals for that purpoſe. Philip expreſſed his acknowledgements to the king of England; but declared that the emperor's advances came too late, and that his own reſolutions were already taken. In the mean time he ſent a powerful army into Italy, under the command of the duke of Montemar, who reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, which was beſtowed upon the infant don Carlos, who had already been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuſcany. Thus did the emperor, Charles VI. loſe almoſt all Italy by giving a king to Poland: and a ſon of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the Two Sicilies, which had been ſo often before taken and retaken, and had been the conſtant objects of the attention of the houſe of Auſtria for above two centuries. All this time the other potentates of Europe looked on without intermeddling: the Venetians declared they would take no ſhare in the war in Italy; the Dutch ſoon entered into a neutrality with France; and the Engliſh, in concert with thoſe ſtates, employed themſelves in mediations, inſtead of affording aſſiſtance, which had been ſtrongly ſolicited by the emperor.

A. D. 1734. Such was the ſtate of affairs on the continent, when the parliament met on the 17th of January. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty, among other particulars, told the two houſes, "That though he was no way concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent about the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy: that he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers which were more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, eſpecially with the ſtates-general of the united provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for the common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe: that he would order the eſtimates to be laid before them, of ſuch ſervices as demanded their preſent and immediate care: that the augmentation that would be propoſed for the ſea-ſervice would be very conſiderable; but he was confident they would think it reaſonable and neceſſary; that he moſt particularly recommended to their care the debt of the navy, which had been every year laid before them; but, from the preſent circumſtances of the times, he believed they would be perſuaded that he now required ſome proviſion to be made for it; a thing that could not well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt detriment to the public ſervice: that, as theſe extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for defraying them, with that readineſs and diſpatch, and with that juſt regard to the true intereſt of his people, which this parliament had hitherto ſhewn upon all occaſions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch expedition in the public buſineſs, as might give him the ſooner opportunity of conſulting a new parliament: that he flattered himſelf his preſent reſolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and whatever inſinuations might be thrown out againſt the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundleſs jealouſies, and make it appear, that Great-Britain ought always to act that part which the honour and intereſt of the nation called upon it to undertake.

This ſpeech cauſed a violent debate in the lower houſe, though it muſt be owned, without any neceſſity, there being nothing in it that could be reaſonably exceptionable. The miniſterial party, however, prevailed, and an addreſs of thanks was voted to his majeſty.

Several other topics that came before the houſe occaſioned very warm debates, in which the ſpeeches generally abounded with perſonal ſatire, and often with very indecent reflections. But the ſubject that gave occaſion to the moſt violent debates between the two parties was a motion made by Mr. *Bromley*, for repealing the act for ſeptennial parliaments. In ſupport of this motion he alledged, that the reaſons for prolonging the ſitting of parliaments from three to ſeven years were now at an end: that the people in general looked upon ſeptennial parliaments as a grievance and innovation in the conſtitution: that he begged leave to remind the houſe of the act made in the 16th of Charles II. which wiſely provided againſt the too long continuance of one and the ſame parliament, by ordaining that a new parliament ſhould be called once in three years, and oftener, if need required: that this act was expreſſly confirmed by the bill of rights: that from the time of the revolution to the firſt year of the late king, no parliament had ſat above three years, and ſome only one ſeſſion: that he thought triennial parliaments were more grievous than annual ones, and, conſequently, ſeptennial parliaments muſt be doubly more grievous than thoſe which laſted only three years: that ſuppoſing he ſhould be miſtaken in this point, which, nevertheleſs, he could never admit without due conviction, the argument in the preamble to the ſeptennial bill was altogether inapplicable to the preſent times: that the act againſt bribery and corruption would neceſſarily remedy that evil, as it would prevent corruption in the elections; but nothing but the frequent returns of new parliaments could prevent it in the elected. In order, therefore, to effect this deſirable purpoſe, he moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing the ſeptennial, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.

Mr. Bromley's motion was ſeconded by Sir John Aubin, knight of the ſhire for Cornwall. In his ſpeech upon this occaſion, he gave a kind of detail of the duration of parliaments from the time of Henry VIII. ſhewed how triennial parliaments came to be ſecured at the revolution, and how they came to be loſt again to the nation when the ſeptennial act took place. He was next at ſome pains to prove that ſeptennial parliaments are moſt proper for the purpoſes of a wicked miniſtry; but that the more frequent parliaments are, they are the more ſalutary both for the king and people; and, at the ſame time, throughout his whole ſpeech, he complained greatly of the increaſing influence of the crown. He was anſwered by Mr. Conduit, a relation of the great Sir Iſaac Newton. He endeavoured to ſhew, from Prynne's writings, that the prerogatives of the kings of England, and the liberties of the people, are very different from what they were in former days. He took notice, that the heavy complaints againſt Charles I. and his ſon James II. did not ariſe from continuing the ſame parliament too long, but for not calling, or not holding any parliament at all. He thought that miniſters could more eaſily manage a triennial than a ſeptennial parliament; and confirmed his obſervations by ſaying, that in ſeptennial parliaments it has been ſeen, that a ſmall minority againſt the miniſter at the beginning of the parliament has often been increaſed greatly, and even nearly to an equality before the end. He thought that the diſpoſal of poſts and places rather weakened than ſtrengthened the crown; becauſe every place having three or four candidates for it, when one only can ſucceed, the diſappointed candidates immediately become enemies to the court. He maintained that the reaſons for paſſing the ſeptennial act ſtill exiſted; that one of the reaſons was a ſpirit of jacobitiſm prevailing when the ſeptennial act paſſed; and he thought that the great diſcontents that had lately appeared in the nation, had a conſiderable mixture of jacobitiſm in their compoſition.

The next that ſpoke was Sir Thomas Robinſon, who maintained, that the expence of chuſing triennial parliaments muſt fall far heavier upon the public than that of chuſing triennial ones. He obſerved, that during the twenty-two years while triennial parliaments continued, they were found to be attended with great inconveniences; whereas, during the eighteen years in which ſeptennial parliaments had continued, many excellent laws had paſſed, and many wiſe inſtitutions had been formed for the good of the people. He took notice, that when gentlemen ſpeak of the whole conſtitution of England, they ſpeak in very vague terms; beccauſe the conſtitution of England was never fixed till the time of the revotion. He next examined the ſtate of parliaments under the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. and maintained, that in the longeſt parliament that ever ſat in England, which happened under the latter, the longer they ſat, they were more and more averſe to the meaſures of the crown, notwithſtanding all the power of corruption employed to ſeduce them; and therefore, by parity of reaſoning, ſeptennial parliaments are more favourable to public liberty than triennial ones. In ſhort, he thought, that a deſire to revert back to the practice of remote antiquity in that reſpect, might be compared to a man in his full growth and ſtrength, deſiring to return back to his childhood. He obſerved, that if antiquity was to be the only rule, a ſeſſion of parliament ought ſeldom or never to continue above twenty days; for parliaments, in former times, had not buſineſs ſufficient to keep them any longer ſitting: but, in fact, the whole form of the conſtitution has been ſince altered, by the alterations that have, from time to time, happened in the modes of property, and the multiplication of buſineſs, through the increaſe of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce. He affirmed, that ſhould the motion be agreed to, it muſt have a very bad effect upon all foreign negociations, becauſe foreign miniſters, in their negotiations with Great Britain, and alſo with other courts, are chiefly determined by the ſentiments of a Britiſh parliament: but ſhould they have thoſe to conſult anew every three years, they would not be able to know how to determine with regard to many great and important points.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, who had acquired great experience in elections for members of parliament, ſpoke ſtrongly for the queſtion. He inſiſted upon it, that aman who could get an hundred guineas for his vote for a ſeptennial parliament, would not get fifteen for a triennial one; and that bribery and corruption are the natural conſequences of long parliaments. He was anſwered by Sir John Willes, attorney-general. He obſerved, that if any time was to be fixed upon for imitating the old conſtitution with regard to parliaments, "we are not ſurely," ſaid he, "to take the time when our conſtitution was weak, and in its infancy; we certainly ſhould chuſe that time when it had reached its full ſtrength and vigour, which, in my opinion, is the preſent. It is, indeed, ſaid, that, for the redreſs of grievances, and for amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not ſo much as inſinuated that every one of theſe ought to be a new parliament: and as to the frequency of parliaments, I am ſure there never was leſs reaſon for complaints than ſince the ſeptennial bill paſſed; for, ever ſince that time the ſeſſions have been regularly held, and all of them been allowed to ſit as long as it was neceſſary or proper they ſhould." He then obſerved, that the triennial act itſelf was not obtained upon principles of liberty, but in order to diſtreſs king William and the friends to the revolution. He was of opinion, that the tranſition of the conſtitution from triennial to ſeptennial parliaments, was, in itſelf, a right meaſure, and agreeable to the true principles of Engliſh government, independent of any temporary conſideration. He maintained, that it was owing to the inconveniences of triennial parliaments that king William was obliged to make ſo bad a peace with France, when he might have carried on the war in ſo advantageous a manner for the liberties of Europe.

An objection being ſtated by another ſpeaker, that the elected, during a long parliament, are apt to forget the dependence upon their conſtituents, which could not be the caſe if parliaments were annual. Sir John Willes made the following obſervation: "That we have all a dependence upon the people for our election, is what I readily grant; but after we are choſen, and have taken our ſeats in this houſe, we have no longer any dependence upon our electors, at leaſt ſo far as regards our behavior here. Their whole power is then devolved upon us; and we are, in every queſtion that comes before this houſe, to regard only the public good in general, and to determine according to our own judgements; if we do not, if we depend upon our conſtituents, and follow blindly the inſtructions they ſend us, we cannot be ſaid to act freely, nor can ſuch parliaments be called free parliaments; ſuch a dependence would be a moſt dangerous dependence; it would, in my opinion, be more dangerous, and of worſe conſequence than a dependence upon the crown; for in a dependence upon the crown I can ſee no danger, as long as the intereſt of the crown is made the ſame with that of the people, which every man muſt allow to be the caſe at preſent; whereas the people of any county, city, or borough, are very liable to be miſled, and may often be induced to give inſtructions directly contrary to the true intereſt of their country."

Sir John Barnard attacked this doctrine with all his power. "A learned and honourable gentleman," ſaid he, "has advanced a doctrine which I think altogether new; that we are to have no farther dependence on our electors, after we have taken our ſeats in this houſe; nay, that a dependence on them would be more dangerous than a dependence on the crown. This, Sir, is really, in my opinion, ſomething very new. Though that genleman may, perhaps, like the one better than the other, yet I ſhall always look upon a dependence on the people of England, or even on thoſe I repreſent, to be leſs dangerous, and more honourable, than a dependence on the crown; and I value myſelf more on the honour I have received in ſitting here for two parliaments, as one of the repreſentatives of the people of England, and by the free and uncorrupted choice of thoſe I repreſent, than I ſhould on the greateſt honours the crown can beſtow. If, indeed, I had obtained my ſeat here by bribery, or by the illegal and corrupt influence of any corrupt miniſter, I ſhould look upon it in a very different light; I ſhould look upon it as one of the moſt diſgraceful ſituations I could be in."

Sir William Yonge replied to theſe remarks of Sir John Barnard. "My learned friend," ſaid he, "happened to make an obſervation which I ſtill think a very juſt one. He ſaid, that after we were returned, and had taken our ſeats in this houſe, we ought not any longer to have a dependence on thoſe we repreſent. This the honourable gentleman laid hold of. He not only called it a new and very extraordinary doctrine, but dropt an expreſſion, ſuch as I think ought not to be made uſe of in this houſe. As to the obſervation made by my learned friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almoſt every gentleman underſtood him, that after we had taken our ſeats in this houſe, we ought every one of us to look upon ourſelves as one of the repreſentatives of the whole body of the commons of England, and ought not to have any particular bias for the county, city, or borough we repreſent. This, Sir, is ſo far from being a doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wiſh every gentleman in this houſe would make it a ſtanding rule for his conduct; for I cannot help obſerving, that there are ſome in this aſſembly, who on many occaſions, confine their thoughts too much to the particular county, city, or borough they repreſent; but ſurely they muſt be ſenſible, that many things may happen in parliament which may be for the intereſt of the nation in general, though they may not, perhaps, quadrate ſo exactly with the particular intereſt of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, or other particular places; and, in ſuch a caſe, the gentleman himſelf muſt ſurely grant, that, as members of this houſe, they ought to drop, not only their dependence upon, but even their concern for, the particular city they repreſent, in order to concur with the reſt of the members of this houſe, in what they judge to be for the general intereſt of the nation."

Several other ſpeeches were made on this intereſting motion; but when the queſtion was put, it was carried in the negative by a great majority.

On the 14th of March the nuptial ceremony between the prince of Orange and the princeſs-royal of England was performed with great magnificence; on which occaſion the warmeſt congratulations were made by both houſes of parliament, the city of London, and moſt other public bodies throughout the kingdom.

On the 28th of the ſame month Sir Robert Walpole delivered a meſſage from the king to the houſe of commons, importing, "That as the war which "had lately broke out in Europe ſtill continued to "rage, his majeſty hoped he might be enabled to "augment his forces, if ſuch augmentation ſhould "be found neceſſary, between the diſſolution of this "parliament and the election of another." This meſſage was received with great ſurprize by the houſe, but all oppoſition was vain; for an addreſs was voted and preſented to his majeſty, ſignifying the compliance of his faithful commons with his royal requeſt. In conſequence of another meſſage the houſe prepared and paſſed a bill, impowering his majeſty to ſettle an annuity of 5,000l. for life on the princeſs-royal.

The buſineſs before the parliament being completed, his majeſty, on the 16th of April, went to the houſe of peers, and having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he expreſſed the warmeſt acknowledgements of their zeal, duty and affection.

A few days after the riſing of the parliament, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for calling a new one. The whole nation was immediately thrown into a ferment, and every means made uſe of to influence the electors in their choice of repreſentatives. The power of the miniſtry, however, prevailed; and the elections, in moſt parts of the kingdom, were carried in favour of the court.

During theſe tranſactions at home, the war was carried on with great vigour abroad, by the confederate powers againſt the emperor. The Ruſſian and Saxon armies inveſted the city of Dantzick, in order to ſecure the perſon of king Staniſlaus; but, when the city capitulated, that prince eſcaped in the diſguiſe of a peaſant to Marienwerder, in the Pruſſian territories. The Poliſh lords of Dantzick ſigned an act of ſubmiſſion to king Auguſtus, who arrived on the tenth of July at the convent of Oliva, and after proclaiming a general amneſty, returned to Dreſden.

In the mean time the French army on the Rhine, commanded by marſhal Belliſle, beſieged and took Traerbach, while the duke of Berwick, at the head of 60,000 men, inveſted Philipſburgh, where, in viſiting the trenches, he was killed by a cannon ball; and the command devolved on the marquis d'Asfeldt, who carried on the operations of the ſiege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene did every thing his great military talents could ſuggeſt, to relieve the beſieged: but finding it impoſſible to ſucceed, general Watgenau, the governor, capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the moſt honourable conditions. Eugene retired to Heidelberg, and the campaign ended in October.

The doubtful behaviour of ſome of the allies, at this juncture, induced the miniſtry to leave nothing omitted towards putting the nation in a poſture of defence. The court of Spain ſuffered the eldeſt ſon of the Pretender to ſerve in the army of Don Carlos, by whom he was treated with diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect: and that prince did not ſcruple to declare, that, whenever the ſituation of his affairs would permit, he would ſupport, with all his power, the intereſt of the abdicated family.

The conduct of the French alſo, at this time, was ſuch as demonſtrated they had no very friendly ſentiments with reſpect to Great Britain. In the month of November an edict was publiſhed in Paris, which commanded all the Britiſh ſubjects in France, not actually in employment, from the age of eighteen to fifty, either to quit the kingdom in fifteen days, or inliſt in ſome of the Iriſh regiments, on pain of being ſent to the gallies. This edict, which was executed with the utmoſt rigour, filled the priſons of Paris with the ſubjects of England, who were denied all communication with their friends, and muſt have periſhed by cold and hunger, had they not been relieved by the charity of the Janſeniſts. A ſpirited memorial from our court on this occaſion was delivered by lord Waldegrave, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to the French council, who, finding us earneſt in the affair, though proper to excuſe themſelves by alledging, they only meant to execute their edict againſt Britiſh and Iriſh vagabonds, and ſuch as had no viſible means of ſubſiſtance.

In the month of June a treaty of commerce was concluded between the Engliſh court, and that of Ruſſia, greatly to the advantage of the Britiſh nation, as will appear from the following abſtract:

"By the fourth article of this treaty, it is ſtipulated, that the ſubjects of Great Britain may carry to Ruſſia all ſorts of merchandize, and may tranſport them by land from thence to Perſia, on paying a duty of three per cent, and may likewiſe bring back from Perſia through Ruſſia, all ſorts of merchandize, on again paying the ſaid duty, without being obliged to open their bales.

"By the ſeventh, it is declared, that in caſe of ſhipwreck, all manner of aſſiſtance ſhall be given, without offering the leaſt violence to the ſhip's company or effects.

"By the ninth, the Britiſh merchants in Ruſſia are exempted from being obliged to ſhew their books to any one whatſoever, except it be to prove ſomething in diſpute. And for the greater eaſe and encouragement of the Britiſh commerce, it is agreed, that for the future the Engliſh manufactures ſhould pay no greater duty on the importation than is ſpecified."

On the 19th of September a treaty was likewiſe concluded with the king of Denmark.

"The firſt and ſecond articles of this treaty are general profeſſions of friendſhip and renewals of all former treaties between the two nations.

"By the third article his Daniſh majeſty, at the deſire of our king, engages to hold in readineſs 1000 horſe, and 5000 foot for three years, to be tranſported over to England, in caſe his Britannic majeſty's dominions ſhould be threatened with an invaſion.

"By the fourth article, his Britannic majeſty engages to pay to the king of Denmark, for every horſeman eighty crowns, and for every foot ſoldier thirty crowns; one half to be paid on ſigning the treaty, and the other half when the troops ſhall be delivered; over and above which our king engages to pay to the king of Denmark an annual ſubſidy of 250,000 crowns during the time the treaty ſubſiſts: but if the troops ſhould paſs into the pay of the king of Great Britain, then his Daniſh majeſty is to receive a yearly ſubſidy of 150 crowns, while they are in his Britannic majeſty's ſervice.

"By the ſixth article the troops are not to be ſent to Italy, nor obliged to ſerve on board a fleet, nor to be tranſported beyond ſea, but to be employed for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, in which event they are to have the ſame pay that Engliſh troops have.

"By the ſeventh article it is ſtipulated, that the ſaid troops ſhall be immediately ſent back to Denmark with a month's pay, in caſe the king of Denmark's dominions are attacked; and his Britannic majeſty engages in ſuch event to give his Daniſh majeſty all the aſſiſtance the caſe ſhall require by ſea and land: the king of Denmark alſo binds himſelf in the like engagement of aſſiſtance towards the king of Great Britain.

"By the eighth article it is determined in what caſe ſuch aſſiſtance may be demanded, and is to be given; viz. if either of the parties be actually attacked by force of arms, without that party having previouſly uſed open force againſt him who attacks."

This treaty was to be void at the end of three years, unleſs renewed; but that with Ruſſia was to be in force for fifteen years, from the time it was ſigned.

A. D. 1735. The new parliament met on the 14th of January, when the commons again made choice of Mr. Onſlow for their ſpeaker. On the 23d his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he informed the two houſes, "That having undertaken, in concert with the ſtates-general, to mediate between the belligerent powers, he had met with ſo much ſucceſs, that a plan would ſpeedily be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a negotiation for a general peace. He alſo acquainted them, that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark; a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the preſent conjuncture; and which, being attended with ſome expence, he would order it to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the commons. At the ſame time, he put them in mind, that while a war was raging in Europe, it would be proper, at all events, though it might be attended with ſome expence, for Great Britain to keep her forces on a reſpectable footing."

After the commons had voted an addreſs to the king, they immediately went on the buſineſs of the ſupply. A motion being made for encreaſing the number of ſeamen to 30,000 effective men for the ſervice of the current year, the minority affirmed, that 20,000, which was the number employed the laſt year, was fully ſufficient: that the unneceſſary naval armaments of Great Britain during the laſt ſummer had occaſioned the ruin of Dantzick, inaſmuch as they prevented the French from ſailing in time to relieve it; for the Spaniards, from the apprehenſion that the Engliſh fleet was deſigned to act againſt them in the Mediterranean, had obliged the French miniſtry to keep their ſhips at Breſt, inſtead of ſending them to Dantzick, until they could diſcover the deſtination of the Engliſh ſquadron.

In anſwer to this, the miniſtry endeavoured to prove, that the French never had any ſerious intention either of relieving Dantzick, or aſſiſting Staniſlaus to mount the throne of Poland: that it was only a pretence made uſe of by the courts of Madrid and Verſailles for giving orders to fit out in their reſpective ports, all the ſhips that could poſſibly be got ready: that his majeſty having received private intelligence of theſe orders, had judged it indiſpenſably neceſſary to increaſe his ſea forces with the additional number of 7000 men; an expedient which, in all probability, had defeated the deſigns which France and Spain had formed againſt theſe kingdoms: that both theſe powers, far from relaxing their preparations, were at this very time ſtrengthening their marine with the utmoſt induſtry; ſo that the addition of 7000 men to the naval force of Great Britain muſt be thought by all impartial perſons a reaſonable augmentation; and that theſe meaſures would appear the more neceſſary when it was conſidered, that in a free country like ours, where there was no regiſter for ſeamen, by which the fleet might be inſtantly ſupplied with men, the government was obliged, on any ſudden emergency, to have recourſe to preſſing, which was certainly a moſt diſagreeable expedient. Many other arguments to the ſame effect were made uſe of, after which, the queſtion being put, was carried in the affirmative for 30,000 ſeamen, including the office of ordnance.

During this ſeſſion the mutiny-bill received a very material alteration. In all the preceding acts, the juſtice of peace had it in his power to commit a poor fellow to priſon, if, after receiving the inliſting money, he refuſed to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money: but a clauſe was now inſerted, importing, that every officer who ſhould hereafter inliſt any man to ſerve in any regiment, ſhould, within a certain number of days, carry the perſon inliſted before one of the next juſtices of the peace, where the man ſhould be at liberty to declare his diſſent to ſuch an act, and his having repented of what he had done; and upon his doing this, and returning the officer the inliſting money, and paying the expences incurred in the progreſs of the affair, ſuch juſtice ſhould forthwith diſcharge him; and that an officer guilty of any failure or neglect in this particular, ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties as are inflicted on thoſe who ſhould be guilty of falſe muſters.

But an affair of a much more ſerious nature was now before the commons. The magiſtrates of the royal burgh of Haddington in Scotland had been ſeized and confined in a diſtant priſon, without the benefit of being admitted to bail, by a warrant from one of the Scottiſh judges. Another judge, however, had ventured to take bail, and ſet them at liberty. The injured party preſented a petition to the houſe of commons; and the caſe appeared ſo flagrant, that a motion was made to refer it to the conſideration of a committee of the whole houſe. This was, however, oppoſed by the miniſter and his friends, but from what motive is hard to ſay; and the motion was rejected.

Another incident that happened in Scotland greatly engaged the attention of parliament. This was, a petition to the houſe of lords, ſubſcribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queenſbury, and Montroſe, by the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair; repreſenting, that undue influence had been uſed in carrying on the election of the ſixteen peers of Scotland.

A day was appointed for taking this petition into conſideration; but the houſe ſeemed divided with regard to the manner in which they ought to proceed in this delicate and intereſting affair. The duke of Newcaſtle obſerved, that it was doubtful whether the houſe had even the power of receiving ſuch a petition, there being nothing in the articles of union that gave a Britiſh houſe of lords a right to interfere in the election of the Scottiſh peers; nor indeed had they otherwiſe any ſuch right, unleſs ſome particular charge was ſtated, and offered to be proved. On the other hand, the party that ſupported the petition urged, that it was general; that the facts contained in it were of a very dangerous complexion, and ſuch as ought to be puniſhed if they were proved. But as the real deſign of the petition ſeemed to be uncertain, it was agreed that the conſideration ſhould be adjourned for a little time, during which the petitioners ſhould be ordered to declare, "Whether they intended to controvert the election of the ſixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them?"

The lord-chancellor having communicated this order to the petitioners, they, in a few days, delivered in a declaration, importing, "that they did not intend to oppoſe either the election, or return of the ſixteen Scottiſh peers; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordſhips the evidence of ſuch facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the conſtitution, and might, in future elections, equally affect the right of the preſent ſixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not timely prevented by a proper remedy."

When this declaration was read in the houſe, it was objected to by the court-party, as unſatisfactory. The duke of Devonſhire therefore made a motion, "That the petitioners ſhould be ordered to lay before the houſe, in writing, inſtances of thoſe undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and alſo the names of the perſons they ſuſpected to be guilty."

This motion was warmly oppoſed by the earls of Cheſterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, and the lords Bathurſt and Carteret. Lord Cheſterfield concluded his ſpeech on this occaſion with the following remarkable expreſſions. "Suppoſing, my lords, we ſhould get information that ſeveral barrels of gunpowder had been placed under this houſe, in order to blow us up; would it not be very fooliſh to delay going to ſearch for and remove the gunpowder, till we ſhould be informed by what means, at what time, and by whom the powder was placed there? The caſe before us is the very ſame: there is a ſort of metaphorical gunpowder placed under this houſe, which will, in time, blow us up, if it be not removed; and, in ſuch a caſe, are we to trifle away our time in inquiries after the names of the perſons who placed it there, and the methods by which it was conveyed?" However beautiful and expreſſive this compariſon might be, it produced not the deſired effect; like the reaſonings of the other lords, it was overcome by the majority, who voted the declaration unſatisfactory; and the petitioners were ordered. in eight days, to lay their complaints before the houſe in writing.

In obedience to theſe orders, the petitioning noblemen preſented a remonſtrance to the lords on the day appointed, in which they obſerved, "That as they had no intention to become accuſers, they could not take upon them to name particular perſons, who might have been concerned in thoſe illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordſhips, upon their taking the proper examination: that, neverthele ſs, they begged leave to acquaint their lordſhips, that the petition was laid before them upon information that the liſt of the ſixteen peers for Scotland had been framed previous to the election, by perſons in high truſt under the crown: that this liſt was ſhewn to the peers, as a liſt approved by the crown, and was called the king's liſt, from which there was to be no variation, unleſs to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition of their conforming to certain meaſures: that peers were ſolicited to vote for this liſt, without the liberty of making any alteration: that endeavours were uſed to engage their ſuffrages for this liſt by the promiſe of penſions and offices, civil and military, to themſelves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that ſums of money were actually given for this purpoſe: that penſions, offices, and releaſes of debts owing to the crown, were granted to peers who concured in voting for this liſt, and to their relations: that on the day of election, a battalion of his majeſty's troops was drawn up in the Abbey-court, contrary to cuſtom, and without any other apparent cauſe than that of over-awing the electors: that theſe inſtances of undue practices would, they hoped, be abundantly ſufficient to ſatisfy their lordſhips, that they had juſt cauſe to pray the houſe to take this matter into their ſerious conſideration, and to provide ſuch remedy as might be effectual for preſerving the right and freedom of elections; ſuch right of electing being, the only right that now remained with the peers of Scotland, in lieu of a conſtant and hereditary ſeat in parliament."

When this remonſtrance was read, it gave riſe to a very warm debate. The holding under arms a battalion of ſoldiers was repreſented as a moſt ſcandalous, arbitrary, and flagrant infringement of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and of that independency that ſhould ever be preſerved in all elections. The fact was acknowledged by the oppoſite party; but it was alledged that ſuch a ſtep was at once both legal and prudent: that the ſoldiers were drawn out by the authority of the civil magiſtrate, in order to prevent riots and tumults among the populace, who had been inflamed by the oppoſite party to a pitch of reſentment that threatened the moſt fatal conſequences

ces, if not timely ſuppreſſed. Theſe reaſons prevailed with the majority, the petition was voted unſatisfactory, and the whole affair laid aſide.

The public buſineſs being at length finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 15th of May, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he was pleaſed to acknowledge, that the plan of pacification he had formed with the ſtates-general had not yet proved effectual; but added, that he was ſtill determined to perſiſt in the ſame pacific meaſures, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to compoſe the troubles of Europe. He thanked the parliament for the power they had given him to augment his forces by ſea and land; acquainted them with his intention to viſit his German dominions, and that he ſhould conſtitute the queen regent during his abſence.

At this time the affairs of Europe were in a very delicate and critical ſituation. The emperor complained loudly of the tame and pacific conduct of the Engliſh court, which, from the treaties ſubſiſting between them, he expected would have eſpouſed his cauſe. His Britannic majeſty, however, gave the world an inſtance, that it was not from any perſonal diſlike to the emperor, that he took no part in his affairs, relative to the war now carrying on; for having received certain advice, that the French had formed a ſtrong party at the Ottoman court, who were labouring to perſuade the divan to declare war againſt his Imperial majeſty, he ſent orders immediately, in conjunction with the ſtates-general, to their reſpective miniſters at that court, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to counteract the French in their deſign: and theſe miniſters laboured ſo effectually, that the grand ſignior was perſuaded to lay aſide all thoughts of attacking the emperor.

Nor was it in this inſtance only that the Engliſh court acted as mediator, in order to maintain the balance of power, which was now in the utmoſt danger. A miſunderſtanding had lately ariſen between the courts of Spain and Portugal, occaſioned by affronts mutually offered to their ambaſſadors at each court. This affair could not be amicably compromiſed; and the king of Spain began to make preparations for a war with Portugal; which ſo alarmed his moſt faithful majeſty, that he inſtantly made very preſſing applications to the Britiſh court, for protection againſt the deſigns of his enemies.

The Engliſh miniſtry readily promiſed the king of Portugal aſſiſtance; and it was reſolved, by a timely and powerful relief, to render the deſigns of the Spaniards abortive. Accordingly, Sir John Norris was diſpatched with twenty-eight ſhips of the line to the river Tagus, where he was received by the king of Portugal, and the inhabitants of Liſbon, as their guardian and deliverer.

Exaſperated at this proceeding of the Engliſh, the Spaniards inveighed in the moſt haughty terms againſt ſuch a powerful interpoſition; and threatened to pour a numerous army into Portugal. But when the firſt tranſports of their reſentment were ſubſided, they thought it more adviſeable, for their own intereſt, to lay aſide their hoſtile preparations.

In the mean time, the belligerent powers grew heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to acknowledge their real ſentiments. At laſt an armiſtice took place between the emperor and France, which gave occaſion to ſome preliminary articles, by which the latter offered to reſtore to the empire all the places ſhe had taken during the war. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the Mantuan, Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe. Don Carlos was to be acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily; the duchy of Tuſcany was aſſigned to the duke of Lorraine, who afterwards married Maria-Thereſa, eldeſt daughter to the emperor: the duchy of Lorraine was annexed to the crown of France, and the duchy of Bar given to Staniſlaus, king of Poland, who renounced that crown, but was to enjoy the title. By this plan of pacification, Leghorn was to be declared a free port; France was to guarantee the pragmatic ſanction; and England, Holland, Portugal and Vienna, were to be ſolicited to guarantee the preſent treaty, to which the kings of Spain and Sardinia were to be invited to accede.

A. D. 1736.

This treaty was concluded in the month of October, about which time the king returned from Hanover, and was received by his ſubjects with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On the 15th of January he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he told them, that the plan of pacification between the French and imperial courts was nearly the ſame with that which had been concerted between him and the ſtates-general, though communicated as a new plan formed by the principal contracting powers. He told both houſes of parliament, "That he had agreed to the plan which had been communicated to the kings of Spain and Sardinia; and there were hopes of their agreeing to it, upon their obtaining reaſonable ſecurity, for their poſſeſſing the countries ſtipulated to them." His majeſty added, "That he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces both by ſea and land; but hoped they would agree to ſome extraordinary expence, till the peace of Europe was more fully ſettled;" and concluded with pathetically exhorting them, in imitation of the great powers of Europe, to peace and unanimity.

When his majeſty was retired, a motion was made in the upper houſe for an addreſs of thanks to the ſpeech, importing, that the houſe beheld with pleaſure, in their preſent ſituation, the happy effects of the extraordinary ſupplies granted of late years by parliament, together with their congratulations on the plan of pacification. But the earl of Strafford oppoſed this addreſs, ſaying, in his opinion, the peace was a very bad one for Europe, ſeeing it would leave France in poſſeſſion of Lorraine, by which means ſhe could at any time find an eaſy acceſſion into the very heart of Europe. After ſome altercation, however, the addreſs was voted, drawn up, preſented, and moſt graciouſly received. The example of the lords was followed by the commons, who met with the like favourable reception.

The ſupplies were voted without any remarkable debate, as were alſo 15,000 men for the ſervice of the enſuing year. But a ſubject of the greateſt importance to the ſafety of the nation ſoon after engaged the attention of parliament. The drinking of geneva, and other diſtilled ſpirituous liquors had, for ſome years paſt, encreaſed to a ſurprizing degree, eſpecially among the lower claſs of people, of whom thouſands had already periſhed by this abominable practice, and a much greater number were rendered wholly unfit for labour or ſervice. At the ſame time their morals had been ſo greatly debauched, that a general diſſoluteneſs had taken place among them. Theſe pernicious liquors, of which gin was principally drank, was not only ſold by diſtillers, but retailed in the ſmalleſt quantities in every petty chandler's ſhop and coal-ſhed in the metropolis; by which means, journeymen, apprentices and ſervants were drawn in to intoxicate themſelves with this bewitching fluid. In ſhort, there was the greateſt reaſon to apprehend, that the public welfare and ſafety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by this practice, which was ſo dangerous to the health, ſtrength, peace and morals, and even threatened the total extinction of the lower claſs of people. Induced by theſe melancholy conſiderations, the magiſtrates of Middleſex preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, in which they enumerated theſe evils, and prayed the houſe to take the matter into their ſerious conſideration, and apply ſuch remedy as they ſhould think proper.

After a thorough examination into this affair, a motion was made for levying a duty of two ſhillings per gallon upon all ſpirituous liquors, and that fifty ſhillings ſhould be paid to his majeſty for a licence, to be taken out yearly by every perſon who ſhould ſell any of whatever kind. This occaſioned a very warm debate. It was ſaid, that theſe duties amounted to a prohibition; and as they extended to rum, there was great reaſon to fear that it would prove of fatal conſequence to the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, which were already in a declining condition: that many thouſands depended for their livelihood on the Britiſh diſtillery; and that it was highly abſurd to argue againſt the uſe of a thing from the abuſe of it.

In anſwer to this, it was obſerved, that nothing but the extreme danger of the nation, from the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, could have induced them to make ſuch a motion: that they were fully ſenſible of the difficulties to which great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects would be reduced by the duties propoſed to be laid on ſuch liquors; but that the intereſt of individuals ought to give way to the general intereſt; and where the preſervation of the community was viſibly and ſo eſſentially concerned, the hardſhips of ſome few individuals muſt be overlooked: that with reſpect to rum and brandy, it was very certain thoſe liquors had often been drank to very great exceſs, notwithſtanding the high duties laid upon them, and were as pernicious both to the health and morals of the people as any home-made ſpirit: that if any ſorts of ſpirits were exempted from the duties now propoſed, the retailer would ſell the moſt pernicious ſtuff under that denomination; and the diſtiller would compound them in ſuch a manner, that it would be impoſſible to detect the impoſition. Theſe reaſons were thought ſufficient by the majority, and a bill was ordered in for impoſing the above duties.

While this bill was depending, ſeveral petitions were preſented to the houſe by the planters in the ſugar colonies, and the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool, repreſenting the hardſhips to which they ſhould be expoſed, by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and ſpirits diſtilled from molaſſes. Theſe applications occaſioned a mitigating clauſe in favour of a compoſition known by the name of punch; and the diſtillers were permitted to exerciſe any other employment.

With theſe amendments the bill paſſed both houſes; and on the 5th of May received the royal aſſent.

On the 27th of April* his royal highneſs Frederic, prince of Wales, was married to the princeſs Auguſta of Saxagotha. This event filled the nation with joy. The two houſes of parliament, the city of London, and almoſt every county town and borough in England expreſſed their ſatisfaction in addreſſes to their majeſties and the princely pair.

Among other bills brought into the houſe of commons, during the preſent ſeſſion, was one for reſtraining lands from being diſpoſed of in Mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. This bill took its riſe from ſeveral incidents that had lately happened, by which heirs at law had ſuffered conſiderably by injudicious diſpoſals of their lands to charitable and other uſes: it was therefore thought proper to put a ſtop to ſo growing an evil. This bill alarmed the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, and they, as well as the colleges of Eaton, Wincheſter and Weſtminſter, preſented petitions againſt it. The petition from the univerſity of Cambridge was very particular, ſetting forth, "That the univerſity and the colleges in it were founded and endowed for the maintaining fit perſons in the ſtudy of uſeful knowledge, and to bring up youth in learning, virtue and religion; that in general the intention of the founders had been anſwered. But the petitioners apprehended, that if the bill now depending paſſed without amendment, it would be attended both at preſent and in futurity, with very prejudicial conſequences, becauſe it would cut them off from donations to ſupply preſent and future deficiencies, or for any other wiſe or great purpoſes, how uſeful or neceſſary ſoever they might be thought; and that a conſiderable part of their revenue aroſe from annuities and other certain payments, iſſuing out of lands and other eſtates, and that many of thoſe payments having been fixed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and ſtill continuing invariably the ſame, were then by the great fall of money ſince that time ſunk ſo far below their original value, as to be inſufficient to anſwer the purpoſes to which they were deſigned; and that ſeveral headſhips were under 120l. ſome under 100 a year, and that the ſalary of ſome profeſſorſhips were under fifty pounds a year; and others, as thoſe of botany, anatomy and chemiſtry had no endowment at all; and that the income of much the greater part of their fellowſhips was under ſixty pounds, of many under forty pounds, of ſome ſo low as thirty, twenty and fifteen pounds a year; and that many of their ſcholarſhips and exhibitions were even under thoſe ſmall ſums, and that many poor ſtudents had neither ſcholarſhip nor exhibition to help towards their maintenance; and that the number of advowſons in moſt colleges was very ſmall in proportion to the number of fellows; and therefore praying the houſe to except that univerſity and the ſeveral colleges therein out of the ſaid bill."

The requeſt of all theſe ſeats of learning was complied with; but the petitions of the hoſpitals, and other charitable ſocieties were rejected. Several other amendments were alſo made to the bill, both in the lower and upper houſe; after which it paſſed, and received the royal aſſent.

On the 20th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſeveral acts cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he acquainted both houſes, "That ſince the preliminary articles had been concluded between his moſt chriſtian majeſty and the emperor, a farther convention concerning the execution of them had been made and communicated to him by both thoſe courts, and that negotiations were carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle the general pacification." His majeſty then expreſſed his concern with relation to the ſeeds of diſſenſion that had been ſown among his people; exhorted his parliament to cultivate unanimity, and promiſed impartial protection to all his ſubjects. He then acquainted them, "that being obliged that ſummer to viſit his German dominions, he hoped they would make the adminiſtration of the queen, whom he had reſolved to appoint regent in his abſence, as eaſy to her as her wiſe conduct would render her government agreeable to them."

During the king's abſence, the adminiſtration were ſo remiſs in their attention to the proper regulations of civil government, that licentiouſneſs raged uncontrouled throughout the kingdom, and the public peace was daily diſturbed by the moſt audacious riots and tumults. In the month of July, a deſperate riot happened among the weavers in Spitalfields, on account of ſeveral artiſts in that branch of buſineſs who had come over from Ireland, and by being more abſtemious in their living were enabled to underwork the Engliſh. This tumult continued for ſome days, when it was ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the civil power, aſſiſted by parties of horſe and foot-guards; but not without the loſs of ſeveral lives.

---

* About the middle of this month died at Vienna, in the 74th year of his age, the celebrated prince Eugene, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero, and conſummate politician. Count Staremberg, who ranked next after the prince in military reputation, did not long ſurvive. About the ſame time lord chancellor Talbot, who was univerſally admired for his worth, probity, and acquired accompliſhments, paid the great debt of nature. He was ſucceeded in his important office by lord Hardwicke.

The riotous diſpoſition of the populace filled the government with great apprehenſions of the conſequences of the gin-act taking place on the 29th of September: on that day, therefore, a double guard mounted at Kenſington; the guards at St. James's and Whitehall were reinforced; a guard was placed at the Rolls (Sir Joſeph Jekyll, then maſter of the Rolls, having been the principal promoter of the bill;) a detachment of life-guards and horſe-grenadiers paraded in Covent-Garden; and every other imaginable method was taken to ſuppreſs any tumult that might happen on the occaſion: but, contrary to expectation, every thing remained very quiet, and the act took place without the leaſt diſorder.

A moſt daring inſult, however, was committed whilſt the courts of juſtice were ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall. The gin-act, mortmain-act, and an act for borrowing 600,000l. from the ſinking fund, incloſed in a brown paper parcel, were blown up with gun-powder in the great hall, and partly burnt; for which fact one Nixon, a non-juring clergyman, was apprehended, and being fully convicted thereof, was ſentenced to pay 200 marks, to be impriſoned for five years, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years after; and to be brought up to the ſeveral courts then ſitting, with a label on his breaſt denoting his crime.

During theſe tranſactions, an incident happened in Scotland, which was attended with very ſerious conſequences. One Wilſon, a bold reſolute fellow, had been tried and condemned to be hanged at Edinburgh, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue; and for having afterwards been guilty of one of the moſt daring actions ever attempted, that of reſcuing out of the hands of juſtice his brother-convict in the time of divine ſervice, when ſurrounded by the guards. So deſperate an offender filled the city of Edinburgh with terror, and the magiſtrates redoubled their uſual precautions for cauſing the ſentence pronounced againſt this deſperate criminal to be executed. This had the deſired effect, and Wilſon ſuffered without any diſturbance being raiſed by his friends; but while the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, he was pelted with dirt and ſtones by the rabble. Some of the ſtones happening to ſtrike captain Porteous, who commanded the city guards, he gave way to his paſſion, and ordered his ſoldiers to fire among the populace. They readily obeyed, and ſeveral perſons were killed, and others wounded. As this was done without any order from the magiſtrates, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted on full evidence, and ſentenced to be hanged on the 8th of September. The jury, however, by whom he was tried, found in their verdict, "that he and his guards had been attacked and pelted with ſtones of a conſiderable ſize, thrown by the multitude, whereby ſeveral of the ſoldiers were bruiſed and wounded."

This paliating circumſtance, together with the daring inſolence of the ſmugglers, of whom Wilſon was the chief, and who were then very numerous at Edinburgh, induced the queen, who was then regent, to indulge Porteous with a reſpite for ſix weeks, that a more particular enquiry might be made into the whole tranſaction. The reſpite occaſioned a very tragical cataſtrophe. The common people reſented, in the moſt outrageous manner, this lenity ſhewn to a perſon who was the object of their deteſtation: they conſidered it as an attempt to ſanctify oppreſſion. The relations and friends of thoſe who had been killed took every method in their power to increaſe this hatred in the populace; and a reſolution was formed to execute the criminal, and on the very day fixed by the judges for that purpoſe. Accordingly, about ten o'clock at night, on the 7th of September, a party of men from the adjacent country, entered Edinburgh, ſurprized the city guard, ſeized all their fire arms, locked up the gates, and gave the alarm that they were come to revenge innocent blood. They were immediately joined by ſeveral thouſands of the populace, and repaired directly to the priſon where Porteous was confined. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to force open the door, they ſet it on fire, dragged the criminal from his apartment, and hanged him upon a dyer's pole near the graſs-market. From the boldneſs, ſecrecy and ſucceſs of this daring enterprize, it was univerſally believed, that ſome perſons, much above the rank of the vulgar, were concerned in it; eſpecially as they left the arms and drums of the city guard on the ſpot where they found them, as ſoon as the execution was over, and departed quietly without offering the leaſt violence to any other perſon.

The queen highly reſented this inſult offered to the government; and on enquiry it appeared, that the magiſtrates of Edinburgh had received intimation the day before of what was to happen, but had neglected to take the neceſſary precautions to render the attempt abortive. Her majeſty complained of this want of reſpect to her government, and a reſolution was taken to make a ſtrict enquiry into the whole proceeding, and to puniſh the guilty with the utmoſt ſeverity.

About this period a very extraordinary perſon ſtarted up in Europe, and for ſome time created great ſpeculation and diſcourſe. The republic of Genoa held the ſovereignty of the iſland and kingdom of Corſica, but had exerciſed their authority with ſo much tyranny, that the inhabitants had thrown off their yoke, and taking up arms, had defeated ſeveral parties of troops their quondam maſters had ſent to reduce them. In this conjuncture Theodore Baron Stein, a man of a bold and enterpriſing genius, aſſiſted by ſome perſons in England, landed in the iſland of Corſica in an Engliſh ſhip, where he was received with open arms by the inſurgents, who were prepoſſeſſed in favour of his appearance, which was very commanding and reſpectable; and in a little time he prevailed ſo far with the Corſicans, that having engaged all the credit he had or could procure for arms and ammunition, which were landed in Corſica, the inhabitants proceeded to elect him their ſovereign; and he was regularly crowned king of Corſica in an open plain, by the name of Theodore the Firſt, king of Corſica; and ſome ſmall pieces of money with that inſcription were actually coined. But all theſe promiſing appearances were ſoon after blaſted: he had been ſo extremely laviſh of his firſt ſuccours both of men and money, that month after month elapſed, and no other ſuccours appeared. His new ſubjects began to ſuſpect him of having impoſed upon their too ready belief. Some of the principal of them took the liberty to expoſtulate with him upon this head. Incenſed at their preſumption, Theodore ordered them to be tried and executed by the ſentence of a court-martial of his own appointing. This proved the ſentence of his own degradation: he ſoon found the affection of his new ſubjects began to cool towards him. The Corſicans are noted for never forgetting or forgiving an injury. Theodore, troubled for the conſequences of their reſentment, prudently choſe to leave the iſland; but this was not to be done without the ſafeguard of ſome plauſible pretext: he therefore feigned an invitation from ſome foreign powers with whom he was to hold a conference, and promiſing to return with large ſupplies of arms and money, which, he ſaid, his preſence was neceſſary to procure, he abandoned his kingdom, and never ſet foot in it again*.

A. D. 1737. The parliament met on the 1ſt of February, and the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, his majeſty being greatly indiſpoſed by the fatigue he had undergone in a tempeſtuous paſſage from Holland. The lord-chancellor, in his majeſty's name, made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he informed them, that a farther convention with regard to the execution of the preliminary articles had been communicated to his majeſty by the French and Imperial courts, and that negotiations were then carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle a general pacification. He added, "That the reſpective acts of ceſſion being exchanged, and orders iſſued for the evacution and poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and diſpoſition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity was greatly advanced. But that his majeſty was of opinion, that great attention ought to be paid to the final concluſion of the new ſettlement which was to diſpoſe of ſuch conſiderable parts of Europe. That though there was the moſt promiſing appearance of a general and laſting tranquillity, yet common prudence called upon the Britiſh nation to avoid an indolent ſecurity and too great a diſregard to future events. In ſhort, that ſhe might be provided againſt all attempts that might be made againſt her peace by her enemies." He next acquainted the commons, "That his majeſty had, as ſoon as circumſtances would admit, made ſuch a reduction of the expences, as was conſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of his kingdoms, the ſecurity of commerce, and the honour and intereſt of the nation." In the remainder of the ſpeech, the late diſturbance at Edinburgh was mentioned in the following manner, "His majeſty cannot but obſerve, that it muſt be matter of the utmoſt ſurprize and concern to every true lover of his country, to ſee the many contrivances and attempts carried on in various ſhapes, and in various parts of the nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. The diſturbers of the public repoſe, conſcious that the intereſt of his majeſty and his people are the ſame, and of the good harmony which ſubſiſts between him and his parliament, have levelled their ſedition againſt both, and, in their late outrages, have either directly oppoſed, or, at leaſt, attempted to render ineffectual, ſome acts of the whole legiſlature. His majeſty, in his great wiſdom, thinks it affords a melancholy proſpect to conſider to what height thoſe audacious proceedings may riſe."

This ſpeech was anſwered by very loyal addreſſes from both houſes of parliament. The lords, as forming the ſupreme court of judicature in the kingdom, took particular notice of that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, relating to tumults and riots. Lord Carteret obſerved, that notwithſtanding the power with which the civil magiſtrate was inveſted, the military force had been employed in ſupporting the late diſturbances, none of which, he ſaid, had proceeded from any diſaffection to the government, but from very different cauſes. He repreſented the murder which had been committed by the populace of Edinburgh, as a crime of the moſt atrocious nature; adding, that the conſpiracy by which it had been effected was the more alarming, as it had not been attended with any of thoſe diſorders ſo common to the tumults of a headſtrong and riotous populace; which afforded the greateſt reaſon to believe, that it had been framed and conducted by perſons of rank and conſequence. His lordſhip was therefore of opinion, that the houſe ought to make the moſt diligent inquiſition into this affair, in order to diſcover the delinquents, and bring them to condign puniſhment; and even to puniſh the city of Edinburgh, if it ſhould appear that the inhabitants and magiſtrates had not exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the inſurrection. He then moved, "That the provoſt and bailies of Edinburgh, in the year 1736; the perſon commanding the city guard at the time of the riot, in which captain Porteous was murdered; and the commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Scotland at the time of the ſaid riot, ſhould all of them be ordered to attend the houſe on a day appointed; and that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be ſubmitted to their inſpection.

This motion was agreed to; and the gentlemen being arrived from Scotland, the houſe entered, with great alacrity, into the enquiry. The perſons were all ſeperately examined, but their evidence was confuſed and unſatisfactory. The houſe was, however, ſatisfied from the whole, that the magiſtrates of Edinburgh had not done their duty in ſuppreſſing the riot, though they had no legal evidence to convict them. A bill was therefore brought in for diſabling Alexander Wilſon, the provoſt of Edinburgh, from taking, holding, and enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in that city, or elſewhere in Great Britain; and for impoſing a fine of 2000l. upon the corporation of Edinburgh, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. This bill occaſioned very violent debates in both houſes, but was at laſt paſſed by a ſmall majority; and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

On the 22d of February the following motion was made in the houſe of commons by Mr. Pulteney, viz. "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to expreſs the juſt ſenſe of this houſe of his majeſty's great goodneſs and tender regard for the laſting welfare and happineſs of his royal highneſs the prince of Wales; and as this houſe cannot omit any opportunity of ſhewing their zeal and regard for his majeſty's honour, and the proſperity of his family, humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that in conſideration of the high rank and dignity of their royal highneſſes, the prince and princeſs of Wales, and their many eminent virtues and merits, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle 100,000l. a year on the prince of Wales, out of the revenues chearfully granted to his majeſty, for the expences of his civil government, and better ſupporting the dignity of the crown, and for enabling his majeſty to make an honourable proviſion for his royal family, in the ſame manner his majeſty enjoyed it before his happy acceſſion to the throne: and alſo humbly to beſeech his majeſty to ſettle the like jointure upon her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales, as her majeſty had when ſhe was princeſs of Wales: and to aſſure his majeſty, that this houſe will enable him effectually to perform the ſame, as nothing will more conduce to the ſtrengthening of his majeſty's government, than honourably ſupporting the dignity of their royal highneſſes, from whom we hope to ſee a numerous iſſue, to deliver down the bleſſings of their reign to the lateſt poſterity."

---

* When Theodore, king of Corſica, abandoned his kingdom, he took ſhelter in England, where, after a variety of romantic adventures, he finiſhed his exiſtence. In 1750 he was caſt in an action for debt of 100l. and confined in the King's-bench priſon, from whence, in 1756, he was releaſed by an act of inſolvency, when he regiſtered his kingdom for the benefit of his creditors. He died the following year in an obſcure lodging in St. Anne's, Soho, and was buried in the church of St. Giles in the Fields.

This motion was ſeconded by Sir John Barnard, who produced a great variety of inſtances from the Engliſh hiſtory, in order to prove that the heirs apparent of the crown had always been provided for in a very ample and independent manner.

Sir Robert Walpole well knew that ſhould this motion be countenanced, it muſt occaſion a breach in the royal family; at the ſame time he was not inſenſible how materially his own intereſt was concerned to keep up a good correſpondence with the heir apparent. He therefore did every thing in his power to prevent the motion taking place; but his royal highneſs rejected all terms of accommodation, except ſuch as ſhould be made by the parliament.

In conſequence of this Sir Robert entered into the debate with great decency and firmneſs, by endeavouring to ſhew, that his majeſty could not, out of his preſent revenue, ſpare a greater allowance than he did to his royal highneſs: after which he told the houſe,

" That he was commanded by his majeſty to acquaint them, that his majeſty yeſterday ſent a meſſage to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, by the lord chancellor, lord preſident, lord ſteward, lord chamberlain, duke of Richmond, duke of Argyle, duke of Newcaſtle, earl of Pembroke, earl of Scarborough, and lord Harrington." Which meſſage, ſo ſent by theſe lords, being in writing, was as follows:

" His majeſty has commanded us to acquaint your royal highneſs, in his name, that, upon your royal highneſs's marriage, he immediately took into his royal conſideration the ſettling a proper jointure upon the princeſs of Wales; but his ſudden going abroad, and his indiſpoſition ſince his return, had hitherto retarded the execution of theſe his gracious intentions; from which ſhort delay his majeſty did not apprehend any inconvenience could ariſe, eſpecially ſince no application had in any manner been made to him upon this ſubject by your royal highneſs; and that his majeſty hath now given orders for ſettling a jointure upon the princeſs of Wales, as far as he is enabled by law, ſuitable to her high rank and dignity; which he will, in proper time, lay before his parliament, in order to be rendered certain, and effectually for the benefit of her royal highneſs."

" The king hath farther commanded us to acquaint your royal highneſs, that although your royal highneſs has not thought fit, by any application to his majeſty, to deſire that your allowance of 50,000l. per annum, which is now paid you by monthly payments, at the choice of your royal highneſs, preferably to quarterly payments, by his majeſty's farther grace and favour, be rendered leſs precarious; his majeſty, to prevent the bad conſequences, which he apprehends may follow from the undutiful meaſures, which his majeſty is informed your royal highneſs has been adviſed to purſue, will grant to your royal highneſs, for his majeſty's life, the ſaid 50,000l. per annum, to be iſſued out of his majeſty's civil liſt revenues, over and above your royal highneſs's revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall; which his majeſty thinks a very competent allowance, conſidering his numerous iſſue, and the great expences which do, and muſt neceſſarily attend, an honourable proviſion for his royal family."

And that to this meſſage his royal highneſs the prince returned a verbal anſwer; which, according to the beſt recollection and remembrance of the lords, was in ſubſtance as follows:

" That his royal highneſs deſired the lords to lay him, with all humility, at his majeſty's feet; and to aſſure his majeſty, that he had, and ever ſhould retain the utmoſt duty for his royal perſon; that his royal highneſs was very thankful for any inſtance of his majeſty's goodneſs to him or the princeſs, and particularly for his majeſty's gracious intentions of ſettling a jointure upon her royal highneſs; but that as to the meſſage, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no anſwer to it."

After which, his royal highneſs uſed many dutiful expreſſions towards his majeſty; and then added, " Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands: I am ſorry for it;" or to that effect.

This meſſage made various impreſſions upon the houſe, and the oppoſition affected to treat the whole as a wretched artifice of the miniſter to divide the royal family, the better to ſupport his own power. The beſt ſpeakers in the houſe intereſted themſelves in this debate; but the queſtion being called for, a negative was put upon it by a great majority.

On the 25th of February the ſame motion was made in the houſe of peers by lord Carteret; and the duke of Newcaſtle preſented from his majeſty the ſame meſſage that Sir Robert Walpole had delivered to the commons, and a like debate followed; but a negative was put upon the motion by a majority of 79 peers preſent, and 24 proxies, againſt 28 peers preſent, and 12 proxies; upon which a proteſt was entered by 14 peers.

The houſe of commons having reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider of the national debt, a ſtate thereof was delivered in on the 18th of March, when it was found to amount to 47,855,948l. 3s. 3d½. Several of the Members thinking that the intereſt paid for this debt was too great, Sir John Barnard moved, " That his majeſty be enabled to raiſe money, either by ſale of annuities for years or lives, at ſuch rates as ſhould be preſcribed, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding 3 per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old and new South-ſea annuities; and that ſuch of the annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities, ſhould be preferred to all others."

Though this motion appeared evidently calculated for public utility, yet it met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the miniſter and his friends: but the excellent patriot who propoſed it enforced his plan with ſuch ſtrong and unanſwerable arguments, that they were obliged for the preſent to yield to the motion; and, accordingly, on the 30th of March Sir Charles Turner reported from the committee, " That it was their opinion, that all the public funds redeemable by law, which carried an intereſt of 4 per cent. ſhould be reduced according to the reſpective proviſos or clauſes of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or with conſent of the proprietors ſhould be converted into an intereſt or annuity not exceeding 3 per cent. nor redeemable till after fourteen years; and that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to borrow from individuals, or public bodies, any ſum of money, at an intereſt not exceeding 3 per cent. to be applied towards reducing the national debt. Several reſolutions were founded on this report, and a bill was immediately prepared, and read a firſt and ſecond time; but a motion being made for having it committed, this was overborne by miniſterial influence, and the bill miſcarried.

A long debate, as uſual, happened on the number of land forces to be kept up; but little new matter was offered on either ſide, excepting that the oppoſition charged the diſorders and tumults, that had lately happened, to the diſlike the people had conceived againſt the numerous army that was kept up, and the great load of taxes they were obliged to pay for maintaining them. The miniſterial party, on the other hand, endeavoured to throw all the blame upon the ſeditious practices of their oppoſers; and maintained, there was then no ſafety for any well-wiſher to his majeſty, but in the neighbourhood of the army, or part of it. The number propoſed was, however, at length agreed to by a great majority.

During this ſeſſion an act paſſed for reſtraining the number of play-houſes; and for ſubjecting all dramatic performances, exhibited on the ſtage, to a licence from the lord-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold, before they could be acted.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 21ſt of June, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, wherein he mentioned the licentiouſneſs of the times, "which, (ſaid he) under the colour and diſguiſe of liberty, you cannot be inſenſible what ſcandal and offence it gives to all honeſt and ſober men, and how abſolutely neceſſary it is to reſtrain this exceſſive abuſe by a due and vigorous execution of the laws. Defiance of all authority, contempt of magiſtracy, and even reſiſtance of the laws, are become too general, although equally prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the people; the ſupport of the one being inſeparable from the protection of the other. I have," continued he, "made the laws of the land the conſtant rule of my actions; and I do, with reaſon, expect in return all that ſubmiſſion to my government and authority which the ſame laws have made the duty, and ſhall always be the intereſt of my ſubjects."

The attempt made by the leaders of the oppoſition, with the tacit conſent at leaſt of the prince of Wales, to obtain an addition to his royal highneſs's income, had diſguſted the king, and occaſioned a viſible coolneſs between them: but an affair of a very intereſting and delicate nature happened ſoon after the cloſe of the ſeſſion, which increaſed the former miſunderſtanding to an open breach between his majeſty and the prince. The particulars of this remarkable affair were as follow:

The princeſs of Wales, who was advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, but not thought to be ſo near her time as ſhe really was, being with their majeſties and the reſt of the royal family at Hampton-court, but without any midwife attending her, ſhe was, on the 31ſt of July, ſeized with the pains of child-birth, which increaſed ſo violently, that the prince, who was with her, was obliged to bring her to London, and ſhe was that night delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Auguſta. His majeſty, on being acquainted with this unlooked-for event, ſent a meſſage, by the earl of Eſſex, to the prince, congratulating him upon the birth of the princeſs; but at the ſame time expreſſing his diſpleaſure at his royal highneſs's conduct in carrying away the princeſs from Hampton-court under the immediate pains of child-birth, to the hazard and danger both of the princeſs and her child, without acquainting his majeſty or the queen with the circumſtances the princeſs was in, or giving them the leaſt notice of his departure. This was looked upon by his majeſty to be ſuch an indignity offered to himſelf and the queen, that he reſented it to the higheſt degree. His royal highneſs endeavoured to clear himſelf by repreſenting the neceſſity of leaving Hampton-court without delay, conſidering the condition the princeſs was in; this he did in two letters, one addreſſed to his majeſty, and the other to the queen, both wrote in a very dutiful ſtrain. He repeated his importunity for a reconciliation, in a very humble meſſage he ſent next day by the marquis of Carnarvon, one of the lords of his bed-chamber; to neither of which he received any anſwer.

The king then ſent a meſſage by the earl of Dunmore to the prince of Wales, to acquaint him that it was his majeſty's pleaſure the baptiſm of the young princeſs ſhould be performed on the 29th, and that he would ſend his lord-chamberlain to ſtand as godfather in his place; that the queen's lady of the bedchamber would ſtand for her majeſty as godmother; and deſired the princeſs to appoint one of the ladies of her bed-chamber to repreſent the dutcheſs-dowager of Saxe-Gotha, as the other godmother; the ceremony to be performed by the arch-biſhop of Canterbury. This meſſage encouraged the prince to repeat again his application for a reconciliation with more earneſtneſs than ever, both to the king and queen; but on the 10th of September following, he received, by the duke of Grafton, a very ſevere meſſage from the king, reproaching him with his paſt conduct, and concluding with the following expreſſions:

"The whole of your conduct, for a conſiderable time, has been ſo entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reaſon to be highly offended with you: and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from thoſe by whoſe inſtigation and advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behavior to me and the queen, and until you return to your duty, you ſhall not reſide in my palace, which I will not ſuffer to be made the reſort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the diviſion which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common intereſt of the whole.

"In this ſituation, I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifeſt a juſt ſenſe of your duty and ſubmiſſion, that may induce me to pardon what, at preſent, I moſt juſtly reſent. In the mean time, it is my pleaſure that you leave St. James's with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs. I ſhall, for the preſent, leave to the princeſs the care of my grand-daughter, until a proper time calls upon me to conſider of her education."

The prince of Wales paid due obedience to this meſſage, and retired to Kew. He made ſeveral new efforts to regain his majeſty's favour, but they all proved ineffectual. He ordered lord Baltimore, one of his domeſtics, to apply to lord Grantham, chamberlain to the queen, to know whether her majeſty would receive a letter from him, in mitigation of his conduct: but her majeſty declined that. The princeſs then wrote an humble letter to the king, which was delivered by the earl of Pembroke. This his majeſty anſwered in terms full of affection and civility to the princeſs; but it appeared plainly, that his diſpleaſure towards the prince was rather increaſed than abated. The guards were now taken off from their attendance on the prince and princeſs; and thoſe who paid their court to them were not ſuffered to come into his majeſty's preſence.

The letters which paſſed between the royal family were printed by authority, and made various impreſſions on the minds of the people. All the prince's ſervants ſoon after joined the oppoſition to miniſtry.

During theſe tranſactions a deputation of the merchants of London waited on his majeſty at Hampton-court, with a petition in behalf of themſelves and others trading to, and intereſted in the Britiſh colonies in America, complaining, that the free and lawful trade to the Engliſh plantations in America had been greatly interrupted for many years paſt, not only by their ſhips being ſeized on the high ſeas, by Spaniſh ſhips fitted out to cruize under the plauſible pretence of guarding their own coaſt; but the commanders of theſe ſhips had been far from conforming themſelves to theſe orders: they had ſeized ſeveral

Engliſh ſhips, and carried them into ſome of the Spaniſh ports, where they were condemned, with their cargoes; in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, &c. And, therefore, praying that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to procure them ſpeedy and ſufficient ſatiſfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. His majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer to this petition, and the ſecretary of ſtate ſent orders to Mr. Keene, at Madrid, to repeat his inſtances at the court of Spain for their relief. In the mean time a committee of the privy-council ſat at Whitehall to receive proofs of the loſſes which the merchants had ſuffered by the depredations of the Spaniards.

The nation now ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of her majeſty queen Caroline, who paid the debt of nature on the 20th of November, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, in the 55th year of her age. She had been for ſome time indiſpoſed, and had taken medicines for the gout in her ſtomach, but her diſorder proved to be a concealed rupture. The virtues which adorned this princeſs were various and numerous; her conjugal affection was exemplary: the king always found in her a wiſe and faithful counſellor; and when ſhe was entruſted, as ſhe frequently was, with the reins of government, the public were happy under her adminiſtration. Her natural ſagacity and talents were improved by reading and converſing with the moſt eminent philoſophers and authors of the age; and ſhe had made ſo great a progreſs in literature, that ſhe became an umpire in one of the moſt abſtruſe points of metaphyſical reaſoning, the doctrine of free-will and fatality, as diſputed between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke. The ingenious were always ſure of a patronage in this amiable princeſs; and the bench of biſhops, through her means, was filled with prelates eminent for their learning.

The king was prodigiouſly afflicted for a length of time, at his irreparable loſs; and the public likewiſe ſhewed every mark of concern they could teſtify on this melancholy occaſion.

Though the foreign events of this year were very little intereſting to Great Britain, yet it may not be improper to preſerve a ſummary account of them.

During the ſummer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Ruſſians, which laſt reduced the city of Aſoph on the Black Sea, and over-ran the greateſt part of Crim-Tartary. The czarina declared war againſt the Ottoman Porte, becauſe the Tartars of the Crimea had made incurſions upon her frontiers; and when ſhe had complained of thoſe diſorders to the vizir, ſhe had received no ſatiſfaction. Beſides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that miniſter, marched through the Ruſſian provinces in deſpite of the empreſs, and committed horrid havock in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offenſive and defenſive, which he had many years before concluded with the Ruſſian crown. Before he declared himſelf, however, he joined the maratime powers in offering his mediation to the ſultan, who was very well diſpoſed to peace; but the czarina inſiſted upon retaining Aſoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as diſhonourable to the Ottoman empire, no accommodation could be effected, and the troops of the belligerent powers were therefore diſtributed into winter quarters. The duke of Lorraine had now ſucceeded to the duchy of Tuſcany, on the death of the laſt of the Medicis family; and the French were by this event relieved from the burden of a great annuity, which they had obliged themſelves to pay him till he ſhould ſucceed to Tuſcany. The king of Spain's troops evacuated that duchy, and the provinces of Italy now yielded to the houſe of Auſtria.

A. D. 1738. In this ſituation were the affairs of Europe, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the 24th of January. His ſpeech was remarkably ſhort, and concluded with recommending the diſpatch of public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented an addreſs of condolance on the death of the queen; with which the king appeared to be deeply affected.

The firſt buſineſs of importance the parliament went upon, (and which, indeed, chiefly engaged their attention during this ſeſſion) was the ſtate of affairs between Great Britain and Spain. His majeſty had referred the examination of the complaints of the Britiſh merchants to a committee of the privy-council, where they attempted to make good their allegations. Having no one to oppoſe them, the public unanimouſly took their part, and every day brought freſh accounts of depredations committed upon Britiſh ſubjects, not only in the American, but in the European ſeas. The court of Spain did not, indeed, directly juſtify all thoſe captures, and to give its proceedings an air of moderation, the crews of three Engliſh ſhips which had, upon frivolous pretexts, been taken in the Mediterranean, and impriſoned in Spain, were ordered to be releaſed; and in ſome flagrant caſes in the Weſt Indies, the ſhips that had been taken were releaſed, upon the owners giving ſecurity for the value, if they ſhould be adjudged to be lawful prizes.

On the third of March a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons from divers merchants, planters and others, trading to, and intereſted in the Britiſh plantations in America. After recapitulating all that had paſſed in conſequence of former applications of the ſame kind, the petitioners ſet forth, "That the Spaniards had paid ſo little regard to his majeſty's moſt gracious endeavours, (to obtain juſtice to his ſubjects) that they had continued their depredations, almoſt ever ſince the treaty of Seville, and more particularly, laſt year, had carried them to a greater height than ever; they having arbitrarily ſeized ſeveral ſhips with their effects, belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects on the high ſeas, in the deſtined courſe of their voyages to and from the Britiſh colonies, amounting to a very conſiderable value; and that the captains or maſters of the ſaid ſhips were, according to the laſt advices of the petitioners, and are, as the petitioners believe, at this time, confined by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, and the crews are now in ſlavery in Old Spain, where they are moſt inhumanly treated; and that cruel nation make it their practice to attack and board all Britiſh merchant-ſhips they meet with in the American ſeas, under pretence of ſearching for goods which they deem contraband, or not according to their own arbitrary will and pleaſure, contrary to the law of nations, and in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. And that by theſe unjuſt and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, the trade and navigation to and from America is rendered very unſafe and precarious, inſomuch that the inſurance from Jamaica has greatly riſen on theſe accounts only: and that without ſome ſpeedy and effectual remedy, the American trade and navigation will be, together with the revenue of the crown ariſing therefrom, greatly diminiſhed, if not entirely loſt: and farther repreſenting to the houſe, that although his Catholic majeſty has ſtipulated, by the treaty of Seville, and by the declaration of 1732, relative thereto, to cauſe reparation to be forthwith made to the unhappy ſufferers, yet there is no inſtance of its having been done; ſo far from it, that whilſt the Britiſh ſubjects have been amuſed with vain and fruitleſs hopes of ſatisfaction, the Spaniards have committed farther inſults and depredations upon them, and ſtill continue the ſame unjuſt practices; and that the cedulas or orders given by the court of Spain to their governors in America, are only calculated, as the petitioners, by experience, have reaſon to apprehend, to evade giving ſatisfaction to the Britiſh ſubjects; for there has never been one of thoſe cedulas complied with, nor any governor recalled or puniſhed for his diſobedience, as the petitioners ever heard: and that for any nation to aſſume the power of detaining or rummaging the Britiſh ſhips, upon their lawful voyages on the American ſeas, is, in effect, the petitioners conceive, claiming and exerciſing the ſole ſovereignty of thoſe ſeas: and that if the Spaniards be ſuffered to act in this injurious manner, to inſult the perſons of his majeſty's ſubjects, or to plunder them of their property, the petitioners apprehend the ſame will be attended not only with a great obſtruction to this valuable branch of our commerce and navigation, but alſo with conſequences very fatal to Great Britain itſelf: and, therefore, as the meaſures hitherto purſued have proved ineffectual, praying the houſe to take the premiſes into their mature conſideration, and provide ſuch a timely and adequate remedy for putting an end to all inſults and depredations on the Britiſh ſubjects, as to the houſe ſhall ſeem meet, as well as procure ſuch relief for the unhappy ſufferers, as the nature of their loſs, and the juſtice of their cauſe, require; and that they may be heard by themſelves and council thereupon."

This petition was referred to a committee of the whole houſe, as was another petition to the ſame effect, preſented on behalf of the maſter, wardens, aſſiſtants, and commonalty of the ſociety of merchant adventurers within the city of Briſtol. On the ſame day, a petition upon a particular caſe was laid before the houſe, and made great noiſe: it was from the owner of the ſhip Ann Galley; which was taken in a time of profound peace, bound from Guinea to Jamaica. This capture, which the owner ſaid was in value 10,500l. was ſo flagitious, that the Spaniſh miniſtry frequently ordered reparation to be made to the petitioners, and they actually received upwards of 500l. from the Spaniſh cheſt at St. Jago, by way of compenſation. But that not being near the value of their damages, though the Spaniſh miniſtry had admitted the capture to be illegal, and had even ordered full ſatisfaction to be made to the owners, they, therefore, brought their petition for relief. Another petition of the ſame kind was preſented at the ſame time, and all of them were referred to the ſame committee.

A motion was now made, "to addreſs his majeſty for copies of the ſeveral petitions, repreſentations, and memorials, and all other papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations upon the Britiſh ſubjects, which had been preſented to his majeſty, or had been delivered to either of the ſecretaries of ſtate ſince the firſt of September laſt; with copies of ſuch repreſentations or memorials as had been made either to the king of Spain or his miniſters; and of the letters written to his majeſty's miniſter at Madrid; and the anſwers that have been given or received to ſuch memorials, repreſentations, and letters."

Though the miniſter did not oppoſe the ſubſtance of this motion, yet he thought that complying entirely with it might diſcover particulars of which a bad uſe might be made: he, therefore, inſiſted upon not addreſſing for the anſwers that had been given or received to ſuch memorials, repreſentations, and letters. This brought on a long debate, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards, and the tameneſs of the Engliſh miniſtry, were equally exaggerated. The chief ſpeakers on both ſides exerted themſelves upon this occaſion; but the miniſter adhered to his point, that as affairs were then ſituated, it would be imprudent to plunge the nation into a war, without trying whether it was poſſible to bring Spain to terms, of which there was then great probability. All that the oppoſition urged with any appearance of truth, was admitted of by the miniſter, who was more frank on this head than ſome of his friends; for they were apt to throw out reflections againſt the ſmuggling trade, which the ſubjects of Great Britain carried on in the Weſt Indies, contrary to treaties. The oppoſition immediately turned this into a reflection upon the whole body of the Britiſh merchants in America; and were always ready to give the moſt ſhocking inſtances of the cruelties of the Spaniards againſt the Engliſh; and that they were of ſuch a nature, as, in fact, admitted of no farther treaty.

Sir Robert Walpole owned, with great candour, that the laſt anſwer which had come from the Spaniſh miniſtry, was ſo far from being ſatisfactory, that if the houſe ſhould ſee it, and if (as it unavoidably muſt) it ſhould come to the knowledge of the public, very bad conſequences muſt follow. The parliament and nation, unacquainted with the reaſons which his majeſty and his miniſtry might have for avoiding a precipitate war, would preſs it; and his majeſty muſt either comply, contrary to the true intereſts of his people, or he muſt diſagreeably exerciſe that part of his prerogative which veſts him with the power of making war or peace. He intreated the gentlemen to conſider, that even though the preſent motion was carried without any amendment, it was in his majeſty's breaſt to comply, or not to comply with it; and if the houſe ſhould addreſs for a paper or papers which his majeſty and his miniſtry were conſcious ought not to be made public, they muſt lay his majeſty under the hardſhip of refuſing it. He acquainted them, that the Britiſh miniſtry, notwithſtanding the harſhneſs of the laſt anſwer from Spain, had ſent to that court ſome propoſitions which might ſoften them, and which, in all probability, would ſoon be anſwered. If they were not anſwered to the ſatisfaction of his majeſty, he himſelf would move, that every paper relating to Spain, even their laſt anſwer, ſhould be laid before the houſe; but that, till then, it would be highly improper to comply with the motion. He next made a recapitulation of the late treaties and tranſactions between England and Spain; and he endeavoured to prove, that the ſtiffneſs of the Spaniards was owing to the perplexed ſtate of affairs in Europe ſince the treaty of Seville, which did not admit of the meeting of the commiſſaries for adjuſting the pretenſions on both ſides, ſo as to make a final report of their commiſſion. He obſerved, that the ſentiments of certain gentlemen againſt the Spaniards, ſince that time were greatly altered; and that the claims which the Engliſh had upon them were far from being looked upon, either at home or abroad, to be ſo clear as they were then repreſented, which appears by their being referred to a congreſs. He next attempted to ſhew, that the Spaniards had hitherto done as much to ſatisfy the Engliſh ſufferers as could be well expected. The diſtance between Madrid and the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, from whence the proofs muſt be brought, was very great. The Spaniſh governors were extremely inſolent, and, in ſome meaſure, arbitrary, and independent upon the miniſtry; ſo that it was no wonder if that court ſometimes found difficulty in bringing them to reaſon. He even gave inſtances of ſome Engliſh ſhips that had been abſolutely releaſed by the Spaniards; of others that had been releaſed, upon giving ſecurity to ſtand trial whether they had been engaged in an illicit trade or not: and he mentioned others, that the court of Madrid ſeemed very well diſpoſed towards ſatisfying their claims; and, to conclude, he was for amending the queſtion that had been moved for.

It was perceived by the members of the oppoſition, that the miniſter aimed at fixing the retroſpect of the Spaniſh depredations no farther back than the treaty of Seville; but they obſerved, that the cauſes of complaints had exiſted for theſe twenty years; and that little or no redreſs having yet been obtained, the houſe ought, for the honour and intereſt of the nation, to be informed of the reaſons, which they could not be, without complying with the motion in its full extent: that the public and ſufferers had a right to all the ſatisfaction which the houſe could give them; and if they could give them none upon the Spaniards, they ought at leaſt to know who were the authors of their calamities at home, by a timid, diſgraceful conduct, in ſo long delaying to repreſs force with force.

Notwithſtanding the miniſter was ſo ſtrongly attacked by the chiefs of the oppoſition, yet his ſpeech had ſuch an effect on the houſe, that he carried the queſtion by a conſiderable majority.

A bill was now brought in by Mr. Pulteney, "for the more effectually ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects to America." The intention of this propoſed act was, to give the property of all prizes taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, to the officers and ſailors preſent in the action; to allow to the ſailors the ſum of five pounds, by way of head money, for every Spaniard taken at ſea; and to veſt in the captors, by his majeſty's patent, the property of all the places conquered from the Spaniards.

The bill paſſed the firſt reading with very little oppoſition; but when a motion was made for a ſecond reading, it was ſtrongly oppoſed by the miniſter. He obſerved, that with regard to the firſt article, if hoſtilities were immediately to commence againſt Spain, and a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war was to take the whole plate fleet or flotilla of the Spaniards, with all their regiſter ſhips, every ſhilling of it muſt become the property of the Engliſh ſeamen, though it was publicly known that not one fifth part of that treaſure belonged to the Spaniards, but was the property of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe. As to the granting head-money for every Spaniard taken at open ſea, he approved of very much, as ſoon as war ſhould be declared. The third article he thought of a very dangerous nature; and that, if it paſſed into an act, it muſt effectually preclude the concluding any ſafe and honourable peace; becauſe, in all negotiations of peace, ſome places on both ſides are commonly given up to facilitate it, which could not be done, if his majeſty, by letters patent, ſhould part with the property to private owners.

He then urged, with great energy, that, ſhould the act in queſtion immediately take place, without being greatly amended, it muſt be attended with the abſolute ruin of the Britiſh commerce all over Europe. It muſt give an alarm to the French for their property, which is greater than that of the Spaniards themſelves on board their American fleets; and that the French court, in ſuch a caſe, would not heſitate to take part with Spain, and join her with all her naval force to convoy the Spaniſh plate fleet to Europe; beſides, moſt of the French, the Dutch and the Daniſh property at ſea, were inſured in England or Holland in time of peace, and therefore the loſs, in fact, muſt fall upon the Britiſh and Dutch inſurers, as they could have no pretext to indemnify the French and other nations for the loſſes they would ſuſtain; ſo that the bill, if paſſed into a law, might ruin the Dutch as well as the Britiſh inſurers. He deſired the houſe to conſider, in ſuch an event, what muſt be the caſe of the Britiſh merchants then reſiding in Spain, their perſons, their ſhips and their properties, all which the Spaniards would certainly ſequeſter. "What muſt the Dutch," ſaid he, "think of ſuch a bill? or what power in Europe can be our hearty friend, ſhould it, at this time, paſs into a law?"

It being inſinuated by ſome of the oppoſition, that he was afraid of a war, becauſe peace was his only ſafety, he ſaid, "It was but a mean excuſe for a miniſter when any wrong ſtep is made in government, that he is not accountable for the events of meaſures that never were adviſed by him, and in which he was over-ruled by his ſuperiors. I have always diſdained thoſe mean ſubterfuges; and with what face can I appear again in this houſe, if full and ample ſatisfaction is not made us, or, at leaſt, if we do not do our utmoſt to obtain it; either by fair and peaceable means, or by exerting all our ſtrength, in caſe a war becomes neceſſary. If my country ſhould call me to account, I would willingly take upon me the blame of every ſtep that has been made by the government, ſince I had the honour to enter into the adminiſtration. As to the common notion of a miniſter being afraid to enter upon a war, I do not underſtand upon what it can be grounded. For my part, I never could ſee any cauſe, either from reaſon or my own experience, to imagine a miniſter is not as ſafe in time of war as in time of peace. Nay, if we are to judge by reaſon alone, it is the intereſt of a miniſter, conſcious of any miſmanagement, that there ſhould be a war; becauſe by a war, the eyes of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct; nor is he accountable for the bad ſucceſs of a war, as he is for that of an adminiſtration."

During theſe diſputes, the miniſtry were endeavouring to get a deciſive anſwer from the court of Spain; but not being able to obtain one, the examinations and enquiries about depredations went on with more fury than ever. Mr. Pulteney at laſt brought into the houſe of commons, which he moved for in a ſpeech, the following ſet of reſolutions: "That it is the natural and undoubted right of the Britiſh ſubjects to ſail with their ſhips on any part of the ſeas of America, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions; and that ſeizing and confiſcating ſuch ſhips as are not ſailing and trafficking in the ports and havens which have fortifications, caſtles, magazines, or warehouſes, or other places poſſeſſed by the king of Spain, is contrary to equity and juſtice, and a maniſeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. That it is the indiſputable right of the ſubjects of Great Britain to carry in their ſhips all ſorts of goods, merchandize or effects, from one part of the Britiſh dominions to any other part of the Britiſh dominions; and that no goods or merchandize being ſo carried are, by the laws of nations, or any treaty between the two crowns, to be deemed or taken as contraband goods; and that the ſearching of ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of finding contraband goods, is highly injurious to the trade of this kingdom, a violation of the law of nations, and an infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns. That the ſubjects of Great Britain did hold and poſſeſs lands in the province of Jucantan in America, antecedent to, and at the time of the treaty of 1670; which treaty confirmed the right to each contracting party of ſuch lands or places as either did at that time hold and poſſeſs; and that the ſubjects of Great Britain then had, and have at all times ſince, claimed a right of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and enjoyed the ſame, without interruption, till of late years: which right ſeems further particularly ſecured to us by the manner in which the firſt article of the treaty of 1670, is expreſſed, namely, "Without prejudice to any liberty or power which the ſubjects of Great Britain enjoyed either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence." That the attacking a fleet of Britiſh ſhips gathering ſalt in the iſland of Tortugas, then under convoy of one of his majeſty's ſhips of war, by two men of war belonging to the king of Spain, was a notorious infraction of the convention ſigned at Madrid, December 14, 1715, and an high inſult on the honour due to the flag of Great Britain. That for many years laſt paſt, the liberty of navigation in the American ſeas hath been unjuſtly diſturbed by the Spaniards, under pretence of ſearching for, and finding, illicit trade; the Britiſh ſhips unlawfully ſeized, upon the open ſeas, plundered and confiſcated; the ſailors robbed, inhumanly tortured, impriſoned and made ſlaves, to the grievous loſs of the merchants, the obſtruction of the commerce, and the diſhonour of the nation. That, notwithſtanding the repeated application of parliament, the treaty of Seville, and the aſſurances ſo frequently given to merchants of procuring reparation for their loſſes and ill uſage; and notwithſtanding the expectation of the nation of receiving juſt and ample ſatisfaction for the cruelties exerciſed on its ſubjects, and the inſults offered to itſelf, nothing has in ſo many years been obtained from the court of Spain effectually to ſatisfy the loſſes, repair the injuries, or retrieve the honour of the nation; though the ſaid treaty of Seville, ſo advantageous to Spain, had been punctually executed on the part of Great Britain."

Sir Robert Walpole told the houſe, that he was very ready to agree to the firſt part of the reſolution, upon the natural and undoubted right which the ſubjects had to ſail with their ſhips in any part of the ſeas of America, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions. He obſerved, that conſidering the ſtate of the negotiation between Spain and England at that time, it would be much more eligible to make the reſolutions the houſe agreed to not quite ſo peremptory and ſo particular. He therefore propoſed that the reſt of the reſolutions ſhould run as follow:

"That the freedom of navigation and commerce, which the ſubjects of Great Britain have an undoubted right to by the law of nations, and which is not in the leaſt reſtrained by any of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, has been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards, under pretences altogether groundleſs and unjuſt. That before and ſince the execution of the treaty of Seville, that the declaration made by the crown of Spain purſuant thereto, for the ſatisfaction and ſecurity of the commerce of Great Britain, many unjuſt ſeizures and captures have been made, and great depredations committed by the Spaniards, which have been attended with many inſtances of unheard-of cruelty and barbarity. That the frequent application made to the court of Spain, for procuring juſtice and ſatisfaction to his majeſty's injured ſubjects, for bringing the offenders to condign puniſhment, and for preventing the like abuſes for the future, have proved vain and ineffectual; and the ſeveral orders or cedulas, granted by the king of Spain for reſtitution and reparation of the great loſſes ſuſtained, by the unlawful and unwarrantable ſeizures and captures made by the Spaniards, have been diſobeyed by the Spaniſh governors, or totally evaded and eluded. And that theſe violences and depredations have been carried on to the great loſs and damage of the ſubjects of Great Britain trading to America, and in direct violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns."

Theſe amendments occaſioned great debates, but the miniſter and his friends maintained, that the reſolutions moved by him contained all that could be reaſonably expected from Spain at that time; and with regard either to poſſeſſion or navigation, it could not be effected or weakened by the houſe agreeing to the amendment; which the houſe, after a long debate, complied with, upon a diviſion of 224 againſt 163; and an addreſs was unanimouſly voted to be preſented to his majeſty.

In the mean time the lords were no leſs anxious than the commons in their enquiries into theſe important affairs. The moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpeaker was lord Crateret, whoſe arguments againſt the Spaniſh depredations were ſo forcible, that the houſe agreed to preſent the following addreſs to the king:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, having taking into our ſerious conſideration the many unjuſt violences and depredations committed by the Spaniards, upon the perſons, ſhips and effects of your majeſty's ſubjects in America, have come to the following reſolutions, which we beg, in the humbleſt manner, to lay before your majeſty for your royal conſideration, viz.

I. "Reſolved, that the ſubjects of Great Britain have a clear and undoubted right to navigate in the American ſeas, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions; and for carrying on ſuch trade and commerce, as they are juſtly entitled to in America; and alſo to carry all ſorts of goods, merchandizes, and effects from one part of his majeſty's dominions to any other part thereof; and that no goods being ſo carried, are, by any treaty ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the ſearching of ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of their carrying prohibited or contraband goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns.

II. "Reſolved, that it appears to this houſe, as well before as ſince the treaty of Seville, on the part of Great Britain, divers ſhips and veſſels with their cargoes belonging to the Britiſh ſubjects, have been violently ſeized and confiſcated by the Spaniards, upon pretences altogether unjuſt and groundleſs; and that many of the ſailors on board ſuch ſhips have been injuriouſly and barbarouſly impriſoned and ill treated; and that thereby the liberty of navigation and commerce belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, by the law of nations, and by virtue of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain, had been unwarrantably infringed and interrupted, to the great loſs and damage of our merchants, and in direct violation of the ſaid treaties.

III. "Reſolved, that it appears to this houſe, that frequent applications have been made on the part of his majeſty to the court of Spain, in a manner the moſt agreeable to treaties, and to the peace and friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two crowns, for redreſſing the notorious abuſes and grievances before-mentioned, and preventing the like for the future, and for obtaining adequate ſatisfaction to his injured ſubjects, which in the event have proved entirely fruitleſs and of no effect.

"We think it our duty, on this important occaſion, humbly to repreſent to your majeſty, that we are moſt ſenſibly affected with the many and grievous injuries and loſſes, ſuſtained by your majeſty's trading ſubjects, by means of theſe unwarrantable depredations and ſeizures; and to give your majeſty the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſincere aſſurances, that in caſe your friendly and powerful inſtances for procuring reſtitution and reparation to your injured ſubjects, and for the future ſecurity of their trade and navigation, ſhall fail of having their due effect and influence in the court of Spain, and ſhall not be able to obtain that great ſatisfaction and ſecurity which your majeſty may in juſtice expect; we will zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch meaſures, as ſhall become neceſſary for the ſupport of your majeſty's honour; the preſervation of our navigation and commerce, and the common good of theſe kingdoms."

To this addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"My lords,

"I am ſenſibly touched with the many hardſhips and injuries ſuſtained by my trading ſubjects in America, from the cruelties and unjuſt depredations of the Spaniards. You may be aſſured of my care to procure ſatisfaction and reparation for the loſſes they have already ſuffered, and ſecurity for the freedom of navigation for the future; and to maintain to my people the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they are entitled by treaty and the law of nations. I doubt not but I ſhall have your concurrence for the ſupport of ſuch meaſures, as may be neceſſary for that purpoſe."

This important enquiry had ſo entirely employed the attention of the public, that very little regard was paid to other affairs, which happened in the courſe of this ſeſſion, though ſome of them were of importance. Two millions were granted to his majeſty, for the ſervice of the current year, and for paying to the governor and company of the bank of England 1,000,000 for redeeming an annuity of 40,000l. payable to them. Another act of great importance that paſſed this ſeſſion was, for building a bridge croſs the river Thames, from the Woolſtaple, Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite ſhore in Surry. Some farther regulations were likewiſe made with regard to the drinking ſpirituous liquors, &c. Thoſe already made having been found ineffectual, and productive of many perjuries, a power had been granted to retail ſpirituous liquors with licences: but this had rather increaſed than diminiſhed the diſorder complained of; and an act paſſed this ſeſſion, by which a penalty was laid on all occupiers of houſes in which ſpirituous liquors were illegally ſold.

On the 20th of May his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, "that, agreeable to what had appeared to the concurrent opinion of both houſes of parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner, his inſtances at the court of Spain for obtaining ſatisfaction for the many injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, and for effectually ſecuring their rights for the future; and he hoped, from the juſtice and equity of the Catholic king, to procure and eſtabliſh a free and uninterrupted exerciſe of trade between the ſubjects of the two crowns, agreeable to treaties and the law of nations."

Four days after the concluſion of the ſeſſion, viz. the 24th of May (ſince the alteration of the ſtyle the 4th of June) the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of George, and is our preſent moſt auguſt ſovereign. Uncommon rejoicings were made on this event, and addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the king by the two univerſities, and almoſt all the cities and communities of the kingdom. The prince of Wales, however, ſtill laboured under his majeſty's diſpleaſure; and an order was publiſhed in the Gazette, that no perſon who viſited the prince ſhould be admitted to the court of St. James's.

About the latter end of June rear-admiral Haddock ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron for the Mediterranean to give weight to the negotiation of the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Madrid; but Spain, well acquainted with the pacific diſpoſition of our miniſtry, was arrived to ſuch a height of inſolence, that no agreement could be procured from that court till after the uſual time of convoking the parliament, which was prorogued in expectation of it, and afterwards adjourned, in order to get the articles ratified.

During the remainder of this year a ſpirit of riot and confuſion diſcovered itſelf among the lower claſs of people in different parts of the kingdom. The moſt dangerous of theſe tumults happened in the weſt of England, where a number of journeymen weavers roſe in a riotous manner, and committed the moſt terrible outrages on the properties and perſons of ſeveral maſters in that branch of trade, from a perſuaſion that they had uſed them ill. At length the affair grew ſo ſerious, that the government was obliged to quarter bodies of troops in ſeveral of the borough and market towns to prevent the ſedition from ſpreading. Nor was the metropolis itſelf free from tumults and diſorders: a moſt dangerous inſult was committed upon juſtice by a party of ſailors at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet and brought to life, one Buchanan, who had been condemned for murder: and notwithſtanding the atrocious nature of the crime, and the danger of the example, the offenders were ſo highly favoured by the public, that not one of them could ever be diſcovered.

A. D. 1739. The parliament met on the firſt of February, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed both houſes, "That, ſupported by their joint advice, he had loſt no time to do himſelf and his people juſtice, if the court of Spain had laid him under that neceſſity; that he had, at the ſame time, in the ſtrongeſt terms, repeated his inſtances for obtaining ſuch reparation for the many injuries and loſſes already ſuſtained, and ſuch effectual ſecurity for the future, as might prevent the conſequences of an open rupture; that he had now the ſatisfaction to acquaint them, that the meaſures he had purſued had been ſo ſucceſsful, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, by which, after a ſtrict examination of the claims on both ſides, that prince had obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects, by the payment of a certain ſtipulated ſum; that plenipotentiaries were likewiſe named and appointed, for regulating, within a limited time, all thoſe grievances and abuſes, which had ſo long interrupted the Britiſh commerce and navigation in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner, as might, for the future, prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint, by a ſtrict obſervance of our mutual treaties, and a juſt regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each nation. He concluded with declaring, that he would order the convention to be laid before them.

The principal point now with the miniſtry was, to induce the two houſes of parliament to approve of the convention, and obtain an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for laying it before them; which would be conſidered as an approbation of their meaſures. The motion, however, met with great oppoſition; but was at laſt carried in the affirmative in both houſes. The ſubſtance of this convention was as follows;

1. "That immediately after the ſigning of this treaty, two plenipotentiaries on each ſide ſhould meet at Madrid, within ſix weeks after the day of exchanging the ratifications, there to confer and finally regulate the pretenſions of the two crowns.

2. "Until the limits of Florida and Carolina can be adjuſted, things ſhould remain there in their preſent ſituation.

3. "His Catholic majeſty ſhall cauſe to be paid to

his Britannic majeſty, the ſum of 95,000l. ſterling, as a balance admitted to be due to the crown and ſubjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demands of the crown and ſubjects of Spain, to the end, that the above-mentioned ſum may be employed by his Britannic majeſty, for the ſatisfaction and payment of the demands of his ſubjects upon the crown of Spain. But this reciprocal diſcharge ſhall not relate nor extend to the differences ſubſiſting between the crown of Spain and the South-Sea company, nor to any particular or private contract between either of the two crowns, or their miniſters, with the ſubjects of the other; or between the ſubjects of the one crown, and thoſe of the other.

4. " If it ſhould happen, in conſequence of orders diſpatched by the court of Spain, that any part of the value of certain particular ſhips, mentioned in the convention, as taken from the Engliſh, and included in the 95,000l. be already paid, the ſame ſhall be deducted therefrom."

Beſides theſe there were two ſeparate articles; the firſt importing, that the above-mentioned ſum of 95,000l. was to be paid at London, within four months after the exchange of ratification.

By the ſecond, it was ſtipulated, that the third article of the above convention ſhould not extend to ſhips taken ſince the 10th of December laſt; in which caſe juſtice ſhall be done according to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, in the ſame manner as if the convention had not been made. It being, however, underſtood, that this relates only to the indemnification and ſatisfaction of the effects ſeized, or prizes taken: but that the deciſion of the caſes that may happen, in order to remove all pretenſions for diſpute, is to be referred to the plenipotentiaries, to be determined according to the treaties.

Such was the ſubſtance of a convention that made ſo much noiſe in Europe, and had nearly ruined the internal tranquillity of England. What gave the greateſt diſguſt was, the following proteſt and declaration of the king of Spain, which he inſiſted on, as a preliminary condition of his ratifying the above convention, viz.

That he reſerves to himſelf, in its full force, the right of ſuſpending the aſſiento for negroes, and diſpatching the neceſſary orders for the execution thereof, in caſe the South Sea company doth not ſubject itſelf to pay, within a ſhort time, the ſum of 68,000l. ſterling, confeſſed to be owing for the duty on negroes, &c. And farther declares, that under the validity of this proteſt, the ſigning of this convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner.

The injuſtice of this previous demand on the company was ſo apparent, that they, ſoon after, at their general court, held on the firſt of March, reſolved not to pay the king of Spain's demand, without his firſt coming to a juſt account to them, for all the ſeizures and captures of their ſhips and merchandize, which he had engaged to refund to them.

On the 14th of June, the king went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he earneſtly recommended unanimity among the members, and deſired them to tranſmit, by their example, peace throughout their different counties.

Notwithſtanding the parliamentary ſanction the convention had received, a war with Spain now appeared inevitable. The Spaniſh monarch not only ſuffered the four months to elapſe, during which interval he was to pay the ſtipulated ſum of 95,000l. but ordered ſeizures to be made of the ſhips and merchandize of the Britiſh ſubjects in his dominions wherever they could be found; and even commanded all the Britiſh ſubjects to leave his territories in a ſhorter time than was allowed by treaty. Theſe proceedings put a ſtop to the conferences carried on with that crown, and Mr. Keene (the Engliſh ambaſſador) preſented a ſpirited declaration to the court of Madrid, complaining of the conduct of their naval officers, and demanding reſtitution for ſuch goods as had been ſeized from the Britiſh ſubjects. This was followed with an order of council, dated July the 10th, for granting letters of marque and repriſals to the Engliſh merchants.

Great augmentations were now made to our land forces, by raiſing ten new regiments, and filling up ſuch as had been reduced. Nor was the navy neglected; for many ſhips that had been laid up were put in commiſſion, and there was an exceeding hot preſs for ſailors in all the ſea port towns in the kingdom. An embargo was laid on all merchant ſhips, and every other method was taken that ſeemed to give confidence to the earneſt hopes and expectations of the nation.

The ſources from whence the Spaniards derived their wealth became an object of national concern to Great Britain; and therefore it was propoſed that two ſquadrons ſhould be fitted out, one under the command of captain Cornwall, and another under captain Anſon. That under captain Cornwall was to ſail round Cape Horn into the South Seas, in order to attack ſuch of the Spaniſh ſettlements as lay near the coaſt; but if he found that impracticable, he was to ſail to the Manilla, one of the Phillippine iſlands. Captain Anſon was to ſail to Java-head, a promontory in the Eaſt Indies, where he was to take in freſh water, with ſuch other neceſſaries as his ſquadron ſhould want, and then to proceed on his voyage to meet captain Cornwall at Manilla. This ſcheme was ſo agreeable to all ranks of people in the nation, that harmony began to take place of diſcord, and all ſeemed united to contribute towards diſtreſſing the common enemy.

But ſtill it was neceſſary that a much more reſpectable ſquadron than either of thoſe already mentioned ſhould be fitted out; and accordingly nine ſhips of the line, with ſeveral ſmaller ones, were ordered to ſail to the Weſt Indies, in order to deſtroy the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards. The command of this fleet was given to admiral Vernon, an officer of conſummate knowledge, undaunted courage and great prudence. This gentleman had rendered himſelf remarkable in the houſe of commons, by condemning the meaſures of the miniſtry; and in a debate on the Spaniſh depredations, he happened to affirm that Porto Bello, a ſtrong port on the Spaniſh main, might be eaſily taken, and even offered to undertake the reduction of it with ſix ſhips only. The miniſter gave him the command of this fleet, that he might have the opportunity of attempting the enterprize he had offered to undertake, in hopes of entirely getting rid of him, as the moſt imminent dangers, the greateſt difficulties, and a pernicious climate, all combined to render his return next to impoſſible.

Every preparation for war being now made, nothing was wanting but the form of a declaration, and that took place on the 19th of October. This meaſure was in its own nature abſolutely neceſſary; for both the honour and intereſt of the nation were at ſtake. Our merchants had been plundered of their moſt valuable goods, and ſo puſillanimous were our miniſtry, that the Britiſh flag ſeemed falling into diſgrace. Complaints, indeed, had been often made to the miniſtry, but the perſons injured were either refuſed redreſs, or diſmiſſed with ambiguous promiſes. But the declaration of war gave new hopes to the people, and although they knew it had not been done till abſolutely neceſſary, yet they began to have ſome confidence in the miniſtry.

Soon after the declaration of war, admiral Haddock took a rich Spaniſh ſhip; but the Spaniſh admiral,

ral, who commanded the ſquadron, returning from the South Seas, having received notice, or rather ſuſpecting that ſome of our ſhips of war would attempt to intercept him off Cadiz, he ſailed round Ireland, and from thence coaſting by the Land's End of England, arrived ſafe in Spain, to the great mortification of the Engliſh ſailors, who flattered themſelves with acquiring an immenſe booty.

It was the opinion of the people in general, that the French would take part with the Spaniards, and ſuch was the conduct of the ſtates-general, that no confidence could be placed even in their moſt ſolemn proteſtations. Mr. Walpole, our ambaſſador at the Hague, endeavoured to perſuade them to take part with us, as their natural ally, but he received only evaſive anſwers; from which it ſeemed evident that they intended to remain neuter till their own territories ſhould be attacked. With reſpect to the Spaniards, they were filled with conſternation when they found what preparations we were making againſt them; for the timid behaviour of our miniſtry had induced them to look upon the people of England as diveſted of that courage for which they had been ſo long diſtinguiſhed.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor Charles VI. in conſequence of ſome loſſes, found himſelf under the neceſſity of concluding a treaty of peace with the Turks, upon terms neither honourable nor advantageous. The empreſs of Ruſſia, whoſe forces acted in concert with thoſe of the emperor, was obliged to follow his example, and recall her army, without having obtained any ſingular advantages.

On the 15th of November the Britiſh parliament met, when the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that, contrary to his own inclination, but conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown, and the intereſt of his ſubjects, he had declared war againſt Spain, not doubting but the commons would chearfully contribute ſuch ſums as were wanting to maintain the army and the navy. Both houſes were ſo well pleaſed with his majeſty's ſpeech, that very loyal addreſſes were preſented to him, and the commons declared that nothing ſhould be wanting to defray every neceſſary expence. And that a complete triumph might be obtained over the miniſtry, Sir William Wyndham moved, that an addreſs might be preſented to his majeſty, praying that no treaty of peace ſhould be entered into with Spain, till the Britiſh ſovereignty was acknowledged in America.

The miniſtry were ſo well convinced of the reaſonableneſs and popularity of the motion, that they made no oppoſition to it; and his majeſty, in anſwer to the commons, told them, that they might depend upon his ſteady perſeverance in rejecting all terms of a diſhonourable nature. Some very popular acts paſſed at this time, though not without oppoſition from the miniſtry, who ſeemed to have nothing ſo much at heart as that of croſſing every meaſure that appeared productive of public good. Great encouragement was given to foreign ſeamen to enter into our merchants ſervice; and ſome thouſands of the perſecuted proteſtants in Germany were invited by our government to ſettle in America.

A. D. 1740. The eſtimates for the current year having been ordered in, Sir Robert Walpole, as chancellor of the exchequer, preſented to the houſe a meſſage from his majeſty, importing, that having them under his royal conſideration certain meaſures that would be attended with ſome extraordinary expences, not comprehended in the eſtimates laid before the houſe, his majeſty hoped they would enable him to carry them on in the moſt effectual manner. This meſſage was referred, without one diſſenting voice, to the committee of ſupplies, who reſolved to grant his majeſty 200,000l. on account of carrying on the war, and 9,500l. for ſervices that year not provided for by parliament, which was agreed to by the houſe. A million was alſo granted out of the ſinking fund, and 200,000l. for the ordinary of the navy.

The next thing that engaged the attention of the houſe was a bill brought in by Sir Charles Wager, for taking an exact number of all ſeamen in the merchants ſervice, together with ſuch as plied on the river. But however neceſſary ſuch a ſtep might be, in order to know the internal ſtrength of the nation, yet the popular party treated it as a meaſure that would, in the end, enſlave the people, and therefore the bill was rejected by a very great majority.

The king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them, that he intended to marry his daughter the princeſs Mary to the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel; and prayed that they would enable him to give her a portion ſuitable to her rank. The commons unanimouſly agreed to give the princeſs 40,000l.; and at the ſame time voted, that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, for having communicated to them his royal intention.

On the 29th of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning the bills put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he thanked the commons for their readineſs in granting the ſupplies, and recommended unanimity as the only ſure means of making them formidable to their enemies. He concluded with expreſſing his hopes, that the preparations which he was making for carrying on the war, in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, would be bleſſed with ſucceſs, equal to the juſtneſs of his cauſe. The parliament was then prorogued to the 3d of June, and by various prorogations afterwards to the 18th of November.

In the beginning of May his majeſty ſet out for Hanover, having previouſly appointed a regency during his abſence. A few days after his departure, the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the prince of Heſſe was ſolemnized by proxy, the duke of Cumberland ſtanding for that prince; and in June her highneſs ſailed for the continent.

Thus much for the common domeſtic occurences of this period. It is now neceſſary that we ſhould look back to the ſtate of the war.

Admiral Vernon, having ſailed from Portſmouth, arrived at Port Royal in Jamaica on the 12th of October 1739. He immediately ſent an account of his buſineſs to Mr. Trelawney, the governor, deſiring him to grant him all the aſſiſtance he could; and at the ſame time promiſing, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to diſcharge his duty according to the nature of his inſtructions. At Port-Royal the admiral was joined by commodore Brown, with one ſhip only; and having procured intelligence that the Spaniſh fleet intended ſailing towards Porto Bello, he reſolved, if poſſible, to be there before them. The fleet under admiral Vernon, with which he propoſed taking Porto Bello, conſiſted of ſix ſhips only, having on board 2,495 ſeamen, and 200 land forces.

Porto Bello is ſituated on the iſthmus of Darien, where a ſmall track of land divides North and South America from each other. It conſiſts of ſeveral ſtrong forts, and is the place to which all the riches of Mexico and Peru are annually brought. The Spaniards had been at a great expence in making additions to the fortifications, and they even imagined that it was impregnable. One battery of guns, level with the ſurface of the water, ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to every ſhip that approached; but abilities, courage, and perſeverance, overcome the greateſt difficulties.

On the 5th of November, admiral Vernon ſailed from Port-Royal, and ſteered for Porto-Bello, but by reaſon of contrary winds, it was the evening of the 20th before he could get ſight of the harbour; and then, leſt his ſquadron ſhould be driven to the eaſtward of the harbour, he made other ſignals for coming to an anchor about ſix leagues off the ſhore.

Early the next morning, (Nov. 21.) he drew up his ſhips in line of battle; but the wind being eaſterly, little could be done for ſome time, except bombarding the Iron Fort near the mouth of the harbour. At length, however, the grand attack was begun by commodore Brown, in the Hampton-Court, of ſeventy guns; and in the ſpace of twenty-five minutes, 400 ſhot were fired. Such an inceſſant fire, which was ſeconded by captain Mayne in the Worceſter, obliged many of the Spaniards to retire from different parts of the fort: upon which the admiral made the ſignal for the boats to come up, in order to land the marines, which was done with the loſs of three men only. As the courage of ſeamen and ſoldiers never ſhines with more luſtre than when oppoſed by the enemy, and expoſed to the greateſt dangers; ſo no ſooner had they landed, than they ſcaled the walls by one man's ſtanding on the ſhoulders of another. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the Spaniards, that both officers and men fled from the lower forts into the uppermoſt part of the citadel, where they hung out a white flag, as a ſignal that they would capitulate. The marines and ſeamen, who had firſt landed, were ſo impatient to obtain the victory, that ſtriking down the Spaniſh colours, they hoiſted thoſe of Britain; while ſuch of the Spaniſh ſoldiers as beheld their courage ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion. Of theſe only five officers and thirty-five men remained out of 300, the reſt having been killed, wounded, or made their eſcape.

The next morning (being the 22d) the admiral went on board the Hampton Court, commodore Brown, in order to call a council of war, and give the neceſſary directions for warping the ſhips up in the night, to attack Gloria Caſtle, as it would have been impracticable to have attempted it in the day time. But in this he was prevented, by the enemy hoiſting a white flag, and ſending a boat with a flag of truce to the admiral, and the conditions ſigned on which they deſired to capitulate; which were, "That the governor would deliver up all the fortifications, provided the garriſon might be allowed to march out with the honours of war; have an indemnity for themſelves, the town, and the inhabitants; and be permitted to keep all the ſhips in the harbour." This laſt article could not by any means be admitted, the admiral being reſolved to have thoſe ſhips which had done the Engliſh merchants all the damages they complained of on theſe coaſts. Accordingly, he drew up the articles on which he was willing to treat, and ſent them back to the governor, allowing him only a few hours to take his reſolution: but within the time limited the conditions offered were accepted; in conſequence of which the admiral ſent captain Newton, who commanded the detachment of ſoldiers from Jamaica, with about 120 men, to take poſſeſſion of Gloria caſtle and Jeronymo Fort, being the two fortreſſes which defended the harbour, the one above, the other below the town.

In the harbour were two Spaniſh men of war of twenty guns each, together with a ſnow; the crews of which, upon ſeeing the regular and bold attack made on the Iron Fort, and deſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, fell to plundering the town in the night of the 21ſt, and committed ſhocking outrages on the inhabitants. Our admiral being now maſter of the place, proceeded to blow up the fortifications, ſpiked up above 80 iron cannon, and brought off, on board his own fleet, a great number of braſs ordnance, and a great quantity of ammunition, leaving the harbour quite open and defenceleſs. Thus was this place totally deſtroyed; and though the admiral, for want of land forces, was not able to puſh his conqueſts farther up the country, yet the national advantage ariſing from what he had already done was very conſiderable, particularly with regard to the traders of Jamaica, who had now a fair opportunity of opening an extenſive commerce with the Spaniards, who were fond of clandeſtinely conveying away their money from Panama over the Iſthmus.

During admiral Vernon's ſtay at Porto Bello, he ſent a letter to the preſident of Panama, demanding a ſpeedy releaſement of the factors and ſervants belonging to the South Sea company, whom the Spaniards had confined in that place; together with the reſtitution of their own perſonal effects, as well as thoſe of the aforeſaid company. In conſequence of this meſſage, the preſident ſent an officer, with Dr. Humphreys and Dr. Wright, factors; and alſo with the ſervants of the company, who were delivered to the admiral on board his own ſhip.

On the 13th of December, the admiral ſailed with his ſquadron from Porto Bello, on his return to Jamaica. In the paſſage the ſquadron met with hard gales, by which it was diſperſed, and ſeveral of the ſhips received damage in their maſts and rigging. Nevertheleſs, they at laſt all joined the admiral in Port Royal, where we ſhall leave him meditating future conqueſts, and return to England.

No ſooner was the ſucceſs of the Britiſh admiral made known to the people at home, than a profuſion of rejoicings overſpread the united kingdoms and Ireland. Bonfires blazed in every ſtreet, and the houſes were illuminated: the ſhouts of "Vernon for "ever!" were heard from every tongue; both houſes of parliament, the city of London, and all the conſiderable corporations in the kingdom, addreſſed his majeſty upon the occaſion. The houſe of commons ſent the admiral their thanks; the city voted him its freedom. In ſhort, a Roman conſul, after reducing a province, never received greater marks of public applauſe from his country than admiral Vernon did upon his demolition of Porto Bello.

While Vernon was ſupporting the honour and intereſt of his country in the Weſt-Indies, admiral Haddock, after cruiſing ſome time in the Mediterranean, blocked up the Spaniſh fleet in the harbour of Cadiz. But here admiral Haddock was led into a ſnare; for another Spaniſh fleet, under the command of admiral Pintado, made a feint as if they intended ſailing towards Minorca; and Haddock leaving his ſtation to oppoſe them, the Spaniſh fleet got out of the harbour of Cadiz, and joined another ſquadron then lying in the harbour of Ferrol.

The French, who had hitherto concealed their intentions, began to pull off the maſk; for they fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron, under the command of the marquis D'Antin, which ſailed to Martinico, with poſitive orders to act offenſively againſt the Engliſh. Indeed our valuable ſettlements in America had long been an object of envy to our haughty neighbours; and therefore it was reſolved that, in concert with Spain, we ſhould be deprived of all the benefits of trade in that part of the world.

The Engliſh miniſtry, who had little ſuſpected any ſuch behaviour from France, were thunderſtruck when they heard of this proceeding; while the voice of the people called loudly for proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour. In order to quiet the diſcontents of the people, the miniſtry ordered a large ſquadron of ſhips of the line to rendezvous at Spithead, under the command of Sir John Norris, who hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, a ſhip carrying 110 guns. The late duke of Cumberland went as a volunteer along with the admiral, and great hopes were formed by the people concerning the ſucceſs of this armament, but all in vain: for after cruiſing ſome time, and meeting with ſtorms, Sir John came to an anchor at Spithead, without having done any thing, beſides amuſing the people, who had ſo generouſly ſubmitted to very heavy taxes towards ſupporting the war.

This was the moſt unpopular circumſtance that could have happened; and the miniſtry were now at a loſs what meaſures to purſue, in order to ſmother the encreaſing diſcontents of the people. At length, however, they reſolved to fit out a ſmall ſquadron under the command of commodore Anſon. This ſquadron conſiſted of the following ſhips, namely, the Centurion, of 60 guns; the Severn and Glouceſter, of 50 guns each; the Pearl, of 40; and the Wager, of 28; with the Trial ſloop, carrying eight guns; and two victualling veſſels.

The deſtination of this ſquadron was well projected; and although it did not, in every thing, anſwer the hopes that had been formed of it, yet, in the end, the commodore received immortal honour, and riches were brought into the nation. His orders were to ſail to the South-ſeas, and diſtreſs the Spaniards in their remote ſettlements, ſo as to prevent them from oppoſing admiral Vernon, who ſtill remained as commander in chief in the Weſt-Indies.

The ſquadron did not arrive at Madeira till the 25th of October, where they watered and took in refreſhments of ſeveral kinds. On the fourth of November Anſon iſſued orders to the captains, appointing their rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, at the iſland of St. Catharine's on the coaſt of Brazil in South America; and the ſame day the ſquadron weighing anchor, ſteered their courſe for St. Catherine's, where they arrived on the 21ſt of December, having in their paſſage loſt a great number of their men, by the intemperature of the warm climates. The commodore made all poſſible diſpatch for Cape Horn, but was detained by unavoidable accidents till the 18th of January, when the ſquadron, after burying many of their men, and ſickneſs ſtill encreaſing, left the iſland, and ſailed to Port St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia.

In the mean time admiral Torres, who commanded the Spaniſh fleet in the bay of Ferrol, ſailed for America, with 2000 land forces on board; which ſtruck ſuch a panic into the Engliſh miniſtry, that they ſaw no appearance of keeping their ground, unleſs a fleet was ſent to reinforce the ſquadron under admiral Vernon. That brave commander, upon his return to Port-Royal, having refitted his ſhips, and taken in freſh proviſions, ſailed for Carthagena, which he bombarded, and did conſiderable damage to the place; but not having ſufficient force, and many of the men being ſickly, he was obliged to return to Porto Bello, where having again refitted, he attacked fort Chagre, and obliged the garriſon to capitulate. In the letters ſent to the miniſtry by admiral Vernon, he complained that neceſſary reinforcements had not been ſent him in proper time, ſo that no beneficial conſequences could ariſe from his victories; and however ſecret theſe letters were kept, yet the contents of them tranſpired, and the nation was again filled with diſcontent.

This induced, or rather forced, the miniſtry to ſend over to the admiral ſix regiments of marines, with two of foot, the whole under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of great courage and reſolution. Sir Chaloner Ogle was ordered to ſail from Spithead, with twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips, having on board 12,000 ſeamen furniſhed with every thing neceſſary to diſtreſs the enemy. But notwithſtanding all theſe preparations, carried on at a great expence, yet the fleet did not ſail till October; by which means the Spaniards had time to ſtrengthen their ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, and put themſelves in a condition of making a vigorous reſiſtance wherever they ſhould be attacked in that quarter of the world.

This year Charles VI. emperor of Germany, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by his daughter Maria Thereſa, who had ſome years before married the grand duke of Tuſcany, of the houſe of Lorrain. The king of Pruſſia died much about the ſame time, and his death was ſucceeded by that of the czarina Anne Iwanowna, empreſs of Ruſſia. The death of theſe ſovereigns could not fail of being attended with ſuch conſequences as muſt always happen on ſimilar occaſions, namely, that of lighting up the flames of civil war. The young king of Pruſſia laid claim to the province of Sileſia, belonging to the houſe of Auſtria; and a revolution took place in Ruſſia, by which Elizabeth, the late Empreſs, was placed on the throne, amidſt the united acclamations of the people.

In the beginning of September his majeſty returned from Hanover; and on the 18th of November following opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which, among other things, he obſerved, "That the court of Spain having already felt ſome effects of the reſentment of the Engliſh, began to be ſenſible that they ſhould be no longer able, by their own ſtrength, to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the Britiſh nation; that if any other powers, agreeable to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt his declared enemies, the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms muſt call upon his parliament to loſe no time in putting the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable him to repel any inſults, and fruſtrate any deſigns formed againſt him, in violation of the faith of treaties; and he hoped any ſuch unprecedented ſteps, under what colour or pretence ſoever they might be taken, would inſpire his allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger, and would unite them in the ſupport and defence of the common cauſe: that the great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opened a new ſcene in the ſtate of affairs in Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or remotely concerned: that it was impoſſible to determine with any degree of certainty what courſe the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts might lead them to purſue in this critical conjuncture; but that it ſhould be his care ſtrictly to obſerve and watch their motions; to adhere to the engagements which he had formerly contracted for maintaining the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with ſuch powers as were under the ſame obligations, to act ſuch a part as might beſt contribute to avert the danger that threatened the tranquillity of Europe."

As ſoon as his majeſty had left the houſe, and the commons were returned to their own houſe, John, duke of Argyle, moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to congratulate him upon his ſafe return, and to aſſure him that the peers would not only ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, but that they would exert thoſe inherent privileges enjoyed by them as the higheſt tribunal in the nation, by promoting the honour, intereſt, and happineſs of his majeſty and the kingdom. His grace, in his ſpeech, in order to enforce the motion, arraigned the conduct of the miniſtry, in not attending to the intereſt of the nation; and, in expreſs terms, accuſed them with having given private orders that none of our ſhips ſhould attack any of the Spaniſh forts. He charged them with neglecting to give orders for the fleet to ſail; and intimated, it would have ſtill remained at Spithead, had not his majeſty returned to England.

The attention of thoſe peers, who were not attached to the miniſtry, was greatly attracted by the nervous eloquence of the duke; and great debates enſued. The earl of Holderneſs obſerved, that the duke's motion was couched under vague, uncertain terms; and therefore moved, that in the addreſs his majeſty ſhould be thanked for his gracious care of his people; and that his faithful lords would ſupport him with their lives and fortunes in the execution of every treaty that he had entered into with any of the German princes. This debate was carried on with great ſtrength of argument, and in language that would have done honour to a Roman ſenate, by lord-chancellor Hardwicke, lord Harvey, lord Cholmondeley, and the earl of Holderneſs, for the miniſtry; and againſt them, by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Cheſterfield, lord Carteret, and lord Talbot. At laſt the queſtion being put it was carried in favour of the court addreſs; ſo that the miniſtry once more triumphed over thoſe who wiſhed well to the nation.

After long debates in the houſe of commons, an addreſs was drawn up in very general terms; and, indeed, too general, when it was conſidered in what ſtate the nation then was.

That the commons might know in what condition the navy was, they moved for an addreſs to be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that all letters, or other papers ſent from admiral Vernon, ſhould be laid before them: and although it was the intereſt of the miniſter to have concealed theſe from the public, yet by an unaccountable inadvertency, he ſuffered the motion to paſs, and the addreſs was preſented. When the letters came to be read, they were found to contain heavy complaints againſt the miniſtry, for not ſending him proper reinforcements; and that the ſhips under his command were in ſo ſhattered a condition that they were not fit for action.

A. D. 1741. The peremptory manner in which the court-party over-ruled every motion that was made againſt them only ſerved to increaſe the unpopularity of the miniſter, who was now ſo univerſally odious that his name was hardly ever mentioned with decency. The country party, though inferior in number, were, in both houſes, the moſt reſpectable characters, and moſt juſtly celebrated for their eloquence, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs. During the month of January this year the minority in both houſes had frequent conſultations together, and at laſt it was reſolved to impeach the miniſter. Mr. Sandys was to manage this buſineſs in the lower houſe; and accordingly, on Friday the 13th of February, he ſtood up in his place, ſpoke long and ſenſibly of the many errors committed by Sir Robert, and traced his conduct as far back as the year 1720. He accuſed him with having adviſed his majeſty to do ſome things inconſiſtent with his dignity; and boldly charged him with concealing from the people the real ſtate of the nation. He took notice, that the people expected no redreſs of their grievances at home, nor ſucceſs to their arms abroad, unleſs the miniſter was for ever removed from his majeſty's councils, as well as all thoſe connected with him. He therefore moved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, requeſting that the right honourable Sir Robert Walpole, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, be removed from his majeſty's councils and preſence for ever.

Mr. Pitt ſpoke long and forcibly in favour of the motion; and he was ſupported by Sir John Barnard, Mr. Pulteney, Sir John Hynde Cotton, lord Limerick, and Mr. Gibſon, gentlemen of the greateſt abilities and integrity. Theſe celebrated ſtateſmen charged the miniſter with the moſt barefaced acts of corruption, in order to ſupport his own intereſt: and that he had, in the moſt unneceſſary manner, raiſed a ſtanding army, which was ſupported at a vaſt expence, while the navy, the real ſtrength and ſecurity of the nation, had been neglected. They concluded by aſſerting, that he had impoſed on his majeſty with reſpect to the ſtate of Europe in general; and that he had concealed from him the complaints of his people.

Such was the nature of the charge exhibited againſt the miniſter, and it muſt be acknowledged, that it was not ill founded. He had long acted on a ſyſtem of policy inconſiſtent with the intereſt of a free people; and corruption was, by his influence, carried to an enormous height.

Mr. Pelham, brother to the late duke of Newcaſtle, attempted to vindicate the whole conduct of the miniſter, and to refute the charges brought againſt him. He took notice, that all the treaties entered into by advice of the miniſter, were in conſequence of ſome defects in former ones; and the ſtate of the nation required that his majeſty ſhould form the moſt powerful connection with the princes on the continent. He added, that the corruption with which the miniſter was charged could not be proved; and that the whole of the charge was the effect of envy, becauſe his majeſty had diſtinguiſhed him with particular marks of his confidence and favour. In a word, Mr. Pelham did all he could to vindicate the miniſter, whoſe friend he had long been, and who continued firm to his intereſt, even to the laſt.

During the debate, which laſted till three o'clock in the morning, the miniſter ſaid not one word; but when the ſpeakers had exhauſted themſelves, he ſtood up, and ſpoke in his own defence in the moſt maſterly and eloquent manner. Although conſcious that one half of the ſeats in the houſe had been given by him to ſuch needy wretches as ſubſiſted by the wages of corruption, yet ſo little was he afraid that they would expoſe his character, that he boldly charged the whole houſe to produce one inſtance of his having bribed one member, either directly or indirectly. He concluded by ſaying, that patriotiſm was a moſt venerable word, when underſtood in a proper manner; but it was then ſo hackneyed, that it had fallen into diſgrace. "The form (ſaid he) is, "preſerved, but the ſubſtance is loſt. Patriots ſpring "up like muſhrooms; I could make fifty of them "within the compaſs of a night. Let a miniſter "only refuſe an unreaſonable, or an inſolent de- "mand, and up ſtarts a patriot: I never was afraid of "making patriots, and I deſpiſe all that they can do. "I believe that no miniſter ever had ſuch an attack "made upon him as the preſent; but I know that it "has been long forming; and there are gentlemen "here preſent who know that I could have prevented "it, and by means not difficult to be known. I am "convinced of my own integrity; and whatever "may be the iſſue of the preſent motion I ſhall re- "joice in it. The whole of my life has been one "continued act of duty to my country; and I here "defy my moſt inveterate enemies to prove one "ſingle charge which they have, with ſo much "art and appearance of ſincerity, exhibited againſt "me."

The miniſter having finiſhed his harangue, the queſtion was put, and carried in the negative by a ſmall majority, in conſequence of above ſixty of thoſe who pretended to be of the popular party having gone out.

The ſame motion was made in houſe of lords by lord Carteret, who was ſeconded by the dukes of Argyle and Bedford, the earls of Halifax, Carliſle, Berkſhire, Abingdon, and Weſtmoreland, with the lords Bathurſt and Haverſham. On the other hand, the conduct of the miniſter was vindicated by the dukes of Devonſhire and Newcaſtle, the lord-chancellor Hardwicke, the earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyle, lord Harvey, the earl of Oxford, and the biſhop of Saliſbury. The queſton at laſt being put, it was carried in the negative. But although the miniſter was ſo ſucceſsful, yet, from that time, his character began to ſink; for ſo many iniquitous practices had been laid open, that although ſome of them, through the force of prejudice, and the heat of paſſion, had been conſiderably exaggerated, yet the ſober thinking members were convinced that the greater part were too well founded to admit of a ſingle doubt.

The death of the emperor Charles VI. had led his daughter the queen of Hungary, into a war with the elector of Bavaria, who had married the daughter of the emperor Joſeph, and in conſequence of that alliance laid claim to ſome of the Auſtrian dominions. The queen of Hungary demanded from Britain 12000 men, that had been promiſed her in conſequence of a former treaty; and his majeſty, in the beginning of April, went to the houſe, and informed the parliament of it. He took notice, that he was bound to ſupport his ally; and as the war would be attended with a very great expence, he doubted not but the commons would contribute chearfully to enable him to ſupport the dignity of his crown, and force his enemies to hearken to the voice of reaſon.

Both houſes joined to addreſs the king in the moſt loyal manner; telling him, that they would enable him to fulfil his engagements with the queen of Hungary, and furniſh the neceſſary ſupplies for protecting his German dominions from any attacks that might be made upon them by any power whatever.

On the 25th of April the king went to the houſe of peers, and, having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, diſſolved the parliament. In the month of May he ſet out for his German dominions, having previouſly appointed a regency during his abſence.

The parliamentary buſineſs for the ſeaſon being thus over, it is neceſſary that we ſhould attend to the ſtate of the navy, and the operations of the fleet. Sir Chaloner Ogle, after meeting with ſeveral ſtorms came to an anchor at the iſland of St. Dominica, where lord Cathcart died, to the inexpreſſible grief of the army and navy. The command of the forces devolved upon general Wentworth; and the admiral having taken in freſh water, and other neceſſary proviſions, ſet ſail for Jamaica, in order to join admiral Vernon. In his way thither he fell in with a part of the French fleet, that had been ſent to aſſiſt the Spaniards, and a ſmart engagement enſued; but as war was not then declared between France and England, both admirals thought proper to deſiſt: and on the ninth of January Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived ſafe in the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica. This revived the drooping ſpirits of admiral Vernon; for the fleet now amounted to 29 ſhips, with 15,000 ſeamen, and an equal number of land forces. Indeed the loſs of lord Cathcart was ſincerely lamented; but as general Wentworth was conſidered as an officer of the moſt undaunted courage, great hopes were formed of the ſucceſs that would follow.

A council of war was immediately held at Spaniſh Town in Jamaica, wherein it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould ſail towards Hiſpaniola, to obſerve the motions of the marquis D'Antin, who was ſuppoſed to act in concert with the Spaniards; but the marquis had ſailed for Europe in a moſt diſtreſſed condition.

This diſappointment occaſioned another council of war to be held, wherein it was reſolved to ſail to Carthagena, and attack that fort both by ſea and land. Accordingly, after a dangerous voyage, the Engliſh forces were landed on a ſmall iſland near the mouth of the harbour, where they erected a battery, and ſoon made a breach in the principal fort; while the fleet co-operated with them, and general Wentworth reſolved to enter the breach that had been made. At firſt every thing ſeemed to ſecond their operations, for the Spaniards abandoned the forts, and the Engliſh land-forces ſeemed to carry every thing before them. But, unfortunately, a miſunderſtanding having ariſen between the admiral and the general, neither would act in a proper manner, while the men, who were obliged to lay during the nights in the fields, expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, died in great numbers; ſo that their ſtrength was weakened, and it was feared they would become an eaſy prey to the enemy.

General Wentworth, in order to recover his loſt credit as a military officer, reſolved to take the place by ſtorm; but above 600 of his men were cut off, and all hopes of ſucceeding vaniſhed. To complete the misfortune, the greateſt part of the army lay ſick, and it was computed that no leſs than 3,440 men died in the ſpace of two days, merely in conſequence of the miſunderſtanding that had taken place among the commanders.

A council of war was again called, wherein each officer upbraided the other with not having done their duty; but during their debates the public ſervice was neglected, and the enemy left to triumph over our weakneſs. At laſt it was reſolved to ſail for Jamaica, which was effected without any obſtacle; but no ſooner was the news tranſmitted to England, than the people were filled with the utmoſt conſternation. All Europe waited with impatience for the event of this expedition, which had coſt Britain ſo much money; and the the Spaniards had given up their territories in South America for loſt, but this revived their ſpirits and enabled them to go on with the war with more ſpirit than ever, and at the the ſame time it encouraged the French to give them aſſiſtance.

Whether this unfortunate affair was owing to the conduct of the admiral, or the general, is of little importance; but certain it is, that admiral Vernon took ſuch care of the fleet, that he was conſidered rather as a father than a commander. Having refitted the fleet, which was in a moſt ſhattered condition, and taken every proper method for preſerving the health of the ſeamen, he reſolved to attack the town of St. Jago, in the iſland of Cuba. He had great hopes of ſucceeding in this enterprize, and, accordingly, the forces were landed; but general Wentworth ſtill oppoſed the admiral, ſo that nothing of conſequence was done, nor any honour acquired to the nation. The public money was ſquandered away in an empty parade; the people were filled with hopes, and in the end, being diſappointed, diſcontent took place every where. It is true, ſome few of the enemy's ſhips had been deſtroyed, but that was not attended with any ſucceſs worth mentioning; and after a fruitleſs attempt to bring honour to the Britiſh crown, and reputation to her arms, it was reſolved to ſail to Jamaica, where the fleet arrived, though not before many of the men had loſt their lives by ſuch diſorders as are peculiar to the climate in that part of the world.

The diſgrace that attended the Britiſh navy in the Weſt-Indies had a conſiderable effect on the political ſtate of Europe, according to the views of the different courts. The young king of Pruſſia, whoſe political and military talents had been hitherto conceal d, demanded of the queen of Hungary the province of Sileſia, in conſequence of ſome old claims which had been given up by his anceſtors; but in all diſputes between princes, power becomes predominant. The Pruſſian army was then the beſt diſciplined in Europe, the king at their head entering Sileſia, every thing gave way to him, while the queen of Hungary, who had taken poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, relied for ſupport on Great Britain. Indeed the Pruſſian monarch bought his conqueſts extremely dear; for count Neuperg, having raiſed an army, a moſt bloody battle enſued at Molwitz, near the river Neiſs. For ſome time it was doubtful in whoſe favour victory would declare herſelf, till at laſt, about ſix in the evening, the king of Pruſſia, by one of thoſe maſterly ſtrokes for which his character has been ſo juſtly celebrated, obliged the Auſtrians to retire, and the town of Neiſs ſurrendered to the conqueror.

Though this blow was not deciſive, yet it threatened the Auſtrian dominions with immediate ruin; but the queen of Hungary had ſtill great hopes from the late reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament. She alſo ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the ſtates-general; but the king of Pruſſia ſent a threatening letter to the Hague, wherein he informed the ſtates, that if they took any part in the preſent war, ſo as to oppoſe him, he would ſeize on ſuch parts of their territories as his anceſtors had formerly laid claim to. To enforce his orders, he commanded a body of 6000 men to encamp on the frontiers of Holland, which ſo intimidated the Dutch, that they were obliged to apply to the earl of Hyndford, the Engliſh ambaſſador, to intercede in their favour. But all theſe means proved ineffectual; for the Pruſſian monarch, finding that the court of Vienna, in concert with ſome other European powers, had entered into a confederacy againſt him, he reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the places he had taken in Sileſia; and that he might be able to add the whole of that valuable province to his territories, he concluded a treaty offenſive and defenſive with France.

In the mean time the French, ever reſtleſs and ambitious, reſolved to humble the power of the houſe of Auſtria; and for that purpoſe made choice of the elector of Bavaria, who was intended to be made emperor, and the hereditary dominions of the queen of Hungary were to be ſettled on him and his family. Cardinal Fleury, who at that time was the chief miniſter at the court of Verſailles, was in the 88th year of his age, and a man of a moſt pacific diſpoſition; but notwithſtanding all his abilities, yet no ſooner had the French learned that the king of Pruſſia had declared in favour of the elector of Bavaria, than the whole people called out for war, and the cardinal was obliged to give way to the public clamour. The French king was ſo averſe to every meaſure that ſeemed to countenance the claims of the houſe of Auſtria, that he reſolved to place the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne, and ſecure to himſelf ſuch of the Auſtrian provinces in the Netherlands as lay neareſt to his own dominions. This was a deep laid ſcheme, and the news of it was ſent to the marſhal de Belleiſle, then in Germany, that he might be ready for carrying on the intended project.

The ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms in America gave life to every oppoſition made againſt them by any of the European powers. The marſhal de Belleiſle had his army ſtrongly reinforced; and the Spaniards, eager to ſtrengthen themſelves by any alliance whatever, ſent conſiderable ſums of money to Paris, to defray the expences of the war in Germany.

The French king, in order to give ſome colour to theſe hoſtile preparations, publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he aſſerted, that nothing but the ſafety of his people could have induced him to take ſuch a ſtep; but as the king of England had aſſembled an army in Germany, ſo he thought it his duty to do the ſame. In the mean time, the marſhal de Belleiſle, who acted both as general and ambaſſador, conducted matters with ſo much art, that the king of Pruſſia, with the elector of Saxony, were both brought into a general confederacy againſt the houſe of Auſtria, whoſe dominions were to be parcelled out among them.

In conſequence of this confederacy, the elector of Bavaria took the field, and declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, whoſe whole forces, except a few in garriſon, were engaged in oppoſing thoſe of the king of Pruſſia. At firſt, the elector of Bavaria ſpread conſternation wherever he came, even to the gates of Vienna; while a large body of French troops, under the command of the marſhal Maillebois, penetrated through Weſtphalia to the frontiers of Hanover. His Britannic majeſty was then in Hanover; and his whole German forces amounted to 26,000 men. The king of Pruſſia being ready with an army to ſupport the French, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſigning a treaty; by which it was ſtipulated, that the Hanoverian forces ſhould not take any part in the war, but obſerve a ſtrict neutrality.

The queen of Hungary was now driven from Germany, and moſt of her dominions ſeized by the enemy. Denied aſſiſtance from any prince in the empire, except the elector of Hanover, and he, at the moment his army intended to march to her aſſiſtance, was obliged to ſign a treaty of neutrality. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, the queen had recourſe to methods more proper, and more advantageous than the aſſiſtance of any foreign power whatever. She aſſembled the ſtates of Hungary, a brave, warlike people, who had been ſubject to her anceſtors above 600 years; and coming into the ſtate-houſe at Preſburg, ſhe held her ſon, then about ſix months old, in her arms, and addreſſed her ſubjects, in Latin, to the following import. She told them, that her moſt unhappy circumſtances, as they then were, left her no reaſon to hope that ſhe could ever extricate herſelf out of ſuch difficulties, unleſs ſhe was aſſiſted in the moſt powerful manner. She added, that ſhe was abandoned by her friends, perſecuted by her enemies, and that even her own relations had conſpired againſt her. “ I have none to truſt to but you, my dear and “ loyal ſubjects. Here is your king in my arms; “ to you I commit both him and myſelf, not doubting “ but you will ſupport me in oppoſing my enemies; “ and if I ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to loſe all in “ Germany, I ſhall once more throw myſelf into the “ arms of my Hungarian ſubjects.”

This ſpeech, delivered in the moſt tender and pathetic manner, had the deſired effect. Many ladies in the hall ſhed tears; but the brave deputies drawing their ſwords, called out, “ Moriamur pro rege “ Maria-Thereſa: “ We will die for our king Maria “ Thereſa;” for the Hungarians always ſpeak of their ſovereigns in the maſculine gender.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the zeal that her loyal ſubjects exerted on the preſent occaſion: there ſeemed to be a conteſt among them who ſhould be the firſt to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed ſovereign; and in the compaſs of a few weeks, an army of 30,000 men, under the command of count Palfy, an old experienced general, was ſent to the relief of Vienna. Prince Charles of Lorrain, the favourite of the Auſtrian army, had raiſed ſome forces, in concert with his brother the grand duke of Tuſcany; and ſeveral other ſmall armies continued to protect ſome of the moſt important towns in Bohemia; and a variety of circumſtances ſeemed to concur towards extricating the queen of Hungary out of her numerous difficulties, and turning the intended miſchief upon her enemies.

Cardinal de Fleury, ever attentive to the intereſts of his country, and well acquainted with the internal power of Great Britain, left nothing undone to perſuade the French king to adopt the moſt pacific meaſures; and finding his opinion over-ruled, he was ſo dilatory in ſending proviſions and ammunition to the army in Germany, that the marſhal de Belleiſle found himſelf reduced to great hardſhips. Nor was the elector of Bavaria in much better circumſtances. Inſtead of attacking Vienna, which would undoubtedly have ſurrendered, he ſpent his time in the moſt dilatory manner; while Khevenhuller, the braveſt of the Auſtrian generals, did not fail to take every advantage, in order to recover ſuch places as had been taken from his royal miſtreſs. But the elector of Saxony, who owed the crown of Poland to the late emperor, joined his whole army to that of the French and Bavarians; and marching to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, it was inveſted with ſuch fury, that the whole garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war; while the grand duke, who was marching to its relief, found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring more to the ſouthward.

It was propoſed, by prince Charles of Lorrain, who commanded under his brother the grand duke, that the army ſhould be divided into three bodies, viz. one under the grand duke, a ſecond under prince Lobkowitz, and a third under Khevenhuller. Several advantages were obtained by theſe different armies, but the moſt important was that by Khevenhuller, who defeated the general Segur, who commanded for the elector of Bavaria; and afterwards being joined by the army under the grand duke, he attacked the city of Lintz, the capital of the Upper Auſtria, and the garriſon was obliged to capitulate.

The court of France, eager to purſue the meaſures already taken, proceeded with ſuch celerity, that the elector of Bavaria was crowned emperor, little oppoſition being made to his title. But this ſtep was trifling to what the French had in view: for as they had reſolved not to leave the queen of Hungary in poſſeſſion of one ſingle province, an ambaſſador was ſent to the Grand Signior, to inform him that he had now an opportunity of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and annexing to his European dominions the antient kingdom of Hungary.

When the queen of Hungary was informed of theſe proceedings, ſhe was filled with the utmoſt conſternation. However, her natural fortitude, and a preſence of mind for which ſhe had been always diſtinguiſhed, ſupported her drooping ſpirits; and ſhe wrote a letter, with her own hand, to the Grand Signior, wherein ſhe mentioned the diſtreſſed ſituation to which ſhe was reduced; and begging that, conſiſtent with the character of an heroic prince, he would not avail himſelf of circumſtances that could not, in the end, produce any real advantage.

The empreſs of Ruſſia had intended to aſſiſt the queen of Hungary; but was prevented by the French having ſtirred up the Swedes to declare war againſt her. The Swedes accordingly entered the province of Livonia, and took ſome of the moſt important places; but the Ruſſians at laſt drove them from their territories. This was ſucceeded by a revolution in Peterſburgh, by which the empreſs was depoſed, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, elected empreſs in her room.

This revolution, however ſudden and unexpected, did not diſconcert any meaſures taken by the queen of Hungary, in order to ſecure her honour and intereſt. General Berner, who commanded for her in Auſtria, made an irruption into Bavaria, where he deſtroyed ſeveral of the French magazines, and obliged the garriſons of Iſchel and Hallſtadt to ſubmit, as priſoners of war. This maſterly ſtroke opened a paſſage for the Auſtrian army into the center of Bavaria; and, upon the whole, the campaign was finiſhed much to the advantage of the queen of Hungary. The French had tried every method to bring over the king of Sardinia to their intereſt, but in vain; for that prince was extremely jealous of the Spaniards or French getting footing in Italy. Genoa, indeed, declared againſt the queen of Hungary; and the kingdom of Naples being in a manner dependent on Spain, and Spain directed by French councils, it was no difficult matter to perſuade the court of Madrid to ſend a body of forces into Italy; and before admiral Haddock could come up with them, they were joined by the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon.

The king returned to England in the month of October, and on the firſt of December the new parment met, when Mr. Onſlow was again choſen ſpeaker. Never had there been a more violent conteſt than was occaſioned by the election of the new members. The miniſter, ſecure in his own influence, was unpardonably remiſs in ſoliciting his friends on this occaſion. The minority beheld with pleaſure this overſight, which they converted to their own advantage, and exerted themſelves with ſuch diligence, that they obtained at leaſt an equality of voices.

The ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech, in which he informed both houſes, "That, agreeable to the advice of his parliament, by whoſe concurrence he had undertaken the preſent war, he had ordered the chief operations to be carried on in the Weſt-Indies: that he needed not inform them of the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt her Hungarian majeſty; that was a matter too generally known to require any particular explanation: that had other powers, who lay under the like obligations with himſelf, been as punctual in fulfilling their engagements, the ſupport of the common cauſe would have been attended with leſs difficulty: that he had, purſuant to the advice of his parliament, ever ſince the death of the late emperor, exerted himſelf in ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; he had endeavoured, by the moſt proper and early applications, to induce other powers who were equally engaged with him, and united by common intereſt, to concert ſuch meaſures as ſo important and critical a conjuncture demanded; and where an accommodation ſeemed to him neceſſary, he had laboured to reconcile thoſe princes, whoſe union would have been the moſt effectual means to prevent the miſchiefs which had happened, and to ſecure the intereſt and ſafety of the whole: that although his endeavours had not hitherto had the deſired effect, he could not but ſtill hope, that a juſt ſenſe of the common and imminent danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations: that he hoped the parliament would think it expedient to put the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable it to aſſiſt its friends, and defeat his enemies; and he flattered himſelf they would make it their ſtudy to proceed with unanimity, vigour and diſpatch, in all their deliberations."

The commons being returned to their own houſe, Mr. Herbert (afterwards earl of Powis) moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, which was ſeconded by ſome other members: but lord Noel Somerſet having propoſed that it ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "that Britain ſhould not be involved in a war, in order to preſerve his majeſty's dominions in Germany," a long debate enſued, in which it appeared evident that the miniſter had loſt much of that ſuperiority which he had hitherto maintained over the houſe. At length a formal addreſs was agreed to, which was in ſubſtance as follows: "We will, ſaid they, grant ſuch effectual ſupplies as ſhall enable your majeſty not only to be in a readineſs to ſupport your friends and allies, at ſuch time and in ſuch a manner as the exigency and circumſtance of affairs ſhall require, but to oppoſe and defeat any attempts that ſhall be made againſt your majeſty, your crown and kingdom; or againſt thoſe who, being equally engaged with your majeſty, by the faith of treaties, or united by the common intereſt, or common danger, ſhall be willing to concert ſuch meaſures as ſhall be found neceſſary and expedient for maintaining the balance of power in Europe."

The coldneſs of this addreſs tended greatly to the prejudice of the miniſter: his mercenary friends ſuſpecting his power was upon the decline, began by degrees to forſake him; and thoſe who followed him from principle, imagined that he had been too negligent in the intereſts of a maſter who had ſo highly favoured him.

The miniſter alſo at this time committed a piece of miſconduct, which did him infinite prejudice: this was the ſetting up for chairman of the committee of elections, one Mr. Earl, a perſon who was very little eſteemed by either party, againſt Dr. Lee, whoſe intereſt was warmly eſpouſed by the oppoſition, and whoſe character was unexceptionable. This queſtion being carried againſt the miniſter, gave a mortal damp to his intereſt, and was the prelude to ſtill greater mortifications that awaited him; for the oppoſition in the houſe of commons finding their aſcendancy, ſoon manifeſted the force of their ſuperiority, which was ſeen in the debates on the controverted elections for Boſſinney in Cornwall, the city of Weſtminſter, the ſhire of Berwick, and Chippenham in Wiltſhire, which were all decided in favour of the oppoſition.

At that for Weſtminſter, a party of ſoldiers being called on pretence of a riot, the poll books were ſhut, and the two court candidates, lord Sundon and Sir Charles Wager, returned by the high bailiff. The electors of Weſtminſter hereupon preſented a petition, which being taken into conſideration, the election was declared void, the high bailiff committed to cuſtody, the juſtices who ſent for the ſoldiers reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the houſe, and a writ ordered for a new election, when lord Percival and Mr. Edwin were choſen. When the election was declared void, there were great rejoicings throughout the city of Weſtminſter. The court loſt this election by a majority of two only. This, however, ſerved evidently to demonſtrate the declenſion of the miniſter's intereſt, and the concluſion of his influence in the houſe of commons; and he himſelf was convinced it was high time to provide for his own ſafety, by retiring from a place where the majority of a ſingle voice might at any time have ſent him to the Tower. He had, however, the conſolation of being certain to find the royal protection extend, as far as it conſtitutionally could, to ſecure his perſon from the rage and fury of the times. He therefore continued to give his attendance in the houſe till the 2d of February, and even during that time carried ſome points againſt the oppoſition; but the deciſion of the Chippenham election on that day being carried againſt him only by one vote, and he having been very roughly handled in the courſe of the debate, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby declared he would never enter it more.

This declaration was not ſo ſoon expected either by his friends or his enemies, and ſeems chiefly to have been accelerated by the repulſe Sir Robert met with in an attempt which, if it had ſucceeded, would probably, by dividing the oppoſition, have ſecured him a longer political reign.

His royal highneſs the prince of Wales, who was juſtly the darling of the whole nation, eſteeming Sir Robert Walpole as a bar between the king and his people, between the king and foreign powers, and between the king and himſelf, ſtood in the front of the oppoſition, and had for ſome years lived at a diſtance from his royal father's preſence. Sir Robert, therefore, finding himſelf ſo cloſely hunted, was reſolved to try, as the laſt expedient, to reconcile the king and prince, and thereby bring the latter off from the country party. With this view Dr. Secker, biſhop of Oxford, and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſent to the prince with a meſſage, importing, that if his royal highneſs would write a ſubmiſſive letter to his majeſty, 50,000l. ſhould be added to his annual income, 200,000l. ſhould be given him to pay his debts, he and his friends ſhould be admitted into the royal favour, and ſuitable proviſions ſhould be made for them all.

In anſwer to this, his royal highneſs deſired the archbiſhop to inform his majeſty, that however willing and deſirous he was to regain his loſt favour, he would not countenance any meaſure of government till the miniſter was removed.

A. D. 1742. It was this anſwer that determined Sir Robert to withdraw from power; but as it required ſome time to deliberate upon the firſt changes, it was requiſite to adjourn the houſe. Accordingly, on the 3d of February his majeſty adjourned both houſes of parliament to the 18th. In the mean time Sir Robert was, on the 8th of February, created by his majeſty, baron of Haughton, viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford: and on the 11th he reſigned all his employments.

Soon after the reſignation of Sir Robert, the prince of Wales. attended by a great concourſe of nobility and other perſons of diſtinction, waited on his majeſty at St. James's. He was received in a very gracious manner, a reconciliation took place between him and the king; and a guard was immediately appointed to attend his royal highneſs at Carleton-houſe. This happy event, together with that of a change in the miniſtry, was celebrated with public rejoicings in moſt parts of the kingdom.

It was now expected, that the honour of the nation would be retrieved, ſuch meaſures purſued as were beſt adapted to reſtore and maintain the antient conſtitution, and that the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny would be made into the cauſe of paſt miſmanagement. But it ſoon appeared that the removal of Sir Robert cauſed no material alteration in the meaſures purſued by the new miniſtry.

The parliament met, purſuant to their adjournment, on the 18th of February; when petitions were preſented to them from the merchants of the moſt eminent trading towns in the nation, complaining that their goods had been taken by the enemy, becauſe the miniſtry had neglected to ſend out force ſufficient to protect them. This induced the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the nature of theſe grievances; and the people in general began to hope for redreſs, when they found that the miniſter, who had ſo long been the object of their reſentment, was removed from the council.

But theſe hopes ſoon vaniſhed; for many of thoſe who had ſo violently oppoſed the miniſter, no ſooner found themſelves inveſted with power, than they reſolved to gratify their avarice and ambition, by acting on the ſame principles with him. Diſputes aroſe among them, which were agitated with great heat on both ſides, while the intereſt of the nation was, in a manner, totally neglected. Some were for calling the late miniſter to an account for his conduct; but others

opposed it, because the profits that he had
rly enjoyed were now divided among them-
. The nation in general cried out againſt him,
ere ſupported in the houſe by ſuch diſcontented
ers as had not been advanced to places in con-
nce of the late change; but he was powerfully
rted by many of thoſe who had formerly been
ſt inveterate enemies; and every attack made
t him proved abortive.

veral motions were made in the houſe of com-
to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments, and
ſe the penſion-bill; but both theſe paſſed in
gative, although ſupported by a powerful party.
began to open the eyes of the people; for as
two points were the principal objects the patriots
nded to have in view, and as their number had
conſiderably increaſed at the laſt general election,
not doubted but they would have carried both
otions: but they were miſtaken; for thoſe who
ppeared moſt forward while Sir Robert was at
ead of affairs, now did all in their power to op-
every meaſure that tended towards promoting
ntereſt and ſecurity of the nation. In a word,
eople loſt all confidence in their repreſentatives;
had changed men, but the ſame meaſures were
ed. Thoſe who had been the ſtrongeſt in the
ition were brought over by penſions, or al-
by titles; among whom was the famous Mr.
ney, who had ſo long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the
of commons. He was created earl of Bath,
gratified with a large part of the crown lands;
rom that moment his popularity ſunk into con-
.

the mean time the miniſtry, in order to ſooth
reſentments of the people, and, if poſſible, to
liate their affections, paſſed a bill for excluding
in officers from their ſeats in the houſe of com-
. Another bill was paſſed for encouraging the
manufacture; and a third to prevent the marri-
f lunatics. They voted 40,000 ſeamen, and
o landmen, for the ſervice of the current year:
provided for the ſubſidies paid to Denmark and
-Caſſel: they granted the ſum of 500,000l.
oted to ſend 16,304 effective men to the aſſiſt-
of the queen of Hungary.----The whole grants
is year amounted to 5,723 036l.

e national buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on
5th of July, went to the houſe of peers, and
ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the
ment.

s now time that we ſhould return to the conti-
and conſider the operations of the war, which
ritiſh nation had ſo liberally contributed to-
ſupporting.

e earl of Stair, a man equally acquainted with
nd politics, had been appointed commander in
of the army, in the room of John duke of
e, who had reſigned all his employments; and
in the ſpring that nobleman went over to the
e, to try if he could bring the united provinces
lare in favour of the queen of Hungary. But
gh he was a man of the greateſt addreſs, and
cquainted with the paſſions of ſtateſmen, yet he
it impoſſible to bring over the Dutch to our
res. Accordingly he was recalled, and lord
et ſent in his room. The troops that had been
in England for the ſervice of the queen of Hun-
embarked for Flanders the latter end of April,
the command of the earl of Stair. They were
oined by 25,000 Hanoverians, and 6000 Heſ-
who had been taken into the pay of Great
. But things afterwards took a different turn
hat was expected.

king of Sardinia was convinced that he muſt ſtand or fall with the houſe of Auſtria; and therefore, as ſoon as he heard of the alteration that had taken place in the Britiſh miniſtry, he reſolved to join his forces to thoſe of the queen of Hungary. The French were terribly alarmed at this reſolution of his Sardinian majeſty; and as they doubted not but their harbours would be viſited by the Britiſh fleets, they reſolved to put their navy on a proper footing. The Auſtrian arms, ſtill attended with more ſucceſs than could have been expected, penetrated into the center of Bavaria, and Munich, the capital city of that electorate, ſurrendered to them. The queen of Hungary, no ſtranger with reſpect to the moſt proper methods to be uſed in order to acquire the eſteem and ſecure the affections of her army, wrote a letter to general Khevenhuller, deſiring him to thank the ſoldiers in her name, and to preſent them with the pictures of herſelf and her ſon Joſeph. No ſooner were the pictures ſhewn to the army, than they ſeemed fired with enthuſiaſm in favour of their ſovereign; and their whole conduct, during the remainder of the war, was a convincing proof that their loyalty was ſincere.

From the critical ſituation of affairs in Bavaria, the French were induced to ſend thither a freſh reinforcement, in order to drive the Auſtrians from Munich; upon which the garriſon, being afraid that they would be taken priſoners, abandoned the place: but before the French could march thither, it was retaken by a large body of Auſtrians. General Khevenhuller finding that another body of French, under the command of duke Harcourt, were marching to oppoſe him, quitted the city of Munich; and in order to ſecure a retreat, threw a bridge acroſs the Danube. Both armies came to an engagement near the banks of that river, where the Bavarians were defeated with conſiderable loſs: but prince Maurice of Saxony, afterwards known by the name of Marſhal Saxe, took the town of Egra; while Glatz, and ſome other towns in Sileſia, being greatly reduced for want of proviſions, and having loſt many of their men, were obliged to ſurrender to the king of Pruſſia.

The army under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain amounted to upwards of 40,000 men, beſides a large body of irregulars drawn from the moſt remote parts of the provinces. The Auſtrians had the greateſt confidence in prince Charles; and, in general, he was very ſucceſsful, for he prevented the king of Pruſſia from marching into Bohemia, at leaſt for ſome time. This gave freſh ſpirits to the Auſtrians; and prince Charles finding himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of coming to a battle with the king of Pruſſia, both armies met at a place called Czaſlaw, about 30 miles eaſt from Prague. A moſt bloody engagement enſued; for both armies were nearly equal in number, and both were compoſed of as brave ſoldiers as ever took the field. The king of Pruſſia, after his men had done every thing in their power, was going to give way; but the irregulars that followed the Auſtrian army broke into the Pruſſian camp for plunder, and their example being followed by the regulars, the king embraced that opportunity to rally, and prince Charles was defeated, with the loſs of 3000 men.

This victory might have enabled the king of Pruſſia to penetrate into the heart of Bohemia; but he began to diſcover that he could not put any confidence in the French who had hitherto deceived him with promiſes of new reinforcements. This induced him to think of making peace with the queen of Hungary, and no time ſeemed ſo proper as when the memory of the late battle was recent in the minds of the Auſtrians. A packet, with diſpatches, had been ſent to the marſhal de Broglio, the French general, which was, by miſtake, delivered to his Pruſſian majeſty; and, upon peruſing the contents, he diſcovered that it was the intention of the French court to ſpare their army as much as poſſible, by throwing the burden of the war upon him. In a letter to marſhal de Broglio, and in a conference with marſhal de Belleiſle, he upbraided them for not ſeconding him in his operations; but they ſtill continued to deceive him with falſe hopes. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between the king of Pruſſia and the queen of Hungary, by which the latter gave up Sileſia, with the province of Glatz in Bohemia, upon condition of his withdrawing his forces, and obſerving a ſtrict neutrality. The elector of Saxony made peace with the queen of Hungary at the ſame time; ſo that the French were deprived of two of their allies, and the emperor was left expoſed to the whole power of the Auſtrian army.

Immediately after the battle of Czaſlaw, prince Charles marched towards Budweis, where he was joined by prince Lobkowitz, and their united army amounted to 60,000 men. Thus reinforced, prince Charles croſſed the Moldaw, and attacked a body of French under the command of M. de Aubigne, and put them to flight. He purſued and haraſſed them ſo much, that their loſs was equal to a defeat in a general engagement. The huſſars pillaged the French of their baggage; and ſuch of the ſoldiers as happened to ſtray from the main body were murdered by the peaſants. In the mean time, the marſhal de Broglio came up with a body of forces to oppoſe prince Charles, who was on the point of cutting off the whole French army; but nothing could re-animate the drooping ſpirits of his army; and they were ſo much ſtruck with terror, that they never looked behind them till they came under the walls of Prague. Here they were joined by the army under the command of marſhal de Belleiſle, and both generals reſolved to concert the moſt proper methods for oppoſing prince Charles. As ſoon as prince Charles came within ſight of the French at Prague, he encamped his men, and next day he was joined by his brother, the grand duke.

The marſhal de Belleiſle was now ſo much diſtracted concerning what means he could uſe to preſerve his army, that he offered to give up Prague upon condition that his men were allowed to depart, unmoleſted, out of Bohemia; but all the anſwer they received was, they muſt ſurrender priſoners of war. This would have been a fatal ſtroke to France; and had it taken place, their whole ſcheme would have been defeated; ſo that there remained nothing to be done but to defend the place to the laſt extremity; and, in conſequence thereof, one of the moſt remarkable ſieges took place that we meet with in hiſtory.

The trenches were opened on the 28th of July; and although the Auſtrian army was more formidable in appearance than that of the French, yet the latter were better acquainted with the arts of attack and defence, and their generals behaved with the moſt intrepid ſpirit and undaunted reſolution. They knew that the ſtrongeſt enemy they had to contend with was famine, for they doubted not but the Auſtrians would hinder the peaſants from ſending in proviſions. This happened juſt as they expected; for in a ſhort time, meat was ſold for 3s. 6d. a pound, and horſe fleſh was eaten by many of the gentry. Forage was ſo ſcarce, that 14,000 horſes were either killed or turned looſe, while the French officers gave every thing they had to purchaſe proviſions for the ſoldiers.

On the 22d of Auguſt the marſhal de Belleiſle made a ſally, at the head of 12,000 men, drove the Auſtrians from their works, filled up ſome of the intrenchments, and took general Monty priſoner, beſides killing 1500 men. Nor was the bravery of the Auſtrians leſs conſpicious; for prince Charles and the grand Duke expoſed their perſons on every occaſion, in order to animate the ſoldiers. Cardinal Fleury, who had the utmoſt averſion to war, propoſed bringing about an accommodation, and deſired the king of Great Britain to become a mediator; but his majeſty knew that no confidence could be placed in any propoſal made by the cardinal, and therefore rejected his overtures with diſdain. Finding himſelf baffled in this undertaking, he wrote a letter to the Auſtrian generals, wherein he informed them, that he had oppoſed the war, but was over-ruled by the king and the marſhal de Belleiſle; and this letter, which made a conſiderable noiſe, was publiſhed at Vienna.

In the mean time the city of Prague was ſubjected to the moſt direful calamities. Beſides the French army, it contained at leaſt 100,000 inhabitants, whoſe diſtreſs was beyond deſcription; nor was there any poſſibility of relieving them. The marquis de Fenelon, then ambaſſador at the Hague, propoſed that the army under the command of the marſhal Maillebois ſhould be ſent to relieve Prague; for France had been, in a manner, exhauſted both of men and money. This propoſal was ſtrongly oppoſed by the cardinal, who inſiſted, that if the brave army under the command of marſhal Maillebois ſhould be ſent into Bohemia, then France would be left expoſed both to England and Holland; but the marquis de Fenelon having undertaken to keep the ſtates-general from engaging in the war, the meaſure was adopted, although apparently attended with very dangerous conſequences. The emperor was averſe to this plan, becauſe his hereditary dominions were over-run by the Auſtrians; and he inſiſted, that if they were driven out of Bavaria, Prague would be relieved of courſe. Nor was Maillebois leſs averſe to this meaſure than the emperor; but the orders ſent to him being abſolute, he began his march from the Lower Rhine about the middle of Auguſt, at the head of a brave, well-diſciplined army. The duke de Harcourt was then in Bavaria, the imperialiſts were under the command of general Seckendorff, and the brave Khevenhuller watched their motions with an army of Auſtrians. But the principal object that engaged the attention of Europe was the fate of Prague.

As ſoon as prince Charles of Lorrain was informed that the marſhal Maillebois was marching againſt him, he turned the ſiege of Prague into a blockade; and, committing the care of it to prince Lobkowitz, ſet out to meet the French, in order to prevent their marching into Bohemia. In his march he was joined by the troops under Khevenhuller, but not before the imperialiſts had, by forced marches, given them the ſlip; and, in their way towards the French camp, marſhal Saxe, become a great favourite with the army, joined them, ſo that Maillebois found himſelf ſtrongly ſupported. This junction of the three armies was entirely owing to the good conduct of count Saxe; and from that time his knowledge in military affairs ſhone with ſuch a diſtinguiſhing luſtre, that no plan of operations was laid down without firſt conſulting him.

The French marſhals, Belleiſle and Broglio, reſolving to avail themſelves of the departure of prince Charles, made ſeveral ſallies upon the Auſtrians, who were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege; ſo that all the detached parties of each army found an opportunity of joining together in two very formidable bodies. Prince Charles finding himſelf reduced to the alternative of either venturing on a battle, the fate of which would decide the war, or leaving the kingdom of Bohemia expoſed to the French, reſolved to avail himſelf of the moſt trifling circumſtance.

The ſcarcity of proviſions had obliged the French army once more to divide itſelf into ſeparate bodies; and prince Charles, who was well acquainted with the country, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent their joining a ſecond time. This had the deſired effect; for the French being reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of proviſions, the main body, under Maillebois, marched towards Bavaria, where that general was diſgraced, and the command given to marſhal Broglio, who had diſguiſed himſelf as a peaſant to eſcape the Auſtrians, and in that manner had travelled ſeveral days without being ſuſpected.

Marſhal Belleiſle, who had been obliged to return to Prague, was ſo cloſely blocked up by the Auſtrians, that he reſolved, if poſſible, to make his eſcape from a place that he was not able to defend. This ſcheme he put in practice in ſuch a maſterly manner, as muſt convince every one that he was one of the moſt accompliſhed generals of that age. He ſent out ſome ſpies, who pretended to be deſerters, and they being taken to the Auſtrian general Lobkowitz, they informed him that the marſhal, during the next night, intended to make a general ſally from a particular quarter of the town. The Auſtrians, not doubting the truth of this ſtory, drew off their forces to that quarter; and, in the mean time, marſhal de Belleiſle made his eſcape from the place, and got at leaſt a day's march from Prague before prince Lobkowitz knew any thing of his departure. Three thouſand of the French were left in Prague, and Belleiſle continued marching ten days, over ice and ſnow, before the Auſtrians could come up with him. At laſt prince Lobkowitz getting intelligence what route they had taken, came in ſight of them; but not chuſing to venture on a general engagement with men reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, he reſolved to block up ſuch paſſes as lay before them, and ſo prevent them from joining with the main body of forces in Bavaria.

But notwithſtanding the vigilance of the Auſtrian general, yet the marſhal de Belleiſle roſe ſuperior to every difficulty. He made choice of a road ſo dangerous and unfrequented, that the enemy had no notion of his ever going that way; and although he was ſo much afflicted with the rheumatiſm, that he was obliged to be carried in a ſedan, yet he gave orders in the moſt cool and deliberate manner, without ever complaining of the hardſhips he ſuffered. At laſt, after a march, over ſnow and ice, of above 150 miles, and ſurmounting incredible difficulties, he arrived ſafe at Egra, having loſt about 1000 men thro' the inclemency of the weather, but none by any other accidents whatever. The troops left by him in Prague capitulated on the ſame day that he had completed his march, and were allowed to march to Egra; ſo that this diſtreſſed city was relieved, after a ſiege of five months and ſome days.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Germany during the year 1742. But we muſt now look to Italy, where the different contending powers were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to light up the flames of war, and bring the ſmaller principalities, as well as the moſt powerful ſtates, into an alliance with them. The queen of Hungary, ſenſible that the king of Sardinia, conſiſtent with his own intereſt, could not join with France or Spain, reſolved to bring him over to her meaſures; and accordingly diſpatched an ambaſſador, for that purpoſe, to the court of Turin. But the Sardinian monarch was too cunning to enter into any negotiation till he had made propoſals to the court of London, in order to procure ſuch a ſubſidy as would defray his expences. Indeed the Engliſh miniſtry were now convinced that they ought not to keep any meaſures of a pacific nature with France: the views of that court were now fully laid open, eſpecially when it is conſidered in what manner they aſſiſted the Spaniſh fleet when it was oppoſed in the Mediterranean by admiral Haddock, whoſe orders were of ſo ambiguous a nature, that he knew not in what manner to act.

In the mean time admiral Haddock, partly from the fatigues of the ſervice, and partly from anxiety of mind occaſioned by the numerous diſappointments he had met with, found his conſtitution ſo impaired as to be under the neceſſity of returning to England for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. In conſequence of this the command of the fleet devolved on commodore Leſtock, who had lately arrived from the Weſt-Indies, and was ſent up the Streights with ten ſail of men of war, to reinforce admiral Haddock, and oppoſe the united fleets of France and Spain.

As ſoon as admiral Haddock ſet ſail for England, the commodore made a proper inquiry into the ſtate of the fleet; and finding that the whole number of ſhips amounted to 28, he weighed anchor, and arrived ſafe in the harbour of Port-Mahon, in the iſland of Minorca. There he took in freſh proviſions; and having refitted ſuch of the ſhips as were damaged, he ſailed from Mahon, and appeared before the harbour of Toulon. The French, who imagined that he had come there in a hoſtile manner, were filled with conſternation; the whole adjacent country was alarmed by fires, beacons, &c. But they ſoon found their fears were without foundation; for the commodore next day left the place, and proceeded to Antibes, on the coaſt of Italy.

Some changes having taken place in the miniſtry, Leſtock was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the white: but it being determined to attempt ſome bold enterprize in the Mediterranean, during the courſe of the ſummer, the ſupreme concern of the fleet was beſtowed upon Thomas Matthews, eſq; vice admiral of the red, who was at the ſame time inveſted with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary to the king of Sardinia, and the other princes and ſtates of Italy. Matthews left England in the month of April, and in his paſſage took ſeveral French and Spaniſh merchant ſhips, and at length ſafely joined rear-admiral Leſtock in the harbour of Villa Franca.

No miniſtry, perhaps, ever took a more impolitic ſtep than in joining theſe two admirals in command, it being well known, that there had long ſubſiſted between them an inveterate diſlike to each other. Matthews even declared to the miniſtry, that he accepted the command merely on condition that Leſtock ſhould be ſpeedily recalled. But notwithſtanding this plain declaration, the latter was continued in his command till the honour of the nation was ſhamefully ſacrificed to the gratification of private reſentment.

Soon after admiral Matthews arrived in the Mediterranean, he detached captain Norris, in the Kingſton of 50 guns, and the Duke fire ſhip, to burn five Spaniſh gallies, which had taken ſhelter in the bay of St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean: this order was effectually executed. But no action of the admiral's proved ſo agreeable to the people of England as that of ſending commodore Martin with a ſquadron of ſhips and bomb-veſſels to Naples, to demand, from the king of the two Sicilies, a promiſe in writing, to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, and alſo not to give them for the future, any kind of aſſiſtance. If this demand ſhould be refuſed, Martin had orders to bombard the city of Naples.

The conſternation of the Neapolitans was incredible at the ſight of the formidable force Mr. Martin brought with him, and the peremptory manner in which he made the above demand: and however his Sicilian majeſty might diſlike the inſult upon his dignity, his private reſentment was obliged to ſubmit to the intereſt of the ſtate, which was in no condition to defend itſelf. Accordingly, after ſeveral meſſages between the commodore and the duke de Montealegre, the Sicilian miniſter, the latter in his maſter's name gave a written promiſe that his troops ſhould be immediately withdrawn out of Lombardy; and that he would not in any manner whatſoever aid or aſſiſt thoſe of Spain any more during the preſent war in Italy. This promiſe was inſtantly performed: the Neapolitan troops were forthwith recalled; by which means the Spaniſh army was ſo conſiderably weakened, that they were incapable of performing any action of importance during the remaining part of the campaign. By this bold, but ſucceſsful, ſtep of the Britiſh admiral, the queen of Hungary was ſaved from apparent deſtruction.

The Spaniards had attempted to ſend a large body of men from Italy; but although they were powerfully aſſiſted by the French, yet ſuch was the ſpirited conduct of the king of Sardinia, that he drove them back from Piedmont with very conſiderable loſs. The Auſtrians in Italy taking freſh courage from this circumſtance, returned to the duchy of Modena, and laid all the towns under contribution. Thus every thing on the part of the queen of Hungary ſeemed to wear a moſt promiſing aſpect in Italy. The king of Sardinia was her ally; the king of Naples was prevented from doing her any injury: ſome of the ſmaller ſtates were overawed; while admiral Matthews was cruiſing in the Mediterranean, to prevent either the French or Spaniards from landing any forces.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent of Europe, the Britiſh affairs in America were in a very deplorable ſituation. The admiral and the commander of the land forces could never agree in any ſingle propoſal, and the time that ſhould have been devoted towards proſecuting the war was ſpent in idle contention, the effect of paſſion and malevolence.

A reinforcement had been ſent over to admiral Vernon in the Weſt-Indies; and it was propoſed to ſail to Porto-Bello, and from thence to ſend a detachment over the iſthmus of Darien, to Panama, the capital city of that province. Admiral Vernon was of opinion, that no time ſhould be loſt; and therefore, having anchored in the harbour of Porto-Bello, he diſpatched Mr. Lowther, an officer of the army, to bring him proper intelligence concerning the ſituation of Panama, and what force would be neceſſary to reduce it. Upon the return of Mr. Lowther, a council of war was held, wherein he gave it as his opinion, that they could not, with ſafety, attack the fort of Panama, on account of the rainy ſeaſon, and the great ſickneſs that prevailed in the army. In this he was ſeconded by the other officers of the land forces; and admiral Vernon, vexed to the utmoſt, found himſelf under the neceſſity of returning once more to Jamaica, to take in freſh proviſions, without having been able to do any thing for the ſervice of his country.

The parliament met on the 16th of November, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed them, "that he had augmented the Britiſh troops in the Low-countries with 16,000 Hanoverians, and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrians, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe in all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and his ſtrict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requiſition of Sweden for his good offices to bring about a peace between that nation and Ruſſia; the defenſive alliances which he had contracted with the czarina and the king of Pruſſia, as events which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not manifeſted a ſeaſonable ſpirit and vigour in the defence and aſſiſtance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe; he obſerved, that the honour of his crown and kingdoms, the ſucceſs of the war with Spain, the re-eſtabliſhment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their reſolutions." His majeſty then informed the houſe of commons in particular, "that he had ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be laid before them, and alſo the account of the expence of thoſe particular ſervices which he had already mentioned, and which they would find to have been concerted in as frugal a manner as the nature of them would admit. He ſaid, he was perſuaded they would readily grant him ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be found neceſſary for the ſecurity and welfare of the nation, requiſite for the ſupport of the common cauſe, and adequate to the emergency."

After his majeſty had retired, the commons returned to their own houſe, where great debates aroſe concerning the words of the addreſs that ſhould be preſented. This oppoſition was occaſioned by the conduct of the diſcontented members, who not being gratified according to their expectations, became as inveterate enemies to that miniſtry they had ſet up, as they had been to that which they pulled down. But all theſe attempts proved unſucceſsful; for both houſes preſented moſt dutiful and loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, wherein they approved entirely of every part of his conduct, and thanked him for his great care in watching ſo attentively over the affairs of Europe. They aſſured him, that nothing ſhould be wanting to ſupport the dignity of his majeſty's crown, and humble his enemies in every part of the world.

The attention of the commons was firſt engaged in concerting meaſures for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year. The national debt at this time amounted to 48,915,047l. 16s. 9d¼.

A. D. 1743. After various debates, the means agreed on for raiſing the ſupplies were as follow. The land tax was advanced to 4s. in the pound; 750,000l. were borrowed on exciſe-bills; 800,000l. were to be raiſed by a lottery; and 100,000l. was taken from the ſinking fund, beſides the whole overplus of the exchequer. The whole ſum granted by parliament to defray the expences of this year amounted to 5,314,100l.

Several motions were made to revive the place and penſion bills, and to enquire into the conduct of the earl of Orford during the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration. But although theſe motions were ſtrongly ſupported by Sir Watkin-Williams Wynn and Mr. Lyttleton, yet they were thrown out by a great majority.

Another motion was made, that his majeſty be enabled to take into Britiſh pay ſuch a body of Hanoverian and Heſſian dragoons as ſhould be conſiſtent with the ſtate of affairs on the continent. This was moſt violently oppoſed by the country-party; and it was urged, that by the act of ſettlement, Great-Britain was not to be concerned in any war relating to his majeſty's electoral dominions: nay, ſome of the members inſiſted, that to demand money to ſupport the Hanoverian forces was a groſs impoſition on the Engliſh nation; for they knew that thoſe troops could not take part with the queen of Hungary, without bringing his majeſty under the ban of the empire. It was anſwered by the minority, that every thing done by his majeſty was in compliance with the advice of his parliament; but this was denied by thoſe in the oppoſition, who inſiſted, that what was promiſed was upon a ſuppoſition that the ſtates-general would have joined their forces with thoſe of Great-Britain, in order to oppoſe the French, and ſupport the queen of Hungary. At laſt, the queſtion being put, it was carried in favour of the miniſtry by a great majority.

The next buſineſs the parliament entered on was, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the licences for the ſale of wine and ſpirituous liquors, and to impoſe other duties upon them than what had been done hitherto. It appeared evident, that the late reſtriction upon the ſale of ſpirituous liquors had not been of any ſervice in promoting the health or morals of the people; and therefore, that the ſale of thoſe pernicious articles might become more common, it was propoſed to lower the taxes. The whole bench of biſhops voted againſt this meaſure; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in particular, ſpoke long and learnedly on the ſubject. Lord Harvey, who had been deprived of the privy-ſeal, vented all his ſpleen againſt the miniſtry, by comparing their conduct, in lowering the duties on ſpirituous liquors, to a tyrant who lets looſe a wild beaſt upon a parcel of innocent children.

On the other hand, the bill was ſupported by the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Bath, Cholmondeley, and Ilay, with the lords Bathurſt and Carteret. During this argument, many brilliant ſallies of wit were thrown out on both ſides, particularly by the earl of Ilay, who levelled his ſatire at the biſhops; and by the earl of Cheſterfield, who ripped up all the ſores of the miniſtry. At laſt, the queſtion being put, it was, as uſual, carried in favour of the miniſtry by a very great majority.

The minority in both houſes, finding the power of the miniſtry too ſtrong for them to overthrow, reſolved to give them all the trouble they could, by plying them in parliament with one motion after another. Accordingly they moved, that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would order the proper officer to lay before the houſe copies of all papers and memorials, with the anſwers to them, that had paſſed between the courts of Vienna and London: but this motion, with ſeveral others, was carried in favour of the miniſtry.

On the 22d of April his majeſty went to the houſe; and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, delivered a ſpeech, wherein he told them, that he had ordered his army, in conjunction with that of the queen of Hungary, to croſs the Rhine, and watch the motions of the French: that he had given orders to continue a ſtrong fleet in the Mediterranean, to prevent the Spaniards from ſending forces to Italy; and another in the Weſt-Indies: that he would not neglect any proper meaſures that could tend towards reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe, and procuring ſuch an honourable peace as would promote the intereſt both of his people and his allies. Laſtly, he thanked the commons for the chearful manner in which they had granted the ſupplies; told them, that the money ſhould be expended according to their direction; and doubted not but they would be ready to ſupport him on any future occaſion.

After the king had finiſhed his ſpeech, the lord chancellor, by his majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament.

During theſe tranſactions in England the greateſt preparations were made, in moſt parts of Europe, for opening the campaign. In Germany, the emperor Charles VII. was at the head of one party, ſtrongly ſupported by the French; and, in oppoſition to him, was the queen of Hungary, aſſiſted by Great-Britain. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to prevail with the ſtates-general to join in ſupporting the houſe of Auſtria; and theſe endeavours being ſeconded by the prince of Orange, who was extremely fond of war, the Dutch raiſed, or rather increaſed, their army to 40,000 foot and 5,000 horſe, to be ready to march when ordered. This ſpirited reſolution in the ſtates, who had ſo long remained neuter, ſurpriſed all Europe; but, upon enquiry, it was found that they had been inſtigated by Mr. Van Haren, a young gentleman, and one of the deputies. He wrote elegant allegorical pieces, wherein he compared Holland to ancient Greece, when that famous republic was oppreſſed by the Perſians and Macedonians; and theſe pieces being univerſally read, the people were rouſed from a ſtate of inſenſibility.

The king of Pruſſia was cultivating the arts of peace in his dominions. The new empreſs of Ruſſia refuſed to join the French*; and the king of Sweden was too far advanced in years to engage in any enterprizes of a public nature.

His Britannic majeſty (having reſolved in the approaching campaign to head his troops in perſon) immediately after the prorogation of the parliament ſat out for Germany, attended by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction.

The campaign had been opened this year ſooner than uſual. The queen of Hungary ſeemed to be in a proſperous ſtate; for the French army had ſuffered conſiderably during the preceding winter, owing to the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the ſoldiers crowding themſelves too near German ſtoves filled with burning wood, whereby the mortality among them became general, and great numbers periſhed.

The emperor took the field with what forces he could raiſe, and ſeemed determined to act in the moſt vigorous manner; but prince Charles of Lorrain, having gathered together an army of Auſtrians, attacked the imperialiſts, and gave them a total overthrow. Beſides priſoners, 5,000 were left dead on the ſpot, and the whole baggage and artillery of the emperor fell into the hands of the Auſtrians. This victory opened a way for the Auſtrians to penetrate into Bavaria, and the towns in general ſurrendered on their approach. The diſcomfited emperor was obliged to take ſhelter in Augſburg, one of the imperial cities; but Mentzel, an Hungarian general, at the head of a ſtrong party, drove him from it, ſo that he was obliged to ſeek ſhelter in Franckfort.

In the mean time the Britiſh forces, under the command of the earl of Stair, began their march for the Rhine, and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne. Their intention was to join the Auſtrian forces under prince Charles of Lorrain: and the French king, in order to prevent this junction, ordered marſhal Noailles to aſſemble

---

* About this time the French ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs in the death of cardinal Fleury, who paid the debt of nature in the 90th year of his age. He was a man of great political abilities, and ſeemed to poſſeſs the untainted ſimplicity of the primitive ages. He had lived in an obſcure manner till upwards of ſixty years old, and then he was appointed biſhop of Frejus, a ſmall living, and ſituated in a very unhealthy part of the kingdom. At laſt ſuperior merit brought him into office, and the pope honoured him with a cardinal's hat. As a miniſter, the principal object he had in view was to promote the internal happineſs of the French people, to preſerve peace in Europe, and to make his ſovereign great without oppreſſing his ſubjects. In him, the French king loſt an able miniſter, a faithful ſervant, and an honeſt man: and although he might have enriched his family at the expence of the public, yet he deſpiſed ſuch meanneſs, and died extremely poor. Lewis XV, king of France, with his ſon, the late Dauphin, viſited the cardinal in his laſt moments; and his dying advice to them was to deſiſt from any farther connections in the war.

60,000 men upon the Mayne. After ſecuring the towns of Spire, Worms and Oppenheim, the marſhal paſſed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and poſted himſelf on the eaſt ſide of that river, above Franckfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Kilenbach, between the river Mayne and the foreſt of d'Armſtadt; from which place he made a motion to Aſchaffenburgh, with an intention to ſecure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but the enemy, who lay on the other ſide of that river, had taken poſſeſſion of the poſts above, in ſuch a manner as to intercept all ſupplies. At the ſame time they found means to cut off the communication of water between Frankfort and the confederates.

On the 9th of June his Britannic majeſty arrived at the camp, and had the mortification to find his army, which conſiſted of 40,000 men, in danger of being ſtarved; but having received intelligence that 12,000 Hanoverians and Heſſians had reached Hanau, he determined to march thither in order to join thoſe forces, and procure proviſions for his army. Accordingly, on the 26th of June, he decamped, but had hardly quitted Aſchaffenburgh before it was ſeized by the French, and after marching about three leagues, he perceived the enemy to the number of 30,000, had paſſed the river, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to diſpute his paſſage. He now found himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation; the enemy at Aſchaffenburgh prevented his retreat; his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded on the right by hills and woods, and flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the oppoſite ſide of which the French had erected batteries to annoy the allies in their march; a conſiderable part of the French army was, at the ſame time, drawn up at the end of a narrow paſs, having the village of Dettingen on the right, a wood on the left, and a moraſs in the center. Thus hemmed in on every ſide, his Britannic majeſty found himſelf reduced to the alternative of either fighting on the moſt unequal terms, or ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner of war, with his whole army. But all the precautions taken by the French were rendered abortive by the precipitate conduct of the duke de Grammont, who, impatient of waiting any longer, advanced to a riſing ground, and attacked the allies before the one half of them had paſſed the defile. Here the French were led into the ſame ſnare they had laid for their enemies; for their cannon, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, not being able to give the detached party any aſſiſtance, great numbers of them were killed.

The marſhal de Noailles having ſeen, from the oppoſite banks of the river, the conduct of the duke de Grammont, marched to his aſſiſtance, but too late; for the allied army behaved with ſo much intrepidity, that the French were defeated with great ſlaughter, and that army which in the morning ſeemed devoted to deſtruction, was in poſſeſſion of the field before evening. Indeed, the conduct of his Britannic majeſty, during the whole of the engagement, was conſiſtent with the character of a great hero. He rode through the ranks, encouraging the men to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and they obeyed in the moſt chearful manner. No troops ever behaved with greater bravery than the Engliſh, and ſome of their principal officers were killed, particularly general Clayton, who was ſhot dead by a random ſhot from a French cannon. General Monroy, a brave Hanoverian officer ſhared the ſame fate; and the gallant duke of Cumberland, whoſe behaviour during the battle procured him the eſteem of all preſent, was wounded in the leg, as were ſeveral other officers of the higheſt diſtinction.

Immediately after the action his majeſty continued his march to Hanau, where he joined the Hanoverian and Heſſian forces. A general thanſgiving was performed on the 24th of June by the whole confederate army, for the ſucceſs of the late battle. The two armies continued on different ſides of the river Mayne till the 12th of July, when marſhal Noailles received intelligence that prince Charles of Lotrain was bending his march towards the confederate army, with an intent to place him between two fires; he reſolved to prevent this deſign by decamping in the night of the twentieth, having firſt deſtroyed his magazines.

About the latter end of Auguſt the allied army paſſed the Rhine at Mentz, and his Britannic majeſty fixed his head quarters in the epiſcopal palace of Worms; marſhal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alſace. The latter end of September the allies advanced to Spires, where they were joined by 20,000 Dutch auxiliaries. They then took poſſeſſion of Gimmerſhein, and demoliſhed the lines which the enemy had formed on the Queich, after which they again retired to Mentz.

Towards the latter end of October the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated; the troops in the Britiſh pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the reſt took the rout to their reſpective countries.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor Charles VII. unable to ſupport his dignity, wearied out with the fatigues of war, and feeling for the miſery he had brought on his ſubjects, by being a dupe to French councils, reſolved to conclude a ſeparate peace with the queen of Hungary; but the Auſtrian miniſter would hearken to no terms of accommodation. Many of the German princes began to conſider the queen of Hungary as too inflexible, and, at the ſame time, they pitied the unfortunate emperor, who longed earneſtly for peace. The two laſt places of importance in his dominions, viz. Egra and Ingolſtadt, were taken by the enemy, and in the laſt mentioned were found the records and archives of the electorate of Bavaria, the family jewels, pictures, plate, curioſities, and moſt of the valuable things belonging to the Bavarian nobility. This was a fatal ſtroke to the emperor; and to increaſe his misfortune, his kinſman and faithful counſellor, the archbiſhop of Mentz, was dead, and his ſucceſſor was a friend to the Auſtrians.

The campaign in Italy was not productive of any material tranſaction on either ſide. In the beginning of the year the king of Sardinia aſſembled an army of 40,000 men, in order to oppoſe the Spaniards, who had taken poſſeſſion of Savoy: but he was too inactive; for he rather remained on the defenſive, than offered to attempt any thing of importance. Count de Gages, who commanded another army of Spaniards in Italy, tranſmitted accounts to Madrid, that he had loſt, out of 40,000 men, above 10,000 by ſickneſs: but the king of Spain, who was under the influence of his queen, ſent peremptory orders to the count to engage; and accordingly he croſſed the Panaro, and encamped in a place belonging to the pope, reſolving to act ſome time on the defenſive. He ſent ſeveral preſſing letters to the king of Naples, to ſend him a freſh reinforcement: but however willing that prince was to aſſiſt the Spaniards, yet he knew, that if he had ſent them any part of his army, the Engliſh fleet would have battered down his capital.

In the month of September, prince Lobkowitz was ſent to take the command of the Auſtrian army in Italy, and immediately reſolved to take the field. Accordingly he marched againſt count Gages, who not having force ſufficient to oppoſe him, retreated to Fano, a ſmall town near the gulph of Venice, where he reſolved to wait for the Auſtrians. He cauſed all the paſſes and avenues leading to the town to be fortified; but prince Lobkowitz, knowing that the place would naturally be given up on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and not doubting but, before the expiration of the ſeaſon, the Spaniſh army would be obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, he did not offer to purſue them, but put his men into quarters.

The prince de Conti was ſent, at the head of 12,000 men, to reinforce the army in Savoy, under the command of Don Philip; and to theſe were added 4000 foot, drawn from the Spaniſh regiments in Catalonia. The deſign of ſending theſe troops into Savoy, was to attempt to force a paſſage through the Alps, which had been attempted before by the marquis de las Minas, though without ſucceſs, and 3000 of the Spaniſh ſoldiers were cut off. The united army of the French and Spaniards now amounted to 56,000 men. As it was difficult to procure proviſions for ſuch a numerous body of men in the mountains of Savoy, where the poor peaſants have ſcarce as much as will ſupport themſelves, it was reſolved, in a council of war, to march to Chateau-Dauphine; but, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, they found themſelves under the neceſſity of going into the ſame winter quarters they had occupied before: ſo that nothing of importance was done againſt his Sardinian majeſty during the whole campaign.

In the Mediterranean things remained in the ſame ſituation as the preceding year. Admiral Matthews had taken care to prevent the Spaniſh and French fleets from joining; but as the French reſolved not to act any longer in an underhand manner, it was agreed, that the fleet blocked up in Toulon ſhould be reinforced by ſome ſhips juſt finiſhed in that harbour; while another ſquadron was to be fitted out at Breſt, to intercept any reinforcements that might happen to be ſent from England to the Mediterranean. But ſome ſhips belonging to the Spaniards being taken by Matthews, he found out the ſcheme laid to overpower him; and ſent notice of it to the miniſtry, earneſtly begging that they would ſend him more ſhips and men, the fleet being in a very miſerable ſituation.

Sir Chaloner Ogle ſucceeded to the united command of the army and navy, in the room of general Wentworth and admiral Vernon, who had both been recalled home; but the Spaniſh admiral, de Torre, being ſtill in the harbour of the Havannah, with a large fleet, no material enterprize could be attempted. In the beginning of the year, however, he determined to make an attack on the Spaniards, which, in caſe of failure, could not materially weaken his fleet. He accordingly ordered captain Knowles, of the Suffolk, a 70 gun ſhip, to take under him the Burford of 70 guns, the Aſſiſtance, Norwich and Advice, of 50, and the Scarborough of 20, with three ſloops, and to proceed to Antigua, where he was to be joined by the Eltham of 40 guns and the Lively of 20. With this ſquadron he was to make an attempt upon la Gueira and Porto Cavallo, on the Caraccao coaſt; but the governor of the Caraccao having received intelligence of this expedition, erected new batteries, augmented the garriſons with a numerous body of Indians, Mulattoes and Negroes; and prevailed on the Dutch governor of Curacoa, an iſland of the leſſer Antilles, to ſupply him with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; ſo that when Knowles made an attack upon the place, he met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and ſailed immediately for the iſland of Curacoa, in order to repair the damage he had ſuſtained. He had one lieutenant and ninety-two men killed, and 380 wounded. The Spaniards, however, had no great cauſe for exultation, as their town and fortifications were almoſt deſtroyed, beſides the loſs of 700 men.

Not diſcouraged by the loſs he had ſuſtained, Knowles no ſooner refitted his ſquadron than he put to ſea with a reſolution to make an attempt upon Porto Cavallo, off which place he came to an anchor on the 15th of April; when taking a view of the ſituation of the Spaniards, he diſcerned twelve of their ſmalleſt ſhips, and three gallies, hauled up to the head of the harbour out of gun ſhot, and two large ones, one of ſixty, the other of forty guns, moored cloſe over to the other ſhore, there not being depth of water ſufficient for them to go up the harbour. A ſhip was likewiſe laid acroſs the channel ready to be ſunk, if an entrance ſhould be attempted, a chain being fixed from the caſtle to her ſtern, and another from her head to the main, where the Spaniards had lately erected three faſcine batteries, which extended a conſiderable length; and on the low point, called Punta Brava, were two other faſcine batteries, one of twelve guns the other of ſeven: but the commodore perceiving they were ill-deſigned, and might eaſily be flanked, reſolved on the attempt. Accordingly the next morning two ſhips were ordered to cannonade, and ſoon ſilenced both thoſe batteries. In the evening the forces were landed under the command of major Lucas; but being ſeiſed with a ſudden panic, they fell into the greateſt confuſion, and retreated with precipitation to their ſhips. A general conſultation of officers was now held, when it appearing that moſt of the ſhips had ſpent the chief part of their ammunition, were all terribly ſhattered in their maſts and rigging, and quite unable to renew the attack, the commodore abandoned the enterprize, and, having made an exchange of priſoners with the governor of Porto Cavallo, he returned to Jamaica.

On the continent of America, things were in no better a ſituation than in the Weſt-Indies: for altho' general Oglethorpe undertook a long, fatiguing march, to prevent the Spaniards from penetrating into our provinces, yet he was obliged to return to Georgia, without having been able to do any thing of importance.

Having thus noticed the particular tranſactions of this year abroad, it is now time to attend to ſuch as claim our attention at home.

Soon after the king's departure for Germany, an affair happened, which, though inconſiderable in itſelf, made a great noiſe in London. A regiment of highlanders had been raiſed in Scotland, under pretence that they were to act as militia in preſerving the peace of the country. But being ordered up to London, they were reviewed on Finchley-common by general Wade, and then told that they muſt embark at Graveſend. This they complained of as inconſiſtent with the terms on which they had been embodied; and therefore a large body mutinied, and ſet out, in order to return to their own country; but they were overtaken by a regiment of dragoons, and brought priſoners to the Tower, where three of them were ſhot, and the remainder ſent to the Weſt-Indies; while ſuch as had continued obedient embarked for Flanders, where they behaved, in ſeveral engagements, with great bravery.

The princeſs Louiſa, his majeſty's youngeſt daughter, having been married by proxy to the prince-royal of Denmark, her highneſs ſet out for that kingdom on the 19th of October, accompanied by the counteſs of Albemarle and baron Salenthall, a Daniſh nobleman. On the 29th ſhe arrived at Hanover, and on the 18th of November was met at Altena by the prince, where they were publicly married, and then continued their journey to Copenhagen, the capital, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

About this time a great conteſt happened among the proprietors of the South-ſea company, relative to Mr. Knight, who had been their caſhier in the fatal year 1720, and had ever ſince lived in France as an exile. He had already procured his pardon from the crown, owing to ſome favourable circumſtances that were pleaded in his behalf; and he now offered the company 10,000l. by way of compoſition for all the claims againſt him. This offer was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by great number of the proprietors, who thought it would have the appearance of a moſt ſcandalous compoſition on the part of the company. At length, however, on a ballot, the offer of Mr. Knight was accepted by a great majority.

His majeſty being returned from Hanover, the parliament met on the firſt of December; when the king, in his ſpeech, told them, "That the dominions of the queen of Hungary had been evacuated by her enemies, and that the powerful armies which had marched to her aſſiſtance had retired out of the empire: that, in this conjuncture, it was with great pleaſure he could acquaint them, that he had been joined by a body of troops of his good friends and allies the ſtates-general: that, in further proſecution of theſe meaſures, a definitive treaty between him, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, had been happily concluded; a treaty which in time ſhould be laid before them: that the advantages which muſt reſult from this alliance to the common cauſe were ſufficiently apparent; and it would be particularly conducive to the intereſt of his kingdoms, by diſappointing the ambitious views of the crown of Spain, with which they were at preſent engaged in ſo juſt and neceſſary a war: that as he made no doubt but they would proceed upon theſe foundations with firmneſs and conſtancy, they might reaſonably hope to ſee the public tranquillity ſoon re-eſtabliſhed, and a ſafe and honourable peace ſpeedily obtained: that ſuch were the ends which he had in view, and to the attainment of which he ſhould bend his whole ſtudy and attention; but, in order the more thoroughly to accompliſh them, vigorous and reſolute meaſures were neceſſary; and to concert and carry on ſuch meaſures, he did, with a juſt confidence, rely on their zealous, chearful and effectual ſupport."

Great debates aroſe in the houſe of lords concerning the nature of the addreſs that ſhould be preſented to his majeſty: for the earl of Sandwich moved, that the Hanoverians ſhould not be any longer continued in the pay of Great Britain, becauſe they were of no real ſervice to the nation. This motion, however, was over-ruled by a great majority, and 25 peers proteſted againſt it. It was much the ſame in the houſe of commons: for although ſeveral members moved for the diſcontinuance of Hanoverians in the Britiſh ſervice, yet the miniſtry carried all before them.*

A. D. 1744. The firſt buſineſs taken into conſideration by the parliament was the raiſing the proper ſupplies for carrying on the war; and ſo great was the power of the miniſtry, that ten millions were granted, a ſum that increaſed the national debt to an enormous height, and burthened the people with taxes intolerable to be borne. Many worthy members of both houſes ſpoke vehemently againſt ſuch ſcandalous meaſures, by which ruin was threatened to the whole nation. But the miniſtry carried their point, and all the attempts of thoſe in oppoſition were rendered abortive.

Theſe diſſentions in the Britiſh parliament were ſuddenly ſuſpended by an event that ſeemed to call upon both parties to unite in their common defence. This was the intelligence of an intended invaſion in favour of the pretender, whoſe elſeſt ſon, Charles-Edward, had paſſed through Italy in December, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier, embarked at Final, landed at Antibes, and proſecuting his journey to Paris, had been indulged with a private audience of the French king; who thought, by the parliamentary diſputes and general diſſatisfaction of the people of Great Britain, that the whole nation was ripe for revolt, and therefore determined to make uſe of young Charles, who was a youth of promiſing talents, ſecret, brave, and enterpriſing, to effect the projected invaſion of this kingdom; which, ſhould it at laſt miſcarry, would, he foreſaw, make a conſiderable diverſion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarraſs the king of England, who was the chief ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria and all its allies. The old pretender was perſuaded to ſuffer his ſon to try the experiment: the young man embraced the offer with the greateſt alacrity. The French miniſtry began to make preparations for carrying the ſcheme into immediate execution, and every thing was propoſed to be conducted with equal ſecrecy and diſpatch. The court of Spain, equally concerned in the ſucceſs of the project with that of Verſailles, undertook to furniſh the neceſſary ſums, which the exhauſted ſtate of the French finances would not ſuffer them to advance.

Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander in chief of the troops deſigned for this expedition. The count had been ſome time in England, and had taken notice that there were but few places fortified in a regular manner; and therefore, upon his return, having made a proper repreſentation of theſe things, an army of 15,000 men was ordered to march to the coaſt near Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, where the young pretender was to ſee them embarked on board the proper tranſports. It is neceſſary to take notice, that although hoſtilities had, in ſome meaſure, been commenced between us and the French, yet war had not been declared; and, therefore, our miniſtry ſent an expreſs to Mr. Thompſon, then at Paris, to remonſtrate to the French miniſtry on their conduct; but he only received evaſive anſwers. A fleet of men of war had been fitted out at Breſt, as a convoy to the tranſports; and the command being given to M. Roqueſeuille, that admiral ſailed up the Britiſh channel, but was diſcovered by ſome Engliſh cruiſers, who took ſhelter in the harbour of Plymouth, and ſent an expreſs to the board of admiralty.

In conſequence of this information Sir John Norris was ſent to take upon him the command of the fleet, which lay at Spithead, and conſiſted of twelve ſhips of the line. He was ſoon joined by ſeveral others from Chatham; by which conjunction he found himſelf greatly ſuperior to the enemy.

The deſign of the French was to have landed their forces in Kent, and thereby ſtrike ſuch a terror into the people of London, that they would be obliged to abandon their houſes; but the Engliſh miniſtry took every precaution to fruſtrate their deſigns. Several regiments were ordered to march toward the coaſt oppoſite France; the different forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a poſture of defence; and directions were given to aſſemble the Kentiſh militia, to defend the coaſt in caſe of an invaſion.

---

* We cannot cloſe the domeſtic occurrences of the year 1743, without taking notice, that, on the third of September died the celebrated John Campbell, duke of Argyle and Greenwich. He was one of the moſt ſteady patriots that ever adorned this or any other kingdom. No ſcheme propoſed by the miniſter was ever ſupported by him, if it appeared to be inconſiſtent with the rights of the people. He had ſerved the crown in ſome of the higheſt departments of the ſtate; but neither promiſes nor threatenings could ever make him ſwerve from that duty he owed to his country. He was delicate in the choice of his friends; but when choſen, very conſtant to them: he was ſlow of promiſing favours, but when promiſed, the performance was ſure; and he often rather choſe to purchaſe preferment for his relations than aſk it. In ſhort he lived an honeſt man, and died lamented by every lover of virtue.---He was ſucceeded in his Scottiſh title by his brother Archibald, earl of Ilay. By his death the title of Greenwich became extinct.

On the 15th of February the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's ſon in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the Engliſh channel. In anſwer to this, both houſes joined in an addreſs, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the deſign formed in favour of a popiſh Pretender; and aſſuring his majeſty that they would, with the warmeſt zeal and unanimity, take ſuch meaſures as would enable him to fruſtrate and defeat ſo inſolent an attempt. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were preſented by the city of London, both univerſities, the principal towns of Great Britain, the clergy, the diſſenting miniſters, the quakers, and almoſt all the corporations and communities in the kingdom. The 6000 auxiliaries, which the ſtates-general were by treaty obliged to furniſh on ſuch occaſions, were now demanded, and granted with great alacrity and expedition. Orders were alſo ſent to bring over 6000 of the Britiſh troops from Flanders, in caſe the invaſion ſhould actually take place. A proclamation was iſſued for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and, in ſhort, every precaution was taken that had any tendency towards preſerving the public tranquillity.

In the mean time the French went on with their preparations for the embarkation of their forces; and 7000 went on board at Dunkirk, while M. Roquefeuille attempted to get up the channel; but ſtopping near the Iſle of Wight, he was informed that the Engliſh ſquadron had deſerted their ſtation. He ſent Mr. De Barreil, his ſecond in command, with two ſhips of the line, to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk: while he ſet ſail with the reſt of the fleet, and came to an anchor at a place called Dungenneſs, eighteen miles ſouth-weſt of Dover.

Sir John Norris, who had received information concerning the French fleet, ſet ſail from the Downs, and would have come up with them, had not the wind ſhifted about, ſo that he was obliged to caſt anchor within two leagues of the enemy. This induced the French admiral to call a council of war, and the reſult of it was, that they were to ſail home to their own coaſt, becauſe they had not force ſufficient to oppoſe the Engliſh. Accordingly, they weighed anchor; and a hard gale ſpringing up, they arrived off Cape Barfleur in a very ſhattered condition. The tranſports in particular were ſo much diſtreſſed for want of neceſſary proviſions, that many of the men were ſo extremely ſick that they were obliged to be landed; and this mighty armament, which had made ſo much noiſe, ended in nothing. The Engliſh remained maſters of the ſeas; and Sir John Norris returned with his ſquadron to the Downs, from whence he detached ſeveral ſhips to annoy the enemy. The Pretender, who, a few weeks before ſuppoſed he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of England by conqueſt, was obliged to return to Rome; for the court of France, whoſe tool he was, looked upon him in a very cold and indifferent manner.

The ſuſpicion of danger, in conſequence of a foreign invaſion, induced the parliament to ſet aſide the Habeas Corpus act; and, in conſequence thereof, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were taken into cuſtody; but no proof of their guilt appearing, the court of King's-bench admitted them to bail, and they were ſoon after diſcharged.

The French king, finding all his ſchemes rendered abortive, declared war againſt Great Britain on the 20th of March. On the 31ſt of the ſame month his Britannic majeſty publiſhed a counter-declaration of war, to the great joy of the people, who had long beheld with indignation the inſults daily offered to the Britiſh flag. About the ſame time the French alſo declared war againſt the queen of Hungary; ſo that nothing was to be ſeen but preparations for taking the field as early as poſſible.

On the 3d of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, informed them, that, with reſpect to the event of the war, and the ſupport of his faithful and loyal ſubjects, he depended on the divine providence. He told them, that he had not drawn the ſword till forced to it; and that, as he had but one intereſt with his people, ſo he depended upon them for ſupport.

Affectionate and loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes to his majeſty; and a bill was brought in to make it high-treaſon in any Britiſh ſubject to correſpond with the Pretender. This bill having paſſed in the houſe of commons, was carried to the upper houſe, where the lord-chancellor Hardwicke moved, that an amendment ſhould be made, by extending the act to the natural lives of the Pretender's two ſons. Debates aroſe upon the merits of the amendment; for for it was argued, that however imprudent it might be in Britiſh ſubjects to correſpond with ſuch as had the moſt diſtant claim to the crown, yet it was inconſiſtent with humanity to make it criminal, particularly high-treaſon, the greateſt offence that can be committed in the eye of the law. It paſſed, however, by a ſmall majority, though not till eighteen lords had entered a proteſt againſt it: and when it was ſent down to the commons, great oppoſition was made to the amendment by thoſe who had framed the bill; but the court party carried it, and ſoon after it received the royal aſſent.

On the 15th of May the king put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he returned both houſes thanks for the many demonſtrations they had given him, during the courſe of it, of their good affections, and of their zeal for the ſupport of his government. He obſerved, that the great preparations made by France on the ſide of the Auſtrian Netherlands muſt convince all Europe of the ambitious and deſtructive views of that crown in the beginning of the preſent war: that it ſhould be his care, in conjunction with his allies, to purſue the moſt proper means to diſappoint theſe deſigns, and to proſecute the war in ſuch a manner as might be moſt effectual for obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace: that his good friends the ſtates-general had already, in purſuance of his requiſition, agreed to furniſh ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties, and had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their ſenſe, not only of the common danger, but alſo of the inſeparable connection of their intereſts with thoſe of Great Britain, a diſpoſition which he would not fail to improve to the general good of the common cauſe: that he hoped the members of both houſes, on their return to their reſpective counties, would be particularly careful to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, eſpecially at this critical conjuncture, when they were called upon by every motive of duty and intereſt to cheriſh a more than ordinary zeal for the maintenance and defence of their religion and liberty againſt the malicious deſigns of their enemies.

During the ſitting of parliament, the fleet under the command of admiral Matthews had been ſtrongly for he had no leſs than 40 veſſels, 28 of which were of the line. On board of theſe were 15,000 ſeamen, with 800 men drawn from the garriſons in Minorca. The French and Spaniſh fleets had been, for a conſiderable time, blocked up in the harbour of Toulon; but the queen of Spain, who could ſet no bounds to her ambition, ſtirred up the French to give abſolute orders for their admirals to engage. Accordingly an expreſs was diſpatched to Toulon; and on the 9th of February this year the combined fleet came out of the harbour; and admiral Matthews, who had watched all their motions, made the neceſſary preparations to attack them. Leſtock commanded the left wing, or rear; Rowley the right, or van; and Matthews the center. But the wind dying away, they were obliged to come to an anchor. Next day, towards the evening, both fleets came very near to each other; but neither the French or Spaniſh admirals ſeemed willing to engage, becauſe of the ſuperior force of the Engliſh However, the admiral reſolved to loſe no time, and therefore gave orders for a general attack; but Leſtock kept back his ſhips, and ſuffered four of the Spaniſh ones to paſs him. The captains Hawke, Cornwall, Oſborne, and Forbes, behaved with the moſt unparalleled bravery; but ſome of the other captains acted in ſuch a manner, as to be a diſhonour to their country. Captain Cornwall commanded the Marlborough; and, after reducing the Real, the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, to a perfect wreck, had both his legs ſhot off, and at laſt was killed by one of the enemy's chain-ſhot. The command having devolved upon the firſt lieutenant, the ſhip continued to fight till near five in the evening, when ſhe was towed out of the fleet as unfit for action. The Royal Philip, another Spaniſh ſhip, was ſo much diſabled, that admiral Matthews ordered one of the fire-ſhips to burn her. Theſe fire-ſhips are filled with gunpowder and other combuſtibles, with grappling irons on the fronts and ſides, which fix them to the enemy's ſhips; and then the ſailors getting into boats ſet fire to them, when all blow up together. It is the conſtant practice to ſend one of the large ſhips to protect the fire ſhip from being blown up by the enemy; and Matthews took that precaution, but the captain did not obey his orders. In the mean time the brave captain Mackay, who commanded the fire-ſhip, though unſupported by any veſſel whatever, continued to advance; and Leſtock having ſuffered the Spaniards to advance, Mackay ſaw his deſtruction inevitable, and therefore reſolved to loſe his life in the deſtruction of the Royal Philip. In conſequence of that deſperate reſolution, he got up along-ſide of the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, and lighting a match ſet fire to the combuſtibles, and was blown up, without doing any other damage to the enemy than covering their decks with the wreck. The Namur, in which admiral Matthews was, ſuffered much in this engagement; and had ſhe not been aſſiſted by the brave captain Hawke, in the Berwick, ſhe muſt have been deſtroyed. Hawke took one of the Spaniſh ſhips of the line; but ſhe was the next day retaken by the French, who finding that ſhe was not fit for ſervice, burnt her. Towards the evening, the French admiral, M. de Court, attacked that part of the fleet under the command of Rowley; and although Leſtock was witneſs to this, yet he did not ſo much as offer him the leaſt aſſiſtance. Night coming on, the firing ceaſed; but next morning, Matthews ſeeing the enemy to the leeward, continued in purſuit of them till dark. In the morning the enemy's ſhips were diſcovered from the top-maſt-head, and Leſtock was ſent in purſuit of them; but before he could come up with them, Matthews gave the ſignal for him to deſiſt, and ſteered for the iſland of Minorca. The Spaniſh fleet, under the command of Don Navarro, got into the harbour of Carthagena, and that of the French into Alicant.

As ſoon as Matthews arrived in Minorca, he deprived Leſtock of his command, and ſent him a priſoner to England. The public were much divided in their opinions concerning the conduct of the two commanders; but certain it is they were men that, from motives of private reſentment, ſacrificed the public intereſt; ſo that, notwithſtanding the vaſt expence the nation had been at in fitting out the fleet, and after many brave men had been killed, no advantages were reaped from an engagement which, if rightly conducted, would have been the deſtruction of the Spaniſh and French navies. Matthews having reſigned his command of the fleet to admiral Rowley, and coming to England, was put under an arreſt by order of the government. A committee of the houſe of commons was appointed to enquire into his conduct, and that of admiral Leſtock; but they not being properly acquainted with the import of ſea-terms, nor the forms of naval engagements, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, praying that he would iſſue his warrant to a court-martial to try the delinquents. As is cuſtomary in ſuch caſes, many of the evidences were abroad; ſo that the court-martial did not deliver their judgment till the latter end of the year 1746, when Leſtock was, to the great ſurprize of every one, acquitted, and Matthews declared incapable of ever ſerving his majeſty, and all his commiſſions were taken from him. People in general blamed the court-martial, nor is it fully known to this day which of the commanders was moſt deſerving of cenſure. Both were men of courage and abilities, but ſome private reſentment operated ſo ſtrongly on their minds, that no good could be expected from any thing undertaken by them in concert.

A proper regard was paid to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the above action. Rear-admiral Rowley, with the captains Forbes, Oſborne, and Hawke, had honours and rewards beſtowed upon them ſuitable to their ſpirit, courage and conduct. A noble monument was erected to the memory of captain Cornwall, in Weſtminſter-abbey, by a vote of the Britiſh parliament, and at the public expence; an honour to which, by his gallant behaviour in this and ſeveral former actions, he was univerſally allowed to be juſtly entitled. Had all the commanders of the Britiſh fleet, during the engagement off Toulon, done their duty equally well, in all probability the Spaniſh ſquadron, if not the French likewiſe, might have been totally deſtroyed, and a glorious end put at once to the war.

The Mediterranean being now in a manner left open, the Spaniards had an opportunity of ſending forces and proviſions to Italy, while Don Philip was ſupplied in the ſame manner by the French. The Sardinian army, which had hitherto only guarded the paſſes of the Alps, had ſent a ſtrong detachment to Nice, and that place being conſidered as of the utmoſt importance, Don Philip and the French general reſolved to attack it. This was one of the boldeſt reſolutions that could have been formed, becauſe in that mountainous country a ſingle batallion can ſtop a whole army; and what was ſtill more, the king of Sardinia had formed a ſtrong camp near Villa Franca, which ſeemed almoſt impregnable.

Towards the latter end of March Don Philip and the prince of Conti, having collected their forces together, croſſed the Var, a river that runs from the Alps, and having taken the city of Nice, they advanced to attack the camp of the king of Sardinia in the midſt of rocks and mountains almoſt inacceſſible. A detachment from the forces on board the Engliſh fleet were ſent to aſſiſt the king of Sardinia; but the French and Spaniards, animated by the example of the two young princes who commanded them, made themſelves maſters of the firſt lines that ſerved as an advanced guard to the batteries of Villa Franca. Every thing gave way to the ardour of the French and Spaniſh troops, and although they loſt above 6,000 men, yet they proceeded from one rock to another, and made priſoner the marquis de Suze, natural brother to the king of Sardinia, and above 3,000 men under his command. Another moſt furious attack was made on Montalban, a ſtrong fort belonging to the king of Sardinia, and taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance; while the remainder of the Piedmonteſe army embarked on board the Engliſh fleet, and were lauded at a town called Oneglia, ſeven miles ſouth-weſt of Genoa, on the 20th of April, after a very tedious and dangerous paſſage.

A paſſage being thus opened into Italy, the Spaniards advanced to Oneglia, from whence the Piedmonteſe troops, under the command of general Sarizan, retreated and encamped at a place called Gareſſio, ſituated among rocks almoſt inacceſſible. But notwithſtanding all the advantages obtained by the French and Spaniards, yet they were in great want of proviſions in a country not capable of cultivation; and the artillery was obliged to be drawn by the ſoldiers. This induced the prince of Conti to propoſe to Don Philip, that, in order to preſerve the army, they muſt endeavour to return to the borders of France; and accordingly, on the 9th of June, all the detached parties being called in, they croſſed the Var, and ſoon after reached the Upper Dauphine, where they ſeparated in order to prepare for entering Italy by Demont, and ſome other paſſes that were then guarded by his Sardinian majeſty, who had taken every proper precaution, and although not an active general, yet diſplayed a large ſhare of military ſkill in oppoſing the enemy.

Early in the morning of the 18th of July, the French and Spaniſh armies, having ſtruck their tents, began to put in practice their intended ſcheme of forcing a paſſage into Italy, in a more advantageous manner than what had been attempted before. The undertaking was one of the moſt hazardous that could have been imagined, the Sardinian troops had every advantage on their ſide; but the French and Spaniards ſurmounted all difficulties, and took the paſs of Monte Cavallo, although defended by a detachment of 1200 men. The French grenadiers leaped into the intrenchments, and by the favour of a fog, which prevented the enemy from diſcovering them, took one redoubt after another, though not without the loſs of near 4,000 men. The king of Sardinia, driven from his ſtrong holds, reſolved to collect all his forces together, and provide for the ſafety of his capital city of Turin. The French and Spaniſh armies, fluſhed with ſucceſs, continued their march through defiles almoſt inacceſſible, and the whole plain country of Piedmont being now laid open to them, they exacted heavy contributions from the people, and enforced the payment of them under the ſevereſt penalties.

Don Philip and the prince of Conti reſolved to attack Coni, a ſtrong fort, about ten leagues ſouth of Turin, and garriſoned by 1200 men, under the command of baron Leutrum, who had taken every neceſſary meaſure to put it in a proper ſtate of defence, ſo as to preſerve it to the laſt extremity. The king of Sardinia having been joined by the forces under general Pallavicini, found himſelf at the head of 36,000 men, and conſcious that if Coni fell into the hands of the enemy, they would ſoon be maſters of Turin, his capital city, reſolved to put the whole upon the hazard of a battle, a ſtep much more conſiſtent with ſound policy, than to remain inactive. Accordingly, he marched to attack them in the entrenchments they had thrown up before the walls of Coni, but found it impracticable to bring them to a general engagement. The ſeaſon of the year, however, ſeconded his operations; for the French and Spaniſh armies had ſuffered ſo much, that they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and march back to Dauphine, leaving their ſick and wounded behind them to the mercy of the Piedmonteſe, and the whole country in the poſſeſſion of his Sardinian majeſty.

In the mean time prince Lobkowitz carried on the war againſt the Spaniards in the morei nterior parts of Italy; and the king of Naples, having thrown off the maſk, declared that he would aſſiſt his father the king of Spain; becauſe, as he alledged, he had been treated in a very illegal manner by the courts of London and Vienna. He inſinuated farther, that the queen of Hungary had attempted to raiſe an inſurrection in his dominions, and that prince Lobkowitz was to aſſiſt in driving him out of his hereditary dominions. The army under count Gages had marched towards the Neopolitan territories, while the Auſtrians marched towards Rome; and it was reſolved by the king of Naples, that both ſhould come to a general engagement: accordingly, they came in ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of Velletri, about twenty-ſeven miles eaſt of Rome, where they threw up entrenchments.

Both armies, for ſome time, remained inactive; but prince Lobkowitz, having received intelligence that one wing of the Spaniſh army was quite uncovered, reſolved to ſurprize it and ſeize on their head quarters in the town of Velletri, where their ammunition was kept. This project was executed in a very artful manner; for about midnight count Brown, having been ſent at the head of 6,000 Auſtrians, forced the advanced guards, and entering the town, put all thoſe who oppoſed him to the ſword, while ſuch as ſubmitted were made priſoners of war. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena narrowly eſcaped being taken; but count Brown being afraid that his retreat would be cut off, marched out of the town, ſo that no beneficial conſequences flowed from an enterprize ſo hazardous in its own nature, and ſo well conducted. As moſt of the Auſtrian ſoldiers had been taken from cold countries, ſo the climate of Italy did not agree with their conſtitution. The heat at autumn deſtroyed them in great numbers, and prince Lobkowitz, who imagined himſelf on the eve of victory, found his army daily decreaſing. Count de Gages, who from the whole of his conduct ſeems to have been a very experienced general, reſolved to avail himſelf of the diſtreſſed condition of the Auſtrian army; and therefore, as ſoon as he heard that they had marched from Velletri, he reſolved to haraſs them as much as poſſible. Accordingly, he ſtruck his tents; and coming up with the Auſtrians under the walls of Rome, where part of them had croſſed the Tiber, and broke down the bridges, a ſmart engagement enſued, in which the Auſtrians were the greateſt ſufferers: at the ſame time, great numbers of their ſoldiers deſerted, ſo that the prince's army was reduced to a handful of men; but notwithſtanding, he made good his retreat, amidſt a thouſand difficulties. At Gabbio, in the territory of Bologna, he received information that the French and Spaniſh troops had been driven out of Italy; which gave freſh ſpirits to the forces under his command; and he put them into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Imola, about 180 miles north-weſt of Rome; while the count de Gages, unable to purſue him any farther, retired to Viterbo, on the eaſt of Rome, and the winter was ſpent in making preparations for another campaign.

In Germany, the emperor ſaw himſelf ſtripped of every thing, and reduced to the neceſſity of living on a penſion from France; but even that diſtreſs became

came of ſervice to him. Other princes beheld with indignation the inflexible ſpirit of the houſe of Auſtria, that would not hearken to any terms; and therefore the kings of Sweden and Pruſſia, with the elector Palatine, entered into a confederacy with France, in order to ſupport the emperor, and trouble the queen of Hungary. A declaration of their intentions was publiſhed, with this view, that the people of England, ſeeing ſuch a confederacy formed againſt the queen of Hungary, might be induced to withdraw from her any farther aſſiſtance. The king of Pruſſia ſent an order to his ambaſſador at London to remonſtrate to our court on the impropriety of diſtreſſing the head of the empire, and granting too much power to the houſe of Auſtria. This memorial was publiſhed in all our news-papers, and it convinced our miniſtry that the king of Pruſſia was well acquainted with the ſtate of parties in England.

The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, reſolved to avail himſelf of the convention that had been formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and therefore he entered into an agreement with the queen of Hungary, to furniſh her with 30,000 men. In return, the queen was to give him a part of Sileſia, to which he laid claim by an antient title; for all the German princes have claims, or at leaſt pretend to have, to each other's territories. But money was another motive with the king of Poland: he demanded a conſiderable ſubſidy from Britain; but it was thought unreaſonable that the whole expence ſhould be defrayed by the Engliſh. Application was therefore made to the States-General, who promiſed to contribute one third of the ſame; but that proportion being deemed too ſmall, it was agreed that they ſhould pay two thirds of the ſubſidy.

During theſe tranſactions, the French had aſſembled an army of 120,000 men in the Netherlands, provided with a very formidable train of artillery, under the command of the marſhal de Noailles and count Saxe. As ſoon as Lewis heard that his army was aſſembled, he ſet out from Paris, in order to be preſent during the campaign; for, from a variety of concurring circumſtances, he flattered himſelf with diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs. On the 4th of May he reviewed his army at Liſle, and made ſeveral regulations relating to military diſcipline, which for ſome time had been greatly neglected.

The confederate army, compoſed of Britiſh, Dutch, Hanoverians, Heſſians and Auſtrians, amounting to about 76,000 encamped in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels, under the command of three different generals. Marſhal Wade commanded the Engliſh and Hanoverians; the duke of Aremberg had the command of the Hungarians; and the Dutch under count Maurice of Naſſau. Theſe three generals were greatly eſteemed by their reſpective ſovereigns. Wade had been brought up under the great duke of Marlborough; Aremberg had ſerved in many campaigns with prince Eugene; and count Maurice was deſcended from thoſe heroes who had eſtabliſhed the liberty of the united provinces. The only thing that tended towards retarding the progreſs of the allies, was the conduct of the Dutch: for although they had taken the field, yet they were rather unwilling to engage; and therefore ſent count de Waſſenaer to Lewis, to expoſtulate with him on the terrors they were under, becauſe of his army being ſo near the frontiers of their provinces. But the French king told the Dutch miniſter, that he had long borne with the inſults of his enemies; but as his indulgence had only emboldened them in their deſigns againſt him, he was determined not to hearken to any terms, but to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

The city of Courtray ſurrendered at the approach of the French; and Menin, one of the Dutch frontier towns, in which was a garriſon of 1500 men, was taken, after a ſiege of four days, and both ſoldiers and officers made priſoners of war. Thirty thouſand French, under the command of count Clermont, attacked Ypres, in which was a garriſon of 2500 men, commanded by the prince of Heſſe Philipſthal. The ſiege of this city began on the firſt of June, and continued till the 14th, when moſt of the outworks being taken, the governor was forced to capitulate. This important event opened a way for the French to penetrate into the center of the Auſtrian Netherlands, where the garriſons ſurrendered almoſt as ſoon as attacked.

The confederates could not ſtop the progreſs of the French; and their generals beheld their towns taken, one after another, without being able to give them any aſſiſtance. The French king made his public entry into Dunkirk in the moſt pompous manner, imagining that every thing would give way to his arms; but news was brought him, that prince Charles of Lorrain had croſſed the Rhine in ſight of the French army, at the head of 70,000 men; and had entered Alſace, after taking poſſeſſion of the important paſs of Lauterburg.

The effecting a paſſage over the Rhine did Charles the greateſt honour, and aſtoniſhed all Europe, it being looked upon as next to impoſſible; but the activity of the prince, and the perſeverance of his troops, ſurmounted every difficulty. Marſhal Coigni, who commanded the French army on the Rhine, ſaw with aſtoniſhment the Auſtrians in poſſeſſion of Alſace, and the whole province of Lorrain laid open to prince Charles. He ſaw no other means left but that of cutting his way through the enemy, which he attempted, and a bloody battle enſued; but the French were defeated, and obliged to return to their former ſtation; while flying parties infeſted the neighbourhood of Lorrain; and king Staniſlaus, with his whole court, was obliged to retire from his capital city of Nancy.

When news of this was brought to the French king, he did not heſitate one moment concerning the proper ſteps to be taken; but leaving an army of 40,000 men, under the command of marſhal Saxe, to protect his new conqueſts in Flanders, he ſet out to join his army on the Rhine, accompanied by the marſhal de Noailles, at the head of above 50,000 men. Upon his arrival at Metz, in Lorrain, he received information that an event of the utmoſt importance had taken place, and drawn the attention of prince Charles to another part. The king of Pruſſia marched through Saxony into Bohemia, at the head of 84,000 men, and a large train of artillery. On the frontiers of Bohemia he was joined by 20,000 men from Sileſia; and on the 25th of Auguſt he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Peterſwald, where he publiſhed a manifeſto, in order to juſtify his conduct, in having taken up arms againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

After cauſing ſeveral copies of this memorial to be diſperſed, he continued his march to Prague, which he inveſted; and having taken one fortification after another, the commander, General Ogilvy, ſurrendered, and 15,000 men were made priſoners of war. Having placed a garriſon of 6000 men in Prague, he left that city, and reduced ſeveral other places in Bohemia.

As ſoon as the court of Vienna was informed of theſe tranſactions, orders were immediately diſpatched to prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, which he did in ſight of the French army, although they were much ſuperior to him in number. This circumſtance being communicated to the king of Pruſſia, he complained bitterly of the French generals for not oppoſing him; but he only received evaſive anſwers.

In the mean time, prince Charles having been reinforced by 20,000 Saxons, and a conſiderable number of Auſtrians under the command of general Bathiani, reſolved to attack the Pruſſian monarch, well knowing that he was too far diſtant from his own territories to procure new reinforcements. Indeed, the king was ſenſible that it was not in his power to ſtand his ground in Bohemia; and therefore, having abandoned all the paſſes leading to Prague, he entered that city, to which he was cloſely purſued by the Auſtrians. On the 19th of November he marched from Prague, leaving behind him his whole train of artillery; and ſo much did the Auſtrians haraſs his fatigued troops, and ſuch was the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, that many died; and when he arrived in Sileſia, the greateſt part of the army were naked. Having diſtributed them into winter quarters, he returned to Berlin, mortified with his diſappointment, and filled with indignation againſt the French ſtate.

During theſe tranſactions count Seckendorff had driven the Auſtrians out of Bavaria; and on the 22d of October the emperor entered his capital city of Munich. The French marſhals Belleiſle, Noailles, and Coigni, were at the head of 80,000 men; and on the firſt of September they inveſted the city of Friburg, a place of great ſtrength, and ſtill greater importance, as it opened a paſſage into the circle of Suabia. The French king arrived at Friburg on the 11th of October, immediately on which the trenches were opened, and the garriſon made a vigorous defence; but the ſuperior power and knowledge of the French overcame every obſtacle, and the place was ſurrendered on the 28th of November, all the ſoldiers having been made priſoners of war.

Though this was a moſt valuable acquiſition to the French, yet it was dearly purchaſed, for they loſt upwards of 18,000 men. In the arſenal they found 300 pieces of cannon, 72 field-pieces, and 200 mortars, with a ſuitable proportion of all ſorts of artillery and ammunition.

This conqueſt terminated the campaign in Germany. The French army was cantoned along the banks of the Rhine, under the command of marſhal Maillebois; and Lewis returned to Verſailles, where he was received by his ſubjects with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy.

In Flanders, the allies finding that the greateſt part of the French army had been obliged to march to the Higher Germany, reſolved to take advantage of their abſence: and accordingly, having croſſed the Scheld, a river that runs through great part of the Netherlands, they attempted to force marſhal Saxe to come to an engagement; but that general, ever cautious where he ſaw the leaſt appearance of danger, kept himſelf behind his trenches, waiting for a more favourable opportunity.

The allied army finding they could not bring marſhal Saxe to an engagement, filed off towards Liſle, the capital of French Flanders, which they might have taken, but they neglected ſo valuable an opportunity, for which the conduct of the generals was ſeverely cenſured in England. The truth is, the generals were divided in their opinions: Wade was too indolent to conduct any enterprize that required courage: the duke de Aremberg was afraid of giving umbrage to the French king, becauſe great part of his eſtate lay in France; and the Dutch generals were as inactive as if they had not had any connection in the war.

Nothing of any importance was performed, during this year, by the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean. It is therefore neceſſary to turn our thoughts to commodore Anſon, who was, toward the cloſe of the year 1740, ſent on an expedition into the South-ſeas, in order to diſtreſs the enemy in that part of the world.

The ſecret of this expedition appears to have been ſo ill kept, that the Spaniards were appriſed of all the particulars concerning it long before Anſon ſailed from England; and had fitted out a ſquadron of five ſail of the line, and two frigates, under the command of admiral Don Joſeph Pizarro, on purpoſe to defeat it. Had this fleet, which was every way ſuperior to Mr. Anſon's, been able to have performed its voyage, the ſucceſs of that officer might have been very indifferent; but by various accidents the whole of the Spaniſh armament was reduced to one 60 gun ſhip, which was at length obliged to return to Europe.

In the month of January, 1741, commodore Anſon arrived in the bay of St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, where he called a council of war, in order to conſult on the moſt proper methods to be uſed for diſtreſſing the enemy.

From St. Julian the commodore ſailed to the Streights of La Maire, where he loſt ſight of the Severn and the Pearl, two of his ſhips: nor did he ever ſee them again during the remainder of his voyage; for they were ſo much ſhattered, that they were obliged to return to the Brazils to refit, and from thence they ſailed for Europe. This induced the commodore to ſail to the iſland of Juan Fernandez, where ſuch of the men as had been long afflicted with the ſcurvy recovered in a moſt ſurprizing manner; that ſmall place being eſteemed one of the moſt healthy in the univerſe. The Wager, a ſhip of 20 guns, belonging to Anſon's ſquadron, having been driven on the iſland of Socoro, the crew mutinied, and confined the captain, after which they converted the long-boat into a ſchooner, in which they ſet ſail for the Brazils, where they arrived in the month of January, 1742. The captain, with ſuch of the men as had continued firm in his intereſt, had the good fortune to get on board a veſſel that carried them to Chiloi, and from thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they remained till there was a cartel for the exchange of priſoners, when they were ſent home to England.

The commodore was now reduced to a moſt ſhocking condition, in a part of the world where he could not procure any aſſiſtance; and his ſmall fleet conſiſted of no more than three ſhips, namely, the Centurion, the Glouceſter, and the Anna, which laſt was loaded with proviſions. But that fortitude and preſence of mind that ſeemed to be the particular characteriſtic of Mr. Anſon, never forſook him, even in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. He reſolved to attack the city of Paita, where the Spaniards had a large ſum of money, which they intended to ſend to Europe; and accordingly, he ordered his lieutenant, Mr. Brett, to land in the night, with only fifty-eight men; all which was accompliſhed without their being perceived by the enemy. Such was the conſternation among the inhabitants, who imagined that a great army was landed among them, that, with the governor, they abandoned the place in the utmoſt confuſion; while the Engliſh ſailors ſeized on all the treaſure, which they conveyed to their ſhips; and then the commodore ſent ſome more of his hands on ſhore, who ſet fire to the town, and reduced it to an heap of aſhes.

This was a moſt fatal ſtroke to the Spaniards, whoſe loſs amounted to above 1,500,000 dollars: and the commodore having weighed anchor, ſet ſail for the coaſts of Mexico and California. His deſign was to intercept the Manilla galleon, which he knew was then at ſea, and deſtined for the harbour of Acapulco; but it was the 19th of February before Mr. Anſon could get into the bay of Mexico. When he arrived there, he had the mortification to learn, that the Manilla ſhip had got into the harbour of Acapulco on the ninth of January, and that ſhe was to have ſailed ſoon after; but no ſooner had the Spaniſh governor learned that an Engliſh ſquadron was in thoſe ſeas, than he gave orders to countermand the ſailing of the ſhip; ſo that the commodore ſaw no other method left to ſave his ſhips, than to croſs the vaſt Pacific ocean, for the river of Canton in China. The Centurion and Glouceſter were all the ſhips he had now left; for although he had taken ſeveral prizes, yet not having ſufficient hands to navigate them in a proper manner, they were obliged to be ſunk; while the Glouceſter, ſoon after, having ſprung a leak, was obliged to be ſet on fire; ſo that there remained none but the Centurion.

The hardſhips which the crew of the Centurion ſuffered are almoſt beyond conception; for ſo many of the men were afflicted with the ſcurvy, that there was ſcarce a ſufficient number left to do the neceſſary duty. At laſt they made for the iſland of Tinian, in the vaſt Pacific ocean, where moſt of the crew recovered, but the whole number amounted to no more than 71. Having taken in all ſorts of neceſſary proviſions, the commodore once more put to ſea, and arrived in the river of Canton in China on the 12th day of November, after having ſuffered every thing that human nature could ſuſtain. The governor of Canton ſent an order to him, demanding the cuſtomary fees paid by all ſhips coming into that river: but he maintained the honour of the Britiſh flag, and inſiſted that he would never comply with any ſuch terms. The governor was amazed when he heard in what a cool and deliberate manner the commodore delivered his anſwer; and ſending for him on ſhore, they had a long conference together, the reſult of which was, that aſſiſtance was granted him to refit his ſhip, and take in proper proviſions.

On the 15th of April, 1743, Anſon left China, with a fixed reſolution of ſailing in queſt of one or more of the Manilla ſhips; and towards the latter end of May arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, in the iſland of Samal Mare, where the Manilla ſhips always paſs in their voyage to Europe. There he lay by for ſome time; but on the 20th of June one of thoſe rich veſſels made her appearance, which added freſh ſpirits to the crew of the Centurion. The Spaniſh captain reſolved not to give up his prize, and, accordingly, a warm engagement enſued; but the ſuperior ſkill and undaunted courage of the Engliſh overcame every oppoſition: and although 67 of the Spaniards were killed, yet commodore Anſon loſt only two men.

With this rich prize the commodore returned to Canton, where he refitted his ſhip; and being willing to taſte the ſweets of his native country, from which he had been ſo long excluded, he ſet ſail for Europe, and on the 11th of March, 1744, arrived ſafe at the Cape of Good Hope. From thence he ſailed for England, and on the 9th of June arrived ſafe at Spithead. The treaſure was landed at Portſmouth, from whence it was conducted to London by thoſe brave ſeamen who had taken it.

Some other naval events took place during the courſe of this year. On the 18th of June Sir Charles Hardy ſailed with a ſquadron of eleven ſhips of the line, and one bomb-ketch, having under his convoy a conſiderable number of veſſels laden with ſtores and proviſions for the fleet in the Mediterranean. Sir Charles conducted his convoy ſafe to Liſbon, where he was detained a conſiderable time by a ſquadron of fourteen ſail of the line and ſix frigates, commanded by M. Rochambault, and ſent from Breſt to cruize off the rock of Liſbon, and intercept Sir Charles if he offered to put to ſea. The Britiſh miniſtry no ſooner received intelligence of this, than they ordered Sir John Balchen, who commanded a large fleet at Spithead to ſail with the firſt favourable wind, and proceed in queſt of the Breſt ſquadron. Before theſe orders could be put into execution Sir John was reinforced by a Dutch ſquadron of 20 men of war, commanded by admiral Bacchereſt, which their high mightineſſes had at length conſented to ſend, agreeable to the treaty of 1697. On the 7th of Auguſt the combined fleets ſailed from Spithead, conſiſting of 21 ſail of the line, and on the 9th of September arrived off the rock of Liſbon. M. Rochambault, finding this combined fleet ſo much ſuperior to him in force, thought proper to quit his ſtation, leaving Sir Charles Hardy at liberty to proceed according to his deſtination, and Sir John Balchen ſailed again for England; but, on the 3d of October, he was overtaken in the Bay of Biſcay, by a violent ſtorm of wind, in which his own ſhip the Victory, of 110 guns, was loſt on the rocks of Alderney, commonly called the Caſkets, and this brave commander, with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to 1100 picked ſeaman, periſhed. The reſt of the fleet with great difficulty eſcaped the fury of the ſtorm, and got ſafe to Spithead.

Another ſquadron, under the command of commodore Warren, was ſtationed to protect the leeward iſlands; and, in conſequence thereof, the French ſhips deſtined with proviſions for the iſland of Martinico, were taken, and the inhabitants reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. In general, the Britiſh cruiſers were extremely fortunate; and although ſome of them were taken, yet, at the concluſion of the year, the balance in our favour againſt Spain amounted to 1,900,000l. and againſt France, 770,000l.*

The parliament met on the 28th of November; and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech, in which he informed them, that although nothing of importance, in favour of the allies, had happened, yet he was determined, in conſequence of the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour. He told them, that nothing could ſo much contribute towards promoting the public tranquillity, as unanimity among the members: and concluded by recommending to them the obligations they were under to raiſe the proper ſupplies.

Both lords and commons voted that a loyal addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty; which being done, he gave to each a moſt gracious anſwer.

The meeting of the parliament produced a conſiderable change in the miniſtry; for the patriots were ſo clamarous againſt lord Carteret, now become earl Granville, in conſequence of his mother's death, that he reſigned all his places; and the duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury; the ſeals were given to the earl of Harrington, as ſecretary of ſtate; the privy ſeal to lord Gower: the earl of Cheſterfield was ſent over to the Hague, to prevail with the ſtates-general to act more heartily in ſupport of the common cauſe; and, upon his return, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Dorſet was made preſident of the council, the duke of Devonſhire ſteward of the houſhold; and Mr. Doddington treaſurer of the navy†.

---

* **The greateſt misfortune that befel the Engliſh this year at ſea aroſe from a dreadful hurricane, which happened on the 20th of October, in the iſland of Jamaica, by which ſix ſhips of war, and near 100 merchantmen, were totally deſtroyed; and the greater part of the crews periſhed.**

A. D. 1745. The moſt perfect harmony now ſubſiſted in both houſes of parliament. During the whole ſeſſion there was ſcarcely a diviſion heard of, and nothing was wanting on the part of the new miniſtry to convince his majeſty that they were determined to carry on the war with vigour. New levies for land and ſea were ordered, and the commons voted ſix millions and a half for the ſervice of the current year; to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and ſalt taxes, the ſinking fund, and an additional duty on foreign wines.

The king now informed his parliament, "That he had concluded a treaty of quadruple alliance, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary and the ſtates-general. By which the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction, and promiſed to ſupport it with all his forces: that it was farther ſtipulated, as the kingdom of Bohemia was actually attacked, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould ſend to its defence an army of 30,000 auxiliary troops: that his Britannic majeſty and the ſtates-general ſhould pay to that prince an annual ſubſidy of 150,000l. ſterling; two thirds to be furniſhed by Great Britain, and one third by the United Provinces: that as ſoon as Bohemia and Saxony ſhould be free from danger, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould march 10,000 men to the Netherlands, or to any other place within the empire, which the king of Great Britain and the ſtates-general ſhould think moſt proper; for which a ſubſidy of 90,000l. ſhould be continued, to be paid according to the former proportions: that if, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould draw a war upon himſelf, he ſhould be ſupported by all his allies: that no peace ſhould be made without his conſent, and without procuring for him proper ſatisfaction; and that the empreſs of Ruſſia, the republic of Poland, and all the other powers of Europe ſhould be invited to accede to this treaty, which was to continue after the war was concluded."

On the 12th of March ‡ his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, his majeſty's youngeſt ſon, was appointed commander in chief of the Britiſh forces. This choice of a prince brought up in the army, and who had, on many occaſions, teſtified proofs of his courage, gave great ſatisfaction to the people in general. In the beginning of March his royal highneſs ſet out for Flanders.

The parliamentary buſineſs being diſpatched, his majeſty, on the 2d of May, went to the houſe of peers, and having ſigned ſeveral excellent bills, prorogued the parliament; and the next day he embarked at Graveſend, in order to viſit his German dominions.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the French were daily gaining ground; and, notwithſtanding ſome conſiderable loſſes, yet they ſeemed to riſe ſuperior to them. The queen of Hungary was much reduced, in conſequence of having ſpent great ſums in ſupporting her army; ſo that the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the event of the war. But many of the plans formed by the contending parties were near being diſconcerted, in conſequence of the death of Charles VII. emperor of Germany, and elector of Bavaria. That monarch, who had been advanced to the imperial dignity by the intrigues of the French, enjoyed little more than the name of emperor; and it may juſtly be ſaid of him, that he died of a broken heart. He had ſeen himſelf neglected, and even deſpiſed, by thoſe who, conſiſtent with the faith of treaties, were bound to ſtand by him. His hereditary dominions were wreſted from him; his enemies triumphed over him in every quarter: he ſaw his family on the brink of ruin; and, unable to ſuſtain the weight of his ſufferings, he ſunk under the load, and died, leaving to ſucceeding monarchs a ſtriking leſſon, never to let ambition blind their underſtanding, to truſt in thoſe in whom no confidence ought to be placed. When he was buried, the globe was carried before him, as if he had been the ſovereign of the whole world, although he had ſcarce a houſe, wherein he could reſt in ſafety.

As the late emperor had, in a great meaſure, been the cauſe of the war, the people in general were induced to hope that his death would reſtore peace to Europe; but the Engliſh miniſtry refuſed all propoſals of accommodation, thinking that they would have it in their power to diſtreſs the French, by carrying on the war in the moſt vigorous manner. The French, in order to play off their old game of interfering with the election of an emperor, caſt their eyes on the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; but that prince was perſuaded againſt embarking in ſuch a dangerous ſcheme, by his miniſter, count Bruhl who repreſented to him, that the Poles would never ſubmit to an emperor of Germany, leſt he ſhould deprive them of their privileges: and as the intereſt of the grand duke was very great, ſo, by an act of ſo imprudent a nature, he might even loſe his hereditary dominions. All theſe arguments were enforced from the example of the late emperor; and therefore the king of Poland, inſtead of aſpiring to the imperial crown, did every thing he could to place it on the head of the grand duke.

The next object that France had in view was, to raiſe the king of Pruſſia to the empire; but he was ſo well convinced of their perfidy, that he treated all their propoſals of that nature with the moſt ſovereign contempt. On the other hand, the queen of Hungary, who had ſtill ſome hopes of recovering Sileſia, would hearken to no terms of accommodation; and in that ſhe was ſtrongly encouraged by the Engliſh miniſtry, who made her the moſt liberal promiſes, that nothing ſhould be wanting to enable her to regain ſuch of her territories as had been ſeiſed by the French, and, at the ſame time, to raiſe her huſband, the grand duke, to the imperial throne.

---

† The two following circumſtances, which happened this year, (1744) being rather of a detached nature, we ſhall preſerve them as a note.

On the 18th of October died the celebrated ducheſs of Marlborough, in the 85th year of her age. She was a woman, who, from a very obſcure original, raiſed herſelf, by intriguing with the political parties, to the higheſt ſtation that a ſubject could arrive at. She poſſeſſed great abilities, with an unbounded ambition; but ſo artful in the uſe of money, that ſhe left behind her a moſt princely eſtate. By her death upwards of 30,000l. per ann. came to the duke her grandſon, and near as much to his brother, the Hon. John Spencer. She left 20,000l. to the earl of Cheſterfield, and to William Pitt, Eſq. 10,000l. and about 40,000l. more in legacies. The executors to her will were, the earl of Marchmont, the biſhop of Oxford, Dr. Stephens, and Beverſham Filmer, to each of whom ſhe left 2500l.

On the 2d of December the marſhal de Belleiſle and his brother having, in their journey to the Imperial court, ſtopped at a village, called Elbingrode, belonging to Hanover, of which they were ignorant, a party of the allied army took them both priſoners, and conveyed them to Stradt, from whence they were ſent over to England. They were treated with that reſpect due to their rank; and being on their parole of honour, were ſuffered to reſide at Windſor, and enjoy all ſorts of public diverſions.

‡ In this month died Robert earl of Orford, late prime miniſter, after having enjoyed, for a very ſhort time, a penſion of 4000l. per ann. from the crown in conſideration of his paſt ſervices. This miniſter, though he had long directed the application of the public treaſure, was not remarkable for his riches; for he was of a liberal diſpoſition, and had ſuch a number of rapacious dependents to gratify, that very little was left for himſelf.

The French monarch finding all his propoſals rejected, and not ſeeing the moſt diſtant appearance of putting an end to the war, reſolved to puſh it on, with the utmoſt vigour, in Flanders; and accordingly ſent marſhal Saxe to take upon him the command of the army, conſiſting of about 70,000 men, aſſiſted with a large train of artillery. To animate the troops, he ſoon after ſet out, accompanied by his ſon the dauphin, then about ſixteen years of age, and arrived in Flanders before the two armies could come to a general engagement.

The duke of Cumberland, who was juſt entering into the 24th year of his age, arrived at the Hague on the 7th of April; and having concerted proper meaſures with the ſtates-general, ſet out for Bruſſels, where he found prince Waldeck, general of the Dutch forces, and the count Konigſegg, the commander in chief of the Auſtrians. The duke had made the art of war his ſtudy from his moſt early youth; he was not afraid of the greateſt dangers; and although he knew that the French were ſuperior to him in numbers, yet ſuch was his opinion of the undaunted courage of the Engliſh, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe the French, who were commanded by ſome of the moſt experienced generals of that age. Some of them had ſerved above forty years in the army; they had reduced the art of war to a ſcience; and even the ſubaltern officers were able to conduct any engagement whatever.

Marſhal Saxe, one of the greateſt generals that ever commanded an army, was not ignorant of the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland; but at the ſame time, knowing that the troops under him were men of the moſt invincible courage, reſolved to obtain by ſtratagem what he could not in a regular engagement. Accordingly, for ſome days, he marched from one place to another, concealing his real intentions; but, on the 24th day of April, he ſat down before Tournay, a ſtrong city on the river Schelde, defended by a garriſon of 3,000 Dutch troops, under the command of baron Dorth. Tournay had been fortified by the great Vauban, and was eſteemed the ſtrongeſt of all the frontier towns belonging to the Dutch; ſo that the duke of Cumberland imagined, if he could raiſe the ſiege, it would be of the utmoſt ſervice to the common cauſe. Accordingly, he marched from Bruſſels, and on the 29th of April, came within muſket-ſhot of the French army, juſt as marſhal Saxe had expected; for the whole was a ſcheme laid by the French to draw the allies into a ſnare.

The French army was ſtrongly encamped; and between them and the allies was the village of Fontenoy, about three miles ſouth-eaſt of Tournay. On the 28th of April, the French king rode from the city of Douay, and took up his head-quarters at the bridge of Calonne, near the village of St. Antoin, where there was a ſtrong battery of cannon. The bridge of Calonne was guarded by ſeveral battalions, both of regulars and militia; ſo that every precaution was taken by the French, while the allies depended too much on perſonal courage.

The firſt object of the allies was to drive the French from their advanced poſts, which they did with great courage; but this only ſerved to make the enemy more formidable, by being more united. As the allies were now in poſſeſſion of the ground from which they had driven the French, they drew up on it, and a council of war being called, it was reſolved upon by the majority to engage the next morning. This opinion, however, was diſapproved of by the oldeſt generals, who thought it much better to act on the defenſive; but the opinion of the young ones was embraced.

The right wing, compoſed of Engliſh and Hanoverians, was drawn up in four lines, having the village of Vezon in their front. The Dutch, with part of the Auſtrians, compoſed the left wing, conſiſting of three columns, and they advanced into the plain of Fontenoy. Prince Waldeck, with ſome of the beſt Dutch troops, propoſed to attack Fontenoy; and the duke of Cumberland, in order to ſecond the prince, ordered general Ingoldſby to attack a fort near the village of Vezon, on which was a ſtrong battery of cannon. Sir John (afterwards earl) Ligonier, commanded the right wing of the infantry, and Sir James Campbell was ordered to cover him, by extending the cavalry as far as poſſible along the plain of Fontenoy.

The courage of the Britiſh forces on this memorable day is incredible; for at the firſt charge they drove the French beyond their lines, and would have penetrated into the center of their firſt line, had not marſhal Saxe opened a concealed battery, which ſwept off whole ranks at a time. The intrepidity of the Britiſh foot ſtruck the French with amazement; and there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt, but they would have been maſters of the field, had not ſome particular circumſtances conſpired to deprive them of that glory.

General Ingoldſby was ſo dilatory in attacking the fort at Vezon, that marſhal Saxe had time to ſtrengthen it both with troops and cannon. But the moſt fatal circumſtance aroſe from the cowardice of the Dutch troops under prince Waldeck, for although he led them thrice on to the attack of Fontenoy, yet they as often fled, by which the Auſtrians were left expoſed to the fire of the enemy. Had Ingoldſby taken the fort at Vezon, the French king and his ſon, the dauphin, would have been made priſoners of war. But ſtill the courage of the Engliſh was the moſt ſurprizing that can be imagined. The broken lines were filled up from the rear, and although once put into ſome diſorder, yet when rallied by the duke, they advanced a ſecond time with more ardour than ever. In this manner both armies continued on the firſt day of May, from five in the morning till about three in the afternoon; but the Engliſh, who received no aſſiſtance from the left wing, were dreadfully galled by the enemy, who, in conſequence of the cowardice of the Dutch, took them in front and flank. Their numbers were now greatly reduced, and the French were raiſing a new battery, when orders were given for the allies to retreat. This they performed in ſuch excellent order, that ſome of the French cavalry, who attempted to purſue them, had a whole regiment deſtroyed. Next day the allies marched to Aeth; but ſuch of the brave ſoldiers and officers as had been wounded were obliged to be left to the care of the enemy, who treated them with great humanity.

Such was the deciſion of the memorable battle of Fontenoy, which was of no other ſervice than diſplaying the unfortunate bravery of the Engliſh and Hanoverians; the latter of whom, by their behaviour this day, ſilenced all the charges that had been brought againſt them for their conduct at Dettingen, while the Dutch diſgraced all the glories which they had ſome years before acquired at the battle of Malplaquet, under the famous duke of Marlborough.

In this action the allies loſt two brave generals, namely, Sir James Campbell, and major-general Ponſonby; two colonels, a great number of ſubaltern officers, and about 8,000 men. The loſs of the French cannot be well aſcertained: but it muſt be conſiderable, as ſeven of their generals were killed, and four others died ſoon after of their wounds.

Baron Dorth, the Dutch commander in Tournay, held out that important fortreſs againſt the whole French army till the twenty-firſt day of June, when he was obliged to capitulate, and obtained the moſt honourable terms. A detachment of 4,000 Engliſh and Hanoverians were ſent to reinforce the garriſon in the city of Ghent, but 1000 of them were cut off. At the ſame time the French took the cities of Aeth, Dendermond, Oudenarde, and Newport, with the important town of Oſtend; after which Lewis XV. the French king, returned in triumph to Paris.

All this time the confederate army lay entrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp, for the diſparity between them and the enemy was too diſadvantageous to ſuffer the former to think of giving the leaſt moleſtation to the latter in their acquiſitions.

On the 12th of October his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland left the confederate army, and ſet off on his return to England. The combined forces ſoon after took up their winter quarters, leaving the victorious marſhal Saxe in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the Auſtrian Netherlands.

In Germany, the French had ſent an army to the aſſiſtance of the young elector of Bavaria; but the Auſtrians had been ſo ſtrongly reinforced that the elector was obliged to leave his capital city of Munich, and take ſhelter in Augſburgh, while all that his army could do was to act on the defenſive, till ſuch time as reinforcements came to their aſſiſtance.

Count Traun, with an army of 30,000 Auſtrians, marched from Bohemia towards Franckfort, in order to drive out the French, under the command of the prince of Conti; alledging, as a reaſon, that there could not be a free election of an emperor, till all foreign troops were driven out of the empire. Count Bathiani joined count Traun, and the whole Auſtrian army, amounting to near 70,000 men, took the field, and the grand duke having taken upon himſelf the chief command, marched againſt the prince of Conti, and obliged him to repaſs the Rhine with a very great loſs.

The French king being thus driven out of Franckfort, ſeven ambaſſadors from ſo many electors, aſſembled in the Imperial college, to make choice of an emperor; but thoſe of Brandenburgh and the Palatinate were not preſent. The election fell on the grand duke of Tuſcany, huſband to the queen of Hungary; and on the 24th of September, the emperor was crowned with the uſual ceremonies. This important event, ſo much for the benefit of the princes in Germany, was, in a great meaſure, brought about by the unwearied aſſiduity of his Britannic majeſty, who left nothing undone to bring over the electors to the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, and prevailed upon the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel to withdraw his troops from the French ſervice, and enter them into Britiſh pay.

The king of Pruſſia, who had ſuffered ſo much the preceding year, would have liſtened to terms of accommodation, eſpecially as he found that he had been deceived by the French; but the houſe of Auſtria rejected every offer. The Auſtrians had taken ſome towns in Sileſia; but no ſooner had the king of Pruſſia learned that his propoſal had been rejected, than his indignation was fired, and all his military ſkill rekindled in his breaſt. On a ſudden he attacked the Auſtrians, and drove them from one poſt to another with great ſlaughter, beſides making many priſoners. At Glatz, 6,000 Pruſſians, under general Lehwald, attacked 12,000 Auſtrians commanded by general Helfrick, and totally defeated them. At Ratiber, 3,000 Auſtrians were made priſoners of war; every thing gave way to the victorious Pruſſians, to the ſurprize of all Europe, people in general imagining that he had been too much diſpirited by his loſſes to have undertaken things of ſuch importance; but there are particular reaſons that call forth great minds to action.

In the month of May, prince Charles of Lorrain being joined by the forces under the command of the prince of Saxe-Weiſſenfells, marched from Bohemia, and encamped on thoſe mountains which ſeparate that kingdom from Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia had taken all the precaution that the greateſt general could uſe, in order to augment his army, and ſecure his garriſons: and about the middle of June he found himſelf at the head of 84,000 men, all diſciplined in the beſt manner, and accuſtomed to the greateſt hardſhips that can be imagined. With theſe men he reſolved to attack prince Charles, who had advanced to Friedburg; and for that purpoſe ordered Du Moulin, his general, to march, at the head of 15,000 men, to make as if he intended to march towards Breſlaw, which was done that prince Charles might be led into a ſnare. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect; for the Auſtrians being taken off their guard, and lulled into ſecurity, the Pruſſians attacked them with ſuch fury, that although prince Charles and the prince of Saxe-Weiſſenfells did all that lay in their power to procure a victory, yet the military abilities of the king of Pruſſia bore down every oppoſition, and the Auſtrians were totally defeated, with the loſs of 5000 men killed, and near 7000 taken priſoners.

His Britannic majeſty was now at Hanover; and afraid that the king of Pruſſia would too much diſtreſs the houſe of Auſtria, entered into a treaty with him, which was concluded at Hanover in the month of Auguſt. By this treaty Great-Britain engaged to ſupport the king of Pruſſia in his conqueſt of Sileſia; but the courts of Vienna and Dreſden having proteſted againſt it, the king of Pruſſia marched into Luſatia, and having taken poſſeſſion of Gorlitz, forced prince Charles of Lorrain to take ſhelter in Bohemia.

About the ſame time the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau, one of the Pruſſian generals, entered Saxony, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Leipſic; while the king of Poland, afraid of being made a priſoner in his capital city, left Dreſden, and took refuge in Prague. Prince Lobkowitz, with a body of Saxons, attempted to force the Pruſſian lines, but he was defeated with great loſs, and Dreſden, the capital of Saxony, was obliged to ſubmit to the victorious king of Pruſſia. The king of Poland ſeeing the Pruſſians in poſſeſſion of his capital, was obliged to make peace on the beſt terms he could, and the queen of Hungary conſented to give up all future claim to Sileſia.

The campaign in Italy was far from proving favourable either to the queen of Hungary, or her ally the king of Sardinia. Count Gages paſſed the Appenines, in the month of April, and entered the ſtate of Lucca; from thence he proceeded by the eaſtern coaſt of Genoa to Leſtinde-Levante. The junction of the two armies was thus accompliſhed, and reinforced with 10,000 Genoeſe: mean while prince Lobkowitz decamped from Modena, and took poſt at Parma; but he was ſoon ſucceeded by count Schuylemberg, and ſent to command the Auſtrians in Bohemia. The Spaniards entered the Milaneſe without farther oppoſition. Count Gages, with 30,000 men, took poſſeſſion of Seravalle; and advancing towards Placentia, obliged the Auſtrians to retire under the cannon of Tortora: but when Don Philip, at the head of 40,000 troops, made himſelf maſter of Aqui, the king of Sardinia and the Auſtrian general, unable to ſtem the torrent, retreated behind the Tenaro. The ſtrong citadel of Tortona was taken by the Spaniards, who likewiſe reduced Parma and Placentia; and forcing the paſſage of the Tenaro compelled his Sardinian majeſty to take ſhelter on the other ſide of the Po. Pavia was then won by ſcalade; and the city of Milan ſubmitted to the infant, though the Auſtrian garriſon ſtill maintained the citadel. All Piedmont, on both ſides of the Po, as far as Turin, was reduced, and even that capital threatened with a ſiege, ſo that by the month of October the territories belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, in Italy, were wholly ſubdued, and the king of Sardinia ſtripped of all his dominions: notwithſtanding which, he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all propoſals of a ſeparate accommodation.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the continent, the naval affairs of England began in ſome meaſure to wear a more promiſing aſpect than they had for ſome time done. Admiral Rowley had been ſent into the Mediterranean, to command in the room of Matthews; and he, during the ſummer, bombarded Genoa, and ſeveral other places; while the Engliſh privateers took ſeveral capital prizes; all which contributed towards inſpiring the ſeamen with freſh courage.

But the moſt important naval tranſaction this year was the reduction of Cape Breton, in North-America, a place of great importance, which the French had been at prodigious expence in fortifying, and which they looked upon as one of their moſt valuable colonies. The ſcheme had been projected by the people of Boſton in New-England; and Sir Peter Warren, who had been ſtationed near the leeward iſlands, was ordered to ſail for North-America, to aſſiſt ſuch forces as were then in New-England in the intended expedition. Accordingly, on the 6th of April this year, Sir Peter ſet ſail, and ſoon after landed at Cauſo, having under his command ten ſhips of the line; and having taken on board 6000 men from New-England, he came to an anchor at Gabaron, about four miles ſouth of Louiſbourg, the capital of Cape Breton. The ground between the fort and the place where they landed was the moſt dangerous to paſs over that could be imagined; but the forces ſent from New-England ſurmounted all difficulties, and, by the moſt unwearied diligence and perſeverance, formed two camps, in order to carry on the attack. One of theſe camps was on the north, and the other on the ſouth ſide of the town; and the fort had a battery of 35 pieces of cannon, which commanded the entry into the harbour. The walls and ramparts mounted 64 great guns, beſides 16 large mortars; and the garriſon, beſides the inhabitants, contained 1200 regular troops, under the command of M. Chambon. At the weſt gate of the town was a ſtrong draw-bridge, ſecured by a battery of 16 guns, and near it was another battery of 34 guns. The New-England forces were only raw, undiſciplined troops; few of them had ever ſeen a military engagement: but notwithſtanding the almoſt unſurmountable difficulties that ſeemed to oppoſe them, yet they diſplayed ſuch courage as would have done honour to the beſt regulated forces in the world. They only waited for orders; and no ſooner had they received them, than they attacked the grand battery with ſuch fury, that the enemy was forced to abandon it, and that, in a great meaſure, contributed towards procuring them the victory. In the mean time, the Engliſh fleet blocked up the harbour, ſo that neither men nor proviſions could be brought to the beſieged; while ſeveral French ſhips, laden with ſtores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and were condemned as legal prizes.

The New-England forces, who carried on the ſiege, were plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of freſh proviſions; but the ſervice on the ſouth ſide of the town was attended with many difficulties; for moſt of the cannon deſigned to be placed on the battlements, were obliged to be dragged above two miles, through very marſhy grounds; in ſome parts almoſt impaſſable. Perſeverance and courage, however, ſurmounted every difficulty; and the troops that had been conſidered as unfit for action, in a regular manner, performed wonders. Several batteries were erected on the riſing ground near the place, from whence red-hot bullets were diſcharged into the town, and the governor, not ſeeing any proſpect of aſſiſtance, ſurrendered the place, and with the garriſon, who all engaged not to bear arms againſt Britain, during the ſpace of twelve months, were conveyed to Rochfort in France.

This was a moſt valuable acquiſition to Great-Britain; and his majeſty was ſo ſenſible of it, that he conferred ſeveral honours upon the officers. The inhabitants of New England acquired immortal honour, and convinced thoſe in power, that courage, joined with prudence, is able to accompliſh any thing.

While the continent of Europe, and the iſles of America were thus expoſed to the ravages of war, and ſubjected to ſeveral viciſſitudes of fortune, Great Britain underwent a convulſion in her own bowels by a rebellion, the moſt daring, and, conſidering the little encouragement it met with, the moſt alarming of any that appears in the Engliſh annals: a rebellion, which was as fatal in its iſſue, as it was proſperous in its commencement; and which, notwithſtanding its occaſioning ſome few calamities, confirmed in the hand of the ſovereign the ſceptre it meant to ſhake.

We have already ſeen in what manner Charles, the eldeſt ſon of the Pretender, attempted to invade England during the laſt year; and it is aſſerted, that upon his return home to his father at Rome, he was adviſed to lay aſide all thoughts of engaging in an enterprize likely to be attended with inſurmountable difficulties, and, if failing of ſucceſs, muſt involve many families in ruin.

Such was the advice given Charles by his father, who had failed in an attempt of the like nature; but the young adventurer, whoſe mind was full of romantic notions, and who had been hurried on by the advice of ſome needy fugitives, reſolved to try his fortune for the recovery of that crown which he looked upon as the right of his family. The French miniſtry looked on the whole as a Don Quixote expedition, and however earneſt they were to ſee Great Britain diſtreſſed, yet ſuch were their notions of the ſuperiority gained by them in Flanders, that all Charles could procure from them was only one ſhip of war to carry him over to Scotland, where he doubted not of meeting with many friends to ſupport his cauſe. Accordingly, he ſet ſail in a ſmall frigate from Port St. Lazaro, on the 14th of July, and was joined by the Elizabeth, a French man of war of 60 guns, which was to ſerve as a convoy. Their deſign was to have ſailed round Ireland, and then land in the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland; but happening to fall in with the Lion, an Engliſh man of war of 50 guns, a deſperate engagement enſued, and the French ſhip was ſo much diſabled, that ſhe was obliged to ſet ſail for Breſt, where ſhe arrived in a very ſhattered condition. The frigate in which was the young chevalier, the marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sherridan, and ſome few others, made her eſcape during the engagement, and continued her courſe ſo expeditiouſly, that on the 23d of July the young Pretender reached the weſtern iſles of Scotland, and landed at Moidart, where he was kindly received by Mr. Macdonald, who concealed him in his houſe till notice of his arrival was diſperſed among the clans; where he was ſoon joined by a conſiderable number of hardy mountaineers, under their reſpective chiefs.

Had the government acted vigorouſly on the firſt intelligence they received of his arrival, the young adventurer muſt ſoon have been cruſhed; but the lords of the regency paid little regard to the information, and even ſuſpected the integrity of thoſe by whom it was conveyed. A ſhort time, however, Charles having convinced them of their error.

aſſembled about 1500 men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort William, and immediately commenced hoſtilities. A detachment from his main body ſurprized two companies of new raiſed ſoldiers, who, after an obſtinate diſpute, were obliged to ſubmit. An officer of the king's forces having fallen into the hands of the rebels, was courteouſly diſmiſſed with one of the Pretender's manifeſtos, and a paſſport for his perſonal ſafety. The adminiſtration was now effectually alarmed. The lords of the regency iſſued a proclamation, offering 30,000l. to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the eldeſt ſon of the Pretender; and a courier was diſpatched to Holland, to haſten the return of his majeſty, who arrived in England about the latter end of Auguſt. A requiſition was made of the 6000 Dutch auxiliaries; and ſeveral Britiſh regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal addreſs was preſented to the king by the city of London, and the merchants of the metropolis reſolved to raiſe two regiments at their own expence. Orders were iſſued to keep the trained bands in readineſs; to array the militia of Weſtminſter; and inſtructions to the ſame effect were ſent to all the lords lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their ſervices to his majeſty, and many of them received commiſſions to levy regiments towards the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places: aſſociations formed, large contributions raiſed in different towns, counties, and communities; and a great number of eminent merchants in London agreed to ſupport the public credit, by receiving as uſual, bank notes in payment for the purpoſes of traffic.

As ſoon as it was known at Edinburgh that the Pretender's ſon had landed, Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, marched to oppoſe the rebels; but they gave him the ſlip, and on the fourth of September arrived at Perth, where they ſeized the public money, and proclaimed the Pretender king of Great Britain, by the name of James III. Here the young adventurer was joined by the titular duke of Perth, the viſcount Strathallern, lord George Murray, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, with their followers. The marquis of Tullibardine took poſſeſſion of Athol, and armed his tenants in ſupport of the cauſe he had undertaken. Being thus conſiderably augmented, the rebel army croſſed the Froth, took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh without oppoſition, and Charles fixed his head-quarters at the royal palace of Holyrood-houſe, but was diſappointed in ſeizing the treaſure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom, it having been previouſly conveyed into the caſtle, which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, under the command of general Gueſt.

Sir John Cope, hearing the rebels were maſters of Edinburgh, marched back to Aberdeen, where, for the greater expedition, he embarked his troops, and on the 16th of September, landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eaſtward of the capital. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, who, on the approach of the rebels, had retired from Edinburgh, and he immediately marched towards the rebel army in order to give them battle. On the 20th he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preſton-pans; but the rebels did not wait for him to begin the attack, for the next morning early, the young Pretender charged at the head of the Highlanders with ſuch irreſiſtable impetuoſity, that the king's troops were ſoon broke, and entirely routed. At the firſt onſet, the dragoons fled with great precipitation, but the chief part of the infantry, who made a vigorous ſtand, were either killed or taken, 500 of the king's forces fell on the field of battle, among whom was colonel Gardiner, who diſdained to ſave his life at the expence of his honour: when abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horſe and fought among the infantry, until he fell covered with his wounds.

This victory was of great importance to the rebels; they procured arms, a train of field artillery, and a conſiderable ſum of money: for the tents, cannon, baggage, and military cheſt of the royal party fell into their hands. It alſo induced ſeveral of the chiefs, who had hitherto continued on the reſerve, to exert themſelves in favour of the Pretender. Charles was not, however, yet in a condition to purſue his march into England, he continued, therefore, to reſide at Holyrood-houſe; impoſed taxes on the inhabitants; ſeized the merchandize depoſited in the king's warehouſe at Leith; compelled the city of Glaſgow to advance a conſiderable ſum of money; and laid the whole adjacent country under contribution. Large ſupplies of money, artillery, and ammunition, were ſent from France by ſingle ſhips; and the number of his followers increaſed daily, though the greater and richer part of the inhabitants of Scotland were averſe to his family and pretenſions, and many even exerted themſelves in defence of the government. The miniſtry were no ſooner informed of Cope's defeat, than they ſent orders for three battallions of guards, and ſeven regiments of infantry to return from Flanders; and theſe being joined by the 6000 Dutch troops lately arrived in England, began their march to Newcaſtle, under the command of general Wade.

On the 16th of October the parliament met, when his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſe, in which he informed them, "that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland; and that he relied upon their affections to him, and their care and concern for the public ſafety, to take ſuch ſteps as might enable him to extinguiſh this rebellion effectually; to prevent any foreign power from aſſiſting the rebels, and to reſtore the peace of the kingdom."

Addreſſes, containing the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty, were preſented by both houſes to his majeſty; and the commons, in order to provide for the public ſafety, ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act: upon which ſeveral ſuſpected perſons were taken into cuſtody. Admiral Vernon was ſent to command a fleet in the Downs, there being great reaſon to ſuſpect that the French would attempt to invade the ſouth of Kent, and his ſhips ſeized ſeveral French veſſels which were carrying arms and ammunition to the rebels in Scotland. This was ſtriking at the root of the rebellion, and from ſuch circumſtances our miniſtry were enabled to form ſome notion of their ſtrength, and the methods to be uſed in oppoſing them.

In the mean time Charles, finding it impracticable to ſeize the caſtle of Edinburgh, marched towards England at the head of 5000 men; for after the defeat of general Cope his army had increaſed conſiderably. On the twelfth of November the rebel army attacked the city of Carliſle, and in three days it ſurrendered; all the arms and ammunition falling into their hands: and there the Pretender was proclaimed. Thus ſucceſsful, and marſhal Wade not having been able to get up in time to oppoſe them, they marched ſouthward to Preſton, where they arrived without any moleſtation; and on the 29th made their public entry into Mancheſter. At Preſton and Mancheſter the Pretender was again proclaimed; and in the latter place a regiment was raiſed for him, and the command thereof given to one Mr. Townly, a Lancaſhire gentleman, who had been ſome years in the French ſervice. It is impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of the people in London, when they found that the rebels had got ſo far ſouthward; and, therefore, the duke of Cumberland, who had returned from Flanders, was ſent down to oppoſe them.

In the beginning of December the rebels left Mancheſter, paſſed the river Merſey, and advanced to Congleton, ſeemingly with an intention to meet and engage the duke, whoſe advanced guard was then at Newcaſtle Underline; but they ſuddenly turned off to the left, and marched into Derby, as if they intended to avoid his royal highneſs, and proceed immediately to London. This news occaſioned inexpreſſible terror: the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were ordered to march and form a camp upon Finchley-common, and the king reſolved to take the field in perſon, accompanied by the earl of Stair: the militia of London and Middleſex were kept in readineſs to march: double watches were poſted at the city gates, and ſignals of alarm appointed. But this ſtate of anxiety was of ſhort duration: the Pretender finding himſelf diſappointed in his expectations, and that no attempt was made by the French towards an invaſion, called a council of war at Derby, where it was determined to retreat to Scotland with all expedition. In purſuance of this reſolution they left Derby on the ſixth of December, and on the ninth arrived at Mancheſter; entered Preſton on the 12th, and continued their route with the ſame expedition to the northward. General Wade, with a view of intercepting them in their march, advanced from Ferry-bridge into Lancaſhire; but finding they had already reached Wigan, he returned to his poſt at Newcaſtle, after ſending general Oglethorpe, with his horſe and dragoons, to join another party detached by the duke in purſuit of the rebels, whoſe rear they overtook in Lancaſhire, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, of no material conſequence to either party. Charles reached Carliſle on the 19th, and after reinforcing the garriſon of that place, croſſed the rivers Edin and Solway into Scotland. On the 21ſt the duke of Cumberland inveſted Carliſle, and on the 30th the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. Thus having purſued the rebels to the northern verge of England, and retaken the only place they were maſters of, his royal highneſs returned to London, and the priſoners, amounting to 400, were confined in different jails.

A. D. 1746. After a very fatiguing march the rebels reached Glaſgow, from which they exacted very ſevere contributions. From this city they continued their march to Stirling, where they were joined by ſome forces, aſſembled by lord Lewis Gordon, and John Drummond. The latter, who arrived from France in November, with a ſmall reinforcement of French and Iriſh, fixed his head-quarters at Perth, and was joined by the earl of Cromartie and other chiefs, with 2000 of their vaſſals, and a ſmall train of artillery. A conſiderable ſum of money had been ſent them from Spain, and they had found means to ſurprize a ſloop of war at Montroſe, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. Charles, thus reinforced, inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, defended by general Blakeney, who eaſily rendered all their attempts abortive. On the 13th of January general Hawley, who had aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces at Edinburgh, advanced to Linlithgow. Next day they rendezvouſed at Falkirk, and on the 17th the rebels were perceived in full march to attack the king's forces; upon which Hawley diſpatched two regiments of dragoons to drive them from an eminence which they had taken poſſeſſion of; but the firſt volley of the rebels broke their ranks, and they retreated with precipitation; and falling in among the infantry, put them likewiſe into confuſion. The rebels followed their ſucceſs, and the royal army, after making one irregular diſcharge, fled in the utmoſt diſorder, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the enemy.

After this defeat, it was thought expedient that the duke of Cumberland ſhould take upon him the command of the army in Scotland. His royal highneſs, therefore, on the laſt day of January, put himſelf at the head of the troops in Edinburgh, conſiſting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and 1500 highlanders from Argyleſhire. He began his march to Linlithgow, which obliged the enemy, who had renewed the ſiege of Stirling caſtle, to abandon that enterprize: they paſſed the Forth with great precipitation, retiring by Badenoch towards Inverneſs; the caſtle of which they reduced, together with Fort Auguſtus. They next laid ſiege to Fort William and Blair-caſtle of Athol, but failed in both theſe attempts. In the mean time the duke having ſecured their important poſts of Stirling and Perth, advanced with his army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Finlater, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. The ſloop of war which the rebels had ſurpriſed at Montroſe was about this time retaken, with a conſiderable ſum of money and a large quantity of arms on board, which ſhe had brought from France for the ſervice of the Pretender.

On the 8th of April the duke of Cumberland left Aberdeen, and on the 15th paſſed the Spey without oppoſition. At Nairn, where he halted to refreſh, he received inteilligence that the enemy had burnt Fort Auguſtus, and marched from Inverneſs to Culloden, about nine miles diſtant from the royal army, to give him battle. The ſame night, however, the rebels marched with an intent to ſurprize the duke's army before day light; but this ſcheme, by ſome miſunderſtanding amongſt them, proved abortive, whereupon they returned to Culloden, reſolving in that ſtation to wait for the duke, who, on the 16th, decamped between four and five in the morning; and after marching about eight miles, the advanced guard perceived the rebels, amounting to 28000 men, drawn up in order of battle, in thirteen diviſions, ſupplied with ſome pieces of artillery, and poſted behind ſome old walls and huts, in a line with Culloden houſe. The duke immediately formed the royal army into three lines, and about one at noon the engagement began. The cannon of the enemy was very ill ſerved, and as badly pointed, while that of the royal army made dreadful havock among them. Their front line then advanced to the attack, and about 500 of the Highlanders charged the duke's left wing with their uſual impetuoſity. The weight of this column diſordered one regiment; but two battalions advancing from the ſecond line, ſuſtained the firſt, and ſoon put a ſtop to their career by a dreadful fire, which killed a great number. In the mean time, the dragoons under general Hawley, aſſiſted by the Argyleſhire militia, having pulled down a park wall that covered the right flank of the rebels, broke in among them ſword in hand, and completed their confuſion. The French piquets on their left ſtood inactive during the whole engagement, and then ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. In leſs than thirty minutes the whole rebel army was totally defeated, and the field covered with their dead bodies. Three thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot and in the purſuit. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the field of battle; the lord Balmerino ſurrendered himſelf in a ſhort time after, and the marquis of Tullibardine followed his example: the earl of Cromartie and his ſon had been taken priſoners ſome days before the engagement. This victory put a final ſtroke to the rebellion; but his royal highneſs continued in the north ſome time, to give proper orders for ſecuring the tranquillity of the country. Having, however, received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the clans and chieftains, he at length returned to London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people.

As to the vanquiſhed adventurer, he eſcaped from the field of battle, and forded the river Neſs, and with a few horſe retired to Aird, where he held a conference with ſome of his adherents; but finding his affairs deſperate, he deſired each of them to conſult his own ſafety; after which he aſſumed various diſguiſes, wandering from place to place among the mountains and weſtern iſlands for four months, during which he underwent an amazing ſeries of dangers, hardſhips, and miſeries: at laſt two ſhips, ſent on purpoſe from France to the coaſt, took him and about thirty of his followers on board, and in the middle of Auguſt landed him at Reſcourt, near Morlaix, in Britany.

Addreſſes were now preſented to his majeſty from all quarters, congratulating him on the ſucceſs of his arms, which had once more reſcued the nation from the violent attacks of deſpotiſm and popery. The two houſes of parliament, who ſet the example, alſo voted their thanks to his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland for his great and eminent ſervices on this occaſion; and the commons ſoon after added 25,000l. per annum to his former revenue.

The rebellion being now happily ſuppreſſed, it was thought neceſſary to make examples of the moſt diſtinguiſhed delinquents. In conſequence of which, bills of indictment for high-treaſon were found againſt the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino. Theſe noblemen were tried by their peers in Weſtminſter-hall, on the 28th of July, the lord-chancellor preſiding as lord-high-ſteward on the occaſion. Kilmarnock and Cromartie confeſſed their crimes; and, in pathetic ſpeeches, recommended themſelves to his majeſty's mercy. Lord Balmerino pleaded Not Guilty: he denied being at Carliſle at the time mentioned in the indictment; but this being plainly proved againſt him, he waved his plea, and ſubmitted to the court, who found them all guilty, and they received ſentence of death. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded on Tower-hill; but ſome favourable circumſtances appearing in the caſe of Cromartie, he was pardoned, under certain reſtrictions. The lord Lovat, who was the life and ſoul of the rebellion, was afterwards tried, and being found guilty, received the puniſhment due to his crimes *.

Beſides

---

* As the fate of the rebel lords is an event of an intereſting nature in the Engliſh hiſtory, we think it neceſſary to preſerve an ample account of the circumſtances that attended their reſpective executions.

The 18th of Auguſt was the time appointed for the execution of Kilmarnock and Balmerino. Accordingly, about ſix o'clock on the morning of that day, a troop of the life-guards, with another of the horſe-grenadiers, and about 1000 of the foot, marched through the city to Tower-hill. The foot were placed in the form of a battledore, the round part incloſing the ſcaffold in the centre, and the handle being formed by two lines, extending to the Tower-gate, with a proper ſpace between for the proceſſion to paſs. The horſe were drawn up in the rear of the foot, with a proper ſpace between for the commanding officers to traverſe the lines.

About nine the ſheriffs of London (attended by their officers and the executioner) came to view the ſcaffold, as alſo the houſe to which the lords were to be conducted, two rooms whereof were hung with black. At ten o'clock the block was fixed upon the ſcaffold, and covered with black cloth, with which alſo the ſcaffold was hung; and ſome ſacks of ſaw-duſt were carried up to ſtrew upon it. Soon after this, the two coffins were brought on the ſcaffold, covered with black cloth, with gilt nails, &c. On the earl of Kilmarnock's was a plate with this inſcription, viz. "Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollat. 18 Auguſt, 1746: "ætat. ſuæ 42." And that for lord Balmerino had this inſcription: "Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollat. 18 Auguſti, "1746, ætat. ſuæ 58."

In the mean time the ſheriffs went to the Tower, and after knocking at the gate, were admitted; when the priſoners, after the ſheriffs had given a receipt to the conſtable for their bodies, were delivered to their cuſtody. Soon after this, the proceſſion began; and when they had paſſed through the lines into the area of the circle formed by the guards, the paſſage was cloſed, and the troops of horſe drew up behind the foot. The lords were conducted into ſeparate apartments in the houſe facing the ſcaffold, their friends being admitted to ſee and converſe with them. The earl of Kilmarnock was attended by the Rev. Mr. Foſter, the Rev. Mr. Hume, and the chaplain of the Tower; and another clergyman of the church of England attended lord Balmerino. Before his lordſhip entered the houſe, hearing ſeveral of the ſpectators aſk, Which is lord Balmerino? He anſwered, ſmiling, I am he, Gentlemen, at your ſervice.

While they were in the houſe, the lord Balmerino aſked permiſſion to have a conference with the earl in his apartment; which being granted, among other queſtions he aſked the earl, if he knew of any order being ſigned by the prince (meaning the Pretender's ſon) to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden? To this the earl anſwering in the negative, the lord Balmerino added, "Nor I neither; and therefore it ſeems to be an invention to juſtify their own murders." The earl replied, "He did not "think this a fair inference, becauſe he was informed, after he "was a priſoner at Inverneſs, by ſeveral officers, that ſuch an or"der, ſigned George Murray, was in the duke's company." —"George Murray, ſaid lord Balmerino, then they ſhould not "have charged it on the prince." After this, he took his leave, embracing the earl with the moſt noble and generous compliments. "My dear Kilmarnock, ſaid he, I am only ſorry that "I cannot pay this reckoning alone; once more farewell for "ever!"

The lord Balmerino then left the room, and retired to his own apartment. As ſoon as he was gone, the earl, with the company preſent, kneeled down, and joined in a prayer delivered by Mr. Foſter; after which, having refreſhed himſelf with a bit of bread and a glaſs of wine, he expreſſed a deſire that lord Balmerino might go to the ſcaffold firſt; but being informed that he could not be indulged in this, as he was firſt named in the warrant, he appeared ſatisfied, ſaluted his friends, and ſaid, he ſhould make no ſpeech on the ſcaffold, but deſired the miniſters to aſſiſt him in his laſt moments; accordingly they, with his other friends, preceeded with him to the ſcaffold.

The multitude, who had been long expecting to ſee him on this awful occaſion, on his firſt appearing on the ſcaffold, dreſſed in black, with a countenance and demeanour teſtifying contrition, ſhewed the deepeſt ſigns of commiſeration and pity; and his lordſhip, at the ſame time, being ſtruck with ſuch a variety of dreadful objects at once, as the ſpectators, the block, his coffin, the executioner, and the inſtrument of death, he turned about to his friend Mr. Hume, and ſaid, "Hume, this is terrible!" though without changing his voice or countenance.

After repeating ſeveral ſhort prayers, one of which was for his majeſty king George, and the royal family, his lordſhip embraced and took leave of his friends. The executioner, who had previouſly taken ſomething to keep him from fainting, was ſo affected with his lordſhip's diſtreſs, and the awfulneſs of the ſcene, that, on aſking him forgiveneſs, he burſt into tears. His lordſhip bade him take courage, giving him at the ſame time a purſe with five guineas, and telling him he would drop his handkerchief as a ſignal for the ſtroke. He proceeded with the help of his gentleman, to make ready for the block, by taking off his coat, and the bag from his hair, which was then tucked up under a napkin cap; but this being too wide, the contracting it occaſioned ſome delay. The hair being adjuſted, he turned down the collar of his ſhirt and waiſtcot, kneeled down on a black cuſhion before the block, and drew his cap over his eyes; in doing which, as well as in putting up his hair, his hands were obſerved to ſhake; but, either to ſupport himſelf, or as a more convenient poſture for devotion, he happened to lay both hands upon the block, which the executioner obſerving, prayed his lordſhip to let them fall, leſt they ſhould be mangled, or break the blow. He was then told that the collar of his waiſtcoat was in the way, upon which he roſe, and with the help of a friend took it off; and the neck being made bare to the ſhoulders, he kneeled down as before. In the mean time, when all things were ready, and the baize which hung over the rails of the ſcaffold was, by direction of the colonel of the guard and the ſheriffs, turned up, that the people might ſee every circumſtance of the execution; in about two minutes after his lordſhip had kneeled down, he dropped his handkerchief, when the executioner, at one blow, ſevered his head from his body, except only a ſmall part of the ſkin, which was immediately divided by a gentle ſtroke. The head was received in a piece of red baize, and, with the body, put into the coffin, and carried in a hearſe to the Tower.

The executioner was obliged to ſhift himſelf, by reaſon of the quantity of blood that flew on his clothes; and in the mean time the ſcaffold was cleanſed, and freſh ſtrewed with ſaw-duſt. This being

Beſides the examples made in the execution of the lords, ſeventeen officers of the rebel army were condemned and executed at Kennington Common; nine at Carliſle; ſix at Brompton; ſeven at Penrith; and eleven at York. Some few who had received ſentence of death were pardoned, and a conſiderable number were tranſported to the plantations.

While England was engaged in cruſhing a rebellion at home, the war raged with great fury on the continent; for although an emperor had been choſen, yet the acquiſition made by the French in the Netherlands alarmed all Germany, while the Dutch looked for nothing leſs than immediate deſtruction. They in general conſidered it neceſſary that a perſon ſhould be made choice of to conduct the affairs of the republic, and none ſeemed more proper than the prince of Orange, who had married the princeſs royal of England. But a ſtrong party oppoſed that motion, and the command of the army was conferred on prince Waldeck, a German, and a man of known courage; but as he was not a native of the country, ſo it could not be ſuppoſed that he would act like one naturally attached to the republic.

About the middle of April, the French king took the field, accompanied by marſhal Saxe and ſeveral other generals: and the allies, under count Bathiani, not being able to oppoſe them, retreated to Breda, the capital city of Dutch Brabant, leaving Antwerp expoſed to the enemy, who, in a few days, took poſſeſſion of it. A detachment from the French army, under the command of the prince of Conti, was ſent to inveſt Mons, a city of great ſtrength; but the garriſon behaved with ſo much bravery, that notwithſtanding the ſuperior numbers of the French, yet the place held out till the latter end of July, when they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. So rapid were the conqueſts of the French, that every place gave way to them, almoſt as ſoon as they approached; and Lewis XV. publiſhed an edict, whereby he ordered to be annexed to his dominions all thoſe provinces that had been taken from his kingdoms by the treaty of Utrecht. All the towns of ſtrength in the Auſtrian Netherlands had ſubmitted to the French, except Namur, a ſtrong fort ſituated on the confluence of the Maeſe and the Sambre; and that the French reſolved to bring under ſubjection as ſoon as a convenient opportunity ſhould offer.

In the mean time the allied army being reinforced with a number of Heſſians that had been ſent over from Scotland, as alſo with a ſtrong body of Auſtrians,

---

being done, the ſheriffs went for the lord Balmerino, who, during this time, had converſed chearfully with his friends, refreſhed himſelf twice with a bit of bread and a glaſs of wine, and deſired the company to drink to him, ſaying, that he had prepared a ſpeech, which he ſhould read on the ſcaffold, and therefore ſhould not there ſay any thing of its contents.

When the under-ſheriff entered his lordſhip's apartment to let him know the ſtage was ready, he prevented him by immediately aſking if the affair was over with the lord Kilmarnock; and being anſwered in the affirmative, he enquired how the executioner performed his office; and upon receiving the account, ſaid it was well done: then addreſſing himſelf to the company, he ſaid, "Gentlemen, I ſhall detain you no longer;" and with an eaſy unaffected chearfulneſs, ſaluted his friends, and proceeded to the ſcaffold. He was dreſſed in his regimentals, which were blue faced with red; and his appearance, with the apparent compoſure of his mind, aſtoniſhed the ſpectators.

As ſoon as he arrived on the ſcaffold, he took off his coat and waiſtcoat, together with his neckcloth, and threw them on his coffin; he then put on his flannel waiſtcoat, which had been provided for that purpoſe, and taking a plaïd cap out of his pocket, he put it on his head, ſaying, he would die a Scotchman. After kneeling down at the block to adjuſt his poſture, and ſhew the executioner the ſignal for the ſtroke, which was dropping his arms, he once more turned to his friends, and took his laſt farewell: then, looking round on the ſpectators, he ſaid, "Perhaps "ſome may think my behaviour too bold, but remember, (ſaid "he to a gentleman who ſtood near him) that I now declare it is "the effect of confidence in God and a good conſcience, and I "ſhould diſſemble if I ſhould ſhew any ſigns of fear."

As he paſſed the executioner, obſerving the axe in his hand, he took it from him, felt the edge, and returning it, clapped him on the ſhoulder to encourage him; he tucked down the collar of his ſhirt and waiſtcoat, and ſhewed the executioner where to ſtrike, deſiring him to do it reſolutely, for in that, ſaid his lordſhip, will conſiſt your kindneſs. He then went to the ſide of the ſtage, and called up the warder of the Tower, to whom he gave ſome money, aſked which was his hearſe, and deſired that the man might drive near the ſtage.

He then, without trembling or changing countenance, again knelt down at the block; and having, with his arms ſtretched out, ſaid, "O Lord reward my friends, forgive my enemies, "and receive my ſoul," he gave the ſignal by letting his arms fall. His amazing firmneſs and intrepidity, and the unexpected ſuddenneſs of the ſignal, ſo ſurprized the executioner, that though he ſtruck the part directed, the blow was not given with ſufficient ſtrength to cut through the neck, on which he made an effort to turn his head towards the executioner; but a ſecond blow immediately ſucceeding the firſt, rendered him quite inſenſible, and a third finiſhed the work. His head was received in the ſame manner as Kilmarnock's, and, together with the body, was put into the coffin, and conveyed to the Tower, in which place they were both interred the ſame evening.

The earl of Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine perſonal accompliſhments; he had been educated in revolution principles, and engaged himſelf in the rebellion partly from the deſperate ſituation of his fortune, and partly from reſentment to the government, on account of his having been deprived of a penſion he had for ſome time enjoyed. The enemies of Mr. Foſter (who attended him after condemnation) pretended that he had all along flattered his lordſhip with the hopes of a pardon, provided he kept up a ſhew of penitence to the laſt. This calumny (for probably it was nothing more) received ſome countenance by Kilmarnock's raiſing his head, after it was laid upon the block, and looking round among the ſpectators; notwithſtanding which, he died as a man and a chriſtian.

The conduct of lord Balmerino, on this ſolemn occaſion, though very different from that of Kilmarnock, was far from ſuch as his enemies reported. It is beyond a doubt that he would have accepted a pardon from the crown, could he have obtained it; but finding all his applications ineffectual, he prepared himſelf for death with great fortitude and reſolution. The *moſt* accurate obſervers could not diſcover in his geſture, on the fatal day, the leaſt ſymptom of concern, much leſs of fear; notwithſtanding which he was ſo far from being inſenſible, that he was ſeen to check his natural boldneſs, leſt the ſpectators ſhould think it indecent. He maintained his principles to the laſt. Kilmarnock appeared to be convinced of the criminality of his conduct; but Balmerino certainly acted from principle.

The number of ſpectators at theſe executions was incredible; the hill, the ſcaffolding, and the houſes being crouded with people, who, in general, behaved with great decency during the whole ſolemnity; and very little damage or miſchief was done, either by accident or otherwiſe.

On the 8th of December Charles Ratcliffe, eſq; commonly called earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ſhip bound to Scotland, was beheaded on Little Tower-hill, near the Minories, in conſequence of a rule of the court of King's-bench, for being concerned in the rebellion in the year 1715; at which time he received ſentence of death, but, with ſeveral others, made his eſcape out of Newgate.

As ſoon as he arrived on the ſcaffold, he aſked for the executioner, who coming to him, he took a parcel of gold out of his pocket, and gave it him, ſaying, "I am but a poor man, and "there are ten guineas for you; if I had more I would give it "you, and I deſire you to do your buſineſs ſo as to put me to the "leaſt miſery you can." He then kneeled down before the block, and, putting his hands together, made a ſhort prayer; after which two of the warders of the Tower came to him, one of whom took off his wig, and the other put a white cap on his head. After this, the unhappy criminal roſe, and, with their aſſiſtance, took off his coat and waiſtcoat. He then turned about, and took his leave, in a reſpectful manner of the ſheriffs; untied the collar of his ſhirt, which was faſtened with a black ribbon, and began to tuck down the collar of his ſhirt; but not being able to reach far enough behind, he deſired the executioner to aſſiſt him; which he accordingly did.

After ſaying a ſhort prayer, and croſſing himſelf ſeveral times, he laid his head on the block, and deſired the executioner to ſtrike far enough, adding theſe his laſt words, "When I ſpread my "hands thus, do you take my head off." This ſignal he gave in leſs than half a minute, when one blow ſevered the head, except a ſmall part of the ſkin, which was cut aſunder at a ſecond eaſy ſtroke. The body falling on the ſcaffold, the executioner ſearched his pockets, from whence he took half a guinea, a ſilver crucifix, and his beads. The head and body were put into a coffin, and carried in a hearſe to the Nag's-head in Gray's-inn-lane; and the next morning were interred in the church-yard of St. Giles's in the Fields.

ans, reſolved to remain no longer unconcerned ſpectators, but to oppoſe the French with courage and perſeverance. Prince Charles of Lorrain, who had marched towards the Netherlands, knew the importance of Namur, and therefore drew up the allied army, which he had now taken under his command, on an eminence, in ſight of the French forces. Nothing could have been better contrived than the meaſures taken by the prince, ſo far as he was able to act conſiſtent with the inferiority of his army to that of the enemy. But the count Lowendahl, having taken Huy, where the allies had their magazine, the prince was obliged to retire to the north of the Maeſe, and leave Namur expoſed to the enemy. Accordingly, the trenches before it were opened on the 2d of September, and the ſiege carried on by 33,000 French till the 23d, when the garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 Auſtrians, after making a brave defence, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The allied army, which lay encamped near Maeſtricht, being joined by Sir John Ligonier, with ſeveral battalions from Britain, prince Charles reſolved not to remain any longer inactive, but to venture on an engagement with the French: but count Saxe perceived his intention, and having fortified his camp in the ſtrongeſt manner, the allied army was obliged to return once more to Maeſtricht. To that place they were followed by the French, who had been reinforced with that part of the army which had been employed againſt Namur. The allies now finding that an engagement was inevitable, prepared to meet the enemy, who had been drawn up in three columns, with artillery in the front; and about noon a moſt dreadful cannonading began, which did great execution on both ſides. At laſt the allies, after having done every thing that could have been performed by brave men, were obliged to abandon the field, and retreat to Maeſtricht, with the loſs of 5000 men, and thirty pieces of artillery. But the French purchaſed the victory extremely dear, having loſt upwards af 9000 men, without obtaining any material advantage, not being able to prevent the allies from making good their retreat. This action terminated the campaign in the Netherlands. The allies, paſſing the Maeſe, took up their winter quarters in the duchies of Limburgh and Luxemburgh; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

In Italy the Auſtrian and Sardinian forces performed many ſignal actions. Don Philip was obliged to

---

Thus fell this unhappy man thirty years after his eſcape from Newgate; a great part of which time he ſpent with the Pretender in Italy. He was the youngeſt brother of James earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded in the year 1716. They were the ſons of Sir Francis Ratcliffe by the lady Mary Tudor, natural daughter to king Charles II.

Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, the laſt and moſt extraordinary perſonage that ſuffered for this rebellion, was executed on Thurſday the 9th of April, 1747. This nobleman, in 1692, was a captain in Tullibardine's regiment; and, in 1695, he, with the aſſiſtance of his clan, violently forced the lady dowager of Lovat to marry him, for which he was tried and condemned; but being afterwards pardoned by king William, he fled to France, and turning papiſt, accepted a commiſſion under the late king James. He was confined for ſome years in the Baſtile for acting a double part between the two crowns of England and France; and at length obtained his liberty by taking the order of prieſthood. He officiated as a jeſuit prieſt at St. Omer's till the rebellion in 1715, when coming over to England, he eſpouſed the cauſe of government, and aſſiſted in recovering Inverneſs from the rebels; for which he got the title of Lovat, and obtained the command of a company of high-landers.

In this rebellion, however, he again fluctuated in his conduct; and while he endeavoured to preſerve appearances himſelf, he ſent his ſon, with the greater part of his clan, to join the Pretender, as appeared by an expoſtulatory letter ſent to him from the lord preſident. In anſwer to this letter, he not only endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, but was baſe enough to reproach his ſon in the moſt ſevere terms: and in a letter to the duke of Cumberland uſed the moſt hypocritical flattery in vindication of his innocence.

He was apprehended by lord Loudon, from whom he made his eſcape; but was at laſt taken concealed in a hollow tree, while he was preparing to go abroad. He was tried by the houſe of peers, before whom he preſerved a jocoſe behaviour; and his defence was filled with the moſt ſatirical turns. His criminality, however, appearing ſufficiently manifeſt, he was found guilty, and received ſentence of death.

When the warrant for his execution was notified to him, he appeared indifferent as to his fate; and though he was urged by his friends to throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet and petition for mercy, he abſolutely refuſed it, ſaying, "he was ſo old and infirm "that his life was not worth aſking."

Through the whole of his conduct, after conviction, he appeared undaunted, and preſerved his jocoſe, ſatirical temper to the laſt moment of his life. He received the notice of his death-warrant without the leaſt alteration in his countenance, thanked the gentleman who brought it for the favours he had done him, and drank a glaſs of wine to his health; after which he ſat down and converſed chearfully with him for a conſiderable time.

The next morning, being informed that it was reported an engine was to be made for his execution like that called the Maiden, formerly uſed for beheading ſtate criminals in Scotland, he commended the contrivance, "for, ſaid he, as my neck is very ſhort, "the executioner will be puzzled to find it out with his axe; and "if ſuch a machine be made, I ſuppoſe it will get the name of "Lovat's Maiden."

On the Monday preceding his execution, the major of the Tower went to ſee him, and aſked him how he did. "Do?" ſays he, "Why, Sir, I am doing very well; for I am fitting myſelf "for a place where hardly any majors go, and very few lieutenant-generals."

The next morning he deſired one of the warders to lay a pillow upon the floor at the foot of the bed, that he might try if he could properly perform his part in the tragedy in which he was next Thurſday to be chief actor: and after having kneeled down, and placed his head upon the foot of the bed, he roſe up, and ſaid, "By this ſhort practice, I believe, I ſhall be able to act my part "well enough."

On the Wedneſday morning his lordſhip waked about two o'clock, and prayed moſt devoutly for ſome time; after which he went to reſt again, and ſlept till between ſix and ſeven, when he called for the warder to dreſs him as uſual; and during the courſe of the day, he not only talked pertinently and ſedately with ſome gentlemen that came to ſee him, both about his own private affairs, as well as the public affairs of the nation, but merrily joked with the warder that attended him, the barber that ſhaved him, and almoſt every one that went to him. After eating a hearty dinner, he ſmoaked a pipe, according to cuſtom, and then ſent orders to get ſome veal roaſted, that it might be ready to mince for his breakfaſt the next morning.

On Thurſday the 9th, being the fatal day, his lordſhip waked about three o'clock in the morning, and, as he had done the preceding day, prayed in a very devout manner for ſome time. At five he got up, called for a glaſs of wine and water, as uſual, and ſat reading in his chair for two hours without ſpectacles; for, notwithſtanding his great age, he had never made uſe of any, which was ſuppoſed to have ariſen from his uniform method of living; for though he often drank a chearful glaſs, yet he never drank to exceſs, and very ſeldom taſted wine without its being properly mixed with water.

During the courſe of the morning his lordſhip behaved with his uſual gaiety, without once diſcovering the leaſt ſign of fear or uneaſineſs, as appeared from ſeveral incidents. At eight o'clock he deſired his wig might be ſent to the barber, that he might have time to comb it out in the genteeleſt manner; and having deſired the warder to get him a purſe to put the gold in, which he deſigned for the executioner, he added, "Let it be a good one, leſt the "gentleman ſhould refuſe it." On the warder's bringing two to chuſe, he did not ſeem to approve of either; however, he choſe one, and ſaid, "Though it be none of the beſt, it is a purſe that "no man would refuſe with ten guineas in it." Between eight and nine he called for a plate of minced veal, ate heartily, and then, having aſked for ſome wine and water, he drank the healths of ſeveral of his friends and acquaintances.

On the morning of execution Mr. Alderman Alſop, one of the high ſheriffs, (the other being ill) attended by the two under ſheriffs and the proper officers, with the executioner, went from the Mitre Tavern in Fenchurch-ſtreet, to the houſe appointed for them on Tower-hill. At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the ſcaffold, and his lordſhip's coffin brought, which was covered with black cloth, adorned with coronets, &c. and on the lid was this inſcription: "Simon Dominus Fraſer de Lovat, decollat. "April. 9, 1747, ætat. ſuæ 80."

At eleven o'clock the high ſheriff, with his attendants, went to the to abandon Milan; and the king of Sardinia having retaken all the Piedmonteſe forts, advanced towards Genoa, in order to join the Auſtrian army. This brought on a moſt bloody engagement, in which above 9000 of the French and Spaniards were killed, and 6000 taken priſoners; while the Auſtrians did not loſe above 4000. Soon after this battle, the Auſtrian forces were joined by thoſe of the king of Sardinia, who took upon him the command in chief, and reſolved, if poſſible, to drive the French and Spaniards from their entrenchments, which he effected; for they were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of 8000 men, beſides their cannon and ammunition.

In conſequence of theſe repeated loſſes, Don Philip found his army reduced to 30,000 men, with which he returned to Provence, and put them into winter quarters. Nor was it much better with the count de Gages, whoſe forces ſuffered conſiderably; and the court of Madrid was ſo enraged, that he was recalled, and the command given to the marquis de las Minas.

On the 4th of December the ſenate of Genoa delivered up their capital city to the Auſtrians, who placed in it a garriſon of only 600 men, under the command of the marquis de Botta. Had the Auſtrians, on this occaſion, obſerved a conduct conſiſtent with humanity, they might have remained maſters of Genoa: but their cruelty, in exacting taxes of an exorbitant nature, drove the people to deſpair, and awakened in them the laſt remaining ſpark of courage. They roſe in ſuch numbers upon the garriſon, that they killed many of them; and being joined by the peaſants in the neighbouring country, the whole Auſtrian army was driven out of the territories of Genoa.

In the month of July this year died Philip, king of Spain, a man of a peaceable diſpoſition, but hurried on to war by the intrigues of the French king, and the ambition of his queen, who was a mortal enemy to the Auſtrian family. Much about the ſame time died Chriſtian VI. king of Denmark, a prince beloved by his ſubjects. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Frederick, who had married the princeſs Louiſa, daughter of his Britannic majeſty, and who reigned many years afterwards, rather as a tender parent than an abſolute ſovereign.

The naval tranſactions of this year were productive of very little honour to the Britiſh nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded ſix ſhips of war in the Eaſt-Indies, ſhamefully declined engaging a French ſquadron of inferior force, and abandoned the important ſettlement of Fort St. George, which, in the month of September, was taken by commodore de la Bourdounais. The French then made an attempt upon St. David's, another of our ſettlements in the Eaſt-Indies; but by the valour of the garriſon, and the arrival of commodore Griffin from Europe, with a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips, they were compelled to abandon their enterprize.

A powerful fleet was fitted out at Spithead, conſiſting of 16 large ſhips, and 8 frigates, beſides bomb ketches, tranſports, and ſtore ſhips, in order to attempt the conqueſt of Quebec, the capital of Canada, but by unaccountable delays the fleet was detained in England, till the ſeaſon was too far advanced to riſque the great ſhips on the coaſt of North-America. The miniſtry, however, unwilling that this expenſive armament ſhould be wholly uſeleſs to the nation, diſpatched it under the command of admiral Leſtock to the coaſt of Britany, with orders to make himſelf maſter of port l'Orient, which place was the repoſitory of all the ſtores and ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt-India company. Six battalions, with a detachment of matroſſes and bombardeers were embarked in 30 tranſports, under the command of lieutenant general Sinclair. On the 14th of September, the whole fleet ſailed from Plymouth, and ſteering directly for the coaſt of Britany, which they made on the 17th, they anchored in the road of Poldue; but the troops were not landed till the 20th. The militia, reinforced by ſome detachments from different regiments, were aſſembled to the number of 2000, and ſeemed reſolved to oppoſe the diſembarkation; but finding the Engliſh determined to land, they thought proper to retire. When the forces were within half a league of the town, a deputation was ſent to general Sinclair, offering

---

the Tower, and demanded the priſoner. When it was notified to his lordſhip, that the ſheriffs were come to demand him, he deſired the company to withdraw a little, till he ſaid a ſhort prayer. In a few minutes he called them in again, and ſaid, "Gentlemen, I "am ready." After having got down one pair of ſtairs, being invited by general Williamſon to reſt himſelf a little in his apartment, his lordſhip, on entering the room, paid his reſpects, in a very polite manner, to the ladies, then to the gentlemen, and, while he ſtayed, talked as freely, and with as little ſeeming concern, as if he had been invited to an entertainment. After getting down the ſecond pair of ſtairs, he was put into the governor's coach, and carried to the Tower-gate, where he was delivered to the high-ſheriff and his attendants.

He was conducted from the Tower-gate, in another coach, to a houſe on the hill, from the upper rooms of which was a platform made to the ſcaffold. The rooms were hung with black cloth and ſconces, the diſmal appearance of which produced not the leaſt alteration in his lordſhip's countenance. After delivering a paper to the ſheriffs, he told them they might give the word of command when they pleaſed, "for, ſaid he, as I have been an officer "in the army many years, I have been accuſtomed, and am rea"dy to obey command." After this he knelt down, and ſaid a ſhort prayer, then drank a little burnt brandy with bitters, and was conducted to the ſcaffold.

When he was aſcending the ſteps to the ſcaffold, he looked round, and obſerving ſuch a prodigious crowd of people on the hill, he ſaid, "he wondered, there ſhould be ſuch a buſtle about taking off "an old grey head that could not get up three ſteps without two "men to ſupport it." As he ſtood on the ſcaffold, obſerving one of his friends look very much dejected, he clapped him on the ſhoulder, ſaying, "Chear up thy heart, man; I am not afraid, "why ſhouldſt thou?" He then gave the executioner a purſe with ten guineas in it, recommending him to act his part handſomely; "for, ſaid he, if you do not, and I am able to riſe a"gain, I ſhall be very angry with you." After examining the axe, and viewing his coffin, he repeated ſeveral lines from Ovid and Horace. This done, he took off his cloaths, and knelt down at the block, telling the executioner he would ſay a ſhort prayer, and then drop his handkerchief as a ſignal for him to do his buſineſs.

Having placed himſelf too near the block, the executioner deſired him to move a little farther back, which he did, and after placing his head and neck properly on the block, in half a minute he dropped his handkerchief, when the executioner, having now become expert in his buſineſs, ſevered the head from the body at one blow, both of which were put into the coffin, and carried in a hearſe to the Tower, where, the next day, they were interred.

As his lordſhip had originally profeſſed the proteſtant religion, but had afterwards declared himſelf a Roman Catholic, while he was an exile in France; and as he had taken the oaths to the government, and profeſſed being again a proteſtant, ever ſince his return in the year 1715, it was uncertain what religion he would die of, till after he was told of the warrant being ſigned for his execution. He then threw off the diſguiſe in which he had ſo long appeared, and deſired that Mr. Baker, a Roman prieſt, might have permiſſion to come to him, for that he was and would die a Roman Catholic.

Before the warrant for his execution was ſigned, he was prevailed on by his friends to petition for a pardon for his eldeſt ſon, then a priſoner in Edinburgh Caſtle, who was forced into the rebellion by his imperious commands, as appeared by the witneſſes for the crown at his trial. In this petition, however, he refuſed to expreſs himſelf in ſuch terms as he thought bore the appearance of ſubmiſſion, or was the leaſt inconſiſtent with his real principles.

On the day of his execution, one of the largeſt ſcaffolds, on the ſouth-ſide of the hill, ſuddenly fell down; by which accident about twenty perſons were killed, and a much greater number dreadfully maimed and bruiſed.

Lord Lovat's ſon was afterwards releaſed from confinement; and the circumſtances of his caſe being conſidered, he was provided for in the army.

offering to admit the Britiſh forces, on condition that they ſhould be reſtrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and deſtroying the magazines; and that they ſhould pay a juſt price for their proviſions. Theſe terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; upon which general Sinclair reſolved to beſiege the place in form; though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces, ſufficient for ſuch an enterprize. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the ſailors dragged up from the ſhipping. Had he given the aſſault on the firſt night after his arrival, when the town was filled with terror, in all probability it would have been eaſily taken by ſcalade; but the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ſhips in the harbour; additional works were raiſed; the garriſon was reinforced with ſeveral bodies of regular troops, and great numbers were aſſembling from different parts, ſo that the Britiſh forces were in danger of being ſurrounded in an enemy's country. Unwilling, however, to abandon the enterprize, they erected a ſmall battery againſt the town, which they ſet on fire in ſeveral places, with their bombs and red hot bullets, and repulſed a detachment from the garriſon, which had made a ſally to deſtroy their works. But finding their cannon produced no effect upon the fortifications they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and the ſeaſon of the year rendering it dangerous for the ſhips to continue on the coaſt, general Sinclair, after burying the two pieces of iron cannon, retreated to the ſea ſide, and embarked with a very inconſiderable loſs. In the beginning of October the fleet ſailed to Quiberon bay, where they deſtroyed a Spaniſh man of war, took poſſeſſion of a fort on the peninſula, and reduced the trifling iſlands of Hovat and Heydie; after which they returned to England.

On the 18th of November, the parliament met; when his majeſty, in his ſpeech, told them, that it had been propoſed to hold a conference at Breda; but as it could not be known what would be the iſſue, he was determined to proſecute the war with vigour; and therefore the commons were given to underſtand, that it would be neceſſary for them to grant the ſupplies as ſoon as poſſible.

Both houſes were unanimous in preſenting the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes to his majeſty; and the commons granted him 9,425,254l. for defraying the expences of the war. On the other hand, the king, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the people, propoſed to reduce three regiments of horſe and dragoons, and two troops of his life-guards, by which a conſiderable ſum of money would be ſaved: and ſo ſenſible were the commons of the king's œconomy in reducing theſe unneceſſary forces, that they received his meſſage with the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, and both houſes preſented him with addreſſes on the occaſion.

In the mean time, it appeared evident that the French had no intentions of making peace; for their late ſucceſſes had made them ſo arrogant, that they would hearken to no terms of accommodation, but ſuch as ſhould be dictated by themſelves. Ferdinand, the new king of Spain, who had ſucceeded his father, began to wiſh for peace; and even went ſo far, as to upbraid the French miniſtry with having led his ſubjects into an expenſive and unneceſſary war. The king of Portugal was made choice of to act as a mediator between Great-Britain and Spain; but the negotiation was rendered abortive, by the artful intrigues of the French, and the unrelenting diſpoſition of the Spaniſh queen-dowager.

A. D. 1747. The allied powers, convinced of the ambitious deſigns of France, determined to aſſemble a powerful army in the Netherlands. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland had ſet out for Holland about the beginning of December, to concert with marſhal Bathiani the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign, in which he was to act as commander in chief of the confederate forces. In the month of March he took the field, and fixed his head quarters at the village of Filberg: the prince of Waldeck, with the Dutch troops, were poſted at Breda, and marſhal Bathiani near Venlo. The allied army conſiſted of 120,000 men, but, through the inexcuſable negligence of the Dutch and Auſtrians, they had neither forage nor proviſions, which obliged them, notwithſtanding their early appearance in the field, to continue inactive for ſix weeks.

In the month of April count Saxe took the field at the head of 140,000 men; and the count de Clermont had under his command 19 battalions and 30 ſquadrons. On the 16th count Lowendahl was detached at the head of 27,000 men to invade Dutch Flanders; he began by inveſting Sluys, which capitulated on the 19th; and before the end of the month, Sas Van Ghent, and ſeveral other places of leſs importance were reduced. Lowendahl then inveſted Hulſt; to the aſſiſtance of which the allies ſent a detachment of three Engliſh battalions under general Fuller, and the duke of Cumberland, at the head of nine battalions more, followed with all poſſible expedition; but juſt on his arrival before the town, it was ſhamefully ſurrendered by the Dutch governor, and the firſt intimation his royal highneſs received of this event was by a general diſcharge of the artillery from the fortifications upon his troops, by which numbers of men were killed, and his own perſon in imminent danger. The French general now took poſſeſſion of Axel and Terneuſe, and, continuing his rapid progreſs, he, in a very ſhort time, completed the reduction of all Dutch Flanders. He then began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for making a deſcent upon the iſlands of Zealand, which ſtruck the inhabitants with conſternation, and in all probability they would have been obliged to ſubmit to the enemy, had not commodore Mitchel, who was ſtationed with a Britiſh ſquadron in the Swin, defeated the deſigns of Lowendahl. The populace of Zealand, ſeeing the danger to which they were reduced, clamoured loudly againſt their governors, who they aſſerted had been regardleſs of their preſervation. This opportunity was embraced by the friends of the prince of Orange. They reminded the people, that when the republic was threatened with deſtruction by Lewis XIV. in 1672, the election of a ſtadtholder abſolutely ſaved the ſtate. Inflamed by theſe repreſentations, the people roſe in a body, and compelled their magiſtrates to declare the prince of Orange ſtadtholder. In compliance with the general voice, on the 2d of May, the prince was, in the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, inveſted with that dignity, and at the ſame time declared captain-general and admiral of the United Provinces.

About this time a treaty was ſigned between his Britannic majeſty and the empreſs of Ruſſia, whereby, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of 300,000l. ſhe engaged to keep on foot, during the war, upon the frontiers of Livonia, a body of 50,000 foot, and 40 or 50 gallies upon the coaſt of that province, to act in ſuch manner as his Britannic majeſty ſhould think proper.

The Dutch were now ſo thoroughly ſenſible of the danger to which their dilatory proceedings had expoſed them, that they were willing to act vigorouſly, in concert with Great Britain, in proſecuting the war; but previous to their fully exerting themſelves, they inſiſted upon the diſſolution of the parliament of Great Britain, of which, from the various complexions it had worn, they had no very good opinion. With this demand, the king, by advice of his council, thought proper to comply; and on the 18th of June, having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he diſmiſſed them with a ſpeech, filled with the moſt warm, and grateful acknowledgments for the loyalty, zeal, and tenderneſs, he had experienced from them in the moſt critical emergencies of government: a conduct, he ſaid, that muſt for ever endear the memory of this parliament to poſterity: but as it would neceſſarily determine in a ſhort time; and as nothing would give ſo much weight and credit to our affairs abroad in the preſent conjuncture, as to ſhew the dependence he had on the affections of his people, he had judged it expedient ſpeedily to call a new parliament, not in the leaſt doubting to receive freſh proofs of the ſame loyalty and affection of his faithful ſubjects in the choice of their repreſentatives. In conſequence of this declaration the parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for ſummoning a new one.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the confederates formed a deſign of retaking Antwerp: but this city was ſo effectually covered by the grand army of the enemy, and ſo well fortified and garriſoned, that they ſoon found the enterprize impracticable. His royal highneſs then reſolved to take poſt between the Great and Little Nethes, by which he covered Bergen-op-Zoom and Maeſtricht. About the latter end of May the French king arrived at Bruſſels, and Saxe then determined to undertake the ſiege of Maeſtricht. For this purpoſe he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his intention, put their army into motion likewiſe, to take poſt between that town and the enemy. On the 20th of July, the allies took poſſeſſion of their ground, and drew up in order of battle, with their right at Beilen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maeſtricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they poſted ſeveral battalions of Britiſh infantry. The enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the heights of Herdeeren immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. The next morning the enemy's infantry marched down the hill in one column and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was defended with great obſtinacy. The aſſailants ſuffered terribly in their approach from the cannon of the confederates, and they met with ſuch a warm reception from the Britiſh muſquetry that they could not ſtand it; but when theſe were broke and diſperſed, freſh brigades ſucceeded with aſtoniſhing perſeverance. The allies were driven out of the village; yet being ſuſtained by three regiments, they meaſured back their ground, and repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter. Saxe, however, continued pouring in other battalions, and, the confederates being thus over-powered by numbers, the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times loſt and carried.

In the mean time the duke of Cumberland ordered the Britiſh and Hanoverian forces to advance on the right of the enemy; and he had taken his meaſures ſo prudently, that victory would have declared in favour of the allies, had it not been for the cowardly behaviour of the Dutch. The Britiſh and Hanoverian foot advanced with ſuch bravery, that the French had almoſt given way, and the duke ordered the Dutch cavalry to ſupport them; but, inſtead of obeying the orders, they wheeled to the right, and trod down five battalions of the allied army. The French general, taking the advantage of this unexpected circumſtance, ordered his cavalry to advance, which they did, and broke through the lines of the Engliſh. In vain did the duke of Cumberland attempt to rally the Dutch forces; and had it not been for the moſt exemplary behaviour and bravery of Sir John Ligonier, the allied army would have been totally defeated. That brave general, putting himſelf at the head of a large body of cavalry, attacked the French with ſuch fury, that he checked their progreſs, and, in conſequence thereof, enabled the duke to retreat in very good order. Sir John having, by his gallant behaviour, thus ſaved the army, was the laſt man that offered to retreat, and then he was taken priſoner, along with the Hanoverian general d'Yſſembourg, general Bland, colonel Conway, and lord Robert Sutton. The loſs, in killed and wounded, fell almoſt wholly on the Engliſh, Hanoverians and Heſſians, for few of the Auſtrians engaged; and the Dutch, inſtead of having done their duty, contributed, in a great meaſure, towards the loſs of the battle. This victory coſt the enemy upwards of 10,000 of their beſt troops, excluſive of 700 taken priſoners, among whom were ſix officers, and ſeveral other perſons of rank and diſtinction.

After the battle the allies paſſed the Maeſe, and encamped in the duchy of Limburgh, ſo as to cover Maeſtricht, the garriſon of which was reinforced by two Engliſh, three Auſtrian, and five Dutch battallions.

The French army continued for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Tongres; and marſhal Saxe having amuſed the confederates with marches and countermarches, at length detached count Lowendahl, with 36,000 men to beſiege Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, and hitherto deemed impregnable. It was ſecured with a garriſon of 3000 men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines. The enemy appeared before it on the 12th of July, and ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, which he refuſed. The prince of Saxe-Hilburghauſen, with twenty battalions and fourteen ſquadrons of the troops that could be moſt conveniently aſſembled, were ſent to its relief: the prince entered the lines, and there waited in expectation of a ſtrong reinforcement from the allied army; and the old baron Cronſtrom, whom the ſtadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, aſſumed the command of the garriſon. The enemy carried on their attacks with great vivacity, and the beſieged defended themſelves with equal vigour. Count Lowendahl received ſeveral reinforcements; and a conſiderable body of troops were detached from the allied army under the command of baron Schwartzemberg, to co-operate with the prince of Hilburghauſen. Lowendahl loſt a great number of his men by the continual fire from the town, while he in return opened ſuch a number of batteries, and plied them ſo warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the 16th of July to the 15th of September, the ſiege produced an uninterrupted ſcene of horror and deſtruction: deſperate ſallies were made, and mines ſprung with the moſt terrible effects: the works began to be ſhattered, the town was laid in aſhes, the trenches were filled with the bodies of the ſlain; nothing was ſeen but fire and ſmoak; nothing heard but one inceſſant roar of bombs and cannon. The damage, however, chiefly fell on the beſiegers, who were ſlain in heaps, while the garriſon ſuffered very little, and could be occaſionally relieved, or reinforced from the lines. It was now generally believed that the French general would be baffled in his endeavours: which belief ſeems to have extended to the governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, and lulled him into a fatal ſecurity: for ſome inconſiderable breaches being made in one ravelin and two baſtions, Lowendahl reſolved to ſtorm them: theſe Cronſtrom thought invincible, and, on that ſuppoſition, preſumed that the enemy would not attempt an aſſault: but the French general having regulated his diſpoſitions, about four o'clock in the morning of the 16th of September the ſignal was given for the aſſault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being caſt into the ravelin, the French troops threw themſelves into the foſſe, mounted the breaches, forced open a ſally-port, and entered the place almoſt without oppoſition; for they had time to extend themſelves along the curtain, and form themſelves in order of battle, before the garriſon could be aſſembled. But though the enemy had thus ſeized the ramparts without reſiſtance, they did not find ſo eaſy a matter to gain poſſeſſion of the town. Two battalions of the Scottiſh troops, in the ſervice of the ſtates-general, were aſſembled in the market-place, and attacked them with ſuch fury, that they drove them from ſtreet to ſtreet; but freſh forces arriving, the Scots were compelled to retreat in their turn; yet they continued to diſpute every inch of ground, fighting until two thirds of them were killed; and then thoſe which remained abandoned the town, having brought off the governor, who at the time of the aſſault was aſleep in his quarters, where he would have been ſurprized and made priſoner, had it not been for the amazing bravery of theſe Highlanders; for the troops that were encamped in the lines had retired with the utmoſt precipitation. The reduction of this important fortreſs was followed by the ſurrender of all thoſe in the neighbourhood, by which means the victors became maſters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. As ſoon as Lewis was informed of Lowendahl's ſucceſs, he promoted him to the rank of marſhal of France. He likewiſe appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands; after which he returned in triumph to Verſailles; and in a little time both armies retired into winter quarters, when his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland embarked for England, where he arrived on the 13th of November.

During this campaign the French had a powerful army in Italy, under the command of M. Belliſle. In the beginning of April that general paſſed the Var without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of Nice, Montalban, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia; while the Auſtrians under the command of general Brown retired towards Final and Savona. Count Schuylenburg, who had ſucceeded the marquis de Botta, determined, if poſſible, to recover Genoa. For this purpoſe he aſſembled his forces in the Milaneſe; when, on the 13th of January he forced the paſſage of Bochetta, and advanced into the territories of Genoa. On the 31ſt of March he appeared before that city, at the head of 46,000 men, and ſummoned the inhabitants to ſurrender, but he received for anſwer, "That they would defend their liberty to the laſt " drop of their blood, and periſh in the ruins of " their capital, rather than ſubmit to the court of " Vienna." Schuylenburg, however, did not inveſt the town till the beginning of May, when Boufflers, who commanded the Genoeſe, made a furious ſally, and drove the beſiegers from their poſt: but the Auſtrians being well ſupported, he was obliged to retreat with the loſs of 700 men. The ſiege was now carried on with the greateſt vigour and intrepidity: the ſuburbs of Biſagno were taken, and, in all probability, the city itſelf muſt have ſurrendered, had not the general been obliged to abandon his enterprize, in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the attempts of the French. The ſiege, therefore, was raiſed on the 10th of June, and the Auſtrian forces returned into the Milaneſe, in order to join the army of his Sardinian majeſty.

M. Belleiſle having determined to attempt an irruption into Piedmont, arrived at the paſs of Exilles, a ſtrong fortification on the frontiers of Dauphine, on the 6th of July. The king of Sardinia had committed the defence of this important poſt to the count de Brigueras, who, with fourteen battalions of Piedmonteſe and Auſtrians, formed an encampment behind the lines; while detachments were poſted along all the paſſes of the Alps. On the 8th, the chevalier de Belleiſle, brother to the marſhal, attacked the Piedmonteſe intrenchments with ſurpriſing vigour; but was repulſed with loſs in three ſucceſſive attempts. This brave general, determined not to ſurvive a miſcarriage, made one more effort to animate his diſpirited troops. Seizing a pair of colours from the hands of an enſign, he called on thoſe neareſt him to follow, and advancing with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, amidſt a furious diſcharge of the enemy's muſquetry, he fixed the colours with his own hands upon the intrenchments; but, at the inſtant, he received two muſquet balls, one in the head and the other in the body, which laid him dead on the ſpot. The French, diſcouraged by the loſs of their leader, fled with precipitation, leaving 4800 of their men dead in the field, beſides which they had 600 wounded. The marſhal being informed of his brother's death, found all his hopes of penetrating into Piedmont by the way of Ceva fruſtrated; upon which he retreated towards the Var, to join the troops from Exilles, and prevent any invaſion on Dauphine by the king of Sardinia, for which purpoſe that monarch had aſſembled an army of 70,000 men, but the exceſſive rains rendered his ſcheme abortive; and about the middle of October both armies went into winter quarters.

The naval tranſactions of this year were very favourable to England. An expenſive armament was fitted out by the French king, in order to retake Cape Breton; but this attempt being rendered impracticable, by the death of the duke d'Anville, who had been appointed commander of the fleet, and other events, Lewis reſolved to renew his efforts againſt the Britiſh ſettlements in North America and the Eaſt Indies. Accordingly two ſquadrons were fitted out at Breſt: that deſtined to act in America was commanded by de la Jonquiere, and the other by M. de St. George. The Engliſh miniſtry being informed of theſe meaſures, determined to fruſtrate them, by intercepting both ſquadrons, which were to ſail at the ſame time. Vice-admiral Anſon and rear-admiral Warren were ordered out with a powerful fleet to cruize off Cape Finiſterre. On the 3d of May they fell in with the French ſquadron, conſiſting of ſix large men of war, the ſame number of frigates, and four armed veſſels which had been equipped by their Eaſt India company, having under their convoy thirty merchant ſhips richly laden. The enemy's ſhips of war immediately drew up in line of battle, while the merchantmen, under the protection of the ſix frigates, continued their courſe with all the ſail they could carry. The Britiſh fleet was by this time formed, and the engagement began with great fury; but the enemy were ſoon compelled to ſtrike their colours. The loſs on both ſides was nearly equal. Immediately after the battle, three ſhips were diſpatched in purſuit of the merchantmen and their convoy, nine ſail of which were taken. Our fleet then returned with their prizes in triumph to Spithead. A conſiderable ſum was found in bullion, on board the French merchant ſhips, which was conveyed to London in waggons, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. By this victory we not only put a ſtop to the deſigns of France againſt our poſſeſſions in North America and the Eaſt Indies, but likewiſe diſtreſſed them by having upwards of 4000 of their beſt ſailors locked up in our priſons. Soon after this tranſaction admiral Anſon was created a peer, and admiral Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

Towards the latter end of June commodore Fox, with ſix ſhips of war, arriving off Cape Portugal, near the coaſt of Galicia, fell in with a fleet of French merchantmen from St. Domingo. This fleet, which conſiſted of 170 ſail, was under the convoy of four large ſhips of war, commanded by commodore de la Motte. On diſcovering the Britiſh ſquadron, La Motte abandoned his convoy, 46 ſail of which fell into our hands, having on board 1428 ſailors, together with a very valuable cargo, of ſugar, indigo, cotton, and other valuable articles.

In the beginning of Auguſt rear-admiral Hawke ſailed from Plymouth, with fourteen ſhips of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant ſhips bound for the Weſt Indies; and after cruiſing for ſome time upon the coaſt of Britany, about eight in the morning of the fourteenth of October, being then in the latitude of Belleiſle, he ſaw a great number of ſhips, which proved to be the fleet he was in queſt of, under convoy of nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates commanded by M. de l'Eſtanduaire. As ſoon as the French commodore could diſtinctly make the Britiſh ſquadron, he ordered one of his great ſhips and a frigate to proceed with the merchantmen, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon, admiral Hawke diſplayed the ſignal to chace, and in about half an hour both fleets engaged. The battle laſted till night, when all the French ſquadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had ſtruck to the Engliſh flag. Theſe two ſhips eſcaped in the dark, and returned to Breſt in a very ſhattered condition. The loſs of the enemy amounted to 800 men, while that of the Engliſh did not exceed 200.

As ſoon as the action was over, admiral Hawke diſpatched a ſloop to commodore Legge, whoſe ſquadron was ſtationed at the Leward iſlands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant ſhips outward bound, that he might take the proper meaſures for intercepting them in their paſſage to Martinique, and other French iſlands. In conſequence of this advice, the commodore redoubled his vigilance, and a great number of the enemy's ſhips fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke now conducted his prizes to England, and ſoon after his arrival was created a knight of the Bath.

Rear-admiral Knowles, with a ſquadron of eight ſhips and two frigates, attacked fort Louis, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, which after a ſhort but vigorous defence, was ſurrendered and demoliſhed. He then made an attempt upon St. Jago, in the iſland of Cuba, but in this he miſcarried; which he attributed to the miſconduct of captain Dent; but that gentleman being tried in England by a court-martial, was acquitted with honour.

In the month of September, admiral Knowles being then on a cruize off the Havannah with ſeven ſhips of the line, he fell in with a Spaniſh ſquadron, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola. Our fleet and that of the enemy were nearly equal in ſtrength, and an engagement immediately began, which laſted ſix hours; when, about eight in the evening, two of the enemy's capital ſhips ſtruck, upon which the reſt of their fleet, ſheered off, and got ſafe into the Havannah *.

In the courſe of this year the Britiſh cruizers were ſo alert and ſucceſsful, that they took 644 prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loſs on our ſide did not exceed 450. In a word, the ſuperiority of the naval arms of Britain was now ſo conſpicuouſly evident, that ſhe had not an enemy to conteſt her ſovereignty of the ocean.

When ſtates and empires make the moſt forcible efforts to diſplay their ſtrength, it is then generally found that they are the moſt in need of, and moſt inclined to, a reſpite from their operations. There was not one of the belligerant powers who did not now begin to think ſeriouſly of a peace. Notwithſtanding the rapid conqueſts France had made, ſhe drooped in the midſt of her triumphs; her trade being in a manner deſtroyed by a war with the Dutch. Auſtria ſaw her finances almoſt exhauſted, her armies ill ſupplied, and moſt of her provinces laid waſte. Spain, who carried on the war with equal inactivity and ill ſucceſs, and found the evils it had intended Great Britain were all fallen on itſelf, began to adopt more moderate meaſures. England, which of all the contending powers had ſuſtained by far the greateſt expence, was not able to carry on another campaign without loading the people with new taxes, and the Dutch, who were much fonder of negotiating than fighting, ardently wiſhed to ſee their barrier freed from the French yoke, and themſelves delivered from friends, who under the pretence of protecting them, laid waſte their moſt fruitful provinces, and ſtopped the ſources of their commerce. In fine, all the contending powers ſeemed, towards the cloſe of this year, to be inſpired with the ſame pacific views and inclinations; and it required no conſummate ſkill in politics to foreſee that the war could not be of much longer duration.

The new parliament met on the 10th of November; and the commons having again choſen Arthur Onſlow eſq; their ſpeaker, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he congratulated the two houſes on the ſignal ſucceſſes of the Britiſh navy, and the happy alteration of the government of the United Provinces. He likewiſe gave them to underſtand that a general congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and obſerved, that nothing would more conduce to the ſucceſs of this negotiation, than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings.

Such loyal and affectionate addreſſes were preſented in return to his majeſty's ſpeech, from both houſes, as made the government perfectly ſecure of having their moſt ſanguine wiſhes fulfilled; and indeed never did parliament make good their profeſſions with greater punctuality than the preſent. They voted 40,000 ſeamen, and 49,000 land forces, beſide 11,900 marines; the ſubſidies to the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the prince of Heſſe, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle: the ſum of 235,749l. was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburſe them for the expence of reducing Cape Breton; and 500,000l. were given to his majeſty for the farther proſecution of the war. In ſhort, the whole ſupplies fell very little ſhort of nine millions; of which ſix and a half were raiſed on a loan by ſubſcription, charged on a new ſubſidy of poundage exacted from all merchandize imported into Great Britain; and the reſt by continuing a land at 4s. in the pound,

---

* Here again Mr. Knowles accuſed ſome of his captains with miſbehaviour, whoſe conduct, on their return to England, was examined into by a court-martial. Two of theſe captains were cenſured; nor did the admiral himſelf eſcape without reprimand for ſome neglects he had been guilty of in the courſe of the action. This was made a kind of party quarrel amongſt the gentlemen of the admiral's ſquadron, which ended in the death of captain Clarke, who was ſhot by captain Innes in a duel fought between them in Hyde-Park: but it appearing, by unqueſtionable evidence, that the deceaſed had given the challenge, his majeſty was pleaſed to extend his royal clemency towards his antagoniſt.

the malt duty, and a million taken from the ſinking fund.

A. D. 1748. In the month of March a congreſs was actually opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinſon on the part of the Engliſh; count de St. Severin for the French; and for the States General baron de Waſſenaer and mynheer Haſſelaer.

In the mean time it had been reſolved by the allies to bring an army of 90,000 men into the Netherlands this campaign, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier. But ſo dilatory were the Engliſh in their proceedings, that the tranſports with the troops on board, deſtined to act in the confederate army, did not ſail from the Nore till the beginning of March. The allies, however, encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, to the number of 110,000 men. Marſhal Saxe had received poſitive orders from the French king to form the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and accordingly on the third of April he inveſted that city. The garriſon conſiſted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the command of the baron d'Alva, who defended the place with great ſpirit and reſolution; but the beſiegers, though annoyed by frequent ſallies, determined to ſurmount all oppoſition, and therefore carried on their approaches with aſtoniſhing bravery and reſolution. After a furious aſſault, in which every inch of ground was diſputed, they effected a lodgment in the covered way; and the fate of Maeſtricht began to be doubtful, when a courier arrived there from the duke of Cumberland, with advice that the preliminary articles of peace had been ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 19th of April, upon which all hoſtilities were ſuſpended.

On the 13th of May the king put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he informed both houſes, that the preliminaries to a peace were actually ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that the baſis of this accommodation was a general reſtitution of all the places that had been taken during the war.

Immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, his majeſty having appointed a regency to govern in his abſence, ſet out for his German dominions: and now a ſuſpenſion of arms was proclaimed at London, and likewiſe in the capital of all the contracting powers: orders were ſent to the reſpective admirals to refrain from hoſtilities: and a communication of trade was again opened between the late contending nations.

During theſe tranſactions, admiral Boſcawen, who commanded a powerful armament in the Eaſt Indies, undertook the ſiege of Pondicherry. The admiral himſelf marched over land, from Fort St. David, with a ſmall army of 4000 Europeans, and about 2000 natives; the command of the fleet being left to captain Liſle of the Vigilant, who had orders to anchor with the whole ſquadron two miles to the ſouthward of Pondicherry, and remain there till farther orders: ſo that by the tenth of Auguſt the place was inveſted by land, and blocked up by ſea. The garriſon conſiſted of 2000 Europeans, and 3000 Indians, under the command of M. du Pleix, who had taken every precaution for the defence of the place; but the admiral proſecuted his operations with ſo much vigour that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the fort of Aria Coupan, about three miles from the town; and then proceeded immediately to the town, which had been all this time bombarded by the ſhipping; but the fortifications were ſo ſtrong, that little progreſs was made. At length, finding his army reduced by ſickneſs, and the rainy ſeaſon approaching, the admiral ordered the artillery and ſtores to be reimbarked; and on the ninth of October he raiſed the ſiege, having loſt 757 ſoldiers, and 255 ſeamen: after which he had the mortification to ſee ſeveral of his ſhips, with above 1200 men, periſh in a violent hurricane on the coaſt of Coromandel.

The miniſters at Aix-la-Chapelle were all this time aſſiduouſly employed in adjuſting the articles of the definitive treaty. Plenipotentiaries from the other contending powers had joined with thoſe already mentioned; and among the whole many difficulties were ſtarted that could not be adjuſted till the return of expreſſes from their reſpective ſovereigns. At length, however, all obſtacles being removed, the definitive treaty was ſigned on the ſeventh of October, by the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinſon, on the part of Great Britain; by the count de St. Severin and the marquis de la Porthune Thueil, on the part of France; by the marquis de Soto Major, on the part of Spain; by the count de Kaunitz, on the part of her imperial majeſty; by Don Joſeph Oſſorio and the count de Chavannes, on the part of Sardinia; and by count Bentinck and the other plenipotentiaries, for the Dutch; by the count de Monzone for the duke of Modena; and the marquis Doria for the Genoeſe.

By this famous treaty the contracting powers agreed, that all priſoners on each ſide ſhould be mutually releaſed without ranſom, and that all conqueſts ſhould be reſtored: that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in caſe of his aſcending the throne of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male iſſue, that they ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria: That the king of Great Britain ſhould, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, ſend two perſons of rank and diſtinction, to reſide in France, as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conqueſts which his Britannic majeſty ſhould have made in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, before or after the preliminaries were ſigned: that the aſſiento contract, with the annual ſhip, ſhould be confirmed for four years, during which the enjoyment of that privilege was ſuſpended ſince the commencement of the preſent war: that Dunkirk ſhould remain fortified on the land ſide, but towards the ſea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting parties became guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz, as he at preſent poſſeſſed them; and they likewiſe engaged to ſecure the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia in poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic ſanction.

The other articles regarded the form and time fixed for the mutual reſtitutions, as well as for the termination of hoſtilities in different parts of the world. But the right of Britiſh ſubjects to navigate in the American ſeas, without being ſubject to ſearch, was not once mentioned; though in fact this claim was the original ſource of the war between Great Britain and Spain: neither were the limits of Acadia aſcertained. Theſe and all other diſputes were left to the diſcuſſion of commiſſaries.

No peace ever gave leſs ſatisfaction to the Engliſh than this of Aix-la-Chapelle. Great ſums of money had been granted by the Britiſh parliament, the ſubjects had been loaded with heavy taxes, and they had paid them in order to ſupport the honour of the nation; but here, in conſequence of this treaty, they found that their treaſure had been laviſhed away, and the flower of their army deſtroyed, for no other purpoſe than that of ſupporting German princes, and protecting the electorate of Hanover. They complained that their plenipotentiaries had deceived them, and concluded the articles of peace before they had been duly conſidered by the people; and nothing but murmurs were to be heard throughout the kingdom.

On the 23d of November his majeſty arrived in England from his German dominions; and on the 29th of the ſame month he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he informed them that the definitive treaty of peace was at length ſigned by all the parties concerned; that he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects, and for procuring to his allies the beſt terms and conditions that the ſituation of affairs would admit: that he took much ſatisfaction in being able to tell them, that he had found a good diſpoſition in all the parties engaged in the war to bring this negotiation to a happy concluſion: that from theſe circumſtances they might promiſe themſelves a long enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace, provided they made a right uſe and improvement of it: that as great a progreſs had been made in reducing the public expences as the nature of the caſe would allow; and he only deſired them to grant him ſuch ſupplies as might be requiſite for the current ſervice of the year, for their own ſecurity, and for fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been already contracted and laid before them: that times of tranquillity were the moſt proper for leſſening the national debt, and ſtrengthening themſelves againſt future events; and he muſt recommend to them, as the moſt effectual means for theſe purpoſes, the improving of the public revenue, and the maintaining the naval force of the kingdom in due ſtrength and vigour: that theſe brave men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, were certainly proper objects of parliamentary favour and protection; and he hoped they would deem it their duty, as well as intereſt, to convert their moſt ſerious attention towards the advancing of commerce, and the cultivating of the arts of peace.

Both houſes preſented very loyal and affectionate addreſſes in anſwer to this ſpeech, though not without ſome oppoſition from the commons. Some of the members in the oppoſition condemned the conduct of the miniſtry in giving plenary powers to the deputies to conclude a peace, before the arrival of 37,000 Ruſſians, who were on their march to join the allied army. They inſiſted that an enquiry ſhould be ſet on foot, to make thoſe at the helm of public affairs give an account in what manner the public money had been ſo laviſhly ſquandered away; but the power of the miniſterial party bore down all oppoſition; and even eight millions were granted for the ſervice of the current year.

BOOK XVI.

From the Concluſion of the Treaty of Peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to the Demiſe of George the Second.

A. D. 1749. THE calamities of war being now happily terminated, by the late treaty of peace*, the parliament directed their attention to ſuch meaſures as might be moſt intereſting to the nation, and thereby ſatisfactory to the people. During the courſe of the ſeſſion ſeveral excellent laws were made; and ſuch trifling contentions took place, that the buſineſs was diſpatched with very little interruption. The chief matter of debate aroſe in conſequence of a bill for naturalizing foreign proteſtants; but the city of London remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly againſt it, that the bill was dropped.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 13th of June, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he told them, That the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been carried into execution by the ſeveral contracting parties with great punctuality and good faith, ſo far as the time and diſtance of the places would admit. He expreſſed his hopes, that at the next meeting they would be able to perfect what they had already begun, for advancing the trade and navigation of his kingdoms; particularly, by rendering our naval force the moſt ſerviceable and uſeful. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the public credit in ſo flouriſhing a condition, at the end of an expenſive, tho' neceſſary war, and then having thanked them for their ſupplies, and recommended unanimity among them, he prorogued the parliament.

During the ſitting of parliament the earl of Hallifax, (who was at this time firſt lord of trade and plantations) formed a ſcheme, in which he was aſſiſted by many perſons of diſtinction, for the ſettlement of a new colony in Nova Scotia, in order to extend the power of Great Britain in that large tract of country, diffuſe the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fiſhery of that extenſive coaſt. This excellent and patriotic ſcheme met with the ſucceſs it deſerved; for his majeſty having been pleaſed to honour it with his royal approbation, the lords of trade and plantations gave notice in the Gazette, and other public papers, on the 7th of March, that proper encouragement would be given to ſuch of the officers and private men lately diſmiſſed his majeſty's land and ſea ſervice, as were willing to accept of grants of land, and to ſettle with, or without their families in the province of Nova Scotia. In conſequence of this advertiſement, by the beginning of May, no leſs than 3.750 perſons, with their families, had engaged themſelves to go to this new ſettlement, and fix their habitations there. The honourable Edward Cornwallis was appointed governor of this infant colony, and accordingly accompanied the ſettlers thither. The whole fleet, after a pleaſant voyage, ge, arrived ſafely at Nova Scotia, and anchored on the 21ſt of June, in the bay of Chebucto, ſituated in the center of the ſouthern part of the province; Annapolis being on the ſouth, and Canſo on the north. Immediately on their arrival a town was planned out at the head of Chebucto harbour, and ſoon finiſhed; when it was divided into lots, and named Hallifax, from the title of the peer who firſt projected it. Many people ſoon after ſettled in its neighbourhood; and, upon the whole, Hallifax may be now looked upon as one of the moſt valuable acquiſitions to the Engliſh nation.

---

* In the month of February the declaration of a general peace was proclaimed at the uſual places in London and Weſtminſter; and in April a moſt magnificent fire-work was played off in the Green Park, in commemoration of that event. It was honoured by the preſence of his majeſty and the royal family, both houſes of parliament, and all the principal perſons of London and Weſtminſter: but it miſcarried in the execution by the ſudden blowing up of a part of the ſtructure; by which the great pains, time and expence beſtowed on it were in ſome meaſure rendered fruitleſs.

On the 16th of November the parliament again re-aſſembled, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he declared, That he now met them with particular pleaſure, as the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace had reſtored to his people the bleſſings of tranquillity: that the good effects reſulting from thence were already apparent by the flouriſhing condition of commerce, and the riſe of public credit, which naturally laid the ſureſt foundation, for an increaſe of ſtrength and laſting proſperity to his kingdoms: that he had not failed, during the courſe of the laſt ſummer, to avail himſelf of every opportunity that offered for cementing and preſerving the peace; and that it was his firm reſolution to do every thing in his power, to preſerve it inviolable, and to adhere religiouſly to the engagements he had contracted.

The commons voted 183,232l. for making good the engagements into which his majeſty had entered; 1,045,590l. towards diſcharging the national debt; 463,052l. for ſupplying deficiences; 249,930l. for defraying extraordinary expences; 122,246l. for reimburſing the inhabitants of North America the money they had expended in making preparations for an expedition againſt Canada, and for ſupporting the colony of Nova Scotia; 36,476l. towards maintaining the above coloniſts during a twelvemonth; and 2,199,855l. for the ſervices of the enſuing year. The whole ſupply amounted to upwards of four millions.

About this time the attention of the public was engaged by a diſturbance of a very ſingular nature. Several young Oxonians of an irregular and diſſolute turn, had for ſome time taken it into their heads, in all companies, and on all occaſions, to be guilty of many idle and inſolent reflections upon the preſent government, and even publicly to toaſt the young pretender's health. The vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and the heads of houſes, had done their utmoſt to check the licentiouſneſs of theſe ſparks, but in vain; therefore, in order to diſculpate themſelves, they publiſhed a declaration, expreſſing their utmoſt abhorrence of ſuch factious and ſeditious practices, and likewiſe their firm reſolution to puniſh, according to the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the ſtatutes, all perſons, of what ſtate or quality ſoever, who ſhould be convicted of ſuch offences. Nevertheleſs, as no puniſhment was inflicted on the delinquents by the univerſity, the government ordered three of the moſt audacious of them to be taken into cuſtody; two of whom, Dawes and Whitmore, were tried in the court of King's Bench; and being found guilty, on the cleareſt evidence, were ſentenced to walk through the courts of Weſtminſter, with a paper fixed on their foreheads, denoting their crimes, to pay a fine of five nobles each, to be impriſoned for two years, and to find ſecurity for their good behaviour during ſeven years more. Some ſevere cenſures were paſſed upon the univerſity itſelf on this occaſion; the principals of which were ſtrongly ſuſpected of being tinctured with Jacobitiſm.

During the courſe of this year ſeveral perſons of eminence paid the debt of nature; particularly, Charles Seymour, the great duke of Somerſet; the humane and generous John duke of Montague; field-marſhal Richard Temple, viſcount Cobham; John Lindſay, the brave earl of Crawford; Sir John Norris, admiral of England; and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, who had been ſo famous for his oppoſition to the Walpolean adminiſtration.

A. D. 1750. In the beginning of this year the inhabitants of London were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by two ſhocks of an earthquake: the firſt happened on the 8th of February, between twelve and one at noon, and was felt throughout the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the parts adjacent; ſome chimnies were thrown down, and the waters, in ſeveral places, were greatly agitated. The ſecond happened on the 8th of March following, about half after five in the morning. The latter was far more ſevere than the former, though providentially no lives were loſt. It was preceded by a hollow ruſtling noiſe, reſembling that of wind. In ſome places the ſhock was ſo violent that the people left their beds and houſes, and ran into the ſtreet almoſt naked. For ſome time before the ſhock happened a continual, confuſed lightning, which darted with great ſtrength and very low, was obſerved. The ſhock was felt in ſeveral parts of Eſſex, Surry, and Kent, as well as in Middleſex, ſo that the panic became univerſal in all the four counties; and was ſtill farther increaſed by the ridiculous prediction of a wild enthuſiaſtical ſoldier, who boldly propheſied that a third ſhock would happen in the night between the 7th and 8th of April, and lay the whole cities of London and Weſtminſter in ruins. Though this prognoſtication ſeems, when viewed in the eye of reaſon, too ridiculous to merit the leaſt attention, yet it produced the moſt aſtoniſhing effect on the credulous and already terrified vulgar. Multitudes of the inhabitants abandoned their houſes, and retired into the country; and in the evening of the 7th of April the fields adjacent to the metropolis were crouded with people, who waited there during the whole night in the moſt alarming ſituation, till the light of the morning put an end to their apprehenſions, by convincing them, that the prophecy they had been weak enough to credit had no other baſis than that of falſhood.

On the 18th of March, between five and ſix in the evening, a ſhock of an earthquake was alſo felt at Goſport, Portſmouth, and the Iſle of Wight, which greatly ſurprized and terrified the inhabitants. Several other places in Europe were viſited with this dreadful calamity, as France, Germany, &c. The iſland of Cerigo, in the Archipelago, was almoſt deſtroyed, and above 2000 of the inhabitants periſhed.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 12th of April, went to the houſe of peers, and after thanking the commons for the ſupplies they had granted, and the attention they had ſhewn to the good of the public, prorogued * the parliament; a few days after which he ſet out for his German dominions.

Among the bills paſſed this ſeſſion was one for encouraging

---

* Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, a very extraordinary accident happenned at the ſeſſions at the Old Bailey. The putrified air adhering to the clothes of the malefactors, ſpread a peſtilential fever among the audience. The Lord-mayor of London, one alderman, two of the judges, ſeveral lawyers, and the greater part of the jury, loſt their lives by this peſtilential vapour. This melancholy cataſtrophe occaſioned orders to be given for thoroughly cleaning the jail of Newgate, and erecting a ventilator on the leads, in order to extract the foul air out of the priſon, and cauſe a circulation of freſh; to prevent, if poſſible, the like event for the future.

couraging the Britiſh herring and white-cod fiſheries. Several perſons of eminence now promoted this intention; a company was formed, and the prince of Wales choſen their governor. Every method was taken to procure the Dutch manner of curing the fiſh; ſubſcriptions were ſent from all quarters, and a great number of hands were employed in building and equipping the buſſes, or veſſels, uſed in the fiſheries; and the moſt pleaſing hopes were entertained, that this undertaking would be productive of the greateſt national advantages. But ſo many difficulties occured in the execution, that the ſucceſs did not equal their ſanguine expectations.

As ſeveral difficulties between England and Spain could not be ſettled by the general treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, conferences were now opened at Madrid for terminating them. At the beginning the debates were very warm between the plenipotentiaries of the reſpective nations; but it was at laſt concluded, that the king of Spain ſhould pay in three months, to the South Sea company of England, 100,000l. ſterling, as an indemnification for all the claims upon the crown by virtue of the aſſiento contract; that the Engliſh trading to the ports of Spain, ſhould pay no other duties than thoſe exacted from them during the reign of the Spaniſh monarch Charles II. that they ſhould be treated on the footing of the moſt favoured nations; and that they ſhould continue to enjoy the privilege of gathering ſalt on the iſland of Tortuga.

While the king was abroad he ſigned a treaty with the emperor of Morroco; by which all the Britiſh captives in his dominions were ſet at liberty. He alſo endeavoured to get the archduke Joſeph, ſon of the emperor, elected king of the Romans; but the ſcheme met with ſuch oppoſition, that for the preſent it was obliged to be laid aſide.

A. D. 1751. His majeſty being returned from his German dominions, on the 17th January he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he informed them, that he had concluded two treaties, one with the king of Spain, and the other with ſome of the German princes, the contents of which ſhould be laid before them. He recommended to both houſes unanimity in their councils: and concluded, by deſiring them not to forget the ſtate of the nation, but above all things provide for its internal ſafety. To this ſpeech loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, and received by his majeſty in the moſt gracious manner.

The attention of the commons was entirely engroſſed at the beginning of this ſeſſion, in conſidering a cauſe of a very delicate and intereſting nature. Lord Trentham, eldeſt ſon to earl Gower, and one of the repreſentatives for Weſtminſter, having in the courſe of the former ſeſſion accepted of the place of a lord of the admiralty, his ſeat in parliament became of conſequence vacated; and having again declared himſelf a candidate, he met with a powerful opponent in the perſon of Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, who was powerfully ſupported by the anti-miniſterial party, and by all thoſe who aſſumed the name of independent electors.

During the receſs of parliament, matters had been carried on with great acrimony between the two parties. Upon the cloſing of the poll, lord Trentham appeared to have the majority of votes; upon which the other candidate demanded a ſcrutiny, which was immediately granted; and this likewiſe turned out in favour of his lordſhip, who was thereupon returned by the high-bailiff of Weſtminſter as duly elected, and took his ſeat accordingly in the houſe at the opening of the ſeſſion. Enraged at their defeat, the other party immediately preſented two petitions to the houſe againſt this return; one from Sir George's friends, the other from himſelf, both complaining of the injuſtice and partiality ſhewn by the high-bailiff in the courſe of the ſcrutiny. In oppoſition to theſe, lord Trentham made complaint of unconſtitutional practices in his opponents, and in particular of their having inſulted and intimidated the high-bailiff in the execution of his office.

The matter was now brought before the houſe, where the high-bailiff made his appearance, and accuſed counſellor Crowle, the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to the lord Elibank, and one Gibſon, an upholder, of having been moſt forward in obſtructing him, in the diſcharge of his duty. Theſe three perſons were ſummoned to the bar, when Mr. Crowle was ordered to receive a reprimand from the ſpeaker on his knees, and Gibſon was committed priſoner to Newgate. The charge againſt Mr. Murray was more heavy than againſt the other two, the high-bailiff accuſing him of having behaved in the moſt riotous and ſcandalous menner, as well during the time of the ſcrutiny as when it was over, and with threatening him, the high-bailiff, and committing other acts of violence after the return was made; in particular, the having put himſelf at the head of a mob who ſeemed to be for Sir George Vandeput, and exciting and inflaming the ſaid mob to inſult and murder the high-bailiff, by repeatedly crying out, "Will no body knock the dog on the "head? Will no body kill the dog?" or words to that effect. Full proof of this charge being made to the houſe, they reſolved that Mr. Murray ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate, and that he ſhould be brought to the bar of the houſe to receive ſentence on his knees. To the bar he was accordingly brought; but when he came there he peremptorily refuſed to kneel; a circumſtance that greatly aggravated his former crime, by thus daring to ſet the whole houſe of commons at defiance. It was therefore reſolved, that the honourable Alexander Murray, Eſq; having in a moſt inſolent and audacious manner, at the bar of the houſe, refuſed to be upon his knees, in compliance with their former reſolution, had been guilty of a high and moſt dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the houſe: that for this offence he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate; and that while he was there, he ſhould not be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, or paper, nor be indulged in the privilege of having any perſon admitted to him, without the leave of the houſe.

Theſe reſolutions were immediately put in execution, and that night, (or rather morning, for this affair kept the houſe ſitting till one o'clock) Mr. Murray was conveyed to Newgate, where he continued till the end of the ſeſſion, and the legality of lord Trentham's election was now fully confirmed*.

During

---

* While Mr. Murray was in Newgate he was taken dangerouſly ill, and application was made to the houſe, that he might be removed to a more commodious place. The phyſician that attended him was particularly examined, who gave it as his opinion that Mr. Murray was affected with the jail diſtemper. On this report, after ſome debates, the houſe agreed, that the ſpeaker ſhould iſſue a warrant for removing him to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms; but Mr. Murray, who conſidered their whole conduct as an oppreſſive exertion of unjuſt power, refuſed to accept their favour, and expreſſed a reſentment againſt his friends for having made application without his knowledge. He therefore remained in Newgate till the 25th of June, when the ſeſſion of parliament expiring, he was releaſed.

When he left Newgate he was accompanied in his coach by lord Carpenter, and Sir George Vandeput, in whoſe cauſe he ſuffered; with the ſheriffs of London in a chariot, and other gentlemen in coaches, who formed a proceſſion; and in this manner he proceeded from Newgate, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of people, to his brother's, the lord Elibank, in Henrietta-ſtreet, near Oxford-market. It was remarked, that on the firſt firing of the guns, when

During the ſitting of the parliament the nation ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of his royal highneſs Frederick, prince of Wales, (father to his preſent majeſty) who paid the debt of nature on the 20th of March, in the 45th year of his age. His death was occaſioned by the breaking of an impoſthume between the pericardium and diaphragm, which threw the matter contained in it upon the ſubſtance of the lungs. His royal highneſs caught a cold about three weeks before in Kew Gardens; and this was encreaſed by his coming very warm from the houſe of lords with the windows of his chair down; ſoon after which he complained of pains that were thought to be pleuretic, and were attended with a fever. About a quarter of an hour before his death, he told Dr. Wilmot, who attended him, and had been up all the preceding night, that he was much better, and adviſed the doctor to go home. A few minutes after the doctor's departure he complained to the princeſs (who ſtill remained with him) of a ſudden pain and a very offenſive ſmell, when throwing himſelf on his back, he immediately expired. His remains were depoſited in the chapel of Henry VII. the duke of Somerſet walking as chief mourner, attended by ſeveral other noblemen.

With reſpect to the character of this prince, we muſt conſider it both in a public and private light. In public, he ſeemed to have nothing ſo much at heart as the good of the people; and he often attended the debates in the houſe of peers, in order to acquire a perfect knowledge of the conſtitution. The people in general had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes, that one day they would be happy under his government; and there is great reaſon to believe, that had he aſcended the throne, he would have cultivated the arts of peace in a manner ſuperior to all thoſe who had gone before him. In his private life, he was an affectionate huſband, a tender parent, an indulgent maſter, and a ſincere friend. All the time he could ſpare from public buſineſs, was ſpent in ſuperintending the education of his children; ſo that it may juſtly be ſaid of him, "He joined in one, the prince, the "father, the huſband, and the friend." But all the hopes of the public were blaſted, and ſunk in the nature of all ſublunary things.

Soon after the death of the prince, his eldeſt ſon (our preſent ſovereign) was created prince of Wales; and the princeſs-dowager of Wales, his mother, was, by the parliament, appointed to act as regent in his ſtead, if his majeſty ſhould happen to die before he arrived at years of maturity.

On the 25th of June the king went to the houſe of peers, when, after thanking them for the prudence and diſpatch with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, he prorogued the parliament.

Among the acts paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament was one for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar, agreeable to the Gregorian computation, which had been long adopted by moſt other kingdoms. It was, by this ſtatute, enacted, that the year ſhould, for the future, begin on the firſt of January, and that the eleven intermediate and nominal days between the 2d and 14th of September next ſhould, for that year, be omitted. By this correction the equinoxes and ſolſtices will happen nearly on the ſame nominal days on which they fell at the council of Nice, in the year 325.

The death of prince Frederick was not the only ſhock the royal family received during the courſe of this year. On the 11th of October the prince of Orange died, in the 41ſt year of his age; and that event was ſucceeded by the death of the queen of Denmark, youngeſt daughter of his majeſty, who expired or the 19th of December.

Beſides the royal perſons already mentioned, his Swediſh majeſty paid the debt of nature this year, and was ſucceeded by Adolphus Frederick, duke of Holſtein Eutin, and biſhop of Lubeck.

With reſpect to the affairs on the continent, the French ſeemed intent on proſecuting their deſign of enlarging their conqueſts in North America, and in ſpiriting up the Indians to murder our traders on the borders of Virginia. Spain was intent on putting their navy on a proper footing; and, for that purpoſe, ſeveral of the men who, in conſequence of the peace, had been diſcharged from our dock-yards, were inveigled over to that country, where they built ſeveral ſhips of war on the ſame model as the Engliſh. Nothing could be more inconſiſtent with ſound policy, than to ſuffer thoſe uſeful men to leave the kingdom; and it was the duty of the miniſtry, when they diſcharged them, to provide for them ſome other employments, inſtead of leaving them to ſtarve.

On the 14th of November the parliament reaſſembled, when his majeſty, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had, in conjunction with the ſtates, concluded a treaty with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. He added, that the untimely death of the prince of Orange had occaſioned no change of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the ſtates of their firm reſolution to maintain the intimate union and friendſhip happily ſubſiſting between his majeſty and thoſe ancient and natural allies to his crown. He concluded with exhorting both houſes to conſider ſeriouſly of ſome effectual method for ſuppreſſing thoſe audacious crimes of robbery and violence then ſo frequent about the capital; proceeding, in a great meaſure, from that profligate ſpirit of irreligion, idleneſs, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itſelf in an uncommon degree; to the great diſhonour of the nation, and the prejudice of the principal part of the people.*

---

when his majeſty went to the houſe, orders were given to get all things in readineſs for his releaſement; and on the ſecond firing, on his majeſty's return, he ſtepped into his coach, accompanied as before-mentioned, and went in proceſſion with a flag carried before him, on which was written, in large letters, "MURRAY "AND LIBERTY."

Mr. Murray's caſe was afterwards publiſhed in a very ſpirited pamphlet, which renewing the reſentment of the houſe at their next meeting, it was reſolved that he ſhould be again committed to Newgate, and that he ſhould receive the ſentence on his knees. To avoid this, however, he very prudently retired, and went abroad. A proſecution was commenced againſt the publiſher of his caſe for a libel; but in that the houſe met with a rebuff, by the jury bringing in a verdict for the defendant.

* Never was admonition of this kind more neceſſary from the throne than at this period; for a greater ſpirit of profligacy and diſſoluteneſs now prevailed than had been known for many years paſt. Numbers of perſons were executed for the moſt ſhocking and atrocious crimes. In the courſe of this year only, one Miſs Blandy was executed for poiſoning her father, an eminent attorney at Henley upon Thames in Oxfordſhire; and Miſs Jefferies, another young gentlewoman, was executed, with Swan her lover, for murdering her uncle, a wealthy tradeſman who had retired from buſineſs, and with whom ſhe had lived for a conſiderable time. A large mob aſſembled at Tring in Hertfordſhire, and ſeizing an old woman and her huſband (each of them upwards of 70 years of age) under the notion of their having bewitched ſome of the neighbours, treated them with ſuch inhumanity, by ducking and beating them, that the woman died on the ſpot, and the man in a very few days after. For this murder one Colley was hanged. Three fellows, namely, Nichols, Welſh and Jones, were diſcovered this year alſo to have been the authors of a rape and murder, for which one Coleman, a brewer's clerk, had unjuſtly ſuffered upon their falſe evidence. Thoſe wretches were ſo har-

To this ſpeech addreſſes, replete with expreſſions of loyalty, affection and approbation, were returned by both houſes; and ſuch an unanimity now appeared in their proceedings, as afforded the moſt pleaſing proſpect to every true lover of his country.

A. D. 1752. The neceſſary ſupplies being granted, the commons proceeded on other buſineſs of importance; and many uſeful acts were paſſed for the regulation of the internal policy of the nation. One act was made to puniſh ſuch as kept diſorderly houſes; and another, by which all pawnbrokers were obliged to take out licences: that the people in the highlands might be brought under a proper ſubjection to the government, ſome of the forfeited eſtates were reduced into one conſolidated fund, and the profits ariſing from them appropriated towards erecting charity ſchools, that the children of thoſe concerned in the rebellion might be brought up in the principles of the proteſtant religion. Working-ſchools were at the ſame time eſtabliſhed, by which many poor children were uſefully employed; and poſterity will have reaſon to bleſs thoſe who firſt propoſed making an act that will, in the end, be attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences.

Another act was paſſed during this ſeſſion of parliament for preventing the horrid crime of murder: wherein it was ordained, that every criminal convicted of having wilfully, and of malice, killed another, ſhould be executed on the next day except one after the ſentence was pronounced; but if it ſhould happen that ſentence was pronounced on Friday, then execution was not to take place till Monday, becauſe of the Sunday intervening. The body of the malefactor was to be either delivered to the Surgeons, to be diſſected and anatomized, or it was to be hung in chains on a gibbet; but it was not, on any account whatever, to be buried. The commons paſſed a reſolution, that, for the future, all their daily journals ſhould be annually publiſhed, and the care of the publication was left to Mr. Hardinge, the chief clerk, which gave great ſatisfaction to the ſubjects in general.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 25th of March, went to the houſe of peers, and after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament; a few days after which he ſet out for Hanover.

During the courſe of this year moſt of the powers of Europe were very buſy in promoting ſuch ſchemes as ſeemed conſiſtent either with their intereſt or ambition. Some trifling diſputes aroſe between the king of Pruſſia and the court of Great Britain, but theſe were adjuſted in the moſt amicable manner. In Corſica, nothing was to be ſeen but diſorders of the worſt ſort; for the Genoeſe, who pretended to the right of ſovereignty over that iſland, had impoſed ſuch grievous taxes on that people that they became mad by oppreſſion. In Germany, a ſecond attempt was made to elect the archduke Joſeph king of the Romans; but it was ſo violently oppoſed by the king of Pruſſia, that the whole dropped for the preſent, contrary to the inclination of his Britannic majeſty, who had exerted himſelf very much on the occaſion. In America the French were carrying on their plots in ſuch a barefaced manner, that it was not conſiſtent with the honour or intereſt of Great Britain to remain an idle ſpectator. Nor were the French leſs aſſiduous in executing their projects in the Eaſt-Indies, where they ſpirited up the natives to make incurſions into our ſettlements, by which many of our traders were much injured. In the Weſt-Indies, the ſame ſchemes were carried on; ſo that the people of this country began to ſee that the French had only made peace in order to declare war as ſoon as they could, conſiſtent with the nature of their circumſtances.

On the 15th of September this year, a moſt dreadful hurricane happened in South-Carolina, by which many of the inhabitants were killed, and ſeveral houſes in Charles-Town deſtroyed. This reduced the people to great diſtreſs; but the generoſity of the inhabitants of Great Britain was ſo warm in their favour, that all their loſſes were made up, and the colony left in a more flouriſhing condition than ever.

A. D. 1753. The king being returned from his German dominions, on the 11th of January he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne; to which both houſes returned very loyal and affectionate addreſſes. Two millions were granted for the ſervice of the current year; and, upon the moſt ſtrict enquiry, it appeared that the national debt amounted to the enormous ſum of 74,468,451l. 15s.

During this ſeſſion ſeveral acts were paſſed, particularly one for bringing to juſtice all thoſe concerned in plundering ſuch ſhips as ſhould happen, by ſtreſs of weather, to be driven on the Engliſh coaſt. This was a moſt humane act; as the inhabitants reſiding near the ſea, particularly in Cornwall, had been guilty of that infamous practice; and thoſe who ought to have been conſidered as objects of compaſſion, were robbed and ſtripped naked.

But that which principally attracted the notice both of the public and the legiſlature, was a bill brought in for the general naturalization of the Jews. It was much countenanced by the miniſtry; and having originated in the houſe of lords, it paſſed with very little oppoſition.

As ſoon as it was known that this bill had paſſed the upper houſe, the whole nation appeared in one continued ſcene of clamour and oppoſition. It was repreſented as an attempt to undermine the chriſtian religion, and ſet aſide the order of God. The lord-mayor of London, with the aldermen and common-council, preſented petitions againſt it, and ſo did the greater part of the merchants; but notwithſtanding, it paſſed the lower houſe by a great majority. It is not conſiſtent with the dignity of hiſtory to intermeddle with political diſputes, any farther than to relate the circumſtances that gave riſe to them. Thoſe who ſupported this bill thought that great riches would be brought into the nation; and that the Jews, by buying up the goods manufactured by our artificers, would extend our commerce throughout the world. On the other hand, the popular party ſaid, that the Jews had been fugitives and vagabonds ever ſince the reign of the emperor Veſpaſian; that it was the order of God they ſhould be ſo for rejecting the Meſſiah, and the terms of ſalvation offered in the goſpel. They added farther, that they were to continue ſo till they acknowledged the Lord of glory, and therefore it was the higheſt preſumption in us to grant them any indulgence. Indeed, the legiſlative power, as well as the miniſtry, were ſenſible of this; for next ſeſſion the act was repealed, and the people, in conſequence thereof, looked upon themſelves as releaſed from a ſtate of bondage.

The next bill which engaged the attention of the public was that to prevent clandeſtine marriages. The

---

dened as, to be preſent at Coleman's execution, heard the declaration of his innocence, and afterwards aſſiſted in drawing the cart from under him. Nichols, by turning evidence, eſcaped the punishment due to his crime; but the other two were hanged, confeſſing their guilt.

The reaſon of this bill being brought in aroſe from young heirs and heireſſes having inadvertently placed their affections on others below their ſtation, by which they were often reduced to ruin. It is extremely natural for men who have procured titles, and acquired riches, to endeavour to preſerve the one untainted, and the other undiminiſhed; and the warmer paſſions becoming extinct in the mind, a ſort of nominal prudence takes place that can never be agreeable to youth. Such were the reaſons aſſigned, or rather made uſe of, in framing this bill; and it not only paſſed both houſes by a great majority, but alſo became a law, in conſequence of the royal aſſent. It is certain, that it has both its advantages and diſadvantages, but the end deſigned by it has not taken place. No proviſion is made in the act againſt foreign marriages; and therefore nothing is more common than to hear of minors' going over to the continent, to indulge their inclinations; nor has Scotland, where the proteſtant religion is profeſſed, been ſo much as mentioned. The act, like all others of a public nature, occaſioned much ſpeculation, and was either approved of or condemned according to the different ſentiments of the people. It is certain, that it might have been framed in a much better manner; but, upon the whole, we may ſee that nothing is more difficult than the reducing of natural principles to civil inſtitutions, founded on the caprice of men, who, in general, are guided by their paſſions, inſtead of reaſon.

About this time an inſtitution was eſtabliſhed, which had been long wanting in Britain, and was of the utmoſt importance to the republic of letters. The vaſt collection of natural curioſities belonging to Sir Hans Sloane (who lately paid the debt of nature) were purchaſed by the government, and depoſited in the noble ſtructure called Montague Houſe, in Great Ruſſel-ſtreet, near Bloomſbury, in conſequence of an act of parliament paſſed for that purpoſe. But, that the honour of the nation might be fully eſtabliſhed, and a place opened for men of learning to ſtudy, without being at any expence, the collection of manuſcripts belonging to the earl of Oxford were likewiſe purchaſed; and theſe, with the king's library, and the valuable collection made by Sir John and Sir Robert Cotton, were brought to the ſame place, which is now called the Britiſh Muſeum, and is open for the reception and uſe of the public in general. Nothing could have done greater honour to the nation than this inſtance of their good ſenſe and unbounded liberality. The moſt curious records in the nation, and copies of ſuch books as are not to be found any where elſe, are now left free for the inſpection of every one. The great officers of ſtate, amounting to twenty-one in number, are appointed official governors of this royal foundation. Two are appointed by the Oxford family, two by the deſcendants of Sir Hans Sloane, and the ſame number by thoſe who are heirs to Sir John and Sir Robert Cotton. Theſe, amounting to twenty-ſeven in number, are to chuſe fifteen, ſo as to make the whole body of governors forty-two. But although their number is ſo large, yet no perſon can be preſented to an office in the houſe, but by an order ſigned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

The parliament continued ſitting till the 17th of June, when his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſhort ſpeech informed them, that nothing had happened, ſo far as he had been able to procure intelligence, that could in the leaſt diſturb the public peace; after which both houſes were prorogued.

With reſpect to foreign affairs, the French were every where buſy in preparing to break through the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, as ſoon as an opportunity ſhould offer. They had been ſpiriting up ſome of the nabobs, or ſubordinate princes in the Eaſt-Indies, to take up arms againſt the Engliſh: and although many of their attempts had been rendered abortive, yet they did not deſiſt from them; ſo that at laſt, as will appear in the ſequel, it became a national concern. It was much the ſame in America, where they had inſtigated the natives of Canada, and ſome other provinces, to take up arms againſt the Britiſh ſettlers in Nova Scotia, in order to reduce that province, which had been eſtabliſhed at ſo much expence, to the condition of a French colony.

On the 15th of November the parliament re-aſſembled, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty, who, in his ſpeech from the throne, obſerved, that the events of this year had rendered it unneceſſary for him to offer any thing in particular to their conſideration, relative to foreign tranſactions; that the public tranquillity and the ſtate of Europe remained on the ſame footing as at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; and that they might be aſſured of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures for preſerving to his people the bleſſings of peace.

As ſoon as the commons were returned to their houſe, a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty; but it did not paſs without ſeveral ſevere animadverſions on the inconſiſtency between this ſpeech and the real ſituation of affairs in Europe; nor did the French eſcape without many ſpirited declarations againſt their perfidious conduct both in America and Aſia.

Before we cloſe the domeſtic tranſactions of the year 1753, it may not be improper to take notice of two remarkable incidents, the firſt of which happened in the beginning of the year, and for ſome time almoſt totally engaged the attention of the public. A young woman, whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning, pretended, that as ſhe was coming home at night, on new-year's day, ſhe was met under Bedlam wall by two fellows, who pulled off her gown, cap, and apron, and having gagged her, threatened her life if ſhe made the leaſt reſiſtance, and afterwards dragged her along between them to the houſe of one Mrs. Wells near Enfield Waſh, where menaces and confinement were made uſe of to induce her to turn proſtitute, which however ſhe had the courage to reſiſt. She ſaid, that an old gipſey, one Mary Squires, ſtripped her of her ſtays in Mrs. Wells's houſe; and ſhe declared, that during her confinement of near a month in that place, ſhe had no other ſubſiſtence but a quartern loaf and a gallon of water: after ſo long a ſtay, ſhe took the opportunity to pull down ſome boards which were nailed before the window of the room ſhe was confined in, made her eſcape, and came, on the 29th of January, in a very miſerable naked condition, and almoſt deprived of her ſenſes, to her mother, a poor widow woman, who lived in Aldermanbury poſtern.

Though nothing could be more improbable, and indeed more incredible than this ſtory, yet it operated ſo powerfully on the paſſions of the common people, eſpecially the enthuſiaſts of all denominations, that large ſubſcriptions were raiſed for proſecuting the ſuppoſed delinquents. Warrants accordingly were iſſued for apprehending Mrs. Wells, miſtreſs of the houſe at Endfield Waſh; the maid ſervant, whoſe name was Virtue Hall, and Squires, the old gipſey woman, whom Canning charged with having robbed her of her ſtays. Virtue Hall, on her examination before Mr. Juſtice Fielding, confeſſed her being witneſs to the above ill uſage and confinement: the gipſey and Mrs. Wells were hereupon ſent to priſon, and afterwards tried at the Old Bailey, where the former received ſentence of death, and the latter to be branded as a bawd, and impriſoned ſix months as an acceſſary to the fact.

Some time after, poſitive and reputable evidence being produced, that Mary Squires was at Abbotſbury in Dorſetſhire, at the very time when it was depoſed ſhe had ſtript Canning of her ſtays at Wells's houſe; and Virtue Hall having retracted her evidence before the Lord Mayor, then Sir Criſpe Gaſcoigne, that magiſtrate, ſurprized at the many impoſſibilities and abſurdities in Canning's ſtory, undertook to diſcuſs it to the bottom, for the ſake of truth and juſtice; in which he diſcharged himſelf with that noble reſolution and impartiality which ought ever to animate the chief magiſtrate of this metropolis. Application was made to the throne for mercy, in behalf of the gipſey Squires, whoſe execution was reſpited; and his majeſty having ordered the whole affair to be laid before his attorney and ſolicitor-general, on their report, after having ſtrictly examined the witneſſes on both ſides, this poor old creature was indulged with a full pardon.

By this time the matter had roſe to ſuch a pitch as to divide the whole kingdom into two parties, who were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt outrageous ſpirit of animoſity, which was continued for almoſt a year. Pamphlets and papers innumerable were publiſhed on each ſide, in which the moſt ſcandalous liberties were taken with the characters of thoſe who were principally concerned for either party. Bills of perjury were mutually preſented; the evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted; Canning abſconded for ſome time, but afterwards ſurrendered to take her trial for wilful and corrupt perjury, at the Old Bailey; and during her trial, which laſted many days, the court adjourning from time to time, there were great mobs and riots about the ſeſſions-houſe, and the lord-mayor was often inſulted and abuſed in his paſſage to and from the court. The jury however brought in Canning guilty, and ſhe was committed to Newgate; but two of the jurymen having made oath, that the verdict they had given was not agreeable to their conſciences (for though they believed her guilty of perjury, they did not believe her to be guilty of *wilful and corrupt* perjury) the friends of the priſoner moved for a new trial, which point being argued next ſeſſion, before five of the judges, they gave their opinion, that the verdict was a good one, and perfectly agreeable to the evidence; and therefore in concluſion, Canning was ſentenced to be tranſported to the Britiſh colonies for ſeven years. Her departure however was, through the indiſcreet and bigotted zeal of her protectors, made rather a matter of parade and triumph, than the ſubmiſſion to a legal ſentence denounced againſt her as a culprit and impoſtor: large ſums were collected for her private uſe; a ſhip was hired purpoſely to carry her to the place of her deſtination, in which ſhe was ſupplied with every convenience that a perſon of the moſt comfortable circumſtances could require for a voyage of amuſement; and letters of recommendation accompanied her from perſons of diſtinction here at home, to others reſident in that part of the world to which ſhe was tranſported.

The other incident that principally diſtinguiſhed this year in England was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of Scotland, and brother to the famous Lochiel, a ſtaunch friend of the young Pretender, and remarkably active in the late rebellion. The doctor had accompanied his brother in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and had been involved in the ſame attainder with him: flattering himſelf, however, that after ſo long time elapſed, he had no danger to apprehend from detection, he ventured over this year to North Britain, in order to recover ſome debts due to him in that country: he was, however, diſcovered, apprehended, conducted to London, and confined in the Tower; and being afterwards brought before the court of King's-bench, the identity of his perſon was there ſworn to, in conſequence whereof he received ſentence of death, and ſuffered at Tyburn on the ſeventh of June with great fortitude and decorum; and it was thought by moſt cool and conſiderate people, that the government might have ſpared this unfortunate victim, without impairing its dignity, or derogating from its juſtice.

A. D. 1754. As no material tranſaction occurred during the preſent ſeſſion, we ſhall only obſerve, that, on the 6th of April, his majeſty, after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills which had paſſed both houſes, prorogued the parliament: ſoon after which it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for calling a new one.

During the receſs of parliament, Mr. Pelham, brother to the duke of Newcaſtle, died, and was ſucceeded in the important office of firſt lord of the treaſury, by his brother, at that time one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. He was a man of great abilities, beloved by the people, and honoured by his ſovereign with many marks of his royal favour. He was a real friend to the Hanover family; and during a courſe of many years, he had ſupported the intereſts of government in the houſe of commons, without ever propoſing any thing that, in the end, could become prejudicial to the people.

The elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the miniſtry; and the writs being returned, the parliament was opened on the 10th day of May by the duke of Cumberland, and ſome other noblemen, who acted by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. Mr. Onſlow being re-choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and approved of by the crown, the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to the parliament, importing, "That his majeſty had given them this early opportunity of coming together, in order to compleat, without loſs of time, certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the good of his ſubjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any matters of general buſineſs, reſerving every thing of that nature to the uſual time of aſſembling in the winter."

This ſhort ſeſſion continued only to the 5th of June, when it was cloſed, and the parliament prorogued to the 8th of Auguſt, and afterwards to the month of November.

During theſe tranſactions, the miniſtry, alarmed at the progreſs of the French in America, and convinced, from the evaſive anſwers they received from that court, that nothing could be effected by negotiation, ſent peremptory orders to the governors of the American colonies, to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the Ohio, provided they refuſed to retire in a peaceable manner. But before the governors could march their forces over the mountains, the French found means to make themſelves maſters of Lugs-town, built on the Ohio by the inhabitants of Virginia; ſeized the block and truck houſes, where they found ſkins and other commodities to the amount of 20,000l. and cut in pieces all the Britiſh ſettlers except two, who fortunately made their eſcape.

Alarmed and exaſperated at theſe proceedings, the Engliſh governors held a congreſs with the chiefs of the ſix Indian nations at Albany, when the treaties were renewed, and the ſavages demanded the aſſiſtance of the king of England, to drive the French from the ſeveral poſts and poſſeſſions they had uſurped within the territories of the Indians.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings, colonel Waſhington was diſpatched to the banks of the Ohio at the head of 4000 men. On his arrival he threw up ſome works, and erected a kind of occaſional fort, in hopes of being able to defend himſelf till he ſhould be joined by a reinforcement from New-York. A ſmall party of the French being ſoon after ſent to demand the ſurrender of the fort, which they pretended was built on their lands, Waſhington took the whole detachment priſoners. This ſo provoked de Villar, governor of Canada, that he marched againſt Waſhington, who, though labouring under the greateſt diſadvantages, ſuſtained the attack for a conſiderable time; but being overpowered by numbers, he ſurrendered the fort upon capitulation, and marched towards the frontiers of Virginia. In the mean time, the Indians, who paid no regard to the treaty, harraſſed the Engliſh in their retreat; plundered their baggage, and maſſacred every individual that fell into their hands.

This tranſaction rendered a rupture between the two nations inevitable; nor were either wanting in their preparations for obtaining the deſired ſucceſs. The French took every opportunity of ſending freſh reinforcements of men and money to Quebec; while the Engliſh miniſtry were continually ſending ſalutary cautions to the governors of the ſeveral colonies in North America; enjoining them to lay aſide their domeſtic quarrels, and join their whole force to drive their common enemy from the territories they had invaded. Two regiments were alſo ordered to be levied in America, one under the command of Sir William Pepperel, and the other under governor Shirley.

About this time the queen-mother of Spain loſt all her influence at court, by the diſgrace of her favourite, the marquis de la Enſenada, who was ſucceeded by Mr. Wall, the ſon of an Iriſh papiſt, who followed the fortune of James II. at the revolution. The king of Portugal, who had received many favours from the Engliſh, began to act in the moſt ungrateful manner. He impoſed ſome ſevere taxes upon the Britiſh merchants in the factory at Liſbon, and even went ſo far as to cauſe ſome of them to be impriſoned.

The parliament met on the 14th of November, when the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had done every thing to preſerve the public peace of Europe, and that no material alteration had taken place ſince their laſt ſeſſion. He recommended to them to take into their conſideration the affairs of America, but took no notice of the encroachments made by the French on our ſettlements. This was conſidered, by the more diſcerning of the people, as one of the greateſt maſter-ſtrokes of policy; for the minority in the houſe were gaining ground; and it was expected, had his majeſty diſcovered the real ſtate of American affairs, violent oppoſition would have been made to the addreſs, which is always expected at the beginning of each ſeſſion.

The addreſs being preſented, the commons voted, that the ſum of 4,073,727l. ſhould be granted for the ſervice of the current year. Subſidies were alſo granted to ſeveral foreign princes, particularly the elector of Bavaria, who was to have a body of forces ready, in caſe his majeſty's dominions in Germany ſhould be attacked by the French, or any other of the European powers.

Theſe vigorous reſolutions of the houſe of commons alarmed the French to the higheſt degree; but as they had all along acted in the moſt inſincere manner, ſo, on the preſent occaſion, they directed their ambaſſador, the duke de Mirepoix, to amuſe our miniſtry with pretences, that they had not the moſt diſtant view of diſturbing ſuch of our ſubjects as were ſettled in America. Theſe declarations were, however, of too fallacious a nature to have any effect with the people of England. The eyes of the miniſtry were now opened, and nothing ſeemed ſo neceſſary as that of ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation.

A. D. 1755. On the 23d of January a proclamation was iſſued, offering a bounty to ſuch ſeamen as were willing to enter into his majeſty's ſervice. Preſs-warrants were ſent to the principal ſea-port towns: all artificers in our dock-yards, as well as ſeamen, were prohibited, under ſevere penalties, from entering into foreign ſervice: and all ſuch as were abroad were commanded to return.

Things were now grown to ſuch an height, that the deſigns of the French could be no longer concealed; and therefore the king ſent a meſſage to the parliament by Sir Thomas Robinſon, informing them, that the encroachments made on our ſettlements in America rendered it neceſſary for him to augment both his navy and army, and he doubted not but his faithful ſubjects would ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes.

Affectionate and loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes: and although the French boaſted much of the ſuperior power of their fleets in Breſt and Toulon, yet the Britiſh ſubjects paid little regard to it. The miniſtry prohibited the Iriſh from ſupplying the French with proviſions, which was one of the beſt meaſures that could have been taken, and was applauded by the people in general.

The greateſt diſpatch was made by our miniſtry to fit out the fleet; and towards the latter end of April, admiral Boſcawen ſailed from Portſmouth with ten ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates, in which were 6000 ſoldiers and marines. About the ſame time ſailed from Breſt the French fleet, under the command of admiral Macnamara, an Iriſh gentleman; but he had ſecret inſtructions to diſpatch his vice-admiral in his room, while he himſelf, with five ſhips of the line, cruized near the ſtreights of Gibraltar, with no other view than to try whether he could not oblige our admiral to divide his fleet, which had been reinforced by a ſquadron under the command of admiral Holborne. Mr. Pitt, at that time ſecretary at war, procured an act which will ever do honour to his memory, namely, to advance ſix months pay to the ſeamen, and not ſuffer them to ſell their tickets to rapacious uſurers, who often bought them at the rate of 50 per cent. diſcount, to the diſhonour of the nation.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 25th of April, went to the houſe of peers, and, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had adhered, in the moſt ſacred manner, to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but as the French had, in the moſt barefaced manner, broken every article of it, he could not, conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the duty he owed to his people, ſuffer them to proceed any further without the moſt vigorous oppoſition. He added, that he never would declare war but upon the moſt juſtifiable terms; and concluded, by aſſuring them, that he truſted for ſucceſs in the Divine Providence, which was ever ready to aſſiſt thoſe who acted juſtly. He then prorogued the parliament, and having made choice of a proper regency to conduct the public affairs, ſet out to viſit his electoral dominions.

While his majeſty was abroad he was informed, that the French king had entered into a ſecret treaty with the court of Vienna; and to prevent any evil conſequences that might reſult therefrom, he engaged to take into his pay a large body of Heſſian troops; and, at the ſame time, concluded a treaty offenſive and defenſive, with the empreſs of Ruſſia.

In the mean time the French were continuing their depredations on our ſettlements, and the inhabitants of the American colonies were quarrelling with their governors. This induced all thoſe who wiſhed well to our intereſts in America, to look down, in the moſt unfavourable manner, on the unproſperous ſtate of the public affairs. Unanimity was wiſhed for; but few expected it. Admiral Boſcawen, who was now off Louiſburg, attacked part of the French fleet, and actually diſperſed them, which gave ſome gleam of hope to the people of England, who promiſed themſelves great things from the ſuperior abilities of that commander. Two of the French ſhips were taken and ſent into Halifax in Nova Scotia, where they were afterwards condemned as lawful prizes.

In the month of June a trifling expedition was made on the frontiers of the colony eſtabliſhed by the French in Canada; but no other conſequences reſulted from it than that of keeping up the ſpirits of the people.

On the other hand, during the ſame month, general Braddock, who was at this time in America, marched from Virginia at the head of 2000 regulars in order to attack fort Du Queſne, a French fortreſs on the river Monongahela, which runs into the Ohio. In the courſe of his march he met with ſo many obſtacles that his little army was greatly reduced; for the coloniſts, who had long quarrelled with their governors, refuſed to ſend him ſuch waggons and proviſions as were neceſſary for his aſſiſtance. However, under all theſe difficulties, on the 8th of July he arrived within ten miles of fort Du Queſne, his army then amounting to little more than 1200 men.

In the mean time the French, who were poſted at this fort, and conſiſted of 1000 regulars, and 600 irregulars, and a conſiderable number of Indians in their intereſt, having gained very particular intelligence of general Braddock's deſigns, the number and condition of his forces, and the route they were to take, no ſooner found that he was advancing, than they alſo advanced to meet him: and having made choice of a very advantageous piece of ground, about ſix miles ſouth of the fort, they formed a camp, and entrenched themſelves in a very maſterly manner, having a thick wood on each ſide of them, that extended along the route which they knew the Engliſh general muſt take.

General Braddock was certainly a man of courage and reſolution; but he was haughty, poſitive, and difficult of acceſs; qualities ill ſuited to the tempers of the people among whom he was to command. His officers, particularly Sir Peter Halket, earneſtly beſought him to proceed with circumſpection, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army by way of advanced guard, in caſe of an ambuſcade, for which that country was ſo well adapted. But, as if courage alone was ſufficient to enſure ſucceſs in all military enterprizes, the general paid no regard to this ſeaſonable advice: he reſumed his march the next day (July 9) without ſo much as endeavouring to procure the leaſt intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of the enemy, or even taking the neceſſary precautions to ſend out ſcouts to viſit the roads and thickets, which lay on both ſides of him as well as in his front.

With this ſupine negligence did he advance within about three miles of the enemy's intrenchments, when they drew out of their lines, placing their irregulars in front, and 1500 regulars behind to ſupport them: they alſo ſtationed a great number of their Indians in the wood, who effectually concealed themſelves behind the buſhes and thickets. About noon general Braddock appeared with his troops, when he was ſaluted with a general diſcharge upon his front, and all along his left flank: upon which he gave orders to puſh forwards, as the enemy were in ſight, though not within muſket-ſhot; and as ſoon as they came near enough, the attack was begun by colonels Gage and Burton.

The Indians immediately gave the whar-whoop; and riſing from their ambuſh in the thickets, diſcovered themſelves on both ſides, flanking our men in vollies, among whom they did incredible execution. The advanced guard being now between three fires, immediately gave way; but being rallied with much difficulty by the officers, they gave one fire, and then retreated in the utmoſt confuſion, and threw Dunbar's regiment, which was behind them, into great diſorder; they were with unſpeakable difficulty once more rallied by the officers, many of whom were killed as they were uſing their endeavours to inſpirit their men, who did indeed ſtand one more fire from the enemy, but without returning it. The general, who exerted himſelf as much as man could do, after having five horſes killed under him, was ſhot through the arms and lungs, of which he died the fourth day. As ſoon as he dropped, both regiments fled with the utmoſt terror and precipitation, deſerting their officers, who, though alone, kept their ground till, of 60, five only remained who were not either killed or wounded. The provincials, who compoſed the rear, ſtill ſtood unbroken, and continued the engagement on very unequal terms for near three hours, but were then compelled to retire.

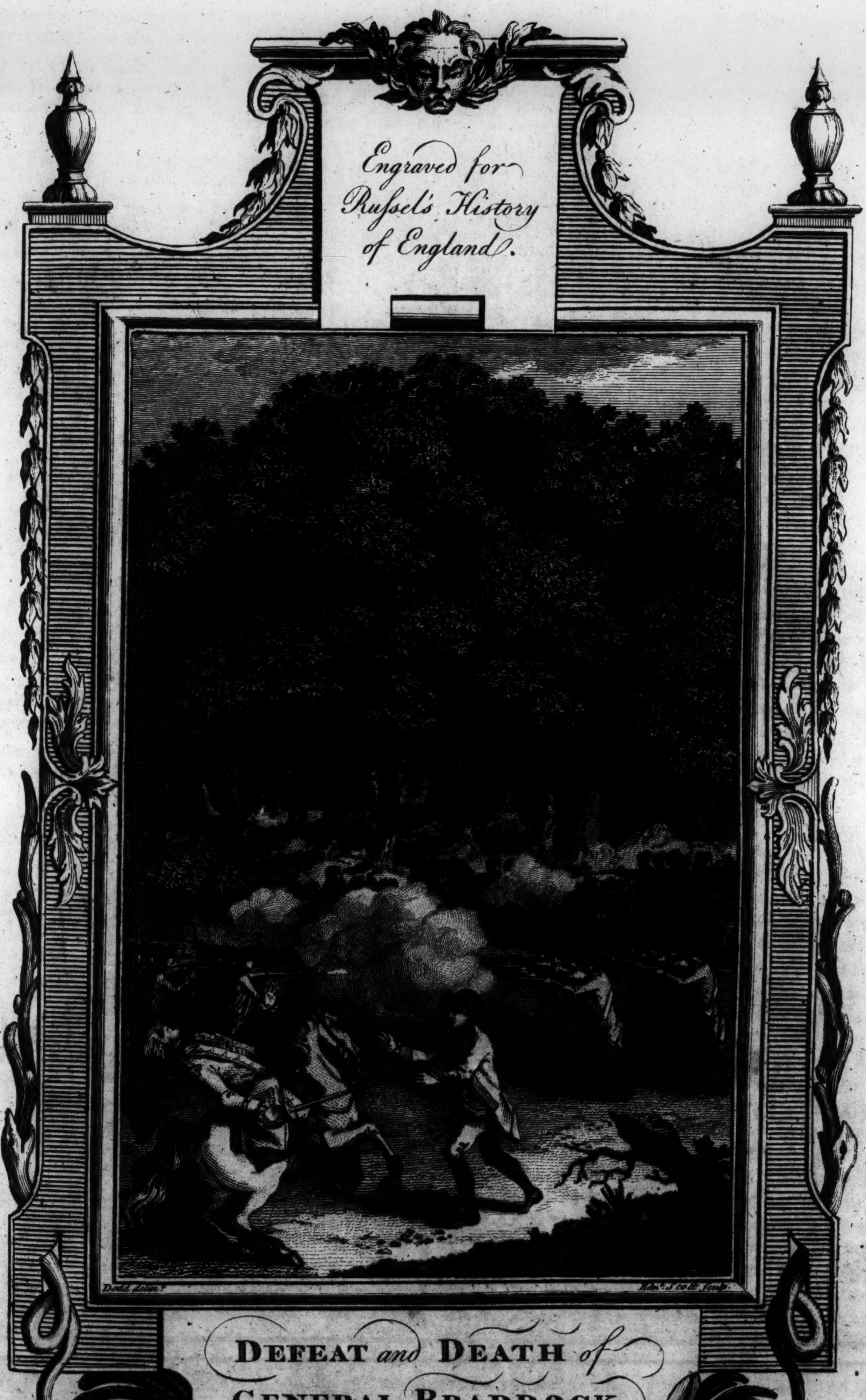
The loſs of the Engliſh in this unfortunate action amounted to 700 men, beſides the baggage, artillery, &c. The officers ſuffered moſt in proportion, the Indians having conſtantly marked them out to fire at. Sir Peter Halket fell at the firſt fire at the head of his regiment, and the general's ſecretary and two of his aids-de-camp ſoon after ſhared the ſame fate.

This was a fatal ſtroke to the Engliſh, and attended with the moſt dreadful conſequences to thoſe who lived in the back ſettlements; for the Indians in the intereſt of the French poured upon them in great numbers, and committed the moſt horrid barbarities.

It was the general opinion, that it would be too late to take the field during the remainder of the ſeaſon; and, therefore, inſtead of attacking Crown-Point, (as had been intended) it was reſolved, that during the winter, the forces ſhould be employed in keeping up a communication between that place and Albany. General Shirley took upon him the command of one part of the troops, but his conduct was much cenſured; while that of general Johnſon, who commanded the other part, was equally applauded. The miniſtry were ſenſible of his vaſt abilities, and therefore he was created a baronet; and, at the ſame time, received a preſent of 5000l.

As the French could not, with common decency, conceal their real intentions any longer, they endeavoured to perſuade the Spaniards that it was their duty to prevent the Britiſh navy from becoming formidable in America; but Mr. Wall, their chief miniſter, was a ſincere friend to the Engliſh, and conſequently did every thing to fruſtrate the deſigns of the French. They had pretended that we were the aggreſſors in North America; and when the king of Spain offered to become a mediator between the contending parties, he was given to underſtand, that no ſuſpenſion of arms could be agreed upon as had been demanded by the French, till reparation had been made to our coloniſts for the injuries they had ſuffered. This induced the French miniſtry to intrigue with the German princes, and they brought over to their intereſt the elector of Cologne, who promiſed to let them form magazines in his territories. From this circumſtance, the people of England were convinced that the deſigns of the French was to attack Hanover, and for that purpoſe they entered into a confederacy

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.



Dodd delin.
Benn. Scott sculp.

DEFEAT and DEATH of GENERAL BRADDOCK in North America.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

with the court of Vienna, with a deſign of diſtreſſing the king of Pruſſia. Nothing was left undone by his Britannic majeſty to ſecure his electoral dominions; and for that purpoſe he formed ſeveral alliances with the German princes. A ſecond treaty was alſo entered into between our ſovereign, and the empreſs of Ruſſia; but it did not take effect.

In the mean time, news arrived that admiral Boſcawen had obtained ſome conſiderable advantages over the French; and much about the ſame time, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed from Portſmouth with 18 ſhips of the line, in order to intercept the French fleet; but they had the good fortune to eſcape and get ſafe into Breſt. Four men of war were diſpatched from Portſmouth, under the command of commodore Frankland, to protect our ſugar plantations from the enemy, and likewiſe to exerciſe plenary powers in committing hoſtilities wherever it ſhould ſeem neceſſary, or where he ſhould happen to meet with oppoſition. Orders were ſent to all our naval officers to ſeize ſuch of the French ſhips as they could lay hold of; and the duke de Mirepoix, who was not able to deceive our miniſtry any longer, ſet out on his return home without taking leave.

With reſpect to our affairs in the Eaſt-Indies, the miniſtry had, in the preceding year, ſent rear-admiral Watſon and rear-admiral Pocock with a ſquadron of capital ſhips, having Aldercorn's regiment on board, to ſupport our intereſts in that part of the world; of which the coaſt of France was no ſooner informed, than, dreading the conſequences of war with the Engliſh on that trading coaſt, they diſpatched M. Godehew, with orders to ſuperſede M. du Pleix in his government; and afterwards exert his utmoſt endeavours to conclude a pacific treaty with the governor of Madraſs, and with the other Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel. Accordingly, the propoſals he made being highly acceptable to the Engliſh, on the 26th of December, 1754, articles of a proviſional treaty, and articles and ſtipulations of a truce, were ſigned between governor Saunders and M. Godehew; ſoon after which the latter of theſe gentlemen was recalled home, and M. de Leyrit appointed to ſucceed him, whoſe conduct ſoon convinced the Engliſh that the tranquillity, which they hoped would have been permanent, was founded on an uncertain baſis. They were not miſtaken, for early in the year it was found that the French were endeavouring, though in direct contravention of the proviſional treaty, to make themſelves maſters of all Decan. At the ſame time they alſo took poſſeſſion of Golconda, and ſent aſſiſtance to the Polygor of Vellour, who was then in actual rebellion againſt his ſovereign Mahomed Ally Khan, our ally.

At this time admiral Watſon, with the fleet under his command, ſailed to reduce Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, whoſe chief reſidence was at Geriah. His city was well fortified; and he was now become formidable to all the trading ſhips of Europe.

Watſon, after refitting his ſquadron at Bombay, and receiving the neceſſary intelligence with regard to the fort and harbour of Geriah, ſailed immediately on his intended expedition. In his paſſage he was joined by a diviſion of ſhips fitted out by the company, having on board a body of troops under the command of colonel Clive; and in the neighbourhood of Geriah by the Marahatta fleet, conſiſting of four grabs, forty ſmaller veſſels, &c. and a land army of horſe and foot, amouting to 8000 men, commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already one fort, and was even treating about the ſurrender of Geriah.

The pirate himſelf had quitted his capital; but his wife and family were ſtill there, under the protection of his brother-in-law, whom he had left governor of the place. As ſoon as the admiral came before the town, he ſent a meſſage to the governor, commanding him to ſurrender; but he haughtily anſwered, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity.

The admiral, upon receiving this anſwer, formed his fleet into two diviſions, and ſailed immediately into the harbour, notwithſtanding a very warm fire from the enemy's batteries, and the grabs poſted in the harbour for that purpoſe. This fire, however, was ſoon ſilenced; for the ſhips were no ſooner at their proper ſtations, than their ſhot drove the troops of Angria from their poſt, and diſmounted moſt of their guns. One of the ſhells thrown by the Engliſh fell into a grab, ſet her on fire, and the flames extending to the reſt, they were all deſtroyed. The fort ſhared the ſame fate in about two hours, and ſoon after the firing entirely ceaſed. Suſpecting that the governor of the place would rather chuſe to ſurrender to the Marahattas than to the Engliſh, Watſon diſembarked all the troops that colonel Clive might be ready to take poſſeſſion if it ſhould be thought neceſſary. The bombardment of the fort was ſtill continued, and the ſhips warped near enough to the walls to batter a breach, when the admiral ſent an officer with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to ſurrender. This demand was, however, a ſecond time refuſed, and the ſhips began once more to batter the place with redoubled vigour. About one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garriſon hoiſted a white flag for a capitulation; but the parley that enſued proving abortive, the bombardment began afreſh, and continued till after five, when the white flag was again diſplayed, and the governor ſubmitted to the terms impoſed by the Engliſh. The flag of Angria was ſtruck, and two captains from Clive's army, at the head of a detachment, took poſſeſſion of the fort, and immediately hoiſted the Britiſh colours.

The admiral having thus reduced the capital of the pirate's dominions, determined to carry off all the ſtores, &c. he could diſcover, in order to prevent Angria from rendering it again formidable to European merchant-ſhips in theſe ſeas. He found in the place 200 pieces of cannon, 6 braſs mortars, a large quantity of ammunition; beſides money and effects, amounting to 130,000l. But this loſs, however fatal it might prove to Angria, was not the greateſt: his whole fleet, conſiſting of eight grabs, one ſhip finiſhed, two upon the ſtocks, and a great number of gallivots, were totally deſtroyed. Among a great number of priſoners were Angria's wife, children and mother, towards whom the admiral behaved in the moſt humane manner.

During theſe tranſactions in India his majeſty returned from his German dominions, and reached his palace at Kenſington on the 15th of September. On the 13th of November * he opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he

---

* On the 1ſt of this month a moſt dreadful calamity happened at Liſbon, which laid great part of that city in ruins. The inquiſition having condemned ſeveral proteſtants and others, whom they conſidered as diſaffected to the Romiſh church, All-Saints day was appointed for their execution, or as they call it, the celebration of an act of faith. Many of the ignorant people from the country, had aſſembled at Liſbon, to be witneſſes of this horrid ſpectacle; but as proteſtants, if found among the mob, are ſure to be treated with every mark of indignity, ſo the gentlemen of the Engliſh factory retired quietly to their apartments. During the morning the ſky

he informed both houſes, "that the moſt proper meaſures had been taken to protect our poſſeſſions in America, and to recover ſuch parts of them as had been either uſurped or invaded: that to preſerve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general flame from being lighted up in Europe, he had always been ready to accept of reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation; but that nothing of that kind had been offered by France: that he had alſo confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or ſupporting thoſe already made; to exert his people's right to a ſatisfaction for hoſtilities committed during a time of profound peace, and to diſappoint ſuch deſigns as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reaſon to think has been formed againſt his kingdoms and dominions: that he believed no impartial power could object to proceedings ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſecurity of his people: that his good brother, the king of Spain, beheld theſe differences with concern; and the part he had taken in the common welfare of Europe, made him earneſtly wiſh the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and had induced him to give the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to continue in the ſame pacific ſentiments: that he himſelf had greatly increaſed his naval force, and augmented his army in ſuch a manner as might be leaſt burthenſome to his ſubjects: and, finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and another with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, which ſhould, in proper time, be ſubmitted to their peruſal."

Great debates aroſe in both houſes concerning the addreſſes that ſhould be preſented to his majeſty on the ſubject of his ſpeech; for many lords and gentlemen diſapproved of his having concluded treaties, without previouſly aſking their advice. However, after a moſt violent conteſt, the addreſſes were preſented, which occaſioned ſeveral reſignations; particularly, that of Mr. Pitt, pay-maſter of the forces, who was ſucceeded by the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay, while Sir George Lyttelton was appointed chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Mr. Legge.

When the public buſineſs came on before the houſe of commons, every thing went in favour of the miniſtry; and the treaties concluded by his majeſty were approved of by a very great majority. Subſidies were granted to the empreſs of Ruſſia, the elector of Bavaria, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel; but the ſon of the latter, for reaſons unknown, renounced the proteſtant religion, which gave great offence to all the other princes of that perſuaſion, eſpecially to his Britannic majeſty, who had beſtowed upon him his daughter in marriage.

About this time a rumour was ſpread throughout the kingdom, that the French intended to attempt an invaſion; upon which all hopes of peace were given up, though the French ſtill ſubmitted to every indignity which our navy offered them. It was evident, they wanted a pretence for entering into a new war, and nothing ſeemed more likely to give colour to ſuch a meaſure, as that of our men of war ſeizing the ſhips belonging to their merchants.

The Eſperance man of war, a French ſhip of eighty guns, having been ſent from Rochfort to Breſt, was met by captain Stephens in the Orford of ſeventy guns, and after a deſperate engagement, that laſted three hours, the Frenchman, with above 300 ſailors on board, was taken and carried into Plymouth, ſo that notwithſtanding war was not formally declared, yet the hoſtilities committed ſhewed that it could not be far diſtant.

A. D. 1756. The attention of the parliament was principally engaged in concerting the moſt proper meaſures for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Among other things it was ordered that all the old regiments, both of dragoons and foot, ſhould be augmented, and that ten new regiments of foot, beſides ſeveral troops of light horſe, ſhould be immediately raiſed. For defraying the whole public expence, the parliament granted the ſum of 7,298,515l. Many excellent laws paſſed during this ſeſſion, and in general the members were unanimous; ſo that few arguments were uſed in oppoſition to what was propoſed by the miniſtry.

War was now apparently inevitable; but while the court of Great Britain was deliberating on the moſt proper method to be uſed in proſecuting it, an incident took place that ſuprized all Europe, and gave a new and moſt unexpected turn to the face of public affairs.

The king of Pruſſia, who had ſpent ſeveral years in cultivating the arts of peace, diſcovered ſuch profound knowledge in the art of politics, that no treaty of the moſt ſecret nature could be long concealed from him. By his ſecret emiſſaries, in different countries, he learned that the empreſs of Ruſſia, in conjunction with the French and the empreſs queen of Hungary, had entered into a league offenſive and defenſive, and that Sileſia was not only to be retaken and annexed to the houſe of Auſtria, but likewiſe all the hereditary dominions of the king of Pruſſia were to be divided among the conquerors; and this treaty was acceded to by Auguſtus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland. As we had agreed to bring ſome Ruſſian troops into the empire of Germany, in order to defend the electorate of Hanover, the Pruſſian monarch publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he declared that he was ready to take the field, at the head of his whole army, to oppoſe the entrance of any forces that ſhould preſume to come into the empire. This was a moſt mortifying ſtroke to our ſovereign, who imagined that his electoral dominions would be ſeized by the French; and therefore it was propoſed by our miniſtry that nothing could contribute more towards ſecuring Hanover, than that of entering into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia. Propoſals of the like nature had been made to him by the French; but he had ſuch proofs of their perfidy, that he paid no regard to any thing advanced by them. Accordingly, it was agreed upon between him and the court of Great Britain, that, in conſequence of the war having broke out in North America, and there being reaſon to fear that it might extend further, both the contracting powers ſhould exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to prevent any foreign troops from coming into the

---

ſky had continued ſerene and clear, a cloud was not to be ſeen; but about ten o'clock in the forenoon a moſt dreadful ſhock of an earthquake was felt, and the water in the river Tagus roſe above ten feet perpendicular. On the altars of the ſeveral churches tapers had been lighted to celebrate the horrid ſolemnity, and the violence of the concuſſion having thrown them down, they ſet fire to the other materials, and in a few minutes the whole city ſeemed to be in a blaze. In many parts the earth opened, as if ready to devour the ſuperſtitious inhabitants, and according to the moſt moderate computation, no leſs than 8000 perſons of both ſexes periſhed. The ſurvivors were obliged to take ſhelter in the adjacent fields, where they could not procure the neceſſaries of life, and many of them periſhed with cold and hunger. Our ambaſſador at the court of Madrid having tranſmitted an account of this calamity to our miniſtry, his majeſty, touched with the circumſtances of the unhappy ſufferers, went to the parliament houſe, and informed the members; who, to their everlaſting honour, ordered that 100,000l. ſhould be ſent to relieve their immediate wants. The king of Portugal was ſo ſenſible of this inſtance of Britiſh generoſity, that he wrote a moſt grateful and affecting letter to our ſovereign, promiſing that on every occaſion, for the future, he would take care to provide for the intereſt of our ſubjects, when they came to ſettle in his dominions.

the empire, or to paſs through it, that the public peace might be maintained.

On the 23d of March his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for, he informed them, there was great reaſon to fear that the French intended to invade this kingdom, becauſe of the vaſt naval preparations making by them along the coaſt. He propoſed that 6000 Heſſian troops ſhould be immediately taken into the pay of Great Britain, and that they ſhould be ſent over to this kingdom to prevent the deſigns of the enemy. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance was, his majeſty's not having taken the leaſt notice, that general Blakeney, governor of Fort St. Philip, and Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, had both ſent letters to the ſecretary of ſtate, informing him, that the French were fitting out a large ſquadron at Toulon, and that there was not the leaſt doubt but they intended to attack the iſland of Minorca, and the general requeſted that he might be ſupplied with proper aſſiſtance.

What could induce the miniſtry to act in ſuch a manner will remain a ſecret for ever, ſo far as we are able to learn; but certain it is, nothing could be more unjuſtifiable. Thoſe who wiſhed well to the nation cenſured their conduct in the ſevereſt manner, but ſtill the miniſterial influence prevailed, and bore down all oppoſition. Such as were real patriots moved, that the militia might be raiſed to defend the nation, and that no mercenary troops ſhould be hired; but the miniſtry, as if they had intended to exaſperate the people to the utmoſt, made a motion to the lower houſe, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that he would take into Britiſh pay twelve battalions of his electoral troops, and that they ſhould be brought over to this kingdom. Great oppoſition was made to this motion, but the miniſtry carried their point; in conſequence of which, the nation was, in a manner, filled with foreign troops, and the people diſcontented. The vulgar rabble, who were ever fired with indignation at the arrival of foreigners, wanted an opportunity to quarrel with theſe poor men, who could not be ſuppoſed to have any connection with public affairs; but their behaviour was ſo inoffenſive, that even their moſt inveterate enemies could not find fault with them.

The miniſtry began now to ſee the neceſſity they were under of protecting the iſland of Minorca; and, accordingly, it was reſolved, that a fleet ſhould be ſent into the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Byng, ſon of lord Torrington, who had procured a peerage by his vaſt knowledge of naval affairs. The abilities of Mr. Byng had never been called in queſtion: he had ſerved in ſeveral expeditions, and had made himſelf agreeable both to the officers and ſeamen. No perſon could be endowed with more ſenſibility, and humanity ſeemed to be his darling paſſion. Along with him, as ſecond in command, was Mr. Weſt, a man of great abilities, and much eſteemed both for his courage and prudence. It will ſcarcely be credited, in future ages, that our miniſtry acted only upon principles of ignorance; for diſcerning perſons will aſcribe their conduct to ſomething of a criminal nature.

But before we proceed to relate the particulars of this unhappy expedition, we ſhall juſt take notice, that on the 27th of May * his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the vigorous and effectual ſupport they had given him; and acquainted them, that the injuries and hoſtilities which had been for ſome time committed by the French againſt his dominions and ſubjects, were then followed by the actual invaſion of Minorca, though guaranteed to him by all the great powers of Europe, and particularly by the French king: that he therefore found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France; that he relied on the Divine Protection, and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects in ſo juſt a cauſe.

The Engliſh fleet did not ſail from Spithead till the 7th of April; and during their voyage to Gibraltar, which laſted till the ſecond of May, many of the ſeamen were taken ſick, and, conſequently, the fleet much weakened. He had only one battalion of land forces on board; and when he got into the harbour of Gibraltar, general Fowke, who commanded the garriſon, refuſed to aſſiſt him with any of his men, alledging, as an excuſe, that he had not ſufficient to defend the place, in caſe an attack ſhould be made. He learned farther, that M. de Galiſſoniere, the French admiral, had ſailed from Toulon with a large fleet of the line, beſides tranſports, on board of which he had no leſs than 15,000 land forces, which he had landed in Minorca, and taken poſſeſſion of every thing except the fort of St. Philip.

The French fleet, of which our miniſtry had received repeated accounts, ſailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, juſt three days after Mr. Byng ſailed from Portſmouth; and the inequality of the voyages being ſo great, there is no wonder that they got there before our fleet could ſo much as enter into the Mediterranean. General Blakeney, who had notice of the approach of the French, took care to provide for the ſafety of Fort St. Philip, as far as was poſſible, conſidering what a ſmall number of men he had then under his command. It was in vain for him to attempt to defend the reſt of the iſland, and, conſequently, the French forces landed without oppoſition, at a place called Ciudadalla, on the weſtern part of the iſland, and prepared to attack Fort St. Philip. The duke de Richlieu was at the head of this expedition; and when he landed, he found that he had neglected to bring horſes with him to draw the heavy artillery over roads that had been, in a manner, rendered impaſſable, by order of general Blakeney. This circumſtance obliged him to re-imbark his heavy artillery, and land it Mahon, near St. Philip's, where he intended to erect his batteries. In the mean time, the general ſent a meſſenger to the French marſhal, demanding to know why he had landed in the iſland of Minorca in an hoſtile manner; and received for anſwer, that he acted in conformity with the practice of the Engliſh, who had taken ſome of their men of war without making a public declaration of their intentions.

On the 11th of May the intrenchments were opened; and marſhal Richlieu ſent his compliments to general Blakeney, offering him what conditions he pleaſed to accept of; but the governor told the meſſenger, that it would be ſoon enough to treat of terms when they came ſo near each other as to be able to ſhake hands. Accordingly, the royal ſtandard was placed upon the caſtle, as a ſignal that the garriſon would defend it to the laſt extremity. But here our attention

---

* On the 18th of May England declared war againſt France, which was anſwered by a declaration of the like nature at Paris againſt England on the 11th of June following. The city of London, followed by many corporations throughout the kingdom, preſented moſt loyal addreſſes to his majeſty on this occaſion, and promiſed to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes; ſo that he had the pleaſure to find that he reigned as an object of love in the hearts of his ſubjects.

attention is called off to objects partly different, and partly connected with it.

While admiral Byng was at Gibraltar, he ſent an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty, informing them, that he had been ſent on an expedition at an improper ſeaſon; that he had not force ſufficient to oppoſe the French; and that there was great reaſon to fear all his attempts would be rendered abortive. This meſſage from the admiral gave great offence to the miniſtry, who were conſcious that they had acted inconſiſtent with their duty; and therefore they cauſed a report to be propagated, that Byng would never face the French.

On the 19th of May the Engliſh fleet came to an anchor off the iſland of Minorca, when captain Hervey was diſpatched with a letter to general Blakeney, to inform him of the arrival of the fleet, and to know in what part of the iſland he would have the recruits landed; but before he had got out of ſight of the admiral's ſhip, the French fleet appeared, and ſeemed to be very ſtrong; but the admiral made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking them.

During the courſe of the night nothing of importance happened: and when the morning appeared, there was ſuch a thick fog that the fleets loſt ſight of each other; but about noon the ſky clearing up, the line of battle was formed, and admiral Weſt bore down upon the French. Had Weſt been properly ſeconded, there is reaſon to believe that the enemy would have been defeated; but admiral Byng, although in every reſpect a brave officer, yet, on the preſent occaſion, laid his conduct open to much cenſure. It ſeems that the admiral was diſtracted in his opinion, whether to retreat or advance; for when the captain of his own ſhip deſired him to bear down upon the enemy, he peremptorily refuſed, leſt he ſhould fall into the ſame error as admiral Matthews had done ſome years before. No ſign of cowardice was diſcovered in the whole of Mr. Byng's conduct, but he acted in ſuch an abſurd manner, that the ſhips moſt fit for action did not come up; ſo that the enemy, who had rather acted on the defenſive, had an opportunity of ſailing away.

Admiral Byng remained four days in expectation of the French fleet returning: during that time, ſeveral councils of war were held, in which it was at length agreed, that they ſhould ſet ſail for Gibraltar, not having forces ſufficient to protect fort St. Philip. This was one of the moſt imprudent ſteps that could have been taken; for had they remained but one day longer, they would have intercepted a large fleet, laden with proviſions and military ſtores, for the uſe of the French army in Minorca. It was above a month before the fleet arrived at Gibraltar; and news of their miſcarriage being publiſhed, admiral Hawke, aſſiſted by admiral Saunders, was ſent into the Mediterranean with orders to ſuperſede admiral Byng, who, with general Fowke, the deputy-governor of Gibraltar, were put under an arreſt, and ſent priſoners to England in the Antelope man of war, in order to be tried by two different court-martials.

During theſe tranſactions, the French carried on the ſiege of Fort St. Philip with great vigour, while the garriſon made a moſt gallant defence. The French army amounted to upwards of 20,000 men, with ſixty two large battering cannon, and twenty-one mortars, which kept playing inceſſantly on the fort. On the fifteenth of June, general Blakeney ordered a moſt furious attack to be made on the enemy, by which they were, for ſome time, driven back, and many of their batteries were demoliſhed.

The ſoldiers in the garriſon did not exceed 2500 in number; and the French general being well ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege, deſtroyed moſt of the outworks, and then made a breach in the wall.

On the 27th of June the duke de Richlieu put himſelf at the head of a large detachment, and attacked the place ſword in hand, which was gallantly defended by the Engliſh, who diſputed every inch of ground with them. Several of the mines were ſprung, and ſuch execution was done upon the enemy, that great part of the glacis was covered with dead bodies. Notwithſtanding this, the French continued the attack, and made themſelves maſters of two ſtrong redoubts: colonel Jefferies, the ſecond in command under general Blakeney, was ſuddenly ſurrounded, and, with 100 men, taken priſoners, juſt at the inſtant that he was on the point of retaking one of the redoubts: Major Cunningham, another brave officer, was ſo deſperately wounded, that he could not do his duty: ſo that the governor was deprived of the aſſiſtance of two men whoſe courage and prudence had rendered them very conſpicuous. The duke de Richlieu then ordered a parley to be beat, under pretence of burying the dead; but no ſooner had the governor granted his requeſt, than he made uſe of the time in fortifying the redoubts he had taken, by which he became maſter of all the ſubterraneous paſſages, ſo as to be able to blow up the fort. The general finding it, in a manner, impoſſible to hold out againſt ſuch a numerous army, which was daily encroaching upon him, called a council of war, in which it was reſolved that the place could hold out no longer, but that propoſals muſt be made to the French to enter upon articles of capitulation.

The duke de Richlieu was ſo ſenſible of the bravery of the Engliſh general, that he offered them what terms they pleaſed; and accordingly they were permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and to remain in the iſland till ſhips came from Gibraltar to take them on board, which was *not till the* 7th of July.

Thus did Britain loſe the iſland of Minorca, a place of the utmoſt importance during a war, becauſe it affords proviſions and harbours of ſafety for all ſuch veſſels as happen to go from England to the Mediterranean. The importance of it was not known till it was loſt; and had we been at war with any of the Italian ſtates, we could ſcarce have had an opportunity of ſending a fleet beyond Gibraltar.

We ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the moſt material operations of our army, during this year, in other parts of the world. In the beginning of the ſpring the earl of Loudon had been ſent to America, to take upon him the command of the army deſtined to act in that quarter of the world; but ſo negligent had the miniſtry been in fitting him out in proper time, that before he landed he found the French general Montcalm in the field, at the head of a conſiderable army. In the mean time, Oſwego, a ſtrong fort ſituated on the lake Ontario, in Canada, was taken by the French, and all the men found in it ſent priſoners to Montreal. The loſs of this important place was owing entirely to the delays made by our miniſtry, and the altercations that took place between our generals and the coloniſts. Fort Granville fell into the hands of the French at the ſame time, which ſtruck ſuch a damp into the minds of the people, both in the north country and on the continent of America, that nothing was to be heard but murmurs, while the conduct of our officers was ſeverely cenſured.

In the Eaſt-Indies the French had been very active in ſpiriting up the natives againſt our ſettlements, particularly in Bengal, where the new nabob, Surajah Dowla, took the field, and laid ſiege to the town of Calcutta. The governor, Mr. Drake, being a quaker, refuſed to fight; ſo that the command devolved upon

Mr. Holwell, who reſolved to hold it out to the laſt extremity. But the enemy's army was almoſt innumerable, and the place but poorly fortified. Add to this, that the ſhips belonging to the company had fallen down the river, which the nabob knew, and reſolved to avail himſelf of that circumſtance. He would not hearken to any terms of capitulation, although Mr. Holwell propoſed them to him, but, by mere force of numbers, ruſhing into the place, cruelly ordered the governor, with 150 men, to be confined in a dungeon, where 123 periſhed before morning for want of freſh air. This was one of the moſt horrid tranſactions that we meet with in hiſtory; it was directly oppoſite to the laws of war, and contrary to the principles upon which civil government is founded. The governor, Mr. Holwell, with ſuch others as ſurvived, were ſent priſoners to the nabob's capital, far up the country, where they were treated with great cruelty.

In the mean time the empreſs of Ruſſia, highly exaſperated that we ſhould have entered into a treaty with the king of Pruſſia without conſulting her, ordered her army to be augmented conſiderably; and, at the ſame time, in order to conceal her real intentions, ordered her miniſters at foreign courts to publiſh manifeſtos, intimating, that ſhe had nothing in view but that of protecting her own dominions. The empreſs-queen of Hungary proceeded in the ſame manner; ſo that the flames of civil war were now lighted up on the continent of Europe; while the king of Pruſſia, ever attentive to his own intereſt, and the ſecurity of his ſubjects, reſolved to be beforehand with both, and prevent them from taking thoſe advantages which they intended.

No prince could ever be more active, on this occaſion, than the king of Pruſſia; for the moment he learned that the court of France had entered into an alliance with the empreſs-queen, he ordered his miniſter at the court of Dreſden to demand leave for a body of his forces to paſs through Saxony; but inſtead of receiving an anſwer, the elector ordered all his forces to be collected together, and encamped at Pirna, till ſuch time as he could receive reinforcements of Auſtrians, to enable him to take the field. This ſo exaſperated the king of Pruſſia, that he took the field at the head of a moſt formidable army, and obliged the elector of Saxony to depart to Poland, to which nation he was conducted by a body of dragoons, while all the treaſures and archives belonging to his hereditary dominions were ſeized, and his army made priſoners of war. Leipſic ſurrendered at the ſame time to the conqueror; and the people were obliged to provide, not only all ſorts of neceſſaries for the Pruſſian army, but alſo to furniſh them with money to carry on other conqueſts.

The king of Pruſſia came up with the Auſtrian army on the 1ſt of October, when he reſolved to give them battle, having firſt ſhewn his generals the ſituation of the ground, and acquainted them with the ſteps that he intended to take. The Auſtrians having neglected to take poſſeſſion of ſome riſing grounds, the king of Pruſſia gave orders for his troops to advance, and attack the enemy's cavalry, who were poſted in an adjoining plain. Indeed, the attack was made with ſo much fury, that the Auſtrian cavalry gave way, and fell back upon the infantry: upon which the Pruſſians advanced with ſuch courage, that although ſixty pieces of cannon played upon them, yet they made themſelves maſters of all the ditches and defiles. The Auſtrian army being thus put into confuſion, they began to give way, which the king of Pruſſia obſerving, ordered the whole body of his infantry to advance, and wheel about to the left, where they attacked the ſuburbs of Lowoſchutz, and reduced the whole to a heap of aſhes. Count Brown, who commanded the Auſtrian army, was obliged to retreat in the beſt manner he could, leaving the honour of the victory to the Pruſſians, after an engagement that laſted from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The Pruſſian monarch was not, however, able to make his enterprize of any great advantage to himſelf; for the winter approaching, he was obliged to put his troops into quarters of cantonment at Dreſden, and along the Elbe. Count Schwerin commanded another part of his army, which had penetrated into Bohemia; and they finding that proviſions could not eaſily be procured, retired towards Sileſia, and took up their quarters in the province of Glatz.

During theſe tranſactions abroad, the diſcontents among the people of England increaſed to ſuch an height, that in the month of November his majeſty thought proper to make the following alterations in the miniſtry; the duke of Devonſhire was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury in the room of the duke of Newcaſtle: the right honourable Bilſon Legge was made chancellor of the Exchequer, in the place of Sir George Lyttleton. Earl Temple was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty: the right honourable George Grenville was made treaſurer of the navy: lord chancellor Hardwicke having reſigned the ſeals, they were put into commiſſion; and Mr. Pitt was appointed one of the ſecretaries of ſtate in the room of Mr. Fox.

The parliament met on the 2d of December, when the king, in his ſpeech, told them, That, under the protection of the Divine Providence, he doubted not but he ſhould be able to fruſtrate all the ſchemes laid againſt him by his perfidious enemies. He told them, that nothing could ſo much engage his attention, next to the mother country, as the preſervation of America; and, for that reaſon, that the war ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour. He added, that nothing could contribute more towards diſtreſſing the enemy, than internal peace among his ſubjects; and therefore recommended to them unanimity in all their deliberations. The militia (he ſaid) was one of the moſt favourite objects he had in view, with reſpect to the preſervation of the nation; and therefore he told them, that it was their duty to put it upon the moſt reſpectable footing. He concluded by telling them, that no meaſure ſhould be undertaken by him, but by the advice of his parliament, in whom he placed the utmoſt confidence.

Addreſſes being preſented by both houſes, the committee of ſupply and of ways and means were appointed, who proceeded to conſider the public eſtimates, when it was reſolved to augment the land forces from 35 to 49,749 effective men, including 4008 invalids. The ſeamen were ſettled at 55,000 men, including 11,419 marines, with a ſufficient proviſion for their maintenance. They alſo enabled his majeſty to perform his agreement with, and provide for, his Heſſian and Hanoverian forces; beſides which they granted ample ſums for garriſons, for the ordering, for the levying new regiments, for forming and maintaining an army of obſervation in Germany, and fulfilling his majeſty's engagements with the king of Pruſſia; for the ſupport of the Britiſh forts on the coaſt of Africa; for the relief of South Carolina and Virginia; the ſupport of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for enabling the Eaſt-India company to keep a military force in their ſettlements, and for ſeveral other uſes and contingencies: which ſupplies, in the whole, amounted to 8,350,325l.

A. D. 1757. In the beginning of this year, the attention of the public was principally engaged in the fate of admiral Byng, the particulars of which, together with that of the other officers who were accuſed of being inſtrumental to the loſs of Minorca, we ſhall lay before our readers. Many of the proceedings of this remarkable affair occurred in the preceding year, but as the matter did not terminate till the commencement of the preſent, we have here collected the whole together in one point of view; as well that the reader may have a more diſtinct and clear idea of the affair, as to prevent any unneceſſary digreſſions that would have broken in upon the chain of other events.

Admiral Byng, on his arrival at Gibraltar, was (as has been already obſerved) ſuperſeded in his command by Sir Edward Hawke, and ſent home priſoner; as was alſo his ſecond in command, rear-admiral Weſt, ſeveral of the captains of the fleet, and general Fowke, with ſome of the land officers belonging to the garriſon of Gibraltar. The priſoners all arrived, on the 3d of July (1756) at Portſmouth, when Mr. Byng was immediately put under arreſt, and ſoon after conveyed to Greenwich, and committed to the cuſtody of the governor of the hoſpital, by whom he was kept ſtrictly confined till the time of his trial by a court-martial, which was delayed by the abſence of many evidences in the Mediterranean, required both in his favour and againſt him.

Admiral Weſt and lieutenant-general Fowke were ordered up to London, where the admiral met with a moſt gracious reception from his royal maſter; but general Fowke was ordered to take his trial for diſobeying his majeſty's orders, tranſmitted to him by the ſecretary of war, relating to the embarkation of a battalion of troops to be ſent in the fleet with Mr. Byng to reinforce fort St. Philip.

The court-martial commiſſioned to try general Fowke conſiſted of two generals, eleven lieutenant-generals, and three major-generals, general Sir Robert Rich being preſident. Mr. Fowke, in his defence againſt the above charge, urged, that his orders were not abſolute, but diſcretionary; and that the execution of them was left to his and Mr. Byng's diſcernment and judgment, for which he particularly referred to a letter from the ſecretary of war to him, as commander in chief of Gibraltar; the whole tenor of which imported a diſcretionary power remaining in him as to the execution of thoſe orders. He moreover defended the ſteps he had taken in with-holding the forces, by ſhewing, that if he had made the detachment of a battalion, and put it on board the fleet, he ſhould not then have had much more than two reliefs of men, (ſo wretchedly was this important garriſon provided with defence,) and this at a time when there was the greateſt reaſon to believe that the place was in danger of being attacked. Notwithſtanding this defence, and that the letters from the ſecretary at war produced in court appeared to contain inſtructions that were very confuſed at leaſt, if not contradictory, his judges found him guilty of the charge, and he was ſentenced to be ſuſpended for the ſpace of one year; a ſentence which was not only confirmed by his majeſty, but alſo accompanied with a diſmiſſion from his ſervice: nor was he reſtored during the courſe of this reign, though his caſe was generally thought to be exceeding hard.

With reſpect to the unhappy admiral Byng, no method had been left untried to inflame the nation to a degree of frenzy againſt him, by repreſenting him as the ſole cauſe of the diſgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loſs of Minorca; the importance of which (however little it ſeems to have claimed the attention of our miniſtry in the beginning) was now repreſented in the moſt ſtriking colours. Admiral Byng had, before his return to Gibraltar, diſpatched a letter to the admiralty, containing the particulars of the action off Minorca, and of the reſolutions of the council of war he had ſummoned. This letter, however, was not made public till ſome days after Sir Edward Hawke was ſent out to ſuperſede him; and even then it was curtailed and mutilated in an extraordinary manner, ſeveral paſſages being ſuppreſſed which tended to his own juſtification, or contained any reflection upon the negligence or inattention of the miniſtry. This proceeding was certainly very unfair. Accordingly, the admiral's friends did not fail to publiſh his letter entire, with ſome remarks not very favourable to thoſe who had thus garbled it.

His adverſaries, however, had got the populace on their ſide; and there was not a ſpecies of libelling, in proſe or verſe, that was not exhauſted to render him odious. They ridiculed and refuted the reaſons he had given for returning to Gibraltar after his rencounter with the French ſquadron: they inveighed againſt his inſolence, his folly, his cowardice, and his miſconduct: they even ſtuck not at making royalty itſelf an inſtrument of their artifice, by inſinuating that his majeſty had prognoſticated Byng would not fight, from the contents of his firſt letter from Gibraltar. In a word, they exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly in maintaining and increaſing the popular deluſion, that no notice was taken of the miſconduct of the miniſtry, while Byng was pointed out as the object of univerſal deteſtation. Addreſſes upon addreſſes were tranſmitted from all parts of the kingdom to the throne, particularly from the city of London, calling aloud for an examination into the cauſe of the infamy that had befallen the Britiſh arms by ſea, and of the loſs of the important iſland of Minorca, which by its ſituation drew to Great Britain the reſpect of Spain, the confidence of Italy, and the ſubmiſſion of the piratical ſtates of Barbary.

In conſequence of theſe ſolicitations his majeſty commanded an immediate examination into the cauſes of the loſs of Minorca, which was attended to with great diligence by the parliament. We have already ſeen the puniſhment inflicted on Mr. Fowke; and now the whole magazine of political arts having been exhauſted to fix the charge of cowardice, treachery, and treaſon, againſt the devoted admiral, he was at length ordered to prepare for his trial; the place appointed for which was on board his majeſty's ſhip the St. George, in Portſmouth harbour; and the court was compoſed of the following four admirals and nine captains, viz. Thomas Smith, eſq; vice-admiral of the red, preſident; Francis Holbourne, eſq. rear-admiral of the red; Henry Norris, eſq. rear-admiral of the white; Thomas Broderick, eſq. rear-admiral of the blue; captain Holmes, captain Boys, captain Simcoe, captain Bentley, captain Dennis, captain Moore, captain Douglas, and the honourable captain Auguſtus Keppel.

The court ſat thirty-one days, Sundays excepted, (viz. from the 28th of December to the 27th of January,) examining witneſſes, and hearing the priſoner's defence. At length, on ſumming up the evidence, the court were of opinion, "That admiral Byng did not do his utmoſt to relieve St. Philip's Caſtle in the iſland of Minorca, then beſieged by the forces of the French king:" after which they came to the following reſolution, That the admiral appears to fall under the following part of the twelfth article of the Articles of War, to wit, "Or ſhall not do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy every ſhip which it ſhall be his duty to engage; and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his majeſty's ſhips which it ſhall be his duty to aſſiſt and relieve:" and as that article poſitively denounces the puniſhment of death upon the delinquent, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court, under any variation of circumſtances, they adjudged him to be ſhot to death. But it having fully appeared, by the evidence of lord Robert Bertie, lieutenant-colonel Smith, captain

Gardiner, (captain of the admiral's own ſhip the Ramillies) and other officers of the ſhip, who were near the perſon of the admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardneſs in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confuſion, either from his countenance or behaviour; but that he appeared to give his orders coolly and diſtinctly, and did not ſeem wanting in perſonal courage: from theſe and other circumſtances, the court being induced to believe that his miſconduct aroſe neither from *cowardice* nor *diſaffection*, did therefore unanimouſly think it their duty to recommend the ſaid admiral John Byng to his majeſty as a proper object of mercy. Alſo, when they made a report of the ſentence of death they had paſſed on the admiral, they added thereto the following remonſtrance to the lords of the admiralty in his favour:

"We the underwritten, the preſident and members of the court-martial, aſſembled for the trial of admiral Byng, believe it neceſſary to inform your lordſhips, that in the whole courſe of this long trial we have done our utmoſt endeavours to come at truths, and to do the ſtricteſt juſtice to our country and the priſoner; but we cannot help laying the diſtreſſes of our minds before your lordſhips on this occaſion, in finding ourſelves under the neceſſity of condemning a man to death, from the great ſeverity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime ſhould be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore, for our own conſciences ſakes, as well as in juſtice to the priſoner, we pray your lordſhips, in the moſt earneſt manner, to recommend him to his majeſty's clemency."

In conſequence of this recommendatory remonſtrance from the court martial, and the petitions of lord Torrington, nephew to the unhappy admiral, and other perſons of high diſtinction allied to his family, the lords of the admiralty applied to his majeſty that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken, whether the ſentence of the court martial was legal? The ſentence was accordingly referred by the king to the judges, who declared it legal; in conſequence of which, a warrant was ſigned by the lords of the admiralty for carrying it into execution: but it was again ſuſpended, at the requeſt of ſeveral members of the court-martial, who alledged, that they had ſomething to diſcloſe, relative to the ſaid ſentence, which greatly affected their own conſciences; and application was made to the houſe of commons by one of the members, praying the aid of parliament to be releaſed from his oath of ſecrecy, in order to diſcloſe the grounds why ſentence of death had paſſed upon the ſaid admiral. Upon this, a bill for releaſing the members from their oath of ſecrecy was ordered into the houſe of commons, and paſſed that houſe; and a reſpite was ſent to admiral Byng for a fortnight: but when the bill came into the houſe of lords, and when the members were examined there, the ſame was rejected; ſo that this and every other effort to get the admiral reprieved from his ſad fate all proving ineffectual, he was, purſuant to his ſentence, executed on the 14th of March, 1757, on board his majeſty's ſhip Monarque, in Portſmouth harbour.*

Thus ended the enquiry into the conduct of general Fowke and admiral Byng; the one of whom was broke and diſmiſſed his majeſty's ſervice, for not following inſtructions which contradicted themſelves; and the other ſuffered an ignominious death for following the advice and opinion of a council of war, and for not having done every thing that was perhaps poſſible to have been done for diſtreſſing the enemy, and relieving the fortreſs they had beſieged.---The reſt of the officers, as well of the fleet as army, who had been ordered home with the admiral and general, were, upon their reſpective trials, honourably acquitted.

Though the people had been highly incenſed againſt the conduct of Byng, yet they at laſt looked upon him rather as unfortunate than criminal. They conſidered him as one who had been ſacrificed to ſcreen the miniſtry from cenſure; and although a parliamentary enquiry was made into their conduct, yet they contrived to act in ſuch a manner that the whole came to nothing. The only good effects attending the execution of the admiral was, the reviving a true ſpirit of courage among our officers, both by ſea and land. From this circumſtance they ſaw and were convinced, that no ſtation, let it be ever ſo dignified, could ſcreen them from the puniſhment due to neglect or cowardice; and that the only way to true honour and real glory, was to diſcharge their duty faithfully.

While the attention of the public was engaged in the fate of admiral Byng, the parliament were aſſiduouſly employed in concerting proper meaſures for promoting the welfare and ſecurity of the nation. As there was great reaſon to fear that the French would invade this kingdom, and as it was neceſſary that great part of our regular forces ſhould be employed abroad, ſo a bill was brought into parliament to eſtabliſh a national militia, on an extenſive and uſeful plan. This was ſuch a conſtitutional meaſure as gave pleaſure to the nation in general; and yet ſome diſcontented perſons exclaimed ſo loudly againſt it, that many of the people, particularly in Yorkſhire, actually roſe in a body, and demoliſhed the houſe where the juſtices of the peace and deputy lieutenants had met to make choice of ſuch as were to ſerve.

---

* On the morning of his execution, orders being given to all the men of war at Spithead to ſend their boats with the captains and all the officers of each ſhip, accompanied by a party of marines under arms, to attend the ceremony, they, in purſuance of that order, rowed from Spithead, and with great difficulty (the wind blowing very hard) made the harbour about eleven o'clock. Mr. Byng, accompanied by a clergyman who attended him during his confinement, and two gentlemen his relations, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter deck, where he ſuffered a few minutes before twelve o'clock. He was dreſſed in a light-coloured coat, white waiſtcoat and white ſtockings, with a large white wig, and had in each hand a white handkerchief. When he came on the deck he threw down his hat, kneeled on a cuſhion, tied one handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a ſignal; on which a volley was fired at him from ſix marines, the bullets from five of which went through him, and he was dead in an inſtant. It was not more than two minutes from his coming out of the cabin till he fell motionleſs on his left ſide. He died with great fortitude and compoſure, not ſhewing the leaſt ſign of timidity. Immediately before he ſuffered, he delivered a paper to the marſhal of the high court of admiralty, the contents of which were as follow:

"A few minutes will now deliver me from the violent perſecutions,
" and fruſtrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor
" need I envy them a life ſubject to the ſenſations my injuries and
" the injuſtice done me muſt create. Perſuaded I am, juſtice
" will be done to my reputation hereafter. The manner and
" cauſe of raiſing and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice
" againſt me, will be ſeen through; I ſhall be conſidered,
" as I now perceive myſelf, a victim deſtined to divert the indignation
" and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from
" the proper objects. My enemies themſelves muſt now think
" me innocent. Happy for me, at this my laſt moment, that I
" know my own innocence, and am conſcious that no part of my
" country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wiſh the
" ſhedding my blood may contribute to the happineſs and ſervice
" of my country; but cannot reſign my juſt claim to a faithful
" diſcharge of my duty according to the beſt of my judgment,
" and the utmoſt exertion of my ability for his majeſty's honour,
" and my country's ſervice. I am ſorry that my endeavours
" were not attended with more ſucceſs, and that the armament
" under my command proved too weak to ſucceed in an expedition
" of ſuch moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and
" falſhood; and juſtice has wiped off the ignominious ſtain of my
" ſuppoſed want of perſonal courage or diſaffection. But who
" can be preſumptuouſly ſure of his own judgment? If my crime
" is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges;
" and if yet, the error in judgment ſhould be on their ſide, God
" forgive them, as I do; and may the diſtreſs of their minds, and
" uneaſineſs of their conſciences, which in juſtice to me they
" have repreſented, be relieved and ſubſide, as my reſentment
" has done! The ſupreme Judge ſees all hearts and motives;
" and to him I muſt ſubmit the juſtneſs of my cauſe.

" J. Byng."

On board his majeſty's ſhip Monarque, in Portſmouth Harbour, March 14, 1757.

At this time the great dearth of corn, owing to the iniquitous practice of engroſſing, reduced many perſons, and, indeed, the nation in general, to great diſtreſs. Bread was ſo dear, that the poor could ſcarce purchaſe it. Tumults happened in almoſt every part of the kingdom; which is not to be wondered at, when it is conſidered, that the people were ſtarving in the midſt of plenty. His majeſty, touched with the ſufferings of his people, recommended their diſtreſſed condition to parliament; and an act was paſſed to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of all ſorts of grain.

On the 15th of February his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, to inform them, that the French were daily pouring ſuch numbers of troops into Germany, that there was reaſon to fear they had ſome deſign on his electorate dominions. He therefore recommended Hanover to their protection, not doubting but his faithful commons would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt. In anſwer to this meſſage, moſt loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes; and it was voted, that an annual ſubſidy ſhould be paid to the king of Pruſſia, and that an army of obſervation ſhould act on the borders of Hanover, under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, to watch the motions of the French, and prevent them from making any encroachments on that electorate.

At the ſame time great preparations were made for the naval ſervice; and a deſign was formed to take from the French Louiſbourg, the capital of Cape Breton. Sir Edward Hawke, with the admirals Saunders and Oſborne, were ſent to North America with conſiderable fleets; and general Hopſon, with lord Charles Hay, had under them 6,200 land forces. Two ſquadrons were diſpatched at the ſame time, one to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt-Indies; ſo that every thing was done for the intereſt of the nation: but ſuch of the former miniſtry as had been diſcarded, made ſo violent an oppoſition to theſe meaſures, that Mr. Pitt, and the honourable Mr. Legge, who had acted as the moſt ſteady and upright patriots againſt every thing that ſeemed to threaten any hurt to the nation, were commanded to reſign. They did not, however, retire from public buſineſs, without receiving the approbation of their fellow-ſubjects; for moſt of the cities and corporations preſented them with addreſſes, and their freedoms in gold boxes.

On the 4th of July his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he was pleaſed to aſſure the parliament, "That the ſuccour and preſervation of America had been his conſtant care, and, next to the ſecurity of his kingdoms, ſhould continue to be his great and principal object: that he had taken ſuch meaſures as he truſted, by the bleſſing of God, would effectually diſappoint the deſigns of the enemy in thoſe parts: that he had no farther view but to vindicate the juſt rights of his crown and ſubjects from the moſt injurious encroachments; to preſerve tranquillity, as far as the circumſtances of things would admit; and to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe, from being oppreſſed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction."

In the mean time addreſſes were preſented to the king from moſt of the corporations in England, requeſting him to reſtore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments: and it muſt be remembered, to the honour of his majeſty, that he liſtened with ſuch attention to the voice of the people, that on the 29th of June the former was re-inſtated ſecretary of ſtate; and on the 7th of July the office of chancellor of the Exchequer was again ſupplied by the latter. Theſe circumſtances, added to ſome other prudent alterations, again removed the diſcontent of the people, and tranquillity was once more reſtored throughout the kingdom.

Having thus taken a view of the ſtate of affairs at home, let us now turn our eyes to the continent, where we ſhall find the beginning of this year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthuſiaſm, in an attempt made upon the life of the French king. A perſon of very mean extraction, named Robert Francis Damien, a native of French Flanders, was the perſon who undertook the performance of this action. He had lived ſome years as a footman in different families in Paris, but had been turned away for an obſtinate temper, and a certain gloomineſs that made him diſagreeable to all thoſe with whom he had any connections. It does not appear that he had any accomplices, nor could the torture itſelf make him diſcover what were his motives. On the fifth of January, about ſix in the evening, as the king was getting into his coach at Verſailles, to go to Trianon, on a viſit to his daughter, the unhappy wretch, having concealed a large claſp knife under his cloak, ſlipped through the guards, and made a ſtroke with it at the king. The point pierced between the fourth and fifth ribs, but it was not mortal; and the aſſaſſin, who ſeemed not to be any ways concerned, was immediately ſeized and committed to priſon. He was ſoon after brought to his trial, according to the laws of France, and executed in ſuch a horrid manner, as is even ſhocking to relate. Inciſions were made in his fleſh with red hot pincers, and melted lead poured into them. In that manner the poor wretch was tortured ſeveral hours, and then torn in pieces by four horſes, after which his quarters were burnt to aſhes. His father, wife, daughter, and family were baniſhed the kingdom, and the name of Damien was effaced and obliterated; ſo that the innocent were involved in the puniſhment of the guilty.

In the ſpring of this year the French had ſent two armies into Germany. One of theſe conſiſted of 80,000 men, under the command of marſhal d'Etrees, an officer of the moſt undaunted courage, and under him were marſhal de Contades, and the count de St. Germain, who had been from their infancy accuſtomed to arms. The other army conſiſted only of 25,000 men, becauſe it was to be joined by a body of Auſtrians; but the grand army was to attack Hanover. In Bohemia 100,000 Auſtrians had taken the field; an equal number of Ruſſians were marching through Poland; while the Swedes, croſſing the Baltic, attacked the moſt important places in Pomerania.

Surrounded on all ſides with enemies, the king of Pruſſia, inſtead of being diſcouraged, ſeemed rather to increaſe every day in all thoſe arts of heroiſm that conſtitute the character of an able general. In the beginning of the year he marched from Dreſden, acroſs two bridges thrown over the Elbe, attended by field-marſhal Keith, and ſeveral other generals of approved abilities. They marched in three bodies or diviſions, nor did the Auſtrians ſo much as know that he had taken the field till he had advanced a conſiderable way into Bohemia. He ordered the prince of Bevern to march as if he had intended to attack Egra, with a ſmall detachment of the army; upon which count Brown, the Auſtrian general, ſent Aremberg, with a detachment, to oppoſe him. This was juſt what the king of Pruſſia wiſhed for; and laying hold of that circumſtance, wheeled to the right, and cut off all communication between the grand army of the Auſtrians and the detachment under general Aremberg. This was ſuch a maſterpiece of generalſhip as is ſcarce to be met with in hiſtory; but the Auſtrians did not underſtand it. They imagined that the king intended to retreat, and conſequently were drawn off their guard and led into a ſnare.

On the 9th of April the prince of Bevern, having paſſed ſome of the moſt dangerous defiles, gained a compleat victory over the detachment of the Auſtrian army, and ſo opened the whole country for the reſt of the Pruſſian forces. In the mean time the king kept marching along the Elbe, to obſerve the motions of count Brown, and drove the Auſtrians from their ſtrong camp at Budin.

On the 6th of May the different detachments of the Auſtrians being collected together, inſtead of attacking the Pruſſians, they encamped on the banks of the Moldau, near Prague. There the king of Pruſſia, as if no enterprize had been too great for his abilities, attempted to flank count Brown, who had no other means left but that of wheeling to the right, to ſave his army. Every difficulty gave way to the Pruſſians; one defile was taken after another; but in one of their attacks on an advanced body of the Auſtrians, field-marſhal Schwerin, a brave officer, was killed at the age of 82, crowned with military glory, and ſincerely regretted by his ſovereign, who had long been convinced, that he was one of the braveſt generals that ever commanded an army.

This brought on a general engagement, and the Pruſſians, with the moſt amazing courage, broke through the right wing of the Auſtrians, and made themſelves maſters of ſeveral batteries; while a body of cavalry broke the front line, and put the whole into ſuch confuſion, that above 6000 were killed; among whom were ſeveral generals, beſides marſhal Brown, the commander in chief. The Pruſſians drove the Auſtrians into the city of Prague, and in four days the trenches were opened and lines of circumvallation drawn. It could not be ſuppoſed that ſuch a vaſt army as that of the Auſtrians would be able to ſubſiſt long in a city that had not proviſions ſufficient for the inhabitants; and therefore prince Charles of Lorrain reſolved to cut his way through the Pruſſian lines, at the head of 12,000 men. The time agreed upon for putting this ſcheme in execution was the middle of the night; but in the mean time, one of the Auſtrian ſoldiers having deſerted, gave an account of the whole to the king of Pruſſia, who took care to be upon his guard, ſo that the prince, with his party, was defeated, and obliged once more to take refuge in the city. The heavy artillery belonging to the Pruſſians being now arrived, a moſt dreadful cannonade began, and great part of the city was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. Proviſions were become ſo ſcarce, that they were obliged to eat horſes fleſh; and the Pruſſians, who had hitherto acted as men whom no oppoſition could reſiſt, began to imagine that the whole Auſtrian army would be made priſoners, and the dominions of the empreſs queen of Hungary be divided among them. Vienna itſelf was in danger of being beſieged, for every place lay open to their victorious arms; but a circumſtance took place that gave a general turn to public affairs, and convinced his Pruſſian majeſty that he had a weak ſide as well as others.

Count Daun, who had ſerved many years in the army of the empreſs queen without ever riſing higher than the rank of a major-general, was appointed to take upon him the command of the army. Like the Roman Fabius, he was ſo cautious, that he never acted offenſively till, in human probability, he had a proſpect of ſucceeding, and then he proſecuted his meaſures with the utmoſt perſeverance. Calm and deliberate, he viewed victory as uncertain; and on every occaſion, took care to ſecure a retreat. He did not, like ſome generals, deſpiſe the enemy he had to engage with; but knowing that the moſt trifling circumſtance was able to turn the fortune of the day, he reſolved never to enter upon any thing with raſhneſs, but rather to preſerve his army for a more proper opportunity, when an unguarded moment might ſecure victory, ſave the territories of his ſovereign, and diſappoint all the ſchemes formed by thoſe who were fluſhed with hopes, in conſequence of recent ſucceſſes.

Such were the qualities of this brave general, whom the Auſtrian miniſtry pitched upon as the moſt proper perſon to retrieve their loſſes, and ſave the army, which was then in the utmoſt diſtreſs, in the city of Prague. He collected together the fugitives that had run away after the late battle, and having received freſh ſupplies, he formed a camp at Rolin, near Prague. A communication was opened with that city, ſo that the garriſon was daily ſupplied with proviſions. This was a moſt galling ſtroke to the king of Pruſſia, who was tired out with the continuance of the ſiege, and therefore reſolved to attack count Daun in his camp, where he was ſtrongly entrenched. This was one of the moſt imprudent actions that could have been committed; and marſhal Keith, who ſaw what would be the conſequence thereof, remonſtrated to the king againſt it. He told him, that no meaſure was ſo proper as that of carrying on the ſiege, and waiting for count Daun, who, if he preſumed to attack the Pruſſian army in their lines, would undoubtedly be defeated; whereas, on the other hand, an attempt upon him in his camp would be attended with two dangers; namely, a defeat, and an opportunity for the Auſtrian army to eſcape out of Prague. But nothing could prevail with the king; he looked on his troops as invincible; and in conſequence thereof, on the 13th of June, he left his camp before Prague, and joined the prince of Bevern, who had advanced to a place called Milkowitz.

The Auſtrians under count Daun were encamped in the moſt advantageous manner on three riſing grounds, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to diſlodge them; but the Pruſſian monarch, relying on the courage and valour of his troops, began the attack about three in the afternoon, and by the moſt invincible courage, they made themſelves maſters of two of the riſing grounds. The third encampment, however, baffled all their attempts; and it being utterly impracticable to bring up the horſe, they were obliged to give way, which threw the king into the moſt violent paſſion, eſpecially when he recollected that he had acted contrary to the opinion of marſhal Keith.

A prodigious number of men were killed on both ſides, and the Pruſſian monarch was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Prague, and retreat in the beſt manner he could. The Auſtrians attempted to haraſs him, but his men behaved with ſuch bravery, that they loſt but few of their number; and count Daun entered the city of Prague in triumph. The Pruſſian monarch was ſo ſenſible of his error, that in a letter to marſhal Keith, he took the whole blame upon himſelf, and declared that no troops could ever have acted with greater bravery than the Auſtrians.

Nothing, however, could damp his ſpirits; his uſual bravery gave life to all his actions; and although guilty of an error very common in war, he reſolved to profit by miſtakes, and riſe ſuperior to misfortune. He was ſurrounded by enemies on every ſide, his reſources for carrying on the war were to be drawn from his own dominions, which were then on the point of being invaded by the Ruſſians; but he reſolved to act with more prudence for the future, and make caution a concomitant of courage.

His Britannic majeſty was ſo equitable in all his proceedings, that although obliged to defend Hanover, yet, leſt he ſhould give the leaſt offence to any of the German princes, he ordered a manifeſto to be publiſhed; wherein was pointed out the deſigns of the French, and the neceſſity his majeſty was under to protect his electoral dominions. As ſoon as this manifeſto was publiſhed, his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland aſſembled the allied army, and marching from Hanover, croſſed the Weſer near Retburgh, which he took from the French, and there eſtabliſhed his head quarters.

His royal highneſs had diſpoſed of his troops in the moſt admirable manner; for they ſtretched out in one line of different detachments, under the command of the moſt experienced generals; but they had not been long at Retburg, when the duke learned that the French army was marching from the Lower Rhine, and that their deſign was to cut off his communication with the Weſer. The French, whoſe numbers were double to that of the allies, continued marching forward, and his royal highneſs was obliged to repaſs the Weſer, as he had not ſtrength ſufficient to venture on an engagement. The river Weſer is on each ſide ſurrounded with high banks, and certain it is, that the duke, notwithſtanding the inferiority of numbers, might have made a violent oppoſition to the French, and diſputed their paſſage inch by inch; but inſtead of that, they were ſuffered to croſs on temporary bridges without the loſs of a ſingle man. They then ſeized the important paſs of Stadt Oldendorff, which opened a paſſage into Hanover, and that electorate was laid under very heavy contributions.

On the evening of the 4th of July, the duke ordered in all his detached parties, and drew up in order of battle, but the ſoldiers were obliged to reſt all night on their arms. About five next morning, the French cannon began to play upon that wing of the army that was compoſed of Heſſians; and although they were cut down in whole ranks, yet they continued firm and immoveable. About eight in the morning the ſmall arms began to fire, and certain it is, the allied army behaved with as much bravery as ever was diſplayed in a field of battle, for they were not ſo much as put into the leaſt diſorder. The only fault they committed was, the ſuffering the grenadiers, who compoſed the center, and were drawn up in a wood, to defile off in order to ſtrengthen the right wing; for by that movement the French were enabled to penetrate ſo far, that one of the Hanoverian batteries fell into their hands. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick behaved, on this occaſion, with the moſt ſingular bravery; for putting himſelf at the head of a body of grenadiers, they retook the battery with their bayonets fixed, although the French party, whom they drove from it, were double their number.

The French, however, were in poſſeſſion of two riſing grounds, on which they had erected ſtrong batteries; and as it would have been next to impoſſible to have taken them, the duke, after doing all that could be performed by an able general, found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſounding a retreat. This was one of the moſt obſtinate engagements during the whole of the laſt war, for it laſted full three days, and the French loſt four times as many men as the allies, while the retreat made by the latter was ſo well conducted, that the enemy were afraid to purſue.

The duke of Cumberland having left a ſmall detachment at Hamelen for its defence, continued his march, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preſerve a communication with Stade, to which place the archieves and moſt valuable effects of Hanover had been removed.

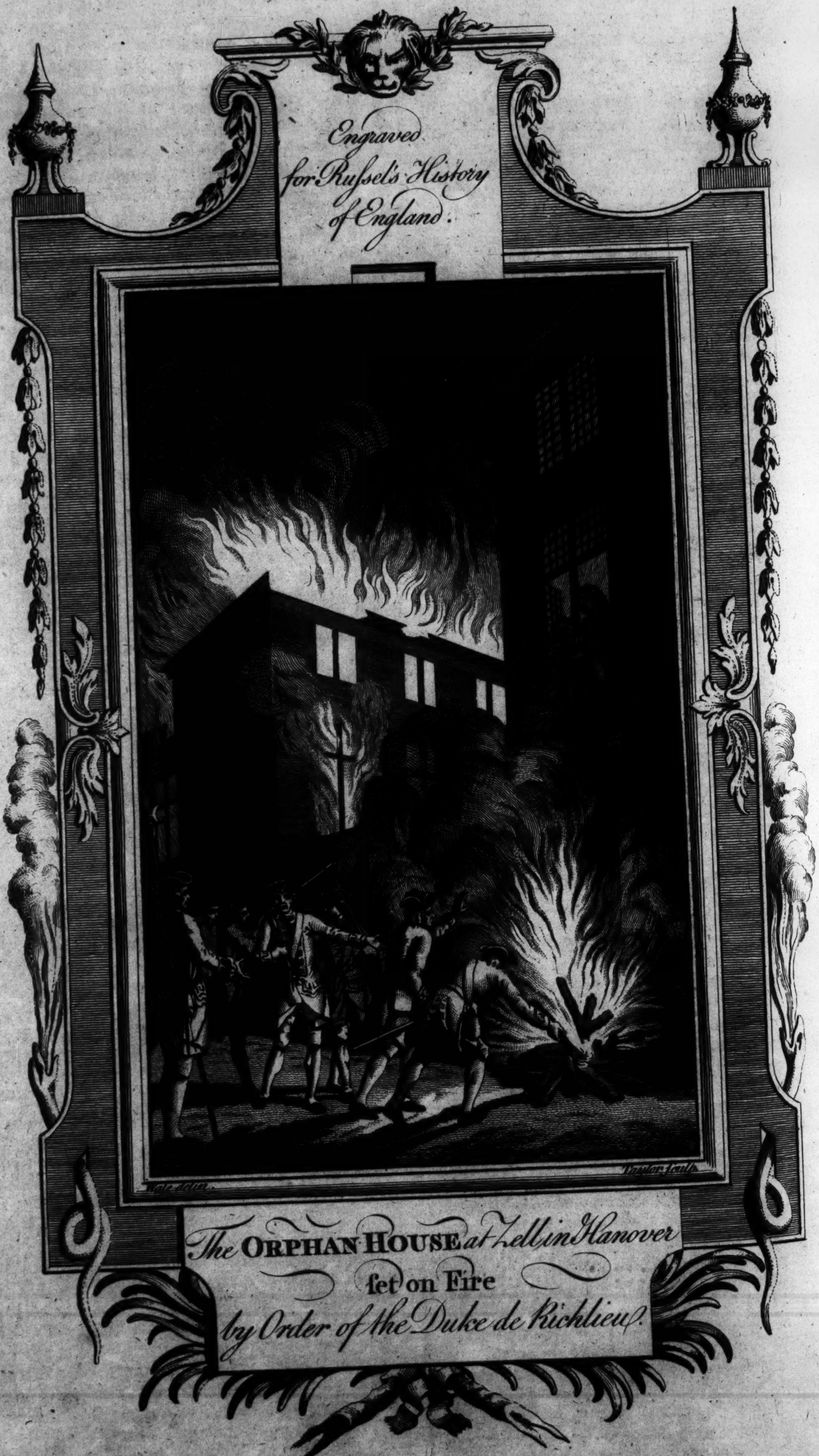
The French ſoon reduced Hamelen, and during their ſtay there, M. d'Etrees received orders from his court to reſign his poſt of commander in chief of the French forces to the duke de Richlieu, who, on his arrival at the camp, detached the duke de Chevreuſe to take poſſeſſion of Hanover, with the title of governor of that city. Finding all oppoſition would be vain, the inhabitants ſubmitted to the enemy, and the Hanoverian garriſon, after being diſarmed, was left at liberty to go where they pleaſed. Richlieu himſelf, at the head of his army, followed the duke of Cumberland ſtep by ſtep, as far as the Aller, where many ſkirmiſhes happened between the two armies. That of the duke, however, though in a ſtrong ſituation, was by far too weak to think of holding out againſt the numerous forces of the French, which in a manner ſurrounded the allies; they had alſo made themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, whereby they cut off the duke's communication with the Elbe.

The allies now found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of either being compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war, or fight with unequal numbers, under every diſadvantage. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, the king of Denmark interpoſed as a mediator, and a convention was ſigned by the generals on both ſides, in conſequence of which, no leſs than 40,000 Hanoverians, Heſſians, &c. were obliged to lay down their arms, and go into quarters of cantonment. This treaty was ſigned at a place called Cloſter Seven, and gave great offence to his Britannic majeſty; for by it the dominions of the king of Pruſſia were left expoſed to the French, who would not neglect to avail themſelves of ſuch a circumſtance. A declaration was publiſhed at London on the 16th of September, wherein his majeſty diſclaimed all knowledge of any thing relating to the convention at Cloſter Seven, and that he had not given the duke power to conclude it; ſo that he would ſtill act in concert with the king of Pruſſia.

Whatever conjectures may be formed, it is certain the duke of Cumberland had not force ſufficient to oppoſe the French; and undoubtedly, had he engaged, he would have been defeated. On the other hand, in conſequence of the convention, the king of Pruſſia's territories were expoſed to the enemy, who penetrated into them, and committed the moſt horrid barbarities, exacting contributions of a moſt exorbitant nature, and putting thoſe exactions in force by military execution.

In the mean time the Ruſſians, who had entered Ducal Pruſſia, continued their march, under the generals Apraxin and Fermer, and ſpread ſuch deſolation wherever they came, as had ſeldom happened ſince the Roman empire was over-run by the Goths and Vandals. Pomerania, eſpecially that part of it belonging to the king of Pruſſia, was ravaged and depopulated by the Swedes. Count Daunt had penetrated into Sileſia: the French, under the prince de Soubiſe, were advancing towards Saxony; and the whole dominions of the king of Pruſſia were given up

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

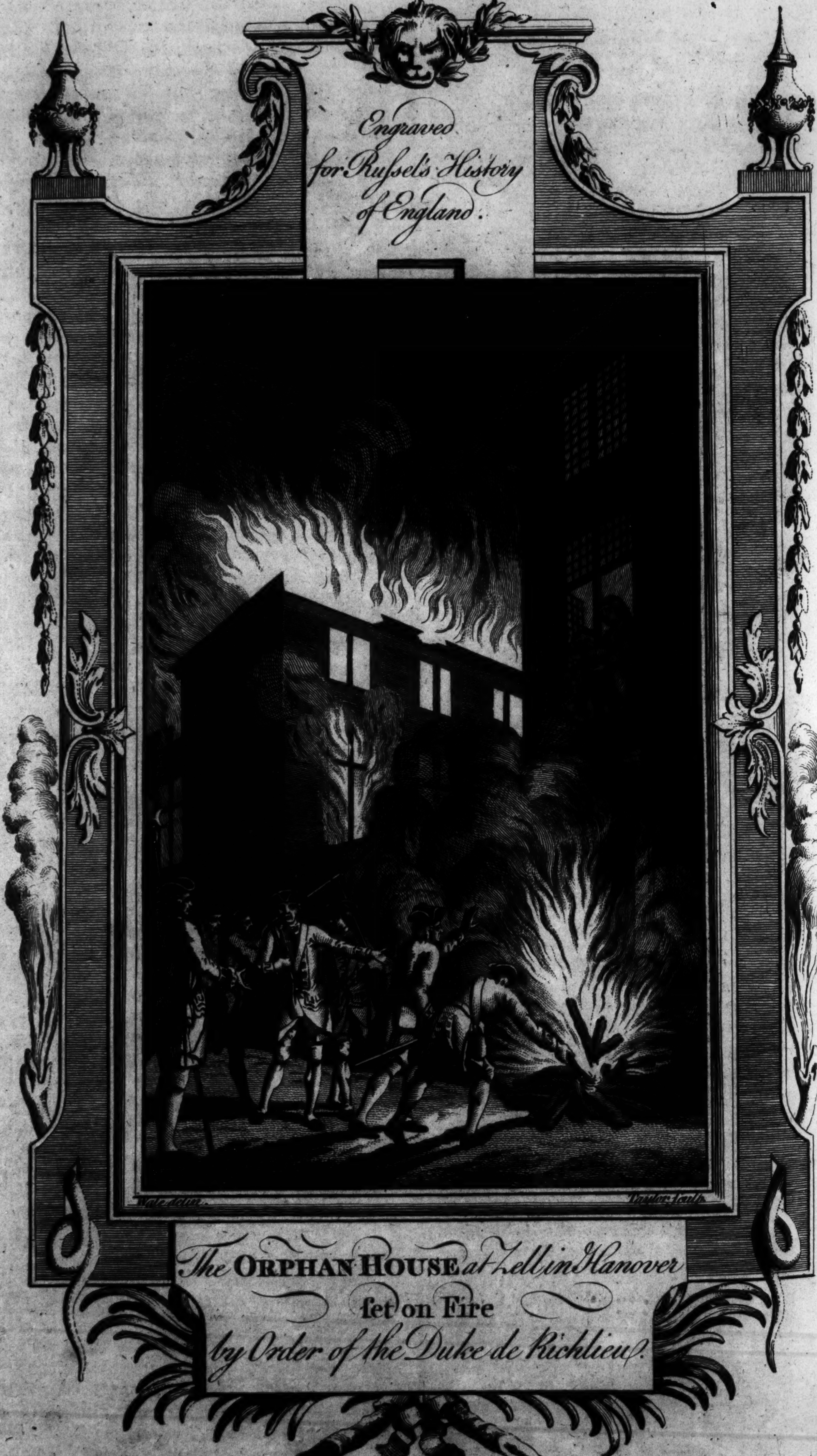


Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

Wale delin. Taylor ſculp.

The ORPHAN HOUSE at Zell in Hanover ſet on Fire by Order of the Duke de Richlieu.

BRITISH
16 JY 73
MUSEUM



Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.

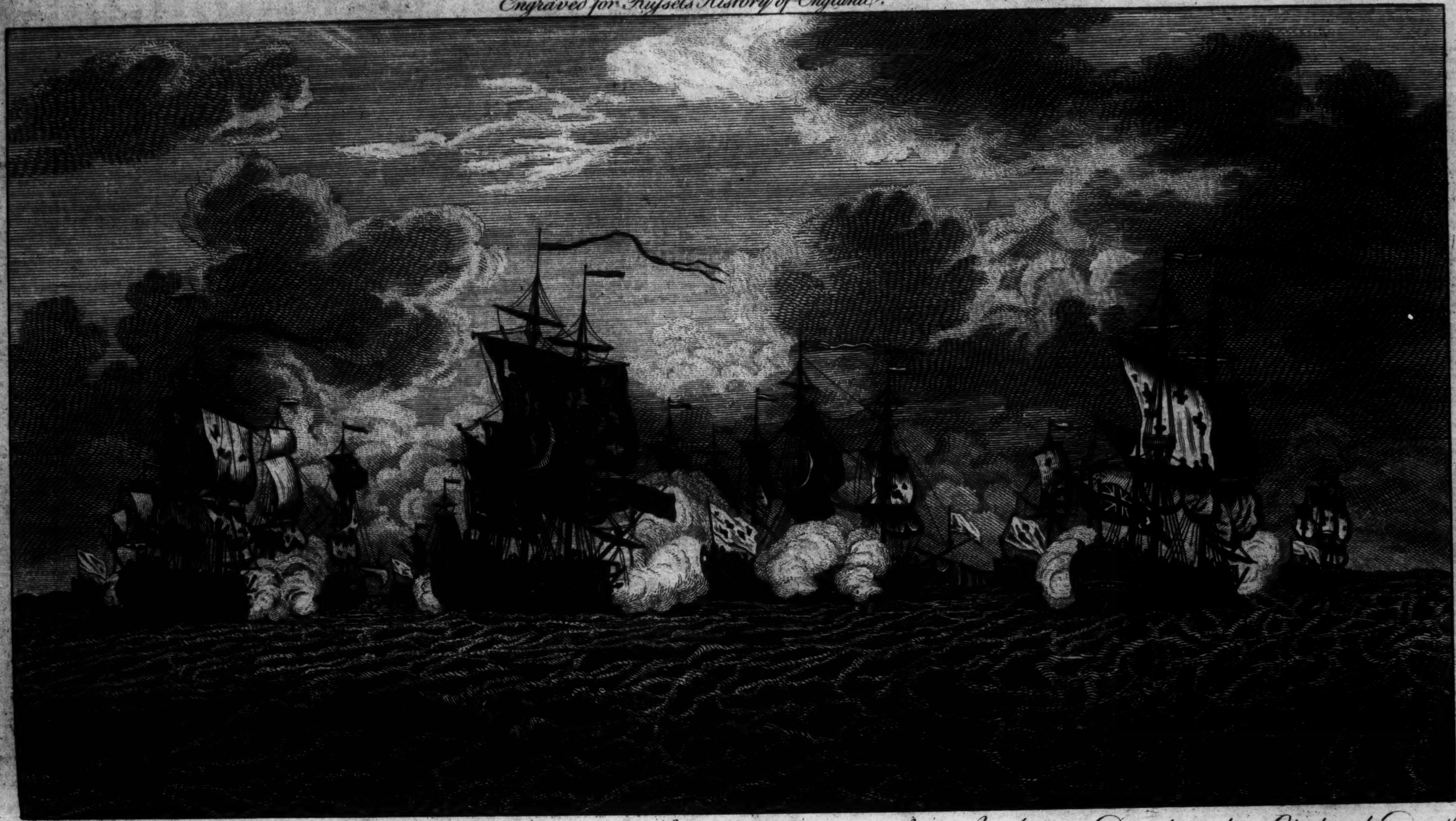
Wale delin.

Taylor ſculp.

The ORPHAN HOUSE at Zell in Hanover ſet on Fire by Order of the Duke de Richlieu.

BRITISH
16 JY 73
MUSEUM

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.



The ACTION near CAPE FRANCOIS on the 21st of Oct^{r} 1757 between his Majesty's Ships the Augusta, Dreadnought, & Edinburgh, under the Command of Capt^{n} Forrest, and seven French Men of War, when the latter where defeated, and oblig'd to sheer off in a shattered condition.

for loſt. But nothing could diſcourage that prince, nor damp the bravery of his ſpirits. The barbarities committed by the Ruſſians were ſuch, that the king of Pruſſia reſolved to attack them firſt, and this brought on a general engagement on the 30th of Auguſt. The Ruſſians, on this occaſion, behaved with great intrepidity; whole ranks, and even lines, were cut down: but notwithſtanding, they knew not what it was to retreat. The victory was diſputed by both, but the loſs of men was greateſt on the part of the Ruſſians.

The king of Pruſſia having left ſome men to guard the paſſes which lead towards Bohemia, marched in order to meet the combined armies of France and the Empire, under the princes de Soubiſe and Saxe Hilburghauſen, and came up with them at Roſbach on the 5th of November, when the Pruſſians obtained a compleat victory, with the loſs of only a few men. In this battle the king of Pruſſia, and all his army, behaved with ſuch courage, and made the diſpoſitions with ſuch prudence, that the enemy were cut off in vaſt numbers, and the greateſt part of their baggage and ammunition was taken, beſides many priſoners.

On the 12th of November, the king ſet out to aſſiſt the prince of Bevern, who was then in Sileſia; and in his way thither, a party of 4000 ſoldiers, who had been priſoners among the Auſtrians, and had made their eſcape, joined him; and meeting with ſeveral parties of huſſars and croats, they diſperſed them, and ſeized the proviſions they were eſcorting to the army.

At laſt the king came up with the Auſtrian army near Schweidnitz, and a moſt bloody battle enſued, in which the Pruſſians obtained a compleat victory, though dearly bought. The Auſtrians, after doing every thing that brave men could perform, were obliged to retreat, and take ſhelter under the walls of Breſlaw, which had lately fallen into their hands.

His Pruſſian majeſty immediately purſued the Auſtrians, and undertook the ſiege of Breſlaw, which ſurrendered in a few days, and 13,000 men were made priſoners of war. The military cheſt, containing the ammunition, was taken at the ſame time; and the king, in compaſſion to his army, who had performed wonders, ordered them into quarters of cantonment during the reſt of the winter.

In the mean time the Hanoverians, who had been confined from action by a treaty of neutrality, were oppreſſed, in the moſt cruel manner, by the French; in conſequence of which his Britannic majeſty ordered a declaration to be publiſhed, wherein he explained the motives which influenced his conduct, and induced him once more to have recourſe to arms. His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland having thought proper to reſign the command of the electoral army, it was conferred on prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, who, about the latter end of November, put the troops in motion. On the 4th of December, they overtook a body of 2000 men, which formed the enemy's rear; theſe they attacked and totally routed. On the 14th of the ſame month another action happened upon the Aller, between a body of 7 or 8000 Hanoverians, under general Zaſtrow, and one of about 10,000 French, in which the former remained maſters of the field.

Theſe advantages animated the Hanoverians, and ſtruck ſuch a panic into the enemy, that they were almoſt incapable of reſiſtance, ſo that the former recovered poſſeſſion of Lunenburgh, Zell, and all that part of the Brunſwic dominions next to Pruſſia. The enemy, however, had committed the moſt terrible outrages in every place; the ſuburbs of Zell were reduced to aſhes, and by the orders of Richlieu the orphan houſe was ſet on fire, and many of the poor innocents periſhed in the flames. The ſeverity of the weather prevented prince Ferdinand from purſuing his advantage; he therefore marched to Ultzan and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters.

With reſpect to the naval tranſactions during this year, the Engliſh cruizers and privateers made ſeveral captures: but although they diſtreſſed the enemy, yet they acquired but little advantage to themſelves. In the Weſt-Indies, captain Forreſt, in the Auguſta, accompanied by ſome other ſhips, cruized off the bay of Cape François, although a large ſquadron of French men of war were lying at the ſame place. The French admiral not knowing how to juſtify his conduct if he remained inactive, reſolved to attack the Engliſh, and, for that purpoſe, ſailed out of the harbour. Captain Forreſt, who watched all his motions, no ſooner ſaw him hoiſt his ſails, than he prepared to meet him, and ſhortened ſail, in order to give the enemy time to come up.' About noon the French fleet, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line and three frigates, formed into one line; and the Engliſh captain ordered the Dreadnought and the Edinburgh to attack them. The engagement began with great fury, but the bravery of the Engliſh bore down all oppoſition; and towards the evening, the French were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The Engliſh, who could not, conſiſtent with their own ſafety, purſue the enemy, kept all night under ſail in the bay; and next morning ſeized a large fleet o French merchant ſhips, which were carried into Jamaica, and there ſold as legal prizes.

In the Eaſt-Indies affairs this year turned out very favourable to the Engliſh. On the 31ſt of January admiral Watſon and colonel Clive, who had reſolved to revenge the death of their countrymen in the preceding year, appeared with two ſhips before the town of Calcutta, and were received by a briſk fire from the batteries. This ſalute was returned ſo warmly, that the enemy's guns were ſoon ſilenced, and in leſs than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other ſide, inveſted the town, and made his attack with ſuch vigour, as greatly contributed to the ſudden reduction of the ſettlement. Immediately on the ſurrender of the fort captain Coote took poſſeſſion of it with his majeſty's troops, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, ſtores and proviſions, with every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining an obſtinate ſiege. Thus, with the inconſiderable loſs of nine ſeamen killed, and three ſoldiers, the Engliſh were re-eſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes on the Ganges. In a few days after the city of Hughly, higher up the Ganges, was reduced with as little difficulty. The loſs of this place was of infinite conſequence to the nabob; for in it were his ſtorehouſes of ſalt, and vaſt granaries for the ſupport of his army; all which were burnt and deſtroyed. Enraged at theſe misfortunes, the viceroy of Bengal aſſembled an army of 10,000 horſe and 15,000 foot, fully reſolved to expel the Engliſh out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for his late diſgraces. Accordingly, in February he marched towards Calcutta, and encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement, and 600 men under the command of captain Warwick were granted him. The colonel then drew out his forces, advanced towards the enemy, and began the attack with ſuch fury, that the viceroy, after a feeble reſiſtance, retreated, with the loſs of 1000 men killed, wounded and taken priſoners, 500 horſes, great numbers of draft bullocks, and four elephants. This advantage, though leſs deciſive than could have been wiſhed, ſo much intimidated the nabob, that he made ſeveral conceſſions greatly to the honour and advantage of the company, which were ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed with the nabob's own hand.

The Engliſh commanders, however, had too much diſcernment to confide in the promiſes of a barbarian; but theſe ſentiments they prudently concealed, till they had thoroughly reinſtated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. The chief object of their deſigns was the reduction of Chandenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the river than Calcutta, and the moſt important of any poſſeſſed by them in the bay of Bengal. Accordingly, colonel Clive, being reinforced by 300 men from Bombay, began his march to Chandenagore, at the head of 700 Europeans, and 1600 Indians. On his arrival, he took poſſeſſion of all the out-poſts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the admiral. On the 18th of March, the admirals Watſon and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tyger, and Saliſbury men of war, when they found their paſſage obſtructed by booms laid acroſs the river, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel. Theſe difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the 24th, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours, while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land-ſide, and playing vigorouſly from the batteries he had raiſed. Their united efforts ſoon obliged the enemy to ſubmit, and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tyger; and in the afternoon colonel Clive with the king's troops took poſſeſſion. The reduction of this fortreſs, in which was a numerous garriſon, well provided with proviſions and warlike ſtores, was effected with the loſs of forty men only on the ſide of the conquerors.

The Britiſh commanders now reſolved to enter upon ſome meaſures which ſhould oblige the treacherous viceroy to a ſtrict performance of the late treaty. But as re-commencing hoſtilities againſt ſo powerful a prince was in itſelf dangerous, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta; during which deliberations a fortunate incident happened, that determined them to come to an open rupture. The principal perſons in the viceroy's court found themſelves oppreſſed by his haughtineſs and inſolence, and the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent reigned among the officers of his army, who ſaw that the peace of the country could never be reſtored, unleſs either the Engliſh were expelled, or the nabob depoſed. Accordingly a plan was concerted for diveſting him of all his power. This conſpiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime miniſter and chief commander, who communicated his project to Mr. Watts, ſecond in council at Calcutta; after which, the plan being fully concerted between the diſaffected Indians and the council, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watſon undertook the defence of Chandenagore, and the garriſon of that place was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty ſeamen to be employed as gunners, in managing the artillery. On the 19th of June a detachment was ſent to attack Cutwa fort and town, ſituated on that branch of the river forming the iſland of Caſſimbuzar. This place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and here the colonel waited three days in expectation of receiving advices from Ali Khan. But finding himſelf diſappointed of the wiſhed-for intelligence, he, on the 22d croſſed the river, and the ſame day attacked the army of the viceroy, conſiſting of 20,000 men, with his own forces only, Ali Khan not yet chuſing to declare his intentions openly. The enemy, after a vigorous but ſhort conteſt were totally routed: the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon were taken, and a complete victory obtained. The colonel purſuing his advantage, immediately marched to Muſcalavat, the capital of the province, where he was joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents. It had been previouſly agreed that this Indian chief ſhould be inveſted with the dignity of nabob; and accordingly colonel Clive proceeded ſolemnly to depoſe Sulajud Dowla, and ſubſtitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as ſuba or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa. The late viceroy being ſoon after taken, was put to death by his ſucceſſor, who readily complied with all the conditions ſtipulated with the company before his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company the moſt extraordinary privileges; at once ſhewing the generoſity of his temper, and how juſtly he merited the aſſiſtance which had been afforded him. By this alliance and the reduction of Chandenagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependences, the trade of the Engliſh company was reſtored, and even augmented beyond the moſt ſanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired whoſe intereſt obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; above two millions ſterling were paid to the company, and the ſufferers at Calcutta; the ſoldiers and ſeamen were gratified with the ſum of 600,000l. as a reward for their ſervices, beſides ſeveral other advantages which it would appear tedious to enumerate: we ſhall therefore only obſerve, that in the ſpace of fourteen days, a ſurprizing revolution was effected, and the government of a vaſt country, ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to moſt European kingdoms, was transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer, who had attained the art of war rather by intuition than inſtruction and experience. The public joy which theſe vaſt ſucceſſes occaſioned was, however, greatly diminiſhed by the death of admiral Watſon, who fell a ſacrifice to the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate. He paid the debt of nature on the 18th of Auguſt, and was ſincerely lamented by the whole factory.

But we muſt now return to the domeſtic affairs of England. On the 1ſt of December the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech, informed them, that although things had turned out contrary to his expectations and the juſtice of his cauſe, yet he was determined in his own mind to proſecute the war with vigour; for which purpoſe he depended on divine providence and the aſſiſtance of his faithful commons. He expatiated largely on the late ſucceſſes which the king of Pruſſia had obtained over his enemies in Germany; and took notice to the commons, that the eyes of all Europe were turned towards them, as the perſons who, in all human probability, were moſt likely to eſtabliſh the public tranquillity. He concluded by recommending to them the neceſſity they were under to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, whoſe victories in Germany would weaken the power of the French.

Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented, the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply; the whole of which amounted to 10,486,457l. Out of this 40,000l. were granted to the Foundling Hoſpital; 300,000l. towards diſcharging the debt of the navy; and 670,000l. for enabling his majeſty to make good his engagements with the king of Pruſſia.

A. D. 1758. The ſupplies being granted, the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the nation; and many excellent laws were made for the good of the ſubject. A tax was laid on ſeveral articles of luxury, particularly on ſilver plate, which was charged 6d. each ounce; and licences were obliged to be taken out for vending ſuch things as ſeemed not, in their own nature, neceſſary. The regular payment of wages due to ſeamen was eſtabliſhed into a law, which was of infinite ſervice to that uſeful body of men; and the laws relating to the militia being ſound defective, a new bill was brought in, by which they were explained and amended.

Every thing that could be projected being now done for the welfare and ſecurity of the nation, on the 20th of June the parliament was prorogued by commiſſion, the king being ſo indiſpoſed as not to be able to attend the houſe; but the commons were given to underſtand that his majeſty entertained the higheſt ſatisfaction at their proceedings during the whole of the ſeſſion.

The conduct of Mr. Pitt, who had the principal ſhare in the management of public buſineſs, was univerſally applauded by the people; and it muſt be acknowledged that no miniſter ever acted with greater courage, wiſdom, or perſeverance. He was a true judge of merit under every character, and in every ſtation; and ſuch accompliſhed men were made choice of by him to command the army and the navy, that the Britiſh glory roſe to the higheſt pitch of grandeur.

Such was the internal ſtate of Britain at the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament; ſo that conſiſtent with the order of things, we ſhall now take a view of the reſpective tranſactions that occurred, during this year, on the continent.

The king of Pruſſia had made ſuch excellent uſe of the ſucceſſes that had attended his arms during the remainder of the laſt year, that the Ruſſians were obliged to diſperſe themſelves in Poland for want of ſubſiſtence; and the Swedes, who had over-run Pomerania, were ſo haraſſed by the Pruſſian ſoldiers, who drove them from one place to another, that they were obliged to take ſhelter in Stralſund. The Auſtrians, who had been driven out of Sileſia, took refuge in Bohemia; and although the Pruſſian monarch had armies, to the amount of 300,000 men, to contend with, yet the ſame magnanimity which had diſtinguiſhed every part of his conduct, ſhone now more conſpicuous than ever. The French were meditating ſchemes for annexing Hanover to their own dominions; and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, who had no reaſon to expect any favours from ſuch perfidious enemies, yet entered into a treaty with Lewis XV. wherein he promiſed to withdraw his troops from aſſiſting the Hanoverians, and employ them in the ſervice of France. This was one of the moſt ungrateful propoſals that, perhaps, ever had been made; and it conveys to us a very mean idea of the fidelity of German princes. The landgrave had been long ſupported by the Engliſh; he had entered into a treaty of the moſt ſolemn nature with our ſovereign: but here, like a mean, mercenary wretch, he recedes from all his engagements, and turns his back upon his moſt generous benefactor. Nor was it much better with the duke of Brunſwick, who, although under many obligations to us, promiſed to act in concert with the French; but all his ſchemes were defeated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who commanded the allied army; and that of his ſon, the hereditary prince, who acted under his uncle.

The French, who had made themſelves maſters of Bremen, and ſome other places belonging to the German empire, were ſoon driven from them by a detachment under the prince of Holſtein Gottorp; while the duke de Richlieu, who had behaved in the moſt cruel manner to the Hanoverians, was ſuperſeded, and the command of the army given to the count de Clermont. This new general, as ſoon as he had reviewed the army, found it in a moſt wretched condition, in conſequence of the relaxation of diſcipline, the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and the almoſt total want of all the common neceſſaries of life. He knew, that, under ſuch circumſtances, it would be an act of madneſs to attempt any thing againſt prince Ferdinand; and therefore thought it moſt prudent to retreat towards the Rhine, while the hereditary prince of Brunſwick haraſſed his rear, and ſeized the greateſt part of the baggage.

The duke de Randau, the French governor at Hanover, who had done every thing to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and in all things diſcharged his duty as a man of honour and humanity, ordered all the magazine of proviſions to be diſtributed among the poor; and, upon the whole, left behind him ſuch an amiable character, as ſhines far more conſpicuous than all the blandiſhments of military honours.

Prince Ferdinand made every diſpoſition that could be thought of for diſlodging the French from ſuch places as they were ſtill in poſſeſſion of in the electorate of Hanover; and the garriſon of Hoya, a ſtrong town on the Weſer, was taken, and all the military ſtores fell into the hands of the allies. Minden was taken at the ſame time, and the French now found that they were loſing ground every day.

The French general having croſſed the Rhine, cantoned his forces along the banks of that river; while prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick took poſſeſſion of Munſter, from whence his detached parties iſſued with ſuch rapidity, that they beat up the quarters of the French, and drove them from all their advanced poſts. This was ſhocking news to the haughty French king, whoſe armies had been hitherto conducted by men raiſed to office through the intrigues of his miſtreſs: but now it was found neceſſary to change both men and meaſures. The duke de Belleiſle was placed at the head of the war department; and, like a real lover of his country, he boldly repreſented to his ſovereign, that the conduct of his generals in Germany had been ſo inconſiſtent with the duty they owed to the public, that they deſerved the higheſt cenſures. He, at the ſame time, ſent letters to the colonels of regiments, commanding them in his majeſty's name, not to expoſe any commiſſions to ſale, but beſtow them according to merit and ſeniority, becauſe ſuch only are qualified to ſerve in the army, and conduct the buſineſs of war, who have acquired knowledge by experience.

On the 23d of June both armies met at a place called Crevelt, and a moſt obſtinate engagement enſued, when the French were obliged to give way, but their retreat was covered by their dragoons, who behaved with the greateſt courage imaginable. This victory, which coſt the allies many of their beſt forces, was yet far from being deciſive: for although ſeveral towns ſurrendered to them, among which was the city of Duſſeldorp, yet the enemy took refuge under the walls of Cologne; and juſt about the ſame time, the marſhal de Contades was ſent to take upon him the command of the French army. Prince Ferdinand had propoſed, in a council of war, to make an irruption into the Netherlands, and ſo draw the French out of Germany, that they might not have an opportunity of diſturbing the king of Pruſſia, while their own territories were in danger of being invaded. General Imhoff, an Hanoverian officer, attacked a party of the enemy, and drove them from a wood; but the prince de Soubiſe had made himſelf maſter of the important town of Gottingen, by which prince Ferdinand, whoſe army had ſuffered much by the overflowing of the Rhine, was in danger of having his forces divided. Prince Xaverius was ſent with a body of forces to aſſiſt the prince de Soubiſe; while prince Ferdinand, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, diſpatched general Oberg, with 10,000 men, to join a detachment of Heſſians who were on their march to aſſiſt the allied army; for the French had acted in ſuch an inſincere manner with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, that he had determined not to have any farther connections with them. Both armies continued on the defenſive, as if their ſole intention had been to watch the motions of each other; but on the 10th of October, about four in the afternoon, a ſevere cannonading began; and notwithſtanding the allies, for ſome time, ſeemed to gain the advantage, yet they were at laſt obliged to give way, but retreated in good order. General Oberg loſt his magazine of proviſion and ammunition; but prince Ferdinand having been joined by a body of Britiſh troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, who died ſoon after, the French reaped but little benefit from the victory.

In the mean time, the king of Pruſſia beſieged the town of Schweidnitz, and carried on the attack with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. He likewiſe detached a ſtrong party who took the town of Trawtenaw, by which a paſſage was opened for his troops to march into Bohemia or Moldavia. Accordingly, he marched to the city of Olmutz, the capital of the latter, in which was a ſtrong garriſon; but the king beſieged it in form.

Count Daun, who knew the importance of the place, marched to its relief; and meeting with a large convoy of proviſions, he ſeized the whole, by which the king of Pruſſia was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. His ſuperior knowledge and preſence of mind enabled him to make an exceeding good retreat; and although count Daun watched all his motions, yet he was afraid to attack him; and marſhal Keith brought off all the heavy artillery. The Auſtrian detached parties gave way as faſt as he approached: one of them was ſurrounded and taken; and the king, who ſeemed to riſe ſuperior to misfortune, reſolved to transfer the ſeat of war to Bohemia.

The empreſs of Ruſſia had entered into a new confederacy with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, and in conſequence thereof her army was ordered to take the field, under the generals Fermer and Brown. Koningſburg, the capital of Pruſſia, was taken without any reſiſtance; and the Coſſacks and Colmacks, a ſet of inhuman barbarians who followed the army, ravaged the neighbouring country, murdering the people without diſtinction of age or ſex.

As ſoon as the king of Pruſſia heard that they were approaching towards the frontiers of Sileſia, he began his march from Bohemia, in order to give them battle. The Ruſſians had now advanced to the neighbourhood of Franckfort; and on the 9th of Auguſt the king arrived at Landſhut, where he croſſed the Oder, and next day the army was allowed to reſt. The Pruſſian monarch reſolved to attack them immediately, and for that purpoſe marched paſt their left flank, and drew up his army in order of battle on an extended plain, the Ruſſians having got poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds. This brought on a moſt bloody engagement, in which above 20,000 Ruſſians were killed, till at laſt night parted them, and the Pruſſians continued under arms. Next morning the battle was renewed, for the Ruſſians were ſo numerous that they remained in an immoveable ſtate, notwithſtanding their loſs. The victory was claimed by both ſides, although neither had obtained one; but both behaved with the moſt undaunted courage.

Beſet, as the king of Pruſſia was, with enemies on every ſide, he ſtill continued to act with vigour; and finding that count Daun intended to attack his brother, prince Henry, he marched to his aſſiſtance with twenty-four battalions, and arrived at Torgau on the 5th of September. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties on both ſides; and the king, whoſe army had been much weakened, was obliged to remain on the defenſive. Count Daun, who always acted in the moſt cautious manner, finding that the Pruſſians had neglected to fortify the village of Hochkirchin, began his march in the middle of the night of the 14th of October, and attacked that wing of the Pruſſian army which was under the command of marſhal Keith.

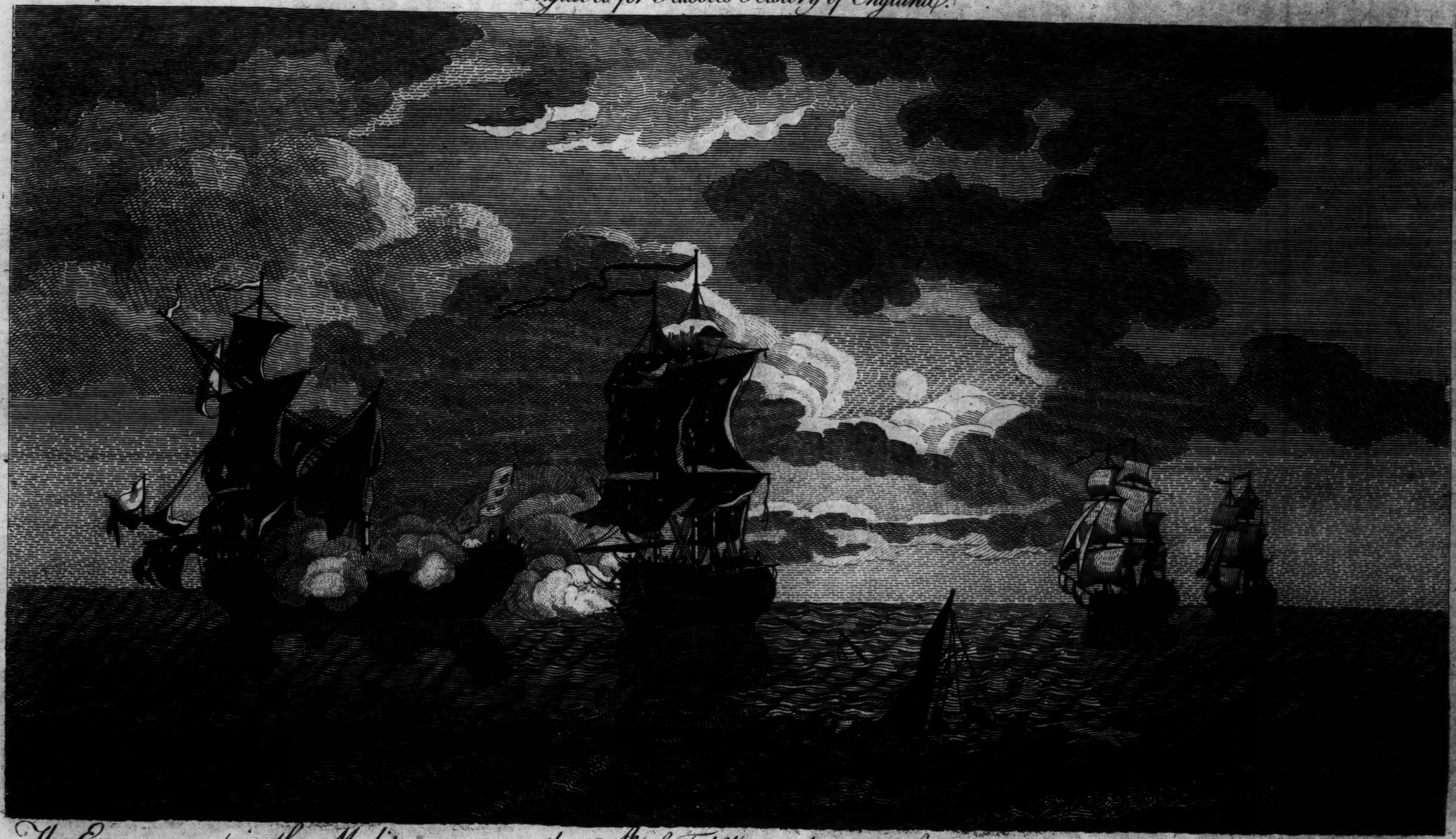
This was an unexpected ſtroke, and although the Pruſſians did every thing in their power to repair the loſs, yet they were, after a moſt obſtinate engagement, forced to give way; and the brave marſhal Keith, with prince Francis of Brunſwick, were killed, and the prince of Anhalt taken priſoner. The king loſt above 3000 men; but he retreated in good order, and continued ten days, endeavouring to bring the count to a freſh engagement. Of all the generals during the war count Daun ſeems to have been the moſt properly qualified for making uſe of detached parties, and haraſſing an enemy in a retreat. Whenever he found that the king had decamped, he was ſure to haraſs his rear.

Prince Henry of Pruſſia was reduced to great ſtraits in Saxony, while the marſhal Laudohn was ſent to haraſs the king in Luſatia. Dreſden was the great object the Auſtrians had in view, becauſe in conſequence of its being taken from the Pruſſians an opening would be made into Brandenburgh. This they knew would diſtreſs the king more than any thing they could undertake; but it was not to be executed ſo eaſily as they imagined. Count Schmettau, who commanded in Dreſden, declared that if the Auſtrians ſhould attack the city, he would reduce the whole to a heap of aſhes; and although the magiſtrates begged on their knees that he would deſiſt from ſuch a meaſure, yet he remained inflexible, and actually laid combuſtibles into the houſes. He began with the ſuburbs, where moſt of the Saxon nobility and gentry reſided, and in a few hours the whole was in one continued blaze. Count Daun beheld, with aſtoniſhment, the conflagration, and being afraid that the general would ſerve the interior part of the city in the ſame manner, he deſiſted, in ſome meaſure; while the king of Pruſſia relieved the town of Neiſs, and then reſolved to return to Saxony. This obliged count Daun to retire towards Bohemia; and the Ruſſians, who had penetrated into Pruſſian Pomerania, in order to beſiege ſome fort that would afford them winter quarters, were obliged to return to Poland. They did not, however, fail to ruin Ducal Pruſſia, where they robbed and murdered the inhabitants in the moſt horrid manner, ſo that the whole country was a ſcene of blood and miſery.

During the whole courſe of this year the Britiſh navy had been very ſucceſsful both in America and Europe. Captain Forreſt, with the captains Langdon and Suckling, attacked a French ſquadron at Cape François, and diſabled ſeveral of them; after which he proceeded to the bay of Hiſpaniola, and in his way thither took a ſquadron of nine ſhips, all richly laden, which greatly diſtreſſed the French, and brought a conſiderable ſum of money into the nation. Admiral Boſcawen ſailed from Portſmouth in the month of February for the North American ſeas, and Sir Edward Hawke was ſent to the bay of Biſcay. On the coaſt of Spain, admiral Oſborn, aſſiſted by captain Gardiner, a brave officer, attacked a French fleet of conſiderable force, and took two of the largeſt belonging to their whole navy. Sir Edward Hawke intercepted a large fleet laden with ſtores and proviſions for North-America; and a few days after he took a fleet of their merchant ſhips, by which their commerce was greatly diſtreſſed.

A conſiderable damp, however, was given to the

Engraved for Russel's History of England.



The Engagement in the Mediterranean on the 28th. of Feby. 1758 between the **MONMOUTH** an English Man of War of 64 Guns, and the **FOUDROYANT** a French Man of War of 84 Guns, in which the latter was taken.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JY 73

joy which theſe ſucceſſes occaſioned, by the terrible accident that befel the Prince George of eighty guns, commanded by rear admiral Broderick, in his paſſage to the Mediterranean. On the 30th of April, about two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ſhip and raged with ſuch violence, that, notwithſtanding all the officers and men uſed their utmoſt efforts to ſuppreſs it, the flames increaſed; and the ſhip being conſumed to the water-edge, ſunk about ſix o'clock in the evening. When all endeavours proved ineffectual, and no hopes of preſerving the ſhip remained, the barge was hoiſted out for the preſervation of the admiral, who accordingly entered it; but, all diſtinction being now forgot, the ſailors ruſhed into it in ſuch crowds, that in a few minutes it overſet. The admiral, who foreſaw what muſt be the conſequence, had ſtripped off his cloaths and committed himſelf to the mercy of the waves. In this ſituation he remained a full hour, when he was taken up by a boat belonging to a merchant ſhip. Beſides the admiral, the captain, four lieutenants, the purſer, the chaplain, the maſter, two lieutenants of marines, the boatſwain, three paſſengers, fourteen petty officers, and about 300 men were ſaved, while the reſt, amounting to 500, periſhed.

The Engliſh miniſtry having formed a ſcheme for making a deſcent on the coaſt of France, two powerful ſquadrons were accordingly equipped for that purpoſe. One of them conſiſted of eleven large ſhips, commanded by lord Anſon and Sir Edward Hawke, and the other was compoſed of four ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, two bombs, twenty tenders, ten ſtore-ſhips, and 100 tranſports, the whole of which were put under the direction of commodore Howe. On board the latter was embarked a body of troops, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light horſe, and 6000 marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The troops, which had for ſome time been encamped in the iſle of Wight, were embarked the latter end of May, and the two fleets ſailed, in the beginning of June, from St. Helens, for the coaſt of Bretagne. The ſquadron commanded by lord Anſon ſtanding to the weſtward, and the other ſteering right athwart the channel. They had hardly left the Engliſh coaſt when the weather became very tempeſtuous, and juſt before midnight the commodore made a ſignal for the fleet to lay to, leſt they ſhould run on the French ſhore before break of day. It continued to blow a ſtiff gale all night, and they could not make ſail again till ſix the next morning. About eight they ſaw cape la Hogue, whither they directed their courſe, but on account of the ſtrong tide againſt them, they could not reach this place till the evening, when the whole fleet came to an anchor in the channel. Early the next day the fleet got under ſail, and ſteered directly for the bay of St. Malo. On the fourth, about five in the afternoon, being entirely becalmed, they came to an anchor within three miles of the place: the next morning they weighed before it was day, and ſtood along the coaſt till they opened the bay of Cancalle, where they intended to diſembark the forces. About eight in the morning the commodore made a ſignal for the ſhips with the grenadiers on board to make ſail, and about four in the afternoon the whole fleet came to an anchor, four frigates excepted, which were ordered to continue their courſe towards a battery that might impede the landing of the forces. Ten companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Moſtyn, were immediately put into flat-bottomed boats, and as ſoon as the frigates had ſilenced the before-mentioned battery, they landed without any other oppoſition than a few ſpent ſhot, fired by ſome peaſants, who on the approach of a ſerjeant and twelve men inſtantly fled: and in this they only followed the example of ſeven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons, they having retired from the ſhore as ſoon as they perceived the Engliſh grenadiers in motion.

Lord Down, at the head of twenty men, was ordered to march through a very narrow paſs up to the village, where they were met by the marquis de Landal, intendant of the coaſt, and one of his ſervants. Lord Down inſtantly called to him, and aſſured him, that if he would ſurrender he had nothing to fear; but this he fooliſhly refuſed to do, upon which he, together with his ſervant and horſes, were ſhot dead on the ſpot. After taking poſſeſſion of the village of Cancalle, the grenadiers lay on their arms all night. The next day the diſembarkation was compleated, and the whole encamped: the head quarters being fixed at Cancalle. The day following, as ſoon as it was light, the whole army, except the third brigade, ſtruck their tents, and began to march in two columns. The firſt, conſiſting of the brigade of the guards, two battalions of grenadiers, and the firſt brigade, commanded by lord George Sackville, marched from the left, till they fell into the great road leading to St. Malo. The ſecond column, conſiſting of the ſecond and fourth brigades, commanded by the earl of Ancram, marched alſo from the left through a country wholly encloſed, and the road ſo remarkably narrow, that 200 pioneers, who marched at the head of the diviſion, were frequently obliged to continue their rout in ſingle files. At the ſame time the fields on each ſide the road ſo intercepted their view, that they often could not ſee more than forty yards beyond their flanks. The inhabitants of the villages had deſerted their houſes, and ſtripped them of every thing they could remove, ſo that the whole country appeared a mere deſert.

The march, however, was conducted with great order, and without beat of drum: but though the diſtance was no more than ſix miles, they did not reach their ground till it was late in the evening. St Malo was now reconnoitred by the general officers; and a camp marked out about a mile from the city. Parties of horſe were immediately detached to different parts of the country to ſcour the road and make good diſcoveries. One of theſe detachments perceived a large baſon behind the town, into which all the ſhipping belonging to the place were collected, and concealed from the ſight of the Engliſh fleet by a prodigious ſtorehouſe, built in the form of a rotunda, near the rope-walk. Marlborough, on being informed of this diſcovery, detached all the cavalry, with a foot ſoldier mounted behind each of the horſemen, furniſhed with hand granades, matches, &c. Theſe, concealed by the night, paſſed under the enemy's cannon on the walls to the harbour, where they found a large fleet conſiſting of men of war, privateers and merchantmen. Fire was immediately ſet to the neareſt ſhips; and alſo the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which, in the ſpace of a few hours, became ſuch a dreadful ſcene of conflagration, that even imagination itſelf is unable to paint. The ſhips were all faſt a-ground, and ſo cloſe together that it was impoſſible for any of them to eſcape. Two men of war, one of 50, the other of 30, 33 privateers, from 18 to 30 guns each, and above 70 ſail of merchant ſhips, were by this conflagration reduced to aſhes, together with a great quantity of naval ſtores.

It being expected that a ſally would be made from the town, about eleven at night the duke of Marlborough ordered the ſecond brigade to march, in order to ſupport the piquets; but the whole was performed without the leaſt attempt from the enemy, though it was well known that a very conſiderable body of troops had, the preceding day, thrown themſelves into the town, from the oppoſite ſide of the river. The conflagration continued the whole night; and the next morning foraging parties were detached from the camp, the army having landed with proviſions which would laſt them only two days.

While the army lay encamped near St. Malo, one of the battalions of the guards marched under the command of general Cæſar, to the town of Doll, ſituated about twelve miles up the country, where they were politely entertained by the magiſtrates; and as their deſign was nothing more than to reconnoitre the country, they continued one night in the town without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility, and in the morning returned to their camp. A party of the light horſe, advancing ſtill farther, fell in with the vedets of a French camp, two of whom, after a long chaſe, they took, and brought them priſoners to the Engliſh army.

It was now evident that the town of St. Malo was too well fortified to hope for ſucceſs, all thoughts of attacking it were therefore laid aſide; and the general having received repeated advices, that the French were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to attack his camp, he returned to Cancalle, where commodore Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the reimbarkation of the troops was performed with ſurprizing eaſe and expedition. The ſoldiers, while they continued in the enemy's country were reſtrained from committing the leaſt outrage, by the ſevereſt diſcipline; and all the houſes which the inhabitants had abandoned were left untouched.

As ſoon as the troops were all embarked, the fleet left Cancalle bay, and after encountering the fury of a tempeſtuous ſea for near a fortnight, came to an anchor near Cherburg; and on the firſt of July, arrived in the road of St. Helen's. The ſoldiers were landed on the Iſle of Wight, and a conſiderable part of them ſent, under the command of the duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville, to reinforce the allied army in Germany.

The fleet in which theſe troops were embarked ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt; and after a tedious paſſage, anchored before Cherburg. The enemy had for ſome time expected the Engliſh would ſoon attack this place: nor had they been idle during the interval. They had thrown up an entrenchment, extending near four miles along the coaſt from the fort de Ecourdeville, ſituated about two miles to the weſt of Cherburg, and fortified it with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this intrenchment, a body of horſe and infantry appeared, dreſſed in red and blue uniform. But as they did not advance to the open beach, the landing of the Engliſh forces was attended with little danger. A bomb ketch was firſt ſent to anchor near the town, and throw a few ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, with regard to the ſpot, where they intended to land, which was near a league to the weſtward of Querqueville, the weſternmoſt fort in the bay. The other bomb ketches being poſted along the ſhore, conſiderably galled the entrenchment by not only throwing ſhells, in the uſual manner, but alſo by loading the mortars with great quantities of balls, which were thrown to a very conſiderable diſtance, and, by ſcattering as they flew, did an infinite deal of miſchief. While theſe veſſels kept up an inceſſant fire on the trenches, the grenadiers and guards were landed without oppoſition, and formed immediately on the beach, having a natural breaſtwork in their front. The enemy advanced upon them in good order from the left, where the ground was interſected with hedges. On perceiving the approach of the enemy, the Britiſh troops marched towards them, and a ſtraggling fire began; but the French declined the engagement, and took poſſeſſion of a hill, whence they diſcharged a few random ſhot on the Engliſh advanced poſts.

During this trifling ſkirmiſh the reſt of the infantry were diſembarked, and the enemy took advantage of the night to retire. General Blythe, who now commanded the Britiſh forces, encamped at the village of Erville, and the next morning marched towards Cherburgh. An advanced party took poſſeſſion of fort Querqueville, which the enemy had abandoned, together with the lines and batteries along the ſhore.

When the Engliſh reached Cherburg, they found the place entirely deſerted by the enemy, the gates were open, and they entered it without the leaſt oppoſition.

The harbour and baſon of Cherburg being deſtroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of braſs cannon conveyed on board the Engliſh ſhips, a contribution, amounting to about 3000l. ſterling, was exacted from the town, and a plan of reimbarkation concerted, as it appeared, from the reports of peaſants and deſerters, that the enemy were already increaſed to a formidable number. A ſlight entrenchment being raiſed, ſufficient to defend the laſt diviſion that ſhould be reimbarked, the ſtores and artillery were ſhipped, and the light horſe immediately carried on board their reſpective tranſports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed veſſels.

On the 16th of Auguſt the forces marched from Cherburg down to the beach, and reimbarked at fort Gallet, without the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy. The next day the fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. Two days after it again weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward, but was obliged by contrary winds to return to the ſame ſtation. The ſecond effort, however, was more effectual; and ſteering to the French coaſt, they arrived in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Malo, upon which place it was determined to make another attempt. The ſloops and ketches being poſted along ſhore to cover the landing, the troops were diſembarked on an open beach, and a ſmall party detached to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they deſtroyed about fifteen ſmall veſſels: but St. Malo itſelf being carefully reconnoitered, appeared to be impregnable either by the land forces or ſhipping, which obliged the deſign againſt it to be laid aſide. The general, unwilling to reimbark without attempting ſome ſtep for the farther annoyance of the enemy, reſolved to penetrate into the country, regulating his motions, however, by thoſe of the fleet, which by this time had quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride in ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

On the 8th of September the army began its march to St. Guildo, which they reached in the evening, and the next day continuing their rout, they encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was immediately reconnoitred for reimbarkation, the general having received intelligence that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, ſix ſquadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars and ten pieces of cannon. Had our troops decamped in the night in ſilence, they might poſſibly have reached the beach before the enemy had received the leaſt notice of their deſign: but inſtead of this cautious method of proceeding, the generale was beat about two o'clock in the morning, which could not fail of alarming the French. Before three, the troops were all in motion, and met with ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes on their march, but no conſiderable body of the enemy appeared till the embarkation was begun; when they took poſſeſſion of an eminence by a windmill, and immediately opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired on the ſoldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their paſſage, which did terrible execution. They then began to march down the hill, with deſign to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themſelves along the front of the Engliſh; but in their deſcent they ſuffered ſeverely from the cannon and mortars of our ſhipping, which broke their line and threw them into great confuſion. They then turned off to one ſide, extended themſelves along a hill to the left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they ſuddenly ruſhed out to the attack. By this time the greater part of our troops were embarked, but the rear-guard, conſiſting of all the grenadiers, and half of the firſt regiment of guards, in all about 1500 men, remained on the ſhore, under the command of major-general Drury. On the enemy's advancing, that officer ordered his troops to form in grand diviſions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to attack the enemy before they could form on the plain. At the firſt onſet the French gave way, but continual ſuccours of the enemy arriving, they in their turn drove the Engliſh, and now general Drury, too late, perceived the error he had been guilty of in drawing his men from behind the bank, for the ſecond diviſion could not get over the breaſt-work time enough to ſuccour the firſt, which was entirely broken. The French having now got poſſeſſion of the dyke, kept a continual fire upon the grenadiers; and the general ſeeing there was no remedy left but to retreat, ordered the whole to wheel immediately to the right, and make to the boats as faſt as poſſible. Some got on board, but a battery which the enemy had erected on an eminence, played ſo furiouſly, that numbers of the boats were beat to pieces. The French now perceiving that the grenadiers had no retreat left, mounted the dyke, and by a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers drove them into the ſea, where the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces or drowned. General Drury was ſhot in the breaſt; but by the help of a grenadier, he ſtripped off his cloaths, and plunged into the water, where he died. Our loſs amounted to about 1000 men, among whom was Sir John Armitage, a volunteer. After the action was over, ſeveral meſſages of civility paſſed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the Engliſh commanders, to whom a liſt of our priſoners was ſent, with aſſurances that the wounded ſhould receive all the aſſiſtance neceſſary in their condition. Theſe particulars being adjuſted, the commodore ſailed for the coaſt of England, and on the 18th of September arrived at Spithead, ſoon after which the ſoldiers were diſembarked.

Notwithſtanding this ſcheme miſcarried in its execution, yet other advantages were obtained over the French that ſerved to counterbalance it; and from circumſtances of a very peculiar nature.

One Mr. Cumming, a quaker, who had been ſeveral voyages to the coaſt of Africa, made himſelf acquainted with every thing worth notice; and being a man of great abilities and deep penetration, obſerved the extenſive trade carried on by the French, and made himſelf acquainted with the Mooriſh king of Legibelli, whoſe dominions lay along the coaſt where the greateſt part of the trade was carried on. Gum Senega, an article much uſed in the manufactures of Great Britain, had been many years wholly engroſſed by the French, who ſold it to the Dutch, and they to us, at a moſt exorbitant price. But this was not all; for Mr. Cumming took notice that many other valuable articles and branches of trade were carried on, ſuch as elephants teeth, gold duſt, cotton, ambergreaſe, and ſeveral others, all of which were of the utmoſt importance to Great Britain, and might, if conducted with ſpirit, become a real national good.

Mr. Cumming loſt no time in making himſelf acquainted with every thing worthy of notice, and ingratiated himſelf ſo far into the good graces of the African prince, that he made him a friend to the Engliſh, and promiſed him great advantages in conſequence of trading with them. But what contributed moſt towards promoting the deſign, was the conduct of the French, who had exaſperated the prince againſt them; and he was extremely deſirous to have them driven from the river Senegal, where moſt of their territories had been eſtabliſhed. He deſired that the king of Great Britain would ſend a few ſhips of war for that purpoſe; promiſing, at the ſame time, to aſſiſt them with what land forces he could raiſe.

The difficulties that Mr. Cumming had to engage with were great indeed; but the love he had for his country made every thing ſeem trifling. The miniſtry conſidered the whole as a Don Quixote like ſcheme, that would be attended with great loſs without any ſolid advantages ariſing from it; but Mr. Cumming repreſented the practicability and utility of it in ſuch ſtrong terms, that they granted a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips under the command of captain Marſh, with five companies of marines under the command of major Maſon, and a ſmall number of artillery, under the direction of captain Walker; but Mr. Cumming was to ſuperintend the whole.

This ſmall armament ſailed from Portſmouth in March, and put into the iſland of Teneriff, in order to procure freſh water. There the ſquadron remained till Mr. Cumming ſailed in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, with a letter to the prince written in the Arabic language. In this letter, to which the king of Great Britain had put his ſeal, Mr. Cumming was appointed to act as ambaſſador, and conduct the whole of the Britiſh trade that ſhould be carried on in that country. Upon his arrival, he found the prince of the place engaged in war with one of the neighbouring nations, and that he was then at a very great diſtance. But Amir, the prince's miniſter, ſent word to his ſovereign that Mr. Cumming was arrived, and that he could raiſe 300 men to aſſiſt him, upon condition of their being properly reinforced from the chief army. This would have diſconcerted perſons of leſs fortitude than Mr. Cumming; but the greater the difficulties he had to encounter with, the more active he was in endeavouring to ſurmount them. Having ſent notice to captain Marſh, at Teneriff, to proceed on his voyage, that brave officer weighed anchor, and got to the mouth of the river Senegal, where he learned that the Indian forces promiſed him were not ſo much as raiſed. Next day he took a large Dutch ſhip laden with gum, and the captain told him, that the French had erected ſeveral batteries along the ſide of the river, and that they were determined to diſpute the paſſage with the Engliſh. This, however, no way intimidated the captain; who made the proper preparations for landing, although the enemy kept firing upon them. This brought on a general engagement, which laſted ſeveral hours; and two of the Engliſh tranſports running aground, the marines got on ſhore, where they were joined by thoſe who had landed before them. They immediately threw up an entrenchment to protect them from the fire of the enemy, till ſuch time as they could get the ſtores landed.

The next day two deputies from the French governor arrived, and offered terms of capitulation;

upon which it was greed, that all the Europeans belonging to the French ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, and that none of their private property ſhould be taken from them: that every thing of a public nature ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh; and that the inhabitants who chuſed to remain in Fort Lewis, ſhould be under the protection of the Engliſh government.

Theſe terms being agreed on, captain Walker and captain Campbell were ſent up the river to take poſſeſſion of the forts, but when they came to the firſt place appointed for their landing, the enemy neither took notice of them, nor hung out the flag of truce. This ſurprzied them much; and as they did not know what their intention might be, they ſailed back to the ſquadron, and then went on ſhore to their entrenchments. There they were informed that the negroes were in arms at Fort Louis, becauſe they had not been included in the treaty, and the governor refuſed to abide by the capitulation, unleſs the director-general of the French factory ſhould be permitted to remain, to ſee that every thing was executed according to agreement. This requeſt was immediately complied with, and then the fort was delivered up to major Maſon, who found in it great quantities of merchandiſe, beſides proviſions and military ſtores. The inhabitants of the place chearfully ſwore allegiance to the king of England. The prince Legibelli ſent an ambaſſador from his camp to congratulate Mr. Cumming on his ſucceſs, and all the neighbouring princes entered into treaties with him. In the whole of this important expedition, the Engliſh did not loſe a ſingle man, and, by prudence and courage obtained poſſeſſion of a very valuable place.

Mr. Cumming knew that the valuable ſettlement at Fort Louis could not be maintained by the Engliſh, unleſs they were in poſſeſſion of Goree, about 100 miles diſtant, where the French had large magazines, and where they kept all their ſlaves before they ſent them to the Weſt-Indies. An attempt was made upon the iſland, but the Engliſh had not ſufficient force to take it.

Intimation of this being tranſmitted to England, commodore Keppel was ſent with ſix ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, on board of which were 700 land forces. On the 28th of December they came to an anchor off Goree, and next morning prepared to attack the place. The French, who had erected batteries along the ſhore, played briſkly upon our men of war, particularly the Prince Edward, which had her main bowſprit ſhot away, but the Naſſau made to her aſſiſtance. The commodore, who was in the Torbay, paid the utmoſt attention to every thing; and ſo terrible was the fire from his ſhip, that the whole ſeemed one continued blaze.

Prodigious numbers of negroes came down to ſee the engagement, and were filled with ſurprize at the bravery of the Engliſh ſeamen, whoſe courage increaſed with their danger. The fire from the Engliſh ſhips ſoon obliged the governor to ſtrike the flag; and then the lieutenant, with the commodore's ſecretary, were ſent on ſhore, where they were met by the governor's ſecretary, who aſked them what terms the commodore was willing to grant. This ſurprized them, becauſe they imagined that the garriſon were ready to ſurrender priſoners of war; and then they aſked him, whether the flag was not ſtruck? He anſwered, that it was not, but only for a parley; upon which they parted in diſguſt. The engagement was begun again with greater fury than ever; but in leſs than an hour, the governor, as a ſignal to ſurrender, dropped the flag and the regimental colours, and then a party of marines took poſſeſſion of the iſland. Two trading veſſels, which happened to be at anchor in the road, likewiſe fell into the hands of the Engliſh, with ſtores, money and merchandize, to the value of 20,000l. This important conqueſt coſt the victors only 100 men killed and wounded. Commodore Keppel having left a garriſon at Goree, and reinforced that of Senegal, returned with his ſquadron to England.

During theſe tranſactions, things of great importance were carrying on in America; where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about 50,000 men, including 22,000 regular troops. Lord Loudon having returned to England, the chief command devolved on major-general Abercrombie: but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three ſeparate bodies, under three diſtinct commanders. Twelve thouthouſand were deſtined for an attempt on Cape Breton, under the command of major-general Amherſt. The general himſelf reſerved near 16000 for the reduction of Crown Point; and 8000, under brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne.

On the 28th of May major-general Amherſt embarked his troops at Halifax in Nova Scotia, and ſailed for Louiſbourg with the Engliſh ſquadron commanded by admiral Boſcawen, the whole fleet conſiſting of 157 ſail. On the 2d of June they came to an anchor in Gabarus Bay, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſbourg. The garriſon of this place conſiſted of 2500 regular troops, and 300 militia, formed of the burgers, under the command of the chevalier Druncour, who had taken every precaution in his power to prevent the Britiſh forces from landing on the iſland. He formed a chain of forts extending two leagues and a half along the moſt acceſſible parts of the beach; batteries were erected, entrenchments thrown up, and the mouth of the harbour guarded by ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, three of which were ſunk at the Haven's mouth, in order to render the paſſage impaſſable to the Engliſh fleet.

But notwithſtanding theſe diſpoſitions, our troops, amidſt innumerable difficulties, made good their landing; after which the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the French governor, finding it impoſſible to withſtand the fury of the aſſault, thought proper to capitulate on the 27th of July, by which he and the garriſon became priſoners of war. Major Farquhar, with three companies of grenadiers, immediately took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate; and brigadier Whitmore was ſent into the town to ſee the garriſon lay down their arms, and to poſt the neceſſary guards on the ramparts, and at the doors of the magazines.

Thus with the inconſiderable loſs of about 400 men killed or wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſburg, in which the victors found 221 pieces of cannon, with 18 mortars, and a large quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were conveyed to France in Engliſh ſhips; but the garriſon, together with the ſea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to 5637 priſoners, were tranſported to England.

The loſs of Louiſbourg gave a fatal blow to the French intereſt in America, and facilitated the reduction of their other ſettlements in that part of the world. An account of the affair was immediately brought to England, in a veſſel diſpatched for that purpoſe, with captain Amherſt, brother to the commander; who was alſo intruſted with eleven pair of colours taken at the ſiege. Theſe were, by his majeſty's order, carried in great parade, eſcorted by detachments of horſe and foot guards, with kettle drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kenſington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were depoſited as trophies of victory, under a diſcharge of cannon, and other ſuitable expreſſions of triumph and exultation. Nor were the rejoicings for this conqueſt confined to London: addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to his majeſty by almoſt every town and corporation in the kingdom.

After the reduction of Cape Breton, ſeveral ſhips were detached with a body of troops under the command of lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, a ſmall place in the gulph of St. Lawrence, which, from its fertility in corn and cattle, had, ſince the beginning of the war, ſupplied Quebec with conſiderable quantities of proviſion. The inhabitants, who amounted to upwards of 4000, made not the leaſt oppoſition, but readily delivered up their arms. On this, lord Rollo repaired to the governor's houſe, where he found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen, whom the ſavages had butchered in conſequence of the encouragement given for ſuch inhuman proceedings by their French allies.

The joy and ſatisfaction ariſing from the conqueſt of Louiſbourg and St. John were not a little damped by the diſaſter which happened to the main body of the Britiſh forces in America, under the immediate direction of general Abercrombie. In the beginning of July his army, amounting to near 7000 regular troops, and 10,000 provincials, embarked at the mouth of Lake George, on board batteaus and whale boats, with proviſion, artillery and ammunition; ſeveral pieces of artillery being mounted on rafts to cover the propoſed landing, which was effected the next day without oppoſition. The general's ſcheme was to inveſt Ticonderoga, a fort ſituated on a point of land between lake George and a narrow gut communicating with lake Champlain. Three ſides of this fortification were ſurrounded with water and nature had ſecured the front by a moraſs.

The troops being landed, they were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march towards the advanced guard of the enemy, conſiſting of one battalion encamped behind a breaſt-work of logs, which, on the approach of the Engliſh, they abandoned with great precipitation. The route from this breaſt-work to the fort lay through a thick wood, which would not admit of any regular paſſage: and the guides proving extremely ignorant, our forces were bewildered, and the columns thrown into the utmoſt diſorder. A French detachment likewiſe met with the like embarraſſment, and falling in with lord Howe, at the head of one of the Britiſh columns, an engagement enſued, in which the enemy were totally defeated. But this trifling advantage was dearly purchaſed by the loſs of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, univerſally lamented, being a young nobleman of approved courage and moſt promiſing talents.

The troops were now ſo much fatigued and diſordered, that general Abercrombie thought it adviſeable to return to the landing place, which they reached about eight in the morning. When the men were refreſhed, lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet was detached at the head of one regiment of regulars, ſix companies of Royal Americans, and a body of rangers, to take poſſeſſion of a ſaw-mill, which the French had abandoned, in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. This poſt being ſecured, the general advanced towards the enemy. In his march he was met by ſome deſerters, who informed him that the French had aſſembled eight battalions, and a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to 8,000 men; that theſe, being encamped before the fort, were employed in forming a ſtrong intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of 3000 men, who had been detached, under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diverſion on the Mohawk river; but upon intelligence that the Engliſh forces were approaching, were recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. General Abercrombie now reſolved, if poſſible, to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow before this junction could be effected. Early the next morning he detached an engineer acroſs the river on the oppoſite ſide of the fort, to take a view of the enemy's intrenchments; on his return this officer reported, that there was a proſpect of attempting the works with ſucceſs, as they were not yet finiſhed. Accordingly a diſpoſition was made for the attack; and proper guards being left at the ſaw-mill and the landing place, the whole army advanced towards the intrenchments, but, to their unſpeakable diſappointment, found it impregnable. The breaſt-work was eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, projecting in ſuch a manner as to render the intrenchment almoſt inacceſſible. Our troops, undaunted at theſe ſeeming difficulties, marched up to the attack with the utmoſt intrepidity, during which they ſuſtained a moſt terrible fire from the enemy's muſquetry and cannon. They then endeavoured to force their way ſword in hand through theſe embarraſſments, and ſome of them even mounted the breaſt-work; but the enemy were ſo well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the leaſt danger to themſelves. The Engliſh having thus made repeated attacks under the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances, and ſuffered great loſs, began to fall into confuſion. The general was now convinced that there remained no hope of ſucceſs; and to prevent a total overthrow, he took ſuch meaſures for ſecuring a retreat, that the army retired unmoleſted to their former camp, with the loſs of about 1800 men, including a great number of officers.

After reſting his men, the general retired to the batteaus, and re-imbarking the troops, returned to Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. He then detached lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet with a body of 3000 men, to execute a plan that officer had formed againſt Fort Frontinac, ſituated on the north ſide of the river St. Lawrence, juſt where it takes its riſe from the Lake Ontario. Having advanced with his detachment to the ſide of this lake, he embarked in ſome ſloops and batteaus provided for the purpoſe, and landed within a mile of Fort Frontinac, the garriſon of which, conſiſting of 110 men, with a few Indians, immediately ſurrendered priſoners of war. Bradſtreet then made himſelf maſter of all the enemy's ſhipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed veſſels, ſome of which carried eighteen guns. After deſtroying the fortifications the colonel returned to Oſwego, with the veſſels, artillery, ſtores, ammunition and merchandize.

We have already obſerved that 8,000 men, under brigadier-general Forbes, were appointed for the reduction of Fort du Queſne. That general began his march on the 30th of June from Philadelphia for the river Ohio. The difficulties and fatigues he met with were aſtoniſhing: but he ſurmounted them all, and at length arrived at Ray's-town, at the diſtance of ninety miles from Fort du Queſne, from whence he detached colonel Grant, at the head of 800 men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. On his approach the enemy ſent out a large body of forces to meet him. An engagement enſued, which the Engliſh maintained with their uſual courage for three hours; but at length being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat with the loſs of 300 men killed or taken; among the latter were major Grant and nineteen officers. Far from being diſpirited by this misfortune, brigadier Forbes immediately advanced with his whole army, reſolving to make himſelf maſter of the fort or periſh in the attempt. But before his arrival the French had thought proper to abandon the place, and retire down the river Ohio, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi. On the 25th of November the Engliſh entered the fort, and, after repairing the fortifications, which the enemy had diſmantled, the general changed its name from Fort du Queſne to Pittſburgh: after which he concluded a treaty of friendſhip and alliance with the Indian tribes, and then returned to Philadelphia.

In the beginning of this year captain Tyrrel, in the Rockingham man of war, was ſent to protect our commerce in the Weſt-Indies; and in the bay of Martinico he demoliſhed a French fort, with ſeveral merchant ſhips that had on board very valuable cargoes and a conſiderable number of privateers. Captain Tyrrel was ſeldom diſengaged from action, and few men in his ſtation ever acquired greater honour. Happening to fall in with the Weaſel ſloop of war, commanded by lieutenant Bowles, between Montſerrat and Guadaloupe, they diſcovered a fleet of nineteen veſſels, under the convoy of a man of war named the Floriſſant, and two large frigates. But, notwithſtanding a ſuperiority of numbers, Tyrrel, who was a ſtranger to fear, immediately hoiſted ſail, and gave chace. The two frigates were ſoon rendered unfit for action: upon which captain Tyrrel attacked the man of war, and poured a whole broadſide into her. A moſt deſperate and bloody engagement enſued, in which captain Tyrrel loſt three of his fingers, and was otherwiſe ſo much wounded, that he was obliged to give up the command to Mr. Marſhal, his firſt lieutenant, who fought bravely till he was killed; and then the command devolved upon the ſecond lieutenant, who fought ſo deſperately, that the Floriſſant was obliged to ſtrike; but the ſea running high before the Buckingham could board her, ſhe again hoiſted her colours, and made her eſcape. This was reckoned one of the moſt glorious actions during the war, and will ever redound to the honour of Tyrrel, who loſt only twenty men, while the French loſt 180, beſides above 300 wounded; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they could keep the ſhip above water till they got into the harbour of Martinico.

In the Eaſt-Indies things were not ſo ſucceſsfully conducted this year as might have been expected, though no blame could be thrown upon our commanders, who exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. Admiral Pocock, being joined by commodore Stephens with ſeveral ſhips of the line, they ſet ſail from the bay of Madraſs, in order to intercept the French fleet, which they expected to fall in with near the bay of St. David.

On the 29th of March the Admiral came up with the French fleet, conſiſting of nine ſhips of the line, and reſolved to give them battle. The engagement laſted ſeveral hours; and about five in the evening the French admiral got before the wind, and the Engliſh admiral gave the ſignal for a general chace; but night coming on, he was obliged to deſiſt. In the morning the purſuit was continued; but ſeveral of the ſhips were ſo much diſabled, and the wind was ſo much in favour of the French, that the Engliſh admiral was obliged to anchor in the bay of Madraſs. There he learned that one of the French ſhips had been ſo much damaged that they had been obliged to run her aground; and that they had not been able to land any forces at St. David's. Three of the Engliſh captains, who had not been active enough in obeying the admiral's ſignals, were tried by a court-martial, and broke; for it was in conſequence of their conduct that the French fleet eſcaped, which otherwiſe would have been totally deſtroyed.

The next object the admiral had in view was the reduction of Pondicherry; and having repaired his ſhips, he ſet ſail for that place on the 10th of May. He arrived in the bay oppoſite to that fort on the 30th of May where he got ſight of the French fleet, but could not come up with them, which obliged him to return to Madraſs, in order to conſult on the moſt proper methods to be uſed, and likewiſe to get a ſupply of freſh proviſions, of which the fleet was in great want.

Having conſulted with the governor, and got every thing ready, the admiral weighed anchor on the 25th of July, and in two days got ſight of the French fleet, conſiſting of eight ſhips and a frigate. They were ſteering towards Pondicherry, and admiral Pocock made the ſignal for a general chace, but could not come up with them till the 3d of Auguſt, when a general engagement enſued. The French admiral found it impoſſible to reſiſt the bravery of the Engliſh; and therefore, in a few minutes, he gave way, while the Engliſh purſued till night, when they were parted, and by that means the French got into the road of Pondicherry. In this engagement the Engliſh had a conſiderable number wounded, among whom were commodore Stephens and captain Martin; but they had not above forty killed.

On the 14th of September colonel Draper, on board the commiſſary's ſhip Pitt, arrived at Madraſs, having under his command ſome companies of his own regiment: and in the beginning of December the French forces encamped near a place called Choultry. The Engliſh cannonaded them a whole day, and next morning they ſeemed as if going to draw up in order of battle. Colonel Draper, with colonel Lawrence, being afraid that they might cut off their retreat, took poſſeſſion of the Black Town, and the French marched up to attack it; but one of their regiments was ſurprized by colonel Draper, and almoſt cut off. Had the colonel been properly ſupported, he would, in all probability, have defeated the enemy; but his numbers were ſo ſmall, that he was obliged to retreat.

Having thus particularized the events of the war in Europe, Aſia, Africa and America, we ſhall cloſe the foreign tranſactions of this year with relating a circumſtance of a very peculiar nature that happened in Portugal, namely, an attempt to aſſaſſinate the king, the particulars of which were as follow:

On the 3d of September his majeſty, according to cuſtom, going out in a carriage to take the air, attended by one domeſtic, was, in the night, at a ſolitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horſeback, armed with blunderbuſſes, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his ſovereign, drove the mules at full ſpeed; a circumſtance which, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted the other two conſpirators, who purſued him at full gallop; and having no leiſure to take aim, diſcharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The ſlugs with which they were loaded happened to paſs between the king's right arm and his breaſt, dilacerating the parts from the ſhoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body.

Finding himſelf grievouſly wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with ſuch preſence of mind as cannot be ſufficiently admired, inſtead of proceeding to the palace, which was at ſome diſtance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueira, which was at ſome diſtance, where his principal ſurgeon reſided, and there his wounds were immediately dreſſed. By this reſolution,

ſolution, he not only prevented the irreparable miſchief that might have ariſen from an exceſſive effuſion of blood, but, without all doubt, ſaved his life from the hands of other aſſaſſins poſted on the road to accompliſh the murder, in caſe he ſhould eſcape alive from the firſt attack. This inſtance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on the ſuppoſition that it muſt have been the effect of divine inſpiration; and indeed, among a people addicted to ſuperſtition might well paſs for a favourable interpoſition of Providence.

The king being thus diſabled in his right arm, beſtowed, by a public decree, the abſolute power of government upon the queen his conſort. In the mean time, no perſon had acceſs to his preſence but herſelf, the firſt miniſter, the cardinal de Saldanha, and the phyſicians and ſurgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the ſhipping in the port of Liſbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with a promiſe of pardon to the accomplices, for diſcovering any of the aſſaſſins; and ſuch other meaſures taken, that in a little time the whole conſpiracy was unfolded: a conſpiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by perſons of the firſt quality and influence; ſeveral of whom, immediately after the attempt, were arreſted, and confined as principals in the deſign.

The chief conſpirator, Don Joſeph Maſcarenhas and Lencaſtre, duke of Aveiro, marquis of Torres Novas, and conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-ſteward of the king's houſhold, and preſident of the palace court, or laſt tribunal of appeal in the kingdom; ſo that he poſſeſſed the firſt office in the palace, and the ſecond of the realm. Franciſco de Aſſiz, marquis of Tavora, conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horſe, and head of the third noble houſe of the Tavoras, the moſt illuſtrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the antient kings of Leon: he married his own kinſwoman, who was marchioneſs of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquiſate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldeſt ſon, who, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the pope, had eſpouſed his own aunt, Donna Thereſa de Tavora. Joſeph Maria de Tavora was alſo involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronymo de Attiade, conde of Attouguia, himſelf a relation and married to the eldeſt daughter of the marquis of Tavora. The characters of all theſe perſonages were unblemiſhed and reſpectable, until this machination was detected.

In the courſe of inveſtigating this dark affair, it appeared that the Duke de Aveiro had conceived a perſonal hatred to the king, who had diſappointed him in a projected match between his ſon and a ſiſter of the duke of Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining ſome commanderies which the late duke of Aveiro had poſſeſſed; that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge againſt the perſon of his ſovereign, had exerted all his influence and addreſs in procuring the aſſiſtance of the malcontents: that, with this view, he had reconciled himſelf to the Jeſuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incenſed againſt the king, who had diſmiſſed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of diſgrace, on account of their illegal and rebellious practices in South-America: that the duke had, moreover, inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the marchioneſs of Tavora, notwithſtanding an inveterate rivalſhip of pride and ambition, which had long ſubſiſted between the two families: that her reſentment againſt the king was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulſes, when ſhe ſolicited the title of duke for her huſband: that her paſſions were artfully fomented and managed by the Jeſuits, to whom ſhe had reſigned the government of her conſcience; and they had perſuaded her, that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church, and a tyrant to his people: that ſhe, being reconciled to the ſcheme of aſſaſſination, had exerted her influence in ſuch a manner, as to inveigle her huſband, her ſons, and ſon-in-law, into the ſame infamous deſign; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition: that many conſultations were held by the conſpirators at the college of the Jeſuits, St. Antao and St. Roque, as well as at the houſe of the duke and marquis: at laſt they reſolved, that the king ſhould be aſſaſſinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joſeph Policarpio, for the execution of this horrid deſign.

Before the circumſtances of the conſpiracy were known, the counts de Oberos and de Rabeira Grande were impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Julian, on a ſuſpicion ariſing from their freedom of ſpeech. The ducheſs of Aveiro, the counteſs of Attouguia, and the marchioneſs of Alorna, with their children, were ſent to different nunneries; and eight Jeſuits were taken into cuſtody.

A council being appointed for the trial of the priſoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and ſentence of death was pronounced on the convicted criminals. On the day of execution eight wheels were fixed upon a ſcaffold, raiſed in the ſquare oppoſite to the houſe where the priſoners had been confined. At one corner of the ſcaffold was a ſtake, to which was faſtened Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, one of the aſſaſſins who fired into the king's equipage; and at the other was placed the effigy of his accomplice, Joſeph Policarpio de Azevedos, who had made his eſcape. The marchioneſs of Tavora, being brought upon the ſcaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was, in compliment to her ſex, beheaded at one ſtroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two ſons, and her ſon-in-law the count of Attouguia, with three ſervants of the duke de Aveiro, were firſt ſtrangled at one ſtake, and afterwards broke upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered; but the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conſpiracy, were broke alive, and underwent the moſt excruciating torments.

The laſt that ſuffered was the aſſaſſin Alvarez, who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combuſtibles, which had been placed under the ſcaffold, were ſet on fire, the whole machine with their bodies conſumed to aſhes, and theſe aſhes thrown into the ſea. The eſtates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiſcated, and their dwelling-houſes razed to the ground. The name of Tavora was ſuppreſſed for ever by a public decree; but that of Maſcarenha ſpared, becauſe the duke de Aveiro was but a younger branch of the family. A reward of 10,000 crowns was offered to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the aſſaſſin that had eſcaped; and then the embargo was taken off the ſhipping. The king and royal family aſſiſted at a public Te Deum, ſung in the chapel of Noſſa Senhora de Livramento; on which occaſion the king, for the ſatisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to ſhew he was not maimed by the wounds he had received.

Nor were the Portugueſe miniſtry ſatisfied with theſe examples of juſtice. Without waiting for a bull from the pope, they ſequeſtered all the eſtates and effects of the Jeſuits in that kingdom, which amounted to conſiderable ſums, and reduced the individuals of the ſociety to a very ſcanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the jeſuits in Portugal. In the mean time, the court of Liſbon ordered a conſiderable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and reſolved that no jeſuit ſhould hereafter reſide within its realms. When theſe tranſports arrived at Civita Vecchia, they were, by the pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houſes could be prepared for their reception at Tivoli and Freſcati. The moſt guilty of them, however, were detained cloſe priſoners in Portugal.

Let us now direct our attention to affairs at home.

The parliament met on the 23d of November, and the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, his majeſty being then indiſpoſed. In the ſpeech which the lord-keeper made to both houſes, he told them, that his majeſty had directed the lords named in the commiſſion to aſſure his parliament, of his having always received the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that tended to promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdom: that in conſequence of their advice, and enabled by their aſſiſtance, his majeſty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour, in order to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace: that it had pleaſed the divine providence to bleſs his meaſures with ſucceſs in ſeveral parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the ſtrength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of fort Frontinac, of the higheſt importance to his operations in America, together with the reduction of Senegal; could not fail of bringing diſtreſs on the colonies and commerce of the French; and, in proportion, to procure large advantages to thoſe of Great Britain. He obſerved, that France had alſo been made ſenſible, that while her forces had been ſent out to invade and to ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coaſts were not inacceſſible to his majeſty's fleets and armies; a truth which ſhe had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a view to annoy England; as well as in the loſs of a great number of ſhips and veſſels; but no treatment, however injurious to his majeſty, could prevail upon him to make retaliation on the innocent ſubjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany, his majeſty's good brother the king of Pruſſia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the Engliſh operations, both by ſea and land, in America, had derived the moſt evident advantages; their ſucceſſes owing, under God, to the able conduct, and the bravery of his majeſty's troops, and thoſe of his allies, having been ſignal and glorious. The lord-keeper added, that the king had alſo commanded them to declare, that the common cauſe of liberty and independence was ſtill making noble and glorious efforts againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs it: that the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be paralleled during ſuch troubles. In this ſtate of things he ſaid, the king in his wiſdom thought it unneceſſary to uſe many words to perſuade them to bear up againſt all difficulties, effectually to ſtand by and defend his majeſty, vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia and the reſt of his majeſty's allies, and to exert themſelves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He obſerved to the houſe of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occaſioned it to be uncommonly expenſive: that the king had ordered him to declare to the commons, that he ſincerely lamented, and deeply felt, the burdens of his people: that the ſeveral eſtimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be thought neceſſary to puſh the war with advantage, and be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. In the laſt place he aſſured them, that the king took ſo much ſatisfaction in that good harmony which ſubſiſted among his faithful ſubjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it: that this union, neceſſary at all times, was more eſpecially ſo in ſuch critical conjunctures; and his majeſty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the ſtrongeſt motive to induce them to purſue it.

To this ſpeech both houſes returned addreſſes to the throne, aſſuring his majeſty of their unſhaken zeal and loyalty to his perſon; congratulating him on the ſucceſs of his arms, and declaring, that they would readily ſupport his meaſures and allies with ſteadineſs and alacrity.

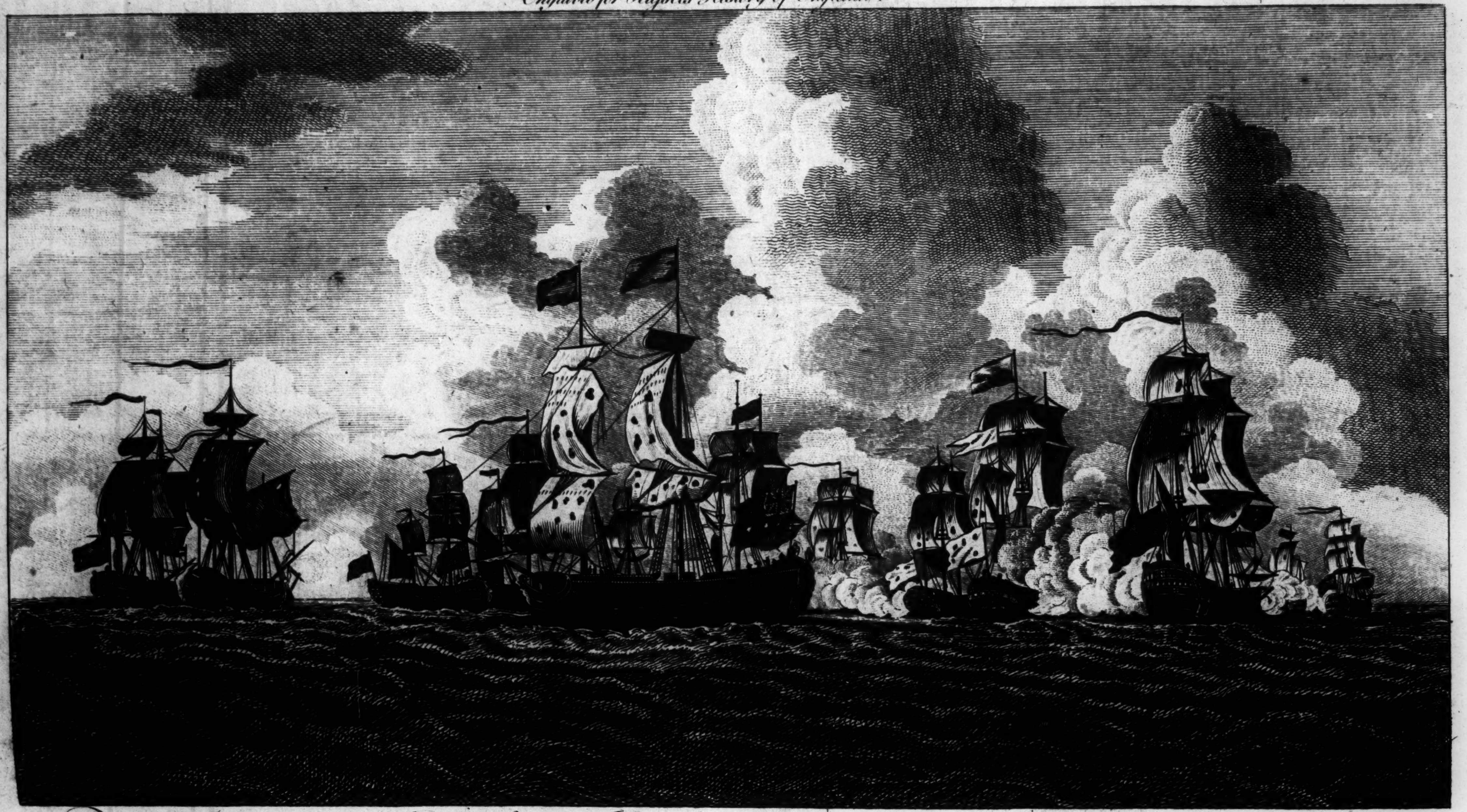
The miniſtry, encouraged by this approbation of their conduct, reſolved to proſecute the war in every quarter, and particularly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia with ſtill greater vigour than ever. With this view, on the ſeventh day of December, a new treaty was concluded at London between that prince and the Britiſh nation, importing, that as the burthens of war in which the king of Pruſſia was engaged laid him under the neceſſity of making freſh efforts to defend himſelf againſt the multitude of enemies who had attacked his dominions, he was obliged to take new meaſures with the king of England for their reciprocal defence and ſafety; and as his Britannic majeſty had at the ſame time ſignified his earneſt deſire to ſtrengthen the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two courts, and, in conſequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention for granting to his Pruſſian majeſty ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, their majeſties had nominated and authoriſed their miniſters to concert and ſettle the following articles:

All former treaties between the two crowns are confirmed by the preſent convention in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inſerted word for word. The king of Great Britain ſhall cauſe to be paid at London, to ſuch perſons as ſhall be authoriſed by the king of Pruſſia for that end, the ſum of four millions of rix dollars, making 670,000l. ſterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Pruſſia ſhall ſo require. His Pruſſian majeſty ſhall employ the ſaid ſum in ſupporting and augmenting his forces, which ſhall act in ſuch a manner as ſhall be of the greateſt ſervice to the common cauſe, and contribute moſt to the mutual defence and ſafety of their ſaid majeſties. The king of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the king of Pruſſia, reciprocally bind themſelves not to conclude, with the powers that have taken part in the preſent war, any treaty of peace, truce, or other ſuch like convention, but by common advice and conſent, each expreſly including therein the other. The ratifications of the preſent convention ſhall be exchanged within ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible.

The addreſſes of thanks were no ſooner preſented, than the commons proceeded, with the utmoſt alacrity, to grant the ſupplies for the enſuing year, the whole of which amounted to upwards of twelve millions. Out of this the ſum of 200,000l. was voted towards the building and repairing ſhips of war; 600,000l. for the charge of tranſports; 25,000l. for maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia;

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

Engraved for Russels History of England.



The French Squadron under the Command of Mons.r De la Clue, defeated off Cape Logos by Admiral Boscawen on the 18. August 1759.

gia; and one million on account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary for diſappointing or defeating any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigencies of affairs ſhould require.

A. D. 1759. The parliament having granted the neceſſary ſupplies for a vigorous proſecution of the war, the military preparations were carried on with the moſt diſtinguiſhed alacrity. The royal navy was repaired, and the number of ſhips augmented; and in order to man the different ſquadrons fitting out, the preſs for ſeamen was vigorouſly proſecuted. At the ſame time a proclamation was iſſued, offering a very conſiderable bounty to ſuch ſailors and landmen as ſhould voluntarily offer, before a certain day, to ſerve his majeſty. The government was joined in this declaration by many cities, towns, corporations, and even individuals, who alſo offered bounties to ſeamen. In a word, the people were ſo univerſally animated with a deſire of humbling effectually the diſturbers of the public peace, that they laboured ſincerely to effect it.

The navy of France was at this time ſo reduced, that the French reſolved upon making one bold puſh; but as their whole finances were exhauſted, they were obliged to oppreſs the ſubjects in the moſt cruel manner. Great preparations were made by them along the coaſts of Normandy and Bretagne; forces were collected together, and ſeveral new ſhips were built. There was not the leaſt doubt but they intended to invade England, for they had provided a great number of flat-bottomed boats at Havre de Grace and ſome other ports. A ſmall ſquadron was to be fitted out at Dunkirk, and the command given to Mr. Thurot, a perſon of obſcure birth, but poſſeſſed of ſuch abilities as would have done honour to the higheſt ſtation in the navy. It was ſuppoſed that ſquadron was intended for making a deſcent on Scotland; but every thing was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy that the public were left merely to conjecture. Another ſquadron was to make a deſcent on Ireland; and the whole was to be eſcorted by M. de Conflans, who, with the duke de Aguillon, was then at Breſt, giving the neceſſary orders.

The Engliſh miniſtry, who attended to the intereſts of the nation with the greateſt integrity, took care to be beforehand with their enemies. A ſquadron, under commodore Boys, was ordered to lie oppoſite the harbour of Dunkirk: the fleet in Breſt was blocked up by admiral Hawke; and captain Duff watched Vannes, another of their ports: ſo that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible for them to get their ſhips out of their harbours.

On the ſecond of July admiral Rodney came to an anchor before Havre de Grace, in order to prevent the flat-bottomed boats from joining the fleet, and ſo fruſtrate the whole ſcheme. Next day he attacked the town with two veſſels, and threw ſuch a number of bombs into it, that moſt of their magazines were deſtroyed. The bombardment continued fifty hours without intermiſſion, and was ſo dreadful that the town was three times ſet on fire. The flat-bottomed boats were likewiſe ſet on fire, and continued burning ſix hours; ſo that it took ſeveral hundred men to extinguiſh it.

The conſternation of the inhabitants was greater than can be imagined; many of them forſook their dwellings, while the military continued erecting batteries, and throwing up entrenchments; for they imagined that the admiral intended to land. The conduct of the admiral on this occaſion ſtruck ſuch a terror into the French miniſtry, that they became divided in their councils; for they found it almoſt impoſſible that ever they could make a deſcent on England, while our navy did their duty.

In the mean time the brave admiral Boſcawen was ſent into the Mediterranean, to block up the harbour of Toulon, where the French had a fleet under the command of M. de la Clue. Three Engliſh men of war were ſent to burn two of the French ſhips that guarded the mouth of the harbour; but a calm coming on, the enemy took the advantage, and fired ſo briſkly, that the Engliſh veſſels were greatly damaged, and the Engliſh admiral was obliged to return to Gibraltar. The French ſeized that opportunity of getting out of the harbour, thinking to get through the gut of Gibraltar without being ſeen by the Engliſh. Admiral Boſcawen ordered one of his ſhips to cruize, and to keep a good look out, that he might have timely notice of their arrival. Accordingly, on the 17th of Auguſt, the cruizing veſſels brought notice to the admiral, that the French fleet were ſteering along the coaſt of Barbary, ſeeming as if they intended to paſs the gut, and ſo get into the ocean. The whole fleet were immediately ordered to weigh anchor, and get under ſail: and next day, about two in the afternoon, they came up with the French; but it was ſome time longer before they could engage, the wind dying away. The Engliſh admiral came up with M. de la Clue, in a large French firſt-rate called the Ocean, about four in the afternoon, and the engagement began in the moſt furious manner; the French, according to their uſual cuſtom, aiming all their fire at our ſails and rigging. By this method of fighting, the Namur, admiral Boſcawen's ſhip, was ſo much damaged, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the Newark; and ſoon after, the Centaur, a ſhip of 74 guns, ſtruck to the Engliſh.

The French admiral ſtood in for the land, which admiral Boſcawen ſeeing, ordered the America and Intrepid to go and deſtroy his ſhip; but the French admiral ſaved them the trouble: for having one of his legs broke, he got on ſhore, and then the ſhip ſtruck. Admiral Boſcawen ordered her, as ſhe was little better than a wreck, to be ſet on fire; while he burnt another, and two were brought off with very little damage; ſo that the Engliſh obtained this important victory with the loſs of only fifty-ſix men.

This was a moſt fatal blow to the French, for beſides the loſs of four capital ſhips, their two fleets were prevented from joining; but ſtill they carried on their preparations at Breſt, like broken gameſters, who, when they have borrowed a trifle, will venture all upon it. A large body of land forces, with the Iriſh brigades, were kept in readineſs in order to embark on board the tranſports; and a train of artillery was to be ſent along with them. Thurot had made his eſcape out of the harbour of Dunkirk, in order to ſail round the coaſt of Scotland, to divide our fleet, by obliging ſome of them to ſail that way; but all their projects were defeated by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke.

That brave admiral continued to block up the harbour of Breſt, with a fleet of 23 ſhips of the line; while another ſquadron, under the command of commodore Duff, cruized along the coaſt to keep the people in continual alarm, and to prevent any of their privateers putting out to ſea. The French miniſtry were out of all patience, becauſe of their fleet in Breſt lying inactive; and therefore, in the month of November, poſitive orders were ſent to M. de Conflans to make an attempt to get out.

A great ſtorm ariſing on the coaſt, the Engliſh fleet were driven out to ſea, and on the tenth of November they came to an anchor in Torbay road.

This gave the French admiral an opportunity of making out of the harbour, his deſign being to attack and deſtroy the ſmall ſquadron under the command of commodore Duff, and ſo prevent his junction with the grand fleet. In the mean time, the weather being more favourable, Sir Edward Hawke ſet ſail for his former ſtation, and diſpatched the Coventry and Maidſtone frigates a-head of the ſquadron, to give proper ſignals of the approach of the enemy. About ten in the morning of the 20th of November the Maidſtone gave the ſignal, upon which Sir Edward ordered all the ſhips to draw near and form a-breaſt. The enemy were juſt at that inſtant in purſuit of Duff's ſquadron; but ſeeing the Engliſh fleet, they hoiſted all the ſail they could, by which Duff had an opportunity of joining the admiral. Sir Edward ordered ſeven of the ſhips to give them chace; and in the mean time, that no opportunity ſhould be loſt, he bore down upon them with the reſt of the fleet, keeping all the ſhips formed in the line of battle.

Future ages will regard with admiration the conduct of the Engliſh admiral on this memorable occaſion. The coaſt was full of rocks and ſhallows, the wind was blowing towards the ſhore; he had few pilots to give him proper directions, and the enemy had a great number of land forces. But no fear of danger could make him neglect that duty he owed to his country; he knew that our enemies were forming ſchemes to make the Britiſh as abject ſlaves as themſelves; and therefore he was determined either to conquer or periſh in the attempt. The two fleets came up together near the iſland of Belliſle, about half an hour after two in the afternoon, and the engagement began between the van of the Engliſh and the rear of the French. The admiral in the mean time continued in purſuit of the van, and came up with the French admiral's ſhip, into which he poured a broad-ſide. A large French ſhip named the Theſee came up to the aſſiſtance of admiral Conſlans ſhip the Soliel; but the Royal George, on board of which was admiral Hawke, ſunk her in an inſtant, and every perſon on board periſhed, affording a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle to thoſe who ſaw it.

Notwithſtanding the weather was very tempeſtuous, the battle was carried on with great fury. The Superb, a large French ſhip, was ſunk ſoon after the Theſee, and the formidable ſtruck their colours. The Heros, another of the French ſhips, ſubmitted, and came to an anchor about four in the afternoon; but the ſea continued running ſo high, that the boats could not get up to man her. The night coming on, the ſhattered remains of the French fleet made their eſcape, except the Soliel, in which was the admiral; but when morning came, he diſcovered that he had lain all night at anchor in the midſt of the Engliſh, and therefore ſlipped his cable to make his eſcape. Sir Edward Hawke ordered the Eſſex to purſue her; but unfortunately ſhe happened to ſtick on a ſand-bank; ſo that the Vengeance, Portland and Chatham, were ordered upon the ſame ſervice. The French admiral ſeeing no methods to be uſed in order to ſave his ſhip, got with his men into what boats he had, and then ſet her on fire; while the Engliſh did the ſame to two large ſhips which they had driven upon the ſand-banks.

Seven large ſhips of the French ſquadron were ſtill riding at anchor, which the Engliſh admiral ſeeing, ordered the fleet to weigh, but the weather being very tempeſtuous, he was a ſecond time obliged to come to an anchor. The French, ſeeing nothing leſs than immediate deſtruction before them, threw overboard all their ammunition, guns and ſtores, and then took ſhelter in the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they were protected by ſeveral batteries erected for the purpoſe.

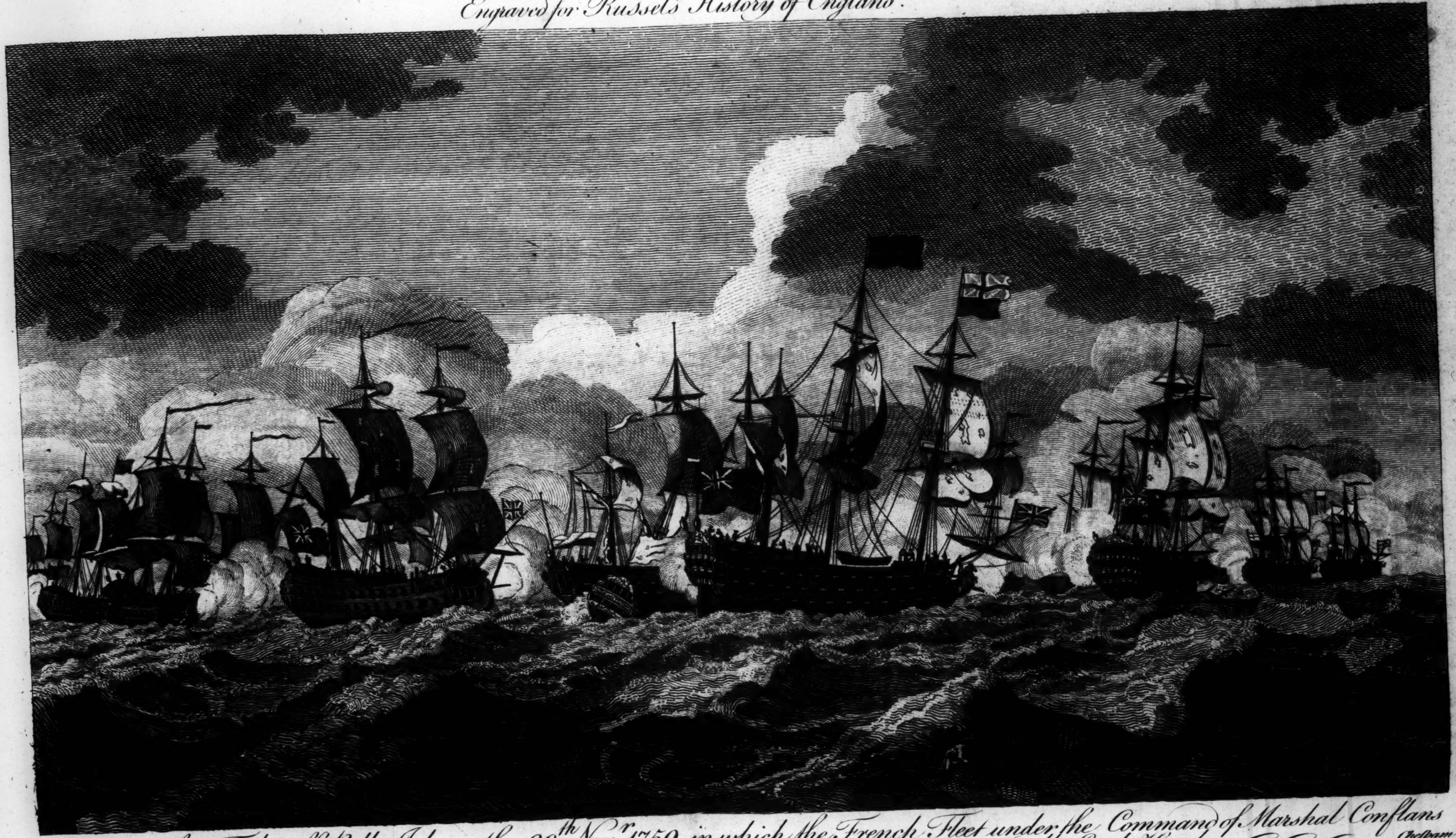
In this engagement only one lieutenant and thirty-nine men were killed, and about 200 wounded; a trifling loſs, when put in competition with the amazing victory we obtained; by which the projected invaſion, that had ſo long alarmed the apprehenſions of Great Britain, was rendered abortive, and a finiſhing blow given to the naval power of France.

Sir Edward Hawke continued cruiſing off the coaſt of Bretagne for a conſiderable time after he had defeated Conſlans, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the French ſhips might not come out, and join the ſhattered remains of their ſquadron, which had found means to reach Rochfort. At laſt, the Engliſh admiral was recalled home, and gratified by his ſovereign with a conſiderable penſion for the courage and conduct he had ſo often and ſo eminently diſplayed in the ſervice of his country.

A plan having been laid for improving the ſucceſs of our arms in North America, by carrying them up the river St. Lawrence, and attacking Quebec, the capital of Canada, a fleet deſtined for this important undertaking ſailed from St. Helen's, on the 12th of November, in the preceding year, under the command of captain Hughes, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, one frigate, three bomb-ketches, and a fleet of tranſports, having on board ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, beſides 800 marines diſtributed among the ſhips of war; the whole forces being under the command of major general Hopſon, aſſiſted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane; and the lieutenant-colonels Trapand and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of ſeven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carliſle-bay, where they joined commodore Moore, who had received orders to aſſume the command of the united ſquadrons, amounting to ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-ketches. Having ſpent ſome time in ſupplying the fleet with wood and water, and taking in a number of negroes to aſſiſt in drawing the artillery, they ſailed from Carliſle-bay on the 13th of January: but by this time the troops, unaccuſtomed to a hot climate, were conſiderably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhœas, the ſcurvy and the ſmall pox, which laſt diſorder had unfortunately broke out on board the tranſports. Next morning the ſquadron came within ſight of Martinico, the place of its deſtination. The chief fortification on this iſland was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garriſoned by four companies, which did not exceed 150 men, thirty-ſix bombardiers, eighty Swiſs and fourteen officers. Their whole ſtore of proviſions conſiſted of only 100 barrels of beef, and they were in want of all other neceſſaries. The only preparations they had made for defence were ſome trifling entrenchments thrown up at St. Pierre, and at a place called Caſenavire, where they ſuppoſed the deſcent would be attempted.

On the 15th of January our ſquadron entered the great bay of Port-Royal, ſome of the ſhips being expoſed to the ſhot of a battery erected on Pidgeon Iſland, ſituated about half way up the bay. Next day three ſhips of the line were ordered to attack Fort Negro, a battery at the diſtance of three miles from the citadel, mounted with ſeven guns only, which were ſoon ſilenced. The marines and ſailors then landed in flat bottomed boats, and took poſſeſſion of the fort, the enemy having abandoned it with the utmoſt precipitation. The Britiſh colours were immediately hoiſted, and the detachment ordered to

Engraved for Russel's History of England.



The Great Sea Fight off Belle-Isle on the 20th Nov^{r}. 1759 in which the French Fleet under the Command of Marshal Conflans was Defeated by the British Fleet commanded by the Hon^{ble}. Sir Edward now Right Hon^{ble}. Lord Hawke.

Chesham sculp.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

keep poſſeſſion of the battery. Three ſhips were now detached to Caſenavire, and that battery, conſiſting only of four guns, was likewiſe deſtroyed. Some French troops, who had been ſent from the citadel to oppoſe the landing, obſerving the whole Britiſh ſquadron already within the bay, and Fort Negro poſſeſſed by the marines, deſerted the beach, and withdrew to Port Royal, ſo that the Engliſh troops were diſembarked without oppoſition, and advanced towards Fort Negro. By ten the next day the Engliſh officers had brought up ſome field pieces to a hill, and ſcoured the woods, from whence our troops had been greatly annoyed by the enemy's ſmall ſhot, during the beſt part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the Engliſh forces advanced towards an eminence that overlooks the town and citadel of Port Royal, and ſuſtained a terrible fire from the French militia, who were entirely concealed among the trees and buſhes. The general now found that he ſhould meet with much greater obſtruction from the nature of the ground than from the ſtrength of the enemy; the whole country being interſected with a number of gullies, incloſed by ſteep and almoſt perpendicular precipices, which rendered it extremely difficult for the troops to advance, and abſolutely impoſſible for them to tranſport their artillery: he, therefore, informed the commodore, that he could not maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron would ſupply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, or aſſiſt him in attacking the citadel by ſea, while he ſhould make his approaches by land; but both theſe expedients were deemed impracticable, the attempt upon Port Royal was given up, and the troops being recalled from their advanced poſts, were reimbarked in the evening without moleſtation.

A council of war being now held, it was reſolved to make an attack on St. Pierre, and the fleet proceeding to that part of the iſland, entered the bay on the 19th; when the commodore told the general, that he could undoubtedly reduce the iſland, but as the ſhips might be ſo diſabled in the attack as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; and as the reduction of the iſland of Guadaloupe would be of great ſervice to the ſugar colonies, he thought it would be moſt adviſeable for them to conduct the armament to that iſland. The general having agreed to this propoſal, they immediately ſteered for Guadaloupe, which lies about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Martinique. This iſland is divided into two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea, or more properly a narrow paſſage, thro' which no ſhip can venture, but the inhabitants always paſs it in a ferry boat. The country on the weſt ſide is called Baſſa-terre, and here the metropolis ſtands, defended by the citadel and other fortifications. The eaſtern part, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Grand-terre, is defended by Fort Louis, and a redoubt, which commands the road in the diſtrict of Goſier. The gut, or canal, that ſeparates the two parts, is called the Salt River, having at each end a road or bay, one of which is termed the great Cul de Sac, and the other the ſmall Cul de Sac. The country is populous and flouriſhing, and the government comprehends two ſmaller iſlands, called All Saints and Deſeada, which appears at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland.

The Engliſh ſquadron being arrived at Baſſa-terre, the chief engineer reconnoitered the town, and pronounced it abſolutely impregnable to ſhipping; notwithſtanding which, the commodore reſolved to attack it early next morning. At nine the engagement was begun by captain Trelawney, in the Lyon, and the reſt of the ſhips continuing to draw up a-breaſt of the citadel and batteries, the action ſoon became general, and was maintained with equal vivacity on both ſides for ſeveral hours. About five in the afternoon the fire of the citadel was exhauſted, and at ſeven all the batteries were ſilenced. Four bomb-ketches were then anchored near the ſhore, and began to ply the town with ſhells and carcaſes; ſo that in a little time the houſes were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up, and about ten at night the whole place was involved in one general conflagration.

The next day the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Baſſa-terre, where they found the hulls of ſeveral ſhips which the enemy had ſet on fire at their approach. Some veſſels turned out and endeavoured to eſcape, but were taken by our men of war. At five in the afternoon the troops landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. A deſerter coming in, informed them, "that the regular "troops on the iſland conſiſted of five companies "only, and that they had laid a train to blow up the "powder magazine in the citadel; but had been "obliged to retreat with ſuch precipitation, as pre-"vented their putting this deſign in execution." Immediate orders were given to cut off the train, and ſecure the magazine. The nails with which the enemy had ſpiked up their cannon were drilled out, and the Britiſh colours hoiſted upon the parapet. Part of the troops took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt on an eminence, and part entered the town, which ſtill continued burning with great violence. At day-break the enemy, to the number of 2000, appeared about four miles from the town, and began to throw up entrenchments near a houſe where the governor had fixed his head quarters, declaring he would maintain this poſt to the laſt extremity. The nature of the ground ſeems to have inſpired him with this reſolution, it being in the neighbourhood of a paſs called the Dos d'Ane. The aſcent from Baſſa-terre to this paſs was ſo very ſteep, and the way ſo broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no proſpect of attacking it with ſucceſs, except at the firſt landing, when the inhabitants were ſeized with the moſt terrible panic; which, however, was but of ſhort duration, for they afterwards behaved with great ſpirit and activity in defence of their country. They very prudently avoided coming to a general engagement with our troops, in which they muſt undoubtedly have been defeated, but reſolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of war in ſeparate parties, which alarmed and haraſſed our men with hard duty in a ſultry climate, where they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions and refreſhment; and in conſequence of which both the army and navy were attacked with fevers and other diſeaſes, whereby the regimental hoſpitals were ſo crouded, that it was judged neceſſary to ſend 500 ſick to the iſland of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

General Hopſon, finding it would be impoſſible to conquer the inhabitants on the ſide of Guadaloupe, reſolved to make an attempt on Grand-terre, in conſequence of which the great ſhips were ſent round to that place, and on the 13th of February attacked Fort Louis. After a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, a body of marines, and one of Highlanders, were landed, who, ſword in hand, drove the enemy from their entrenchments, took poſſeſſion of the fort, and hoiſted the Britiſh colours.

General Barrington now ſucceeded to the chief command, in the place of general Hopſon, who died at Baſſa-terre a few days after Fort Louis was taken, and he determined to proſecute the entire reduction of the iſland with the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch. This, however, he was not able to effect till the firſt of May, on which day the inhabitants, thinking it in vain to hold out any longer, ſurrendered the whole iſland of Guadaloupe by capitulation. A fortunate circumſtance for the Engliſh forces: for the agreement was but juſt ſigned, when a meſſenger arrived to inform the natives, that M. de Beauharnois, general of the French iſlands, had landed at St. Ann, with a reinforcement from Martinico, under convoy of a ſquadron commanded by M. de Bompart, who no ſooner heard that a capitulation was ſigned, than he reimbarked his troops with all poſſible expedition and ſailed back to Martinico.

The iſlands of Deſeada, Los Santos and Marigalante were now ſummoned to ſurrender, and they accordingly ſubmitted upon the ſame terms as were granted to Guadaloupe. General Barrington having thus happily concluded the preſent deſigns of this expedition, acquainted the commodore, that he propoſed to ſend back part of the troops, with the tranſports, to England, about the beginning of July. In conſequence of this intimation Mr. Moore ſailed with his ſquadron to Baſſa-terre road; where he was joined the next day by two ſhips of the line from England, which rendered him much ſuperior in ſtrength to M. de Bompart, who had retired with his ſquadron to the iſland of Granada about eight leagues from Guadaloupe, where he was diſcovered by one of our men of war, who ſent advice of it to commodore Moore, but before he could get under ſail, a frigate arrived with information that the French admiral had quitted Granada, and was ſuppoſed to have directed his courſe to Hiſpaniola; upon which Mr. Moore immediately diſpatched the Ludlow-caſtle with this intelligence to admiral Cotes, who commanded the Engliſh ſquadron at Jamaica.

General Barrington having made the tour of Guadaloupe, ordered that the fortifications which he thought neceſſary to be maintained ſhould be immediately repaired. He then finiſhed every thing requiſite for the ſupport of the iſland, and ſettled the affairs relating to the inhabitants; after which he ſent the highlanders, with a body draughted out of other regiments, to North America, under convoy; garriſoned the principal towns of the iſland, and left the chief command to colonel Crump. Colonel Melville was appointed governor of the citadel at Baſſaterre, and the command at Grand-terre was given to colonel Delgarno. Three regiments were aſſigned as a guard for the whole iſland, and the other three were embarked for England. In the latter end of June general Barrington himſelf went on board the Roebuck, and with the tranſports, under convoy of a ſmall ſquadron, ſet ſail for Great Britain, while commodore Moore, with the greater part of the fleet, directed his courſe to Antigua.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the Weſt-Indies, the war in America was carried on with equal vigour. In October of the preceding year a grand aſſembly had been held at Eaſton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was eſtabliſhed by a formal treaty concluded between Great Britain and fifteen nations of Indians, inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightees, another Indian nation, did not aſſiſt at this aſſembly, though ſome ſteps had been taken towards forming an alliance with that people. The deputies from the ſix nations did not fail to expreſs their reſentment on this occaſion, for ſome exceſſes committed by the Engliſh on the inhabitants of their nation. At the ſame time the Delawares and Miniſinks complained that the Engliſh had encroached upon their lands and given the firſt occaſion for hoſtilities. There was alſo a miſunderſtanding between the Indians themſelves, ſo that the principal buſineſs of the Britiſh governors was to aſcertain the limits of the lands in diſpute, reconcile the Indians to each other, remove every cauſe of complaint againſt the Engliſh, and detach thoſe ſavages from the French intereſt. The conferences continued eighteen days, when every article being ſettled to the mutual advantage of all parties, the Indians were gratified with valuable preſents, and returned the next day to their reſpective homes.

The Indians being, by this treaty, once more reconciled to the Engliſh, every method was taken for reducing the French ſettlements in Canada. Inſtead of employing the whole ſtrength of the Britiſh arms in North America, upon one object, our miniſtry reſolved to divide the forces, and make an attack on three places at once, which could not fail of diſtracting and weakening the enemy, by which means the conqueſt of Canada would be accompliſhed in one campaign, Accordingly three different expeditions were planned in ſuch a manner as to aſſiſt each other. General Wolfe was ordered to proceed up the river St. Lawrence, as ſoon as the navigation ſhould be free from ice, with a body of 8000 men, and a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips from England, to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of Canada. General (now lord) Amherſt, at the head of 12,000 regular and provincial troops, had inſtructions to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, then croſs lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the banks of the river Richelieu to the river St. Lawrence, join general Wolfe before Quebec: and brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third body of troops, reinforced by a conſiderable number of friendly Indians, aſſembled by the influence and under the command of Sir William Johnſon, had orders to inveſt the French fort near the fall of Niagara, which commanded all the interior part of that continent. As ſoon as this fort was reduced, general Prideaux was to embark on the lake Ontario, fall down the river St. Lawrence, make himſelf maſter of Montreal, and then join the army of general Amherſt. Beſides theſe larger armaments, colonel Stanwix was intruſted with a ſmaller detachment for ſubduing the more trifling forts belonging to the French, and ſcouring the banks of the lake Ontario.

General Amherſt's army was the firſt ſet in motion, but, owing to the ſhameful impediments thrown in his way by the Americans, the ſummer was far gone before he could paſs lake George with his forces, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The enemy ſeemed at firſt determined to defend this fortreſs, but perceiving the Engliſh general was at once both prudent and reſolute, they thought proper to abandon the works; purſuant to orders they had received from their general, whereby they were ſtrictly charged not to run the leaſt hazard of being made priſoners of war, but retreat from place to place towards the centre of all the military operations before Quebec: therefore they retired from the ſtrong poſt of Ticonderoga to Crown Point, a fort ſituated on the banks of Lake Champlain. General Amherſt immediately took poſſeſſion of Ticonderoga, which not only effectually ſecured the frontiers of New York, but likewiſe afforded to himſelf a ſafe retreat in caſe of neceſſity; and the joy this acquiſition occaſioned would have been compleat, had it not been damped by the loſs of colonel Roger Townſhend, who was killed by a cannon ſhot as he was reconnoitring the fort. The general now detached ſeveral ſcouting parties into the neighbourhood of Crown Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy; and, on the firſt of Auguſt, one of theſe detachments brought him intelligence, that the enemy had ſuddenly left Crown Point. In conſequence of this information he ſent a body of rangers to take poſſeſſion of the place, while he himſelf, leaving a ſtrong garriſon at

Ticonderoga, embarked with the reſt of the army, and on the fourth landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundation of a new fort, to be maintained for the ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions in that part of the country, and totally prevent the incurſions of ſcalping parties, by whom the plantations had been terribly infeſted.

General Amherſt now received advice that the enemy had retired to the Iſle Aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain: that their force encamped upon that iſland, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, conſiſted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, beſides Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to 3500 effective men, provided with a numerous train of artillery; and that the lake itſelf was defended by four large veſſels mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command and direction of M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, aſſiſted by M. de Rigal and other ſea officers.

Determined to have the ſuperiority on the lake, general Amherſt no ſooner received this intelligence, than he ordered captain Loring, whom he had for ſome time employed to ſuperintend the building of veſſels at Ticonderoga, to build, with all poſſible diſpatch, a ſloop of 16 guns, and a redeau of 84 feet in length, capable of carrying ſix pieces of large cannon. Theſe, together with a brigantine, being finiſhed, victualled, and manned, by the 11th day of October the general embarked with the whole army in batteaus, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather being tempeſtuous, he was obliged to take ſhelter in a bay on the weſtern ſhore, where the men were landed; and only captain Loring, with his ſmall ſquadron, ſailed down the lake; where he gave chace to a French ſchooner, and drove three of their ſhips into a bay, where two of them ſunk, and the other was run a-ground by her own crew, who then deſerted her; after which ſhe was got off by captain Loring, and brought with him to the bay.

Having continued ſome days wind-bound, general Amherſt re-imbarked his troops and proceeded down the lake; but the ſtorm which had abated beginning to blow again with redoubled fury, he found the ſeaſon was too far advanced for him to execute his deſign; therefore returning back to the bay where he had before taken ſhelter, he landed the troops and began his march to Crown Point, where he arrived on the 21ſt day of October. All his thoughts were now employed in completing the new fortreſs at Crown Point, together with three ſmall out-forts for its better defence; in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, the ſettlements in Maſſachuſet's-bay and New Hampſhire; and in making diſpoſitions for the winter-quarters of his troops, ſo as to protect the back colonies from the inroads of the enemy.

The only intelligence which general Amherſt had received, during the whole ſummer, of the operations before Quebec, was by ſome intercepted letters from Montcalm, the French general, who gave his correſpondent to underſtand, "That Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and ſeemed determined to undertake the ſiege of that city; that he (Montcalm) had been honoured with ſeveral notes from him, ſometimes in ſoothing terms, and at others filled with menaces; but that the French were determined to give him battle, and a few days would determine the fate of the capital of Canada."

All this time a free communication was preſerved between the forces employed againſt Niagara and thoſe under general Amherſt; and he had the pleaſure of hearing, before he left Ticonderoga, that Niagara had ſubmitted to the Engliſh arms: for general Prideaux, with his body of troops, having been reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under Sir William Johnſon, advanced to the cataract of Niagara without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. About the middle of July he inveſted the fortreſs, and carried on his approaches with the utmoſt vigour till the 20th of that month, when, viſiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the burſting of a cohorn. Information of this accident was immediately ſent to general Amherſt, who detached brigadier-general Gage to aſſume the command of that army. In the mean time the French, alarmed at the apprehenſion of loſing a place of ſuch importance, determined to exert themſelves for its relief. They aſſembled a body of regular troops from different places, amounting to 1200 men, and theſe, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of M. d'Aubry, to reinforce the garriſon of Niagara.

Sir William Johnſon, apprized of their deſign, reſolved to intercept them in their march, and for this purpoſe, in the evening, the light infantry and piquets were poſted on the road leading from the fall of Niagara to the fort. In the morning they were reinforced by the grenadiers and part of the 46th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maſſey; and another regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, was poſted at the tail of the works, in order to ſupport the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning the enemy appeared in ſight, upon which the Indians, in our ſervice, advanced to ſpeak with their countrymen, who had enliſted under the French banners: but this conference was declined by the latter, who immediately uttered the war-whoop, and the enemy began the action with great impetuoſity. In leſs than an hour victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, and the French general, with the greateſt part of his men, were killed; for the Indians, who had concealed themſelves in the wood, galled them in the ſevereſt manner. Seventeen officers were taken priſoners, a liſt of whom Sir William ſent to the French governor of the fort, requeſting him to ſurrender, as it would be in vain to attempt any reſiſtance. The governor, conſcious that he could not long defend himſelf, agreed to capitulate; and the articles being drawn, the garriſon were ſuffered to march out with all the honours of war. They were then ſent to Newark, in order to embark for France; and as for the women, with the ſick and wounded, they were treated in the moſt humane and compaſſionate manner.

Thus, by the valour and intrepidity of the Engliſh troops, Crown Point and Niagara were reduced in a very ſhort time; but the conqueſt of Quebec proved a much more difficult and hazardous enterprize. The fleet deſtined for this expedition ſailed from England about the middle of February, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes. By the 21ſt of April they were in ſight of Louiſburgh, but the harbour being blocked up with ice, they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From thence rear-admiral Durell was detached with a ſmall ſquadron to ſail up the river St. Lawrence as far as the iſle de Condres, in order to intercept any ſupplies ſent from France to Quebec. Two ſtore-ſhips, however, were all that fell into his hands, for he had the mortification to learn that 17 ſail of ſhips, freighted with proviſions, ſtores and ſome recruits, had already reached the capital of Canada, under convoy of three frigates. Admiral Saunders being now arrived at Louiſburgh, the troops were embarked on board the tranſports, and proceeded up the river St. Lawrence. The commander in chief of the forces was major-general Wolfe, and under him were the generals Monckton, Townſend and Murray, young gentlemen of approved abilities, and brought up to all the hardſhips of a military life.

About the latter end of June the troops were landed in two diviſions on the iſland of Orleans, ſituated a little below Quebec. General Wolfe immediately diſtributed a manifeſto among the inhabitants, importing, "That the king of England, his maſter, juſtly exaſperated againſt the French monarch, had equipped a powerful armament, in order to humble his pride, by reducing the moſt conſiderable French ſettlements in America: that it was not againſt the induſtrious peaſants, their wives and children, nor againſt the miniſters of religion, that he intended to make war; on the coutrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they muſt be expoſed by the quarrel: he offered them his protection, and promiſed to maintain them in their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the free exerciſe of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He obſerved, that the Engliſh were maſters of the river St. Lawrence, ſo as to intercept all ſuccours from Europe, and had beſides a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherſt: that the reſolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmoſt exertion of their valour would be uſeleſs, and ſerve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality: that the cruelties exerciſed by the French upon the ſubjects of Great Britain in America would excuſe the moſt ſevere repriſals; but Britons were too generous to follow ſuch barbarous examples: that he offered the Canadians the ſweets of peace amidſt the horrors of war; and left it to themſelves to determine their own fate by their own conduct: but whatever reſolution they might take, he expreſſed his hope, that the world would do juſtice to his conduct, which ſhould be regulated by the ſtricteſt rules of juſtice. If they choſe peace, he would protect them; but if they rejected theſe favourable terms, he muſt adopt violent meaſures. He expatiated upon the ſtrength and power, as well as the generoſity of Great Britain, in thus ſtretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to aſſiſt them on all occaſions, even when France was, by her weakneſs, compelled to abandon them in the moſt critical conjuncture."

Notwithſtanding the nervous manner in which this harangue was delivered, it was far from producing the deſired effect. The Canadians would repoſe no confidence in a people, whom their prieſts had repreſented as their moſt ſavage and cruel enemies; for which reaſon they choſe to abandon their habitations, and expoſe themſelves and families to inevitable ruin, by provoking the Engliſh with the moſt cruel hoſtilities, than remain quiet, and confide in the general's promiſe of protection. They even joined the ſcalping parties of Indians, who ſkulked among the woods, and iſſuing forth upon the Engliſh ſtragglers, butchered them with the moſt inhuman barbarity.

General Wolfe, whoſe noble nature was ſhocked at ſuch horrid proceedings, wrote a letter to the French general, wherein he repreſented, that ſuch enormities were repugnant to the rules of war obſerved by civilized nations, diſhonourable to the ſervice of France, and diſgraceful to human nature; he therefore requeſted, that the Canadians and Indians might be reſtrained within due bounds, otherwiſe he ſhould be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of burning their villages, deſtroying their plantations, and retaliating on the perſons of his priſoners whatever cruelties ſhould in the ſequel be committed on the ſoldiers and ſubjects of his maſter.

Whether Montcalm the French general countenanced theſe brutal exceſſes, or found his authority too weak to reſtrain the ſavage ferocity of the Indians, is uncertain; but this letter produced no effect; the moſt horrid barbarities were ſtill committed, and Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a ceſſation of theſe outrages, found it neceſſary to connive at ſome irregularities in the way of retaliation.

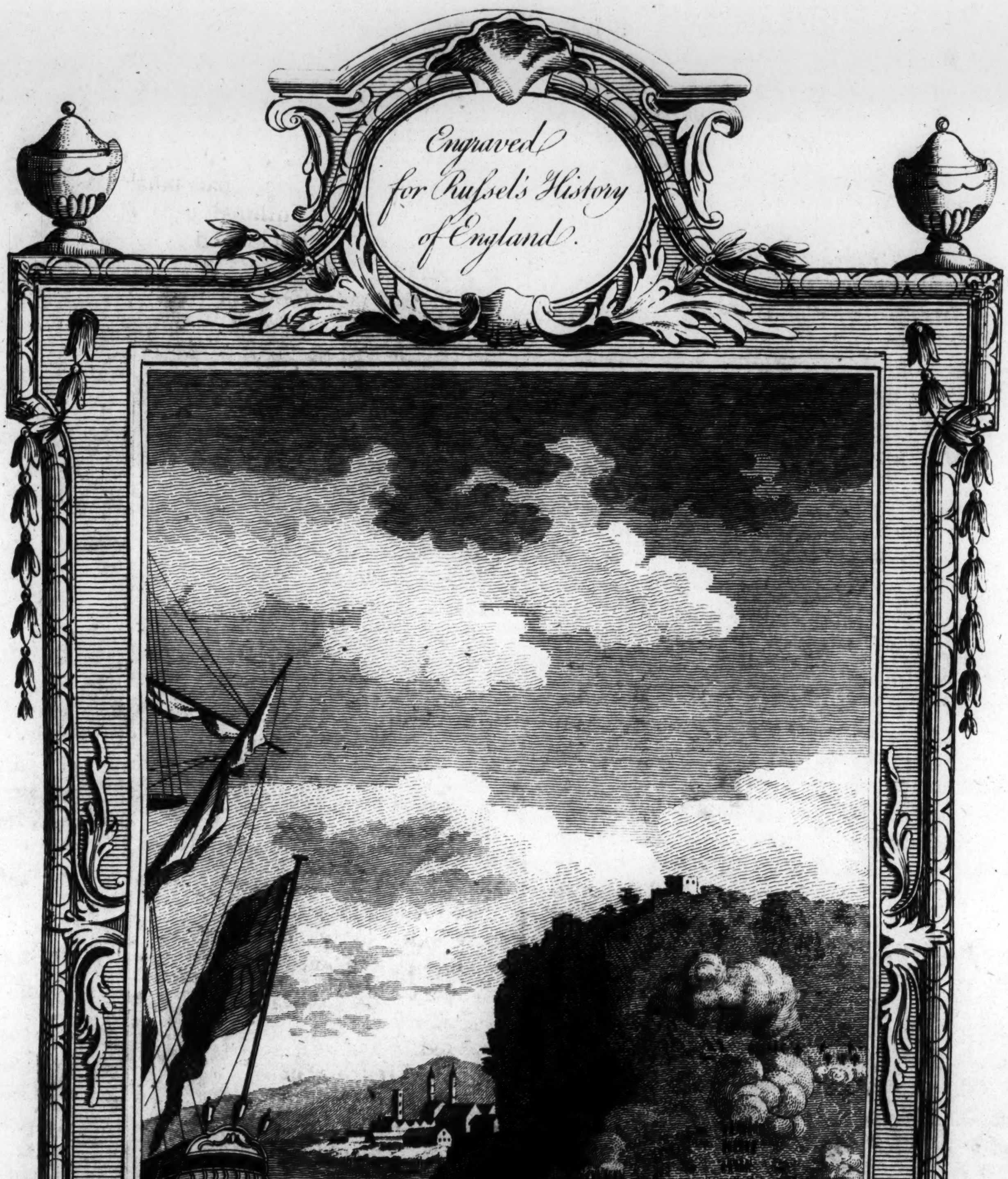
The city of Quebec was ſtrongly fortified, defended by a numerous garriſon, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſion and ammunition. The troops of the colony were reinforced with five regular battalions, formed out of the principal inhabitants: the Canadians of the neighbourhood, capable of bearing arms, were compleatly diſciplined, and reinforced with ſeveral tribes of ſavages. With this army the French general had taken poſt, in a very advantageous ſituation, along the ſhore of Beaumont, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, every acceſſible part of his camp being deeply intrenched.

General Wolfe was no ſtranger to the difficulties which muſt attend an attempt on Quebec, but he knew that it would be always in his power to retreat, in caſe of neceſſity, while the Britiſh ſquadron maintained its ſtation in the river; and he was likewiſe in great hopes of being joined by general Amherſt. Theſe conſiderations induced him to undertake the hazardous enterprize. Having received advice, that a detachment of the enemy with a train of artillery was poſted at Point Levi, on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebec, he detached brigadier Monckton againſt them, at the head of four battalions, who after ſome ſkirmiſhes obliged them to quit the poſt, which he immediately took poſſeſſion of; as did colonel Carlton, with another detachment, of the weſtern point of the iſland of Orleans; and both theſe poſts were ordered to be fortified; for had the enemy kept poſſeſſion of either, it would have rendered it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec; and what rendered the acquiſition of Point Levi ſtill more valuable was, its being within cannon ſhot of the city, againſt which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected.

The French general, who foreſaw the execution this battery would do, detached a body of 1600 men acroſs the river to attack and deſtroy the works before they ſhould be completed: but this detachment fell into diſorder, fired upon each other, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The battery was now finiſhed without farther interruption, and the cannon was employed with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time the lower part of the town was entirely demoliſhed, and the upper part received conſiderable damage.

During theſe tranſactions the Engliſh fleet was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. The troops were no ſooner landed on the iſland of Orleans, than the wind increaſed to a furious ſtorm, which blew with ſuch violence that many of the tranſports ran foul of each other, and were diſabled; a number of boats and ſmall craft foundered, and ſeveral large ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy, ſuppoſing this ſtorm muſt have produced great confuſion among the Britiſh ſquadron, reſolved to take advantage of it, for which purpoſe they prepared ſeven fire ſhips, and at midnight ſent them down from Quebec among the tranſports. This ſcheme, however, was entirely defeated by the vigilance of the Engliſh admiral, and the courage of the ſailors, who undauntedly boarded the fire ſhips, and towed them faſt on ſhore with incredible expedition, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the leaſt part of that execution for which they were deſigned.

The works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans being now completed, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats,


Engraved for Rufsel's History of England.
Chesham sculp.

The Siege of QUEBEC.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

and landing under the cover of two ſloops, encamped on the ſide of the river Montmorenci, which ſeparated them from the left of the enemy. Next morning a company of rangers, poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were attacked by the French Indians and put to flight; but our neareſt troops advancing, the Indians were, in their turn, repulſed with great loſs. In a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, general Wolfe fully explained the reaſons why he choſe to encamp near the falls of Montmorenci. He obſerved, "That the ground was high, and in ſome "meaſure commanded the oppoſite ſide, on which "the enemy was poſted: that there was a ford below "the falls, paſſable for ſome hours every tide, at "the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the "flood; and he hoped that means might be found "of paſſing the river higher up, ſo as to fight the "French general upon leſs diſadvantageous terms "than thoſe of directly attacking his intrenchments." Accordingly, in reconnoitering the river Montmorenci, a ford was diſcovered about three miles above; but the oppoſite bank, which was naturally ſteep and covered with woods, had been fortified by the enemy in ſuch a manner as to render it almoſt inacceſſible. Twice the eſcorte was attacked by the French Indians, and as often repulſed; but theſe ſkirmiſhes coſt the Engliſh upwards of forty men killed and wounded, among whom were ſeveral officers.

General Wolfe now thought it would be moſt adviſeable to defer attacking the French army till he had ſurveyed the river St. Lawrence above Quebec, where he hoped to find a place more favourable for a deſcent. Having made the admiral acquainted with his deſign, two men of war, two armed ſloops, and ſeveral tranſports, with troops on board, were ſent up the river, and they paſſed the city without receiving any damage. The general himſelf being on board of this little armament, carefully ſurveyed the banks on the ſide of the enemy, which the nature of the ground rendered extremely difficult; and theſe difficulties were farther increaſed, by the works which the French general had cauſed to be thrown up.

Thus diſappointed in his expectation, general Wolfe returned to Montmorenci, where, during his abſence, brigadier Townſhend had, by maintaining a ſuperior fire acroſs the river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the Engliſh camp. Wolfe was now reſolved to attack the French, and as the men of war could not, for want of a ſufficient depth of water, come near enough their intrenchments to do any execution, the admiral prepared two tranſports, which, on occaſion, might be run aground to favour a deſcent. Theſe veſſels the general intended ſhould aſſiſt him in making himſelf maſter of a detached redoubt, near the water's edge, ſeemingly ſituated within gun-ſhot of the intrenchment on the hill. If the enemy ſhould offer to defend this redoubt, he foreſaw that he ſhould be able to bring on a general engagement; or, on the other hand, ſhould they remain tame ſpectators of its reduction, he might then examine their ſituation at leiſure, and fix upon the place at which they could be moſt eaſily attacked.

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, every neceſſary ſtep was taken for ſtorming the redoubt. On the 31ſt of July, in the forenoon, part of brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet to be tranſported from Point Levi. The two brigades commanded by the brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were held in readineſs to croſs the ford whenever it ſhould be found neceſſary. To facilitate their paſſage, the admiral had placed the Centurion in the channel, ſo that ſhe might check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded. A numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the enemy's intrenchments: at the ſame time the two tranſports, prepared for this purpoſe, were run a-ground near the redoubt, to favour the deſcent of the troops.

The viſible agitation produced among the French by theſe previous ſteps, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was very judiciouſly directed, determined Mr. Wolfe to ſtorm the entrenchment without delay; and orders were given that the three brigadiers ſhould, at a certain ſignal, put their troops in motion, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide; but, in rowing towards the ſhore, many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off a conſiderable diſtance from it; in conſequence of which miſtake ſo much time was loſt, that the general was obliged to ſend an officer to ſtop Mr. Townſhend's corps, which he perceived was in motion.

As ſoon as the boats were floated, and ranged in proper order, the general, aſſiſted by ſeveral ſea-officers, ſounded the ſhore, in order to find a place where the troops might diſembark with the greateſt ſafety. This being diſcovered, 13 companies of grenadiers, and 200 men of the ſecond American battalion, were the firſt who landed. The grenadiers were ordered to form into four diſtinct bodies, and begin the attack, ſuſtained by brigadier Monckton's corps, as ſoon as the troops had paſſed the ford, and were at hand to aſſiſt. From ſome miſunderſtanding, however, theſe orders were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while brigadier Townſhend was on his march, at a conſiderable diſtance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, ran towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmoſt confuſion; but the firſt fire of the enemy having checked them, they were obliged to ſhelter themſelves under the redoubt, which the French had abandoned at their approach. Here they continued for ſome time, being unable to form under ſo hot a fire, notwithſtanding the efforts of their officers, who were many of them wounded, and ſome of them even loſt their lives in endeavouring to bring them into ſome kind of order. Wolfe then ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time come up. This occaſioned ſo long a delay, that the day was far advanced before any remedy could be thought of. The wind began to blow with unuſual violence, and the tide to make, therefore the general thought proper not to perſiſt in an attempt, which every circumſtance contributed to render hazardous. In conſequence of this reſolution, the troops returned without farther moleſtation to the other ſide of the river Montmorenci; and the admiral ordered the two veſſels, which were a-ground, to be ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. In this engagement, above 500 men were killed, among whom were ſeveral officers.

General Murray was now ſent with 1200 men in tranſports above the town, to act in concert with rear-admiral Holmes, whom admiral Saunders had ſent up with ſome force to deſtroy the French ſhipping. Mr. Murray was likewiſe ordered to let no opportunity eſcape of engaging the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions, he twice endeavoured to land on the north ſhore, but found it impracticable: a third attempt, however, proved more ſucceſſful: he made a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, and burnt a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, proviſion, and ammunition; after which, Mr. Holmes finding the enemy's ſhips were moored in ſuch a manner as to be out of all danger, he returned to the camp, where he received the firſt news of the reduction of Niagara and Crown Point, and that general Amherſt was employed in making preparations for an attack on the corps poſted at the iſle Aux Noix, under M. Bourlemaque.

Though this intelligence gave the utmoſt ſatisfaction to general Wolfe, yet it at the ſame time convinced him, that the hope he had entertained of aſſiſtance from general Amherſt was now no longer to be depended on. At laſt, a continual ſucceſſion of care, watching, and fatigue, produced a fever and dyſentery, by which this truly great man was for ſome time rendered incapable of performing his duty. His mind, however, was not in a ſtate of inactivity; for during the whole time of his confinement he held conſultations with his officers for the public utility. They agreed in opinion, that any farther attempts at Montmorenci would be of no effect, and that their principal operations ought to be carried on above the town, in order, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement.

In conſequence of this reſolution, as ſoon as the general was ſomewhat recovered, the troops quitted their camp at Montmorenci, and, with the artillery were reimbarked, and landed at Point Levi. They then paſſed up the river in tranſports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ſhips, to amuſe the enemy poſted on the north ſhore. The weather being extremely bad, and the tranſports very much crouded, the general ordered half of the men to be landed on the ſouth ſhore, for refreſhment.

The plan of operations was now entirely changed, there appearing no poſſibility of attacking the enemy above the town. A ſcheme was formed, and preſented, by the three brigadiers, for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night, within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of aſcending the heights of Abraham, which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city, in which place the fortifications were but indifferent.

Hazardous as this undertaking was, Wolfe reſolved to attempt it; accordingly, the time was fixed, and the neceſſary preparations made. Admiral Holmes with his ſquadron was ordered to move three leagues higher up the river than the place appointed for the diſembarkation, in order to amuſe M. de Bougainville, whom the marquis de Montcalm had detached to attend the motions of this ſquadron; but as ſoon as night came on he was to return down the river, that he might be ready to protect the landing of the forces.

On the twelfth of September, about one in the morning, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four complete regiments of light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray, though general Wolfe accompanied them, and was one of the firſt who landed. They then fell down with the tide to the intended place of diſembarkation, rowing cloſe to the north ſhore, in order to find it the more eaſily, but by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkneſs of the night, the boats overſhot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place intended. This was no ſooner accompliſhed than the boats were ſent back for a ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and highlanders, aſcended the precipices with amazing courage and activity; and in their way diſlodged a captain's guard, which defended a paſs, by which alone the reſt of the troops could reach the ſummit. The whole army then mounted without moleſtation, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived.

As ſoon as the French general was informed that the Engliſh had gained the heights of Abraham, he reſolved to give them battle; and, having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport, immediately ſet forward on his march. General Wolfe perceived them croſſing the river St. Charles, upon which he began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louiſburgh grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, with his light infantry, was poſted in the rear of the left. The manner in which Montcalm advanced plainly ſhewed that his deſign was to flank the left of the Engliſh, and accordingly brigadier Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed *en potence*, preſenting a double front to the enemy. He was afterwards reinſorced by two battalions; and the reſerve conſiſted of one regiment drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. About nine in the morning the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and reſolution, though their fire was both irregular and ineffectual. The Engliſh reſerved all their ſhot till the French approached within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a violent diſcharge, and continued the fire with ſuch ſpirit and activity as could not fail of doing terrible execution. The general had fixed himſelf where the attack was moſt warm; and ſtanding conſpicuous in the very front of the line, he was aimed at by the enemy's markſmen, and received a ſhot in the wriſt, which did not, however, oblige him to quit the field; for wrapping his handkerchief about it, he continued to give his orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately entered the breaſt of this young hero, who fell at the moment when victory was crowning all his labours with ſucceſs: for at this very inſtant every regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own peculiar character. While the right puſhed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray advanced briſkly with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the centre of the enemy; the highlanders then drawing their broad ſwords, fell in among them with irreſiſtable fury, and drove them, with great ſlaughter, into the town and works they had raiſed at the bridge over the river St. Charles.

By the death of general Wolfe, and Mr. Monckton's having received a dangerous wound, the command devolved on brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the center; and finding the troops diſordered by the purſuit, formed them again with great expedition. This taſk was ſcarce accompliſhed when M. de Bougainville, with a body of 2000 freſh men, appeared in the rear of the Engliſh. He had begun his march from cape Rouge as ſoon as he received intelligence that the Britiſh troops had gained the heights of Abraham, but could not arrive time enough to have any ſhare in the action. Two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, were immediately ordered to advance againſt him; but on their approach he retired into the woods, where general Townſhend did not think proper to follow him. He had already gained a complete victory, and was poſted in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that to have quitted it would have been an act of the higheſt imprudence.

The French general M. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and taken to Quebec, where he died. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an Engliſh ſhip, to which he had been conveyed, about

1000

1000 of the enemy were made priſoners, including a great number of field officers, and about 500 were ſlain on the field of battle. The remains of their army, after they had reinforced the garriſon of Quebec, retired to Port au Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jaques Quartiers, where they remained intrenched, till the ſeverity of the weather compelled them to make the beſt of their way to Trois Rivieres.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of 56 men killed, including nine officers, and of 506 men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loſs univerſally lamented. This gentleman was formed by nature for military greatneſs; his memory was retentive, his judgment ſound, and his comprehenſion amazingly quick and clear: his conſtitutional courage was not only uniform and daring, perhaps in the extreme, but he poſſeſſed that higher ſpecies of it, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, that ſtrength, ſteadineſs, and activity of mind, which no difficulties can obſtruct, nor dangers deter. With an unuſual liveline ſs, almoſt to impetuoſity of temper, he was not ſubject to paſſion; with the greateſt independence of ſpirit, free from pride; generous almoſt to profuſion, he contemned every little art for the acquiſition of wealth, whilſt he ſearched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deſerving ſoldier never went unrewarded; and even the needy inferior officer frequently taſted of his bounty. Conſtant and diſtinguiſhing in his attachments; manly and unreſerved; yet gentle, kind and conciliating in his manners: he enjoyed a large ſhare of the friendſhip, and almoſt the univerſal goodwill of mankind; and to crown all, ſincerity and candour, a true ſenſe of honour, juſtice, and public liberty, ſeemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rule of his conduct.

He betook himſelf, when very young, to the profeſſion of arms; and with ſuch talents, joined to the moſt unwearied aſſiduity, no wonder that he was ſo ſoon ſingled out as a moſt promiſing military genius. Even ſo early as the battle of La Feldt, when ſcarce twenty years of age, he exerted himſelf in ſo maſterly a manner, and at a very critical juncture, that it drew the higheſt encomiums from the great officer then at the head of our army. During the whole of that war he went on forming the military character; was preſent at every engagement, and never paſſed undiſtinguiſhed. Even after the peace, whilſt others lolled on pleaſure's downy lap, he was cultivating the arts of war. He introduced, without one act of ſeverity, ſuch regularity and exactneſs of diſcipline in his corps, that as long as the ſix Britiſh battalions on the plains of Minden are recorded in the annals of Europe, ſo long will Kingſley's regiment ſtand amongſt the foremoſt of that day. Of that regiment he continued lieutenant-colonel, till the great miniſter, who rouſed the ſleeping genius of his country, called him forth to higher ſpheres of action. He was early in the moſt ſecret conſultations for the attack of Rochefort; and what he would have done there, and what he afterwards did at Louiſbourg, are ſtill freſh in the remembrance of many.

He was ſcarce returned from thence when he was appointed to command the important expedition againſt Quebec. There his abilities ſhone forth in their brighteſt luſtre; in ſpite of many unforeſeen difficulties, from the nature of the ground, from the great ſuperiority of the enemy, the ſtrength of the place itſelf, and his own bad ſtate of health, he perſevered with unwearied diligence, practiſing every ſtratagem of war to effect his purpoſe: at laſt, in conjunction with his ſubordinates in command, he formed that great, that dangerous, yet neceſſary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat, and will for ever denominate him the conqueror of Canada. But there---tears will flow---there, when within the graſp of victory, he received a wound, firſt in his wriſt, and then in his breaſt, which obliged him to be carried off to a ſmall diſtance, in the rear; where, rouſed from fainting in the laſt agonies, by the ſound of THEY RUN, he eagerly aſked, "Who run?" and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he ſaid, "Then I thank God; I die contented;" and almoſt inſtantly expired, in the 32d year of his age. *

On the 5th day after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders, having firſt ſent up all the boats of the fleet with artillery and ammunition, ſailed with the ſhips of war, in order to attack the lower town; while general Townſhend ſhould be employed in aſſaulting the upper, for which he had been making the neceſſary preparations ever ſince the action. But before either of theſe deſigns could be put in practice, a flag of truce was ſent from the town with propoſals of capitulation, which being well conſidered by the general and admiral, were accepted and ſigned at eight next morning; when the Britiſh forces took immediate poſſeſſion of the place. Next day about 1000 French ſoldiers were, according to the articles of capitulation, embarked on board ſome tranſports and ſent to France; while numbers of the inhabitants delivered up their arms, and took the oath of fidelity to the Engliſh government. General Townſhend having left a garriſon of 5000 effective men at Quebec, under the command of brigadier Murray, embarked with admiral Saunders, and about the

---

* The remains of this gallant hero were depoſited in that country for the defence of which he had loſt his life. On Sunday, November 17, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, his majeſty's ſhip Royal William (in which his corpſe was brought from Quebec to Portſmouth) fired two ſignal guns for the removal of his remains. At eight o'clock the body was lowered out of the ſhip into a twelve-oared barge, towed by two twelve-oared barges, and attended by twelve others, to the bottom of the point, in a train of gloomy ſilent pomp, ſuitable to the melancholy occaſion. Minute guns were fired from the ſhips at Spithead, from the time of the body's leaving the ſhip to its being landed at Portſmouth, which was one hour. The regiment of invalids was ordered under arms before eight, and being joined by a company of the train at Portſmouth, marched from the parade there to the bottom of the point, to receive the remains. At nine the body was landed, and put into a hearſe, attended by a mourning coach, (both ſent from London) and proceeded through the garriſon. The colours on the fort were ſtruck half flag ſtaff; the bells were muffled, and rung in ſolemn concert with the march; minute guns were fired on the platform, from the entrance of the corpſe to the cloſe of the proceſſion; the company of the train led the van with their arms reverſed; the corpſe followed; and the invalid regiment followed the hearſe, their arms reverſed. They conducted the body to the Land-port gates, where the train opened to the right and left, and the hearſe proceeded through them in the way to London. Although there were many thouſands of people aſſembled on this occaſion, not the leaſt diſturbance happened; nothing was to be heard but murmuring broken accents, in praiſe of the dead hero. On the 20th at night his remains were depoſited in the burial-place belonging to his family at Greenwich.---A noble monument was afterwards erected for him in Weſtminſter-abbey; on the front of which is the following inſcription,

To the memory of
JAMES WOLFE,
Major-General and Commander in chief:
Of the Britiſh land-forces,
On an expedition againſt Quebec;
Who, after ſurmounting by ability and valour
All obſtacles of art and nature,
Was ſlain in the moment of victory,
On the 14th of September, 1759,
The King and Parliament of Great Britain
Dedicate this monument.

the beginning of winter arrived in England. Brigadier Monckton was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wounds.

The arms of Great Britain were no leſs ſucceſsful in the Eaſt than in the Weſt-Indies. Towards the cloſe of the preceding year the French general, Lally, had made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Madraſs: after which, the Engliſh being too weak to meet the enemy in the field, they planned little expeditions, which were executed with great vigour. Colonel Ford, who commanded the troops in Bengal, obtained a complete victory over M. de Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Muſulipatam, which he afterwards entered in triumph. At the ſame time colonel Maitland was detached from Bombay, with 1300 ſeapoys, and 900 Europeans, againſt the town and caſtle of Surat; which ſurrendered in a very ſhort time. Soon after the main body of the Engliſh forces, which had been ſtationed at Madraſs for the preſervation of that important ſettlement, took the field, and made themſelves maſters of the fort of Schengelpel, which commanded all the adjacent country, and ſecured the Britiſh ſettlements to the northward. Senſible of the importance of this poſt, M. Lally endeavoured to diſlodge them, but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he retired towards Wandewaſh, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment.

On the 1ſt of September vice-admiral Pocock ſailed from Madraſs in queſt of the enemy, and next day diſcovered their fleet, conſiſting of fifteen ſail, ſtanding to the northward; but his endeavours to bring them to an engagement proved ineffectual till the 10th, about two in the afternoon, when the French admiral made the ſignal for battle. The engagement was maintained with great fury on both ſides for two hours, and then the whole French ſquadron bore away to the South-eaſt with all the canvas they could ſpread. The Britiſh fleet had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging that they could not purſue; and the admiral returned to Madraſs, where his ſhips, being refitted, he once more ſailed in queſt of M. d'Ache whom he found lying at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. He immediately made the line of battle a-head, in which ſituation he continued for ſome time, but finding the enemy was reverſe to a ſecond engagement, he again returned to the harbour of Madraſs. The French ſquadron then ſailed to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be refitted; by which means they left the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt. Soon after admiral Corniſh, who had ſailed from England in the beginning of the year, with four ſhips of the line, joined admiral Pocock at Madraſs.

During the whole courſe of the war the Dutch had maintained a moſt puſillanimous, and, in ſome reſpects, a moſt inſidious neutrality, but they now proceeded to open acts of hoſtility in the Eaſt-Indies. The great extenſion of our trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and jealouſy of the Dutch factory, who poſſeſſed a ſtrong fort at Chinchura, in the river of Bengal, and reſolved, if poſſible, to engroſs the whole trade of ſalt-petre. There remains no doubt of their having tampered with the nabob, who lay under great obligations to the Engliſh, and obtained his connivance. Their ſcheme was likewiſe approved by the governor of Batavia, who undertook to put it in execution. Accordingly, under pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garriſons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of ſeven ſhips, on board which he embarked 500 European troops and 600 Malayeſe, under the command of colonel Ruſſel, who, with this armament, arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October.

Colonel Clive, who at this time reſided at Calcutta, having received intimation of their deſign, determined at all events to defeat the execution of it. He therefore complained to the nabob, who thought it moſt prudent to iſſue an order forbidding this armament to proceed up the river. At the ſame time the colonel ſent a letter to the Dutch commodore, telling him, that having been informed of his intention, he could not permit them to land forces and march to Chinchura.

The whole of the Dutch fleet was not yet arrived, therefore the commodore thought proper to aſſure Mr. Clive, that he had no intention to ſend forces to Chinchura, and only begged ſome troops might be landed for refreſhment; which requeſt was complied with, on condition that they ſhould not advance. But no ſooner was the reſt of the ſhips arrived, than, contrary to his word given, and the nabob's order, he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah fort, where his troops were landed and began their march to Chinchura. Not contented with this, as a revenge for the affront he pretended the Dutch had received in being denied a paſſage to their own factory, he took ſeveral ſmall veſſels on the river belonging to the Engliſh company; and the Calcutta, a homeward bound Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon, ſailing down the river, the commodore ſent him word, that if he attempted to paſs he would ſink him, and immediately run out his guns as if he intended to put his threats in execution; upon which captain Wilſon returned to Calcutta, and informed colonel Clive of what had happened; who ordered him, with two other ſhips, then at anchor there, to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch ſquadron. Accordingly they fell down the river, and found the enemy drawn up in line of battle to oppoſe their paſſage. The duke of Dorſet, commanded by captain Forreſter, began the engagement with a broadſide, which was immediately returned. A ſevere fire was now maintained on both ſides, till two of the Dutchmen, ſlipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven aſhore. Their commodore being thus weakened, after a few broadſides, ſtruck his flag to captain Wilſon, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained without the loſs of one man on our ſide, captain Wilſon took poſſeſſion of the prizes, and ſent the priſoners to Calcutta. In the mean time colonel Clive had detached colonel Ford, with 500 men, in purſuit of the Dutch forces who were on their march to Chinchura, but he did not overtake them till they arrived near that place; when, on the 25th of November, he attacked, and totally defeated them. Propoſals of accommodation were now ſent to colonel Ford, by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, upon which a negotiation enſued, and a treaty was concluded to the ſatisfaction of all parties.

During theſe tranſactions the council and governor of Madraſs having received intelligence that M. Lally had detached a ſtrong body of troops to the ſouthward, taken Syringham, and threatened Trichunopoly with a ſiege, it was reſolved that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, ſhould take the field, and endeavour to ſtop his progreſs. Accordingly he began his march, at the head of 2,100 Europeans, including cavalry, and 3000 blacks, with 14 pieces of cannon, and one howitz. On the 27th of November he laid ſiege to the fort of Wandewaſh, and having made a practicable breach, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. He then inveſted the fortreſs of Carangoly, which he likewiſe ſubdued, but the garriſon was allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh, M. Lally collected his forces at Arcot, and began his march to recover Wandewaſh. In their way they reduced Conjiveram, of which colonel Coote having been informed,

formed, he made a forced march towards that place. On his approach, the French abandoned it, and continuing their rout to Wandewaſh, inveſted the fort. They were cloſely followed by Mr. Coote, who hearing that a breach was already made, determined to give them battle. This was accordingly done, and the Engliſh obtained a compleat victory.

The French general, not thinking it proper to hazard a ſecond attack, retired with the remains of his army to Pondicherry. In the mean time the Engliſh commander made himſelf maſter of Chittiput, Timmery, and Arcot; in the latter of which places he found twenty-two pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a large quantity of all kinds of military ſtores.

The conqueſt of Arcot cloſed the campaign in the Eaſt-Indies, which was rendered ſucceſsful to the Engliſh by the diligence of colonel Coote, whoſe courage, conduct and activity gained him the moſt reſpectful and deſerved honour.

In Germany the war was carried on with various ſucceſs. The king of Pruſſia was ſo ſurrounded by enemies on all hands, that it was imagined he muſt be inevitably deſtroyed; but perſeverance enabled him to ſurmount every difficulty. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who commanded the allied army, had been conſiderably reinforced by freſh troops from England; and on the 13th of April he came within ſight of the French, commanded by marſhal Broglio, at Bergen, a ſmall village in the neighbourhood of Frankfort. No general could have done more than prince Ferdinand in order to procure victory; but ſuch was the ſituation of the French, that although he attacked them three different times, yet he was, in the end, obliged to retreat, but did it in ſuch excellent order, that the French were not able to purſue him. This action was a ſevere ſtroke to the allied army, who were greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; while the French, who had taken the city of Gottingen, enjoyed them in great plenty, and were every day marching farther into the electorate of Hanover, exacting of the inhabitants very heavy contributions.

It was now become, in a manner, abſolutely neceſſary for the allies to venture on an engagement, otherwiſe the French would have once more made good their winter quarters in Hanover. The French general had made himſelf maſter of the city of Minden, and ordered a camp to be formed in its neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Ferdinand, whoſe army lay encamped at Peterſhagen, acted with ſo much prudence, and diſplayed ſuch military ſkill, that the French could not perceive from his motions, whether he intended to advance or retreat. He had received advice, that a large convoy of proviſions was coming from Paderborn for the uſe of the French, and he deſigned, if poſſible, to prevent its joining the army. At the ſame time, he made as if he intended to divide his forces, and this led the French generals into a ſnare. The duke de Broglio marched, in order to attack general Wangenheim; but when he came to the top of an eminence, he was ſurprized to ſee the whole of prince Ferdinand's army drawn up in order of battle.

It was now too late to think of retiring, for on one ſide was the river Weſer, and on the other a deep moraſs, both ſtrongly guarded by the allies; ſo that the French were in great danger of being ſurrounded. The engagement was begun by the French cavalry, who came upon the Engliſh infantry with great fury. Nothing could equal the courage of the Engliſh on this occaſion; for although they were only aſſiſted by a ſmall party of the Hanoverian army, yet they cut in pieces two bodies of the French horſe who had repeatedly attempted to break through them. The Engliſh regiments of Walgrave and Kingſley cut in pieces two French battalions who attempted to ſupport the horſe; upon which the center of the French army being broken, and the reſt beginning to retreat, prince Ferdinand ſent an expreſs order to lord George Sackville, who commanded the Engliſh horſe, to come up at full gallop; but a miſunderſtanding having, for ſome time, ſubſiſted between the prince and lord George, the latter did not arrive time enough to ſhare in the glory of the victory. Had the Engliſh cavalry come up in time, the French would have been totally routed; but, by this fatal miſunderſtanding, they made good their retreat in tolerable order, the Engliſh not being able to haraſs their rear without the aſſiſtance of the horſe. As the glory of this victory was chiefly owing to the courage and bravery of the Engliſh, ſo the prince did not neglect to acknowledge it, and only regretted that the marquis of Granby had not commanded the horſe.

Great rejoicings were made in England when the news of this important victory arrived: but the ſpirits of the people were damped when they conſidered that the conduct of their own general had prevented it from being deciſive. Lord George Sackville, whoſe conduct expoſed him to great cenſure, left the army, and returned to England; on which the command of the Britiſh forces was conferred on the brave marquis of Granby, a young nobleman, who, to the moſt liberal and diſtinguiſhed benevolence, joined the moſt undaunted courage, and was obeyed by the ſoldiers from motives of love rather than fear.

The French were ſo much incenſed at their loſs of this memorable battle, that the marſhal de Belleiſle, who was at the head of the war department, loſt the whole of his reputation, while the duke de Broglio and the marſhal de Contades mutually upbraided each other. Broglio, who had gone to Paris in order to vindicate his own character, took care to repreſent that of M. de Contades in ſuch an odious light, that the latter was recalled, and the former inveſted with the chief command, partly by the intrigues of madam Pampadour, and partly by the antipathy his ſovereign had conceived againſt him.

When Broglio returned to the camp, the ſeaſon was too far advanced for action; but notwithſtanding, he reſolved to attack prince Ferdinand's lines, who was well prepared to receive him. In this, however, he miſcarried, and was obliged to return to his camp, leaving the prince at full liberty to ſecure all his cantonments, while the army went into winter quarters.

Having thus given a particular detail of the operations of this year's campaign, ſo far as they relate to us, we ſhall now direct our attention to affairs at home.

On the 14th of November the parliament met by commiſſion; and the lord-keeper informed the members, that his majeſty had called them together in order that all public affairs ſhould be laid before them; that their advice ſhould be taken in every thing of importance; and that they might beſtow ſome marks of their favour on thoſe generals and admirals who, during the ſummer, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves with ſo much honour. He added, that nothing could give him greater pleaſure than to ſee the public tranquillity reſtored; but that he would never make peace on terms which were diſhonourable. He rejoiced to find that his beloved ſubjects lived in harmony under his government; and aſſured the commons, that although great ſums of money had been granted for carrying on the war, yet none of them had been appropriated to private purpoſes, but the whole laid out in the uſes for which they were deſigned.

ſigned. He concluded by recommending to them the general ſtate of Europe, ſo far as the flames of war had been lighted; that all theſe nations had their eyes fixed upon them; and that he doubted not but they would contribute in the moſt liberal manner towards ſupporting the army and navy.

Both houſes preſented the moſt dutiful and loyal addreſſes to his majeſty's ſpeech; and a perfect union took place between the miniſtry and the parliament.

In the courſe of this year death curtailed the royal family of two of its members. The firſt of theſe was the princeſs dowager of Orange and Naſſau, governante of the United Provinces, and eldeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, who was informed of this melancholy event by a letter from the ſtates-general, wherein they condoled with him on the irreparable loſs which he, as well as they, had ſuſtained; and aſſured him they would employ all their care and attention in ſecuring and defending the rights and intereſts of the young ſtadtholder and the princeſs his ſiſter, whom they conſidered as children of the republic.—This princeſs was poſſeſſed of many perſonal accompliſhments and exemplary virtues; being pious, moderate, ſenſible and circumſpect. She had exerciſed her authority with equal ſagacity and reſolution; was reſpected even by thoſe who were no friends to the houſe of Orange; and died with great fortitude and reſignation, in the 50th year of her age. In her will ſhe appointed the king her father, and the princeſs-dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and prince Louis of Brunſwic acting tutor to her children.

The death of this amiable princeſs was ſoon followed by that of the princeſs Elizabeth-Carolina, ſecond daughter of his late royal highneſs Frederic prince of Wales, a lady of the moſt engaging manners. She died at Kew in the month of September, before ſhe had attained the 19th year of her age.

In the ſpring of this year * the liberal arts received a ſevere blow in the death of George Frederic Handel,

---

* The year 1759 is remarkable for having produced ſeveral murders which were attended with the moſt unparalleled inſtances of barbarity. Though theſe incidents are not immediately connected with a general hiſtory, yet they deſerve not to be paſſed unnoticed, more eſpecially as they are ſtill in the memory of a great part of the preſent age. The moſt remarkable of theſe were the following:

One Halſey, who commanded a merchant ſhip in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived ſome perſonal diſlike againſt a poor ſailor, named Davidſon, inſulted him with ſuch abuſe, expoſed him to ſuch hardſhips, and puniſhed him with ſuch wantonneſs of cruelty, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in deſpair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have reſcued a miſerable object from his brutality, plunged into the ſea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he ſhould not eſcape while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exerciſed his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, tied him to the ſhrouds with a cord, and beat him for ſome time with ſuch violence, that in a few hours after the poor creature expired. This ſavage ruffian was likewiſe indicted for the murder of another mariner called Edwards; but being convicted on the firſt trial, the ſecond was found unneceſſary, and the criminal ſuffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild for malefactors convicted of ſuch aggravated cruelty.

Another barbarous murder was committed in the country near Birmingham, upon a ſheriff's officer, by the ſons of one Darby, whoſe effects the Bailiff had ſeized on a diſtreſs for rent. The two young aſſaſſins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, ſo that he hardly retained any ſigns of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they ſtripped him naked, and dragging him out of the houſe, ſcourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the fleſh was cut from his bones. In this miſerable condition he was found weltring in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring houſe, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a deſperate reſiſtance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the ſons were hung in chains, and the body of the father diſſected.

In the month of April five French priſoners, confined on board the king's ſhip the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-priſoner, in revenge for his having diſcovered that they had forged paſſes to facilitate their eſcape. Enraged at this detection, they ſeized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, ſtripped him naked, tied him with a ſtrong cord to a ring-bolt, and ſcourged his body with ſuch ſavage cruelty, as almoſt put an end to his life. By dint of ſtruggling the poor wretch diſengaged himſelf from the cord with which he had been tied; and being unable to ſtand, fell upon his back; they then finiſhed the tragedy, by leaping and ſtamping on his breaſt, till the cheſt was broke, and he expired. They afterwards divided the body into ſmall pieces, and conveyed it through the neceſſary into the ſea, becauſe the throwing it over-board would have alarmed the centry. Next day 27 of the French priſoners being carried on ſhore, one of them gave information of the murder; in conſequence of which the criminals were ſecured, brought to trial, condemned, and puniſhed with death.

A miſcreant, whoſe name was Haines, having eſpouſed the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, who poſſeſſed an eſtate of eighty pounds a year, which he intended to divide among ſeven children, was ſo abandoned as to form the deſign of poiſoning the whole family, that, in right of his wife, he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal ſcheme, he employed his own father to procure him a quantity of arſenic; part of which he adminiſtered to three of the children, who were immediately ſeized with the dreadful ſymptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldeſt expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes which he bought for the purpoſe, and preſented to the other three children, who underwent the ſame terrible convulſions which had proved fatal to the eldeſt brother. The inſtantaneous effects of the poiſon occaſioned a ſuſpicion of Haines, who being ſeized and examined, the whole ſcene of villany was diſcloſed. Nevertheleſs, the villain found means to eſcape.

Nor were the inſtances of cruel aſſaſſination which prevailed at this time confined to Great Britain. An atrocious maſſacre was perpetrated by two Genoeſe mariners, upon the maſter and crew of an Engliſh veſſel, among whom they were inrolled. Theſe monſters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumſtance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to reſt with his fellows of the watch, conſiſting of the mate and two ſeamen, he waited till they were faſt aſleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having ſo far ſucceeded without diſcovery, he returned to the deck and communicated the exploit to his aſſociate; they then ſuddenly attacked the maſter of the veſſel, and cleft his head with an hatchet, which they likewiſe uſed in murdering the man who ſtood at the helm; a third was likewiſe diſpatched, and no Engliſhman remained alive but the maſter's ſon, a boy, who lamented his father's death with inceſſant tears and cries for three days; at the expiration of which he was likewiſe ſacrificed, becauſe the aſſaſſins were diſturbed by his clamour.---This barbarous tragedy was acted within 60 leagues of the rock of Liſbon; but the veſſel was taken between the capes Ortugal and Finiſterre by the captain of a French privateer called La Favourite, who ſeeing the deck ſtained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ſhip deſtroyed, began to ſuſpect that the maſter and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confeſſed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted the detail to the Engliſh conſul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was ſent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign puniſhment, notwithſtanding the war that ſubſiſted at this time between the two nations.

A maſſacre, if poſſible ſtill more ſhocking and horrid, was committed about the ſame time by a negro at St. Euſtatia. This man being at work on a ſhip in the harbour, and having had ſome words with a white perſon, ſtabbed him in his paſſion; upon which another negro told him that he would certainly be put to death for this cruel murder, and that he could be ſubjected to no greater puniſhment if he had killed twenty more. The fellow, rendered deſperate by this intimation, ſnatched up a knife, and throwing himſelf into the water, ſwam immediately to ſhore. The firſt perſon he met happened to be an Engliſh ſailor, and him he cut acroſs the belly in ſuch a manner that his bowels came out. This done, he ruſhed in a moment into a woollen-draper's ſhop, and ſtabbed the apprentice, who was ſitting behind the counter: he then ran into the ſtreet, and dangerouſly wounded two or three others. By this time the people were greatly alarmed; but the fellow being deſperate, every body ſhunned him. The governor offered a reward to any one who would ſeize him alive, and a ſailor undertook it, armed with a muſket; but if he found it impracticable, he was ordered to ſhoot him The negro, who was then at the wharf-ſide, alone, ſaw him coming, and met him with great reſolution. He made an eſſay to ſtab the ſailor, by giving a ſudden leap upon him; but the tar avoided the blow, and ſtruck him with the butt end of the muſket ſo as to break his arm. Upon this the negro, with great agility, ſeized the knife in the one hand, and made another puſh at the ſailor, but with as little ſucceſs as before; and by another blow he was, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other

Handel, the moſt celebrated maſter in muſic which this age has produced. He was by birth a German; but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he met with the moſt favourable reception, and reſided above half a century, univerſally admired for his ſtupendous genius in the ſublime parts of muſical compoſition.

A. D. 1760. The firſt matters that engage our attention on the opening of this year are, the proceedings of the parliament, which were in all reſpects ſatisfactory to the miniſtry. They voted 70,000 men for the ſervice of the royal navy; and 3,640,000l were granted for maintaining them. It is unneceſſary to mention all the particulars which were taken into conſideration during this ſeſſion of parliament; but certain it is, nothing was aſked by the miniſtry that the commons refuſed. They granted a ſupply of 15,003,563l. 15s. and 9d$\frac{1}{2}$; more than could have been raiſed by any nation beſides Britain; but however enormous, yet it was no more than what was neceſſary. The militia were this year raiſed in ſeveral counties, and put under proper regulations; ſo that there was no reaſon to apprehend that any circumſtance would ariſe that could in the leaſt diſturb the internal peace of the kingdom.

The ſupplies being granted, the commons took into conſideration the ſtatute of the 9th of queen Anne, by which it is enacted, that no perſon ſhall be elected a knight of the ſhire, unleſs he is poſſeſſed of 600l. per ann. nor any one returned to ſerve as a burgeſs, unleſs he had 300l. It ſeems that this act, however ſalutary, and calculated to promote the intereſt of the people, by ſupporting the dignity of parliament, had been proſtituted to the baſeſt purpoſes. Methods had been found out to elude the force of it, and many perſons had procured ſeats in the houſe of commons, who were not, according to law, properly qualified.

In order to remedy an evil of ſo dangerous a nature, a bill was brought in, and paſſed both houſes, by which it was enacted, that every perſon duly elected ſhall, previous to his taking the oaths, deliver in to the clerk a true eſtimate of his eſtate, and that ſhall be left to be inſpected by any member who chuſes, and the newly elected member ſhall ſwear to the truth of the contents.

Several other acts were paſſed, particularly one for the regulation of the payment of prize-money due to ſeamen, which before had been left to the diſcretion of the commiſſioners of the navy. A bill was brought in and paſſed for regulating weights and meaſures, and proper proviſion was made for raiſing the ſums granted to his majeſty. After which, the parliament was prorogued by commiſſion.

We have already obſerved that a ſmall ſquadron, under the command of M. de Thurot, had, in the month of October of the preceding year, taken ſhelter at Gottenburgh in Sweden. From thence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway, and this year, about the latter end of January, he ſailed again for the northern part of Ireland, with an intention to make a deſcent about Derry; but before this deſign could be put in execution, they were driven out to ſea by a violent ſtorm, and in the night loſt ſight of one of their ſhips, which never joined them again. As ſoon as the tempeſt would permit, Thurot ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, where he landed his troops in hopes of finding ſome refreſhment, and accordingly they were ſupplied with ſome black cattle and a little oatmeal, for which they paid a reaſonable price. By this time his arrival in the Britiſh ſeas had filled the whole nation with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were poſted along the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland; and beſides the ſquadron under commodore Boys, who ſailed to the northward in purſuit of Thurot, ſeveral ſhips of war were ordered to ſcour the Briſtol channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. In the mean time Thurot ſailed from Iſla to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, where, on the 21ſt of February, he actually made a deſcent with 600 men, and meeting with no oppoſition they advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, and the circumſtances of lieutenant colonel Jennings, who at this time commanded four companies of raw undiſciplined troops there, would admit. A regular attack was made, and a ſpirited defence maintained, till the ammunition of the Engliſh failed, which for ſome time they ſupplied the want of with ſtones and rubbiſh. But colonel Jennings, finding it would be in vain to reſiſt, ſurrendered, on condition that neither he nor his troops ſhould be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed by ſending thither an equal number of French priſoners from Great Britain or Ireland. The enemy, however, were ſoon obliged to abandon their conqueſt, for a conſiderable body of regular troops were by this time collected, which Thurot having received intelligence of, ordered his men to re-imbark immediately. In the mean time intelligence had been diſpatched to captain Elliot, who commanded the Æolus, Pallas, and Brilliant frigates, at Kingſale, that three French ſhips lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus. He immediately ſailed, and on the 28th of February diſcovered the enemy. About nine in the morning, captain Elliot in the Æolus engaged the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, the other two being attacked by the Pallas and Brilliant. After a warm action, maintained with equal ſpirit on all ſides for two hours and a half, in which time M. de Thurot was killed, one of captain Elliot's lieutenants boarded the Belleiſle, and ſtruck her colours himſelf, upon which the commander ſubmitted. This example was followed by the other French ſhips, and captain Elliot conveyed his prizes to the Iſle of Man.

---

other perſons who had gathered round, ſecured alive. He was immediately brought to trial, and condemned; and next day hung alive in irons upon a gibbet, where he continued in the moſt violent agonies, and ſhrieking in the moſt terrible manner for the ſpace of three days. His greateſt cry was for water, the weather being then extremely hot, and the ſun being full upon him.

To the above melancholy events we ſhall add one of an accidental nature, which was truly ſurprizing and deplorable in all its circumſtances.

A ſloop, called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New York, met with ſuch unfavourable weather, that ſhe was detained 165 days in the paſſage, and the proviſion of the ſhip was altogether expended before the firſt 50 days were elapſed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all the ſhoes on board: at length, being reduced to the laſt extremity, they agreed to caſt lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot ſhould fall might ſerve for ſome time to ſupport the ſurvivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spaniſh gentleman and paſſenger. Him they ſhot with a muſquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the intrails and the reſt of the carcaſe they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleſhed the famiſhed crew, they began to talk of another ſacrifice; from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonſtrance of their captain, Mr. Baron, who prevailed upon them to be ſatisfied with about an inch and a half ſquare of leather to each man per diem, cut from a pair of breeches that were found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, together with the graſs which grew plentifully upon the deck, theſe poor objects made ſhift to ſubſiſt for twenty days; at the expiration of which they were relieved by one captain Bradſhaw, who happened to fall in with them at ſea, and took them on board his ſhip. By this time the whole crew, conſiſting of ſeven men, were ſo ſqualid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and ſo reduced in point of ſtrength, that it was found neceſſary to uſe ropes and tackle for hoiſting them from one ſhip to another.

During the courſe of this year the war in America was carried on with equal vigour as in the preceding. The French emiſſaries from the province of Louiſiana had, by their arts, induced the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of the Indians, ſettled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, to break out into open acts of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, which they began by plundering, maſſacring and ſcalping ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects of the more ſouthern provinces. Mr. Lyttelton, governor of South Carolina, having received information of theſe outrages, obtained the neceſſary aids from the aſſembly of his province for maintaining a conſiderable body of forces, which was raiſed with great expedition. In the beginning of October he marched at the head of 800 regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country poſſeſſed by the Cherokees, who were ſo much intimidated by his vigorous proceedings, that they ſent a deputation of their chiefs to ſue for peace, which was re-eſtabliſhed by a new treaty, dictated by the Engliſh governor. But theſe ſavages were far from intending to perform the articles of this treaty; for Mr. Lyttelton had hardly returned from their country, before they made an attempt to ſurprize the Engliſh fort at Prince George, near the frontiers of Carolina: but this ſcheme proving abortive, they wreaked their vengeance upon the Engliſh ſubjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. They then made incurſions into the Britiſh ſettlements at the Long Lanes, and the forks of the Broad river, and maſſacred about forty coloniſts. Theſe horried cruelties alarmed all the ſouthern colonies of the Engliſh, upon which general Amherſt was applied to for aſſiſtance; and 1200 men were detached to South Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery. Immediately after his arrival at Charles Town, he advanced to Ninety-ſix, and proceeded to Twelve Mile River, which he paſſed in the beginning of June without oppoſition, and arrived in the neighbourhood of an Indian town, called Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous ſituation, reſolving to ruſh upon the enemy in the night, as he had reaſon to believe they were ignorant of his arrival. Accordingly he began his march through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Eſtatoe, about twenty-five miles diſtant from his camp, which they reached early in the morning; but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. The town, however, was deſtroyed; and colonel Montgomery followed his blow with ſuch amazing rapidity, that in the ſpace of a few hours he deſtroyed Sugar Town, and every village and houſe in the lower nation.

Having thus taken ample revenge on this perfidious people, he returned to fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children, whom he made priſoners. Two of their warriors were ſet at liberty, and ordered to inform their nation, that though they were now in the power of the Engliſh, they might ſtill, on their ſubmiſſion, enjoy the bleſſings of peace. This meſſage, however, produced no effect, upon which colonel Montgomery reſolved to make a ſecond irruption into the middle-ſettlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the 24th of June. Having ſuſtained a very troubleſome fire from the enemy in their way, they at length arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forſaken, after having removed every thing of value. Here they encamped on a ſmall plain ſurrounded by hills, from whence they were terribly incommoded by vollies from the Indians, which wounded ſome men and killed ſeveral horſes, the loſs of which was of infinite conſequence; and colonel Montgomery, ſenſible that he could proceed no further, without leaving his proviſions behind, or abandoning the wounded men to the brutal revenge of a ſavage enemy, reſolved to return, and in the beginning of July arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having coſt him about 75 men killed and wounded, including five officers. The Cherokees now aſſembled to a conſiderable number, and formed the blockade of Loudon, a ſmall fortification on the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconſiderable garriſon, ill ſupplied with proviſion and neceſſaries, notwithſtanding which they ſuſtained a long ſiege, but were at length obliged to capitulate, on condition that the whole garriſon ſhould retire; which the Indians conſented to, and deſired, that when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokee priſoners confined at that place might be releaſed, all hoſtilities ceaſe, a laſting accommodation be re-eſtabliſhed, and a regular trade revived. In conſequence of this treaty, the garriſon evacuated the fort, but they had not marched above 15 miles before they were ſurrounded by a large body of Indians, who maſſacred all the officers except captain Stuart, and ſlew 25 of the ſoldiers: the reſt were made priſoners, and diſtributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous interceſſion of the Indian chief Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, who had done the Engliſh many good offices ſince the renovation of the war, and now ranſomed Mr. Stuart at the expence of all he could command, and conducted him ſafe to Halſtan river, where major Lewes had advanced with a body of Virginians.

While theſe things were tranſacting in the ſouthern colonies of America, the military operations in the northern were carried on with equal vigour and alacrity. But the garriſon which had been left the preceding year at Quebec, under the command of general Murray, ſuffered greatly during the winter from the intenſe cold, and the want of vegetables and freſh proviſions. Before the end of April 1000 of the ſoldiers periſhed with the ſcurvy, and twice that number were rendered unfit for ſervice.

Such was the ſituation of the garriſon, when general Murray received intelligence that the French commander, the chevalier de Levy, was employed in aſſembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal, and that he was determined to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, as ſoon as the river St. Lawrence was free from ice. Every precaution was now taken for the defence of the place, and the reception of the enemy, who, on the night of the 26th of April, landed at Point au Tremble. General Murray was not willing, by ſhutting up his troops at once within the walls, to riſque his whole ſtake on the ſingle chance of defending a wretched fortification; he therefore determined to hazard an engagement. In conſequence of this reſolution he attacked the enemy; but his ſucceſs was not equal to his courage; for after an obſtinate diſpute, which laſted about an hour and three quarters, he was obliged to abandon the field, with the loſs of about 1000 men killed and wounded, and the greater part of his artillery. The enemy, however, loſt twice that number of men, without gaining any eſſential advantage from their victory. On the very evening of the battle, the French opened the trenches before the town, which general Murray, having made the neceſſary preparations, reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity.

Lord Colvil, who, with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips, had wintered at Halifax, ſailed from thence on the 22d of April; but was retarded in his paſſage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great ſhoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who ſailed from England with a ſmall reinforcement, arrived, about the beginning of May, at the Iſle of Bec in the river St. Lawrence, with two ſhips, where he propoſed to wait for the reſt of his ſquadron, which had ſeparated from him in his paſſage. One of theſe had, on the 9th of May, ſafely entered the harbour of Quebec, and communicated the agreeable intelligence of a ſquadron being arrived in the river. As ſoon as commodore Swanton received advice that Quebec was beſieged, he ſailed up the river, and on the 15th in the evening anchored above Point Levi, when general Murray ſent him word, that he was very deſirous the French ſquadron above the town ſhould be removed. Accordingly captain Schomberg of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe, were ordered to ſlip their cables early the next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a great number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion than the French ſhips fled in the utmoſt diſorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond, the other ran aſhore, and was burnt at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all the other veſſels were taken or deſtroyed. The enemy were ſo diſpirited by this misfortune, and the intelligence that a ſtrong fleet was already arrived in the river St. Lawrence, that in the following night they raiſed the ſiege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their proviſions, implements and artillery behind them. They retired to Jaques Quartier, where their ammunition beginning to fail, they gave over all thoughts of ſucceeding againſt Quebec, and began to prepare for the preſervation of Montreal, againſt which the force under Mr. Amherſt was deſigned. That general had paſſed the winter at New York, and was at this time employed in taking meaſures for the execution of a plan he had projected, for completing the conqueſt of Canada. He ſent inſtructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be ſpared from the garriſon of Quebec. He then detached colonel Haviland, with a body of troops from Crown Point, to take poſſeſſion of the iſle au Noix, in Lake Champlain, and from thence penetrate the ſhorteſt way to the bank of the river St. Lawrence; while he himſelf, with the main body of the army, amounting to above 10,000 men, including Indians, ſhould proceed from the frontiers of New York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneidas, to the lake Ontario, and ſail down the river St. Lawrence to the iſland of Montreal.

In purſuance of this plan, general Amherſt had provided two armed ſloops to cruize on the lake Ontario, commanded by captain Loring; as well as a great number of batteaus, or ſmaller veſſels, for the tranſportation of the troops, artillery, ammunition, implements, and baggage. Several regiments were ordered to advance from Albany to Oſwego; and the general taking his departure from Schenectady, with the reſt of the troops, in the latter end of June, arrived at the ſame place on the ninth of July; when having received advice that two French veſſels had appeared off Oſwego, he diſpatched ſome batteaus to Niagara with intelligence to captain Loring, who immediately ſet ſail in queſt of them; but they eſcaped his purſuit. The army being aſſembled, and reinforced by a conſiderable body of Indians, under the command of Sir William Johnſon, the general detached colonel Haldimand with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and one battalion of Highlanders, to take poſt at the bottom of the lake, and aſſiſt the armed veſſels in finding a paſſage to La Galette. On the tenth of Auguſt the army embarked on board the batteaus and whale boats, and proceeded on the lake towards the mouth of the river St. Lawrence. Hearing that one of the enemy's veſſels had run a-ground, and was diſabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, the general determined to make the beſt of his way down the river to Swegatchie, and attack the French fort at Iſle Royale, one of the moſt important places on the river St. Lawrence. In their way they fell in with a French ſloop, commanded by M. de la Broquerie, who, after a warm engagement, ſurrendered. Mr. Amherſt having detached ſome engineers to reconnoitre the coaſts and iſlands in the neighbourhood of Iſle Royale, he made a diſpoſition for attacking that fortreſs. Batteries being raiſed on the neareſt iſlands, the fort was cannonaded, and a diſpoſition made for giving the aſſault, when Mr. Pouchant, the governor, thought proper to beat a parley, and ſurrender on capitulation: upon which the general took poſſeſſion of the fort, and having repaired the fortifications, left a garriſon in it.

The navigation down the river St. Lawrence, from this place, is rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffs, or rapides, and falls; among which the general loſt above fourſcore men, forty-ſix batteaus, ſeventeen whale-boats, one row-galley, with ſome artillery, ſtores, and ammunition. On the ſixth of September the troops were landed on the iſland of Montreal, without any other oppoſition than what they met with from ſome flying parties, who, having exchanged a few ſhot, fled with the utmoſt precipitation. After a march of two leagues, the general drew up his army on a plain before Montreal. He then ordered ſome pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing place, and determined to undertake the ſiege in form; but the next morning the marquis de Vandreuil demanded a capitulation, which, after ſome letters had paſſed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reaſon to expect, conſidering that general Murray, with the troops from Quebec, had, by this time, landed on the iſland; and colonel Haviland, with the body under his command, had likewiſe juſt arrived. General Amherſt now took poſſeſſion of Montreal, the acquiſition of which finiſhed the conqueſt of all Canada; and nothing now remained to be done in North America, but the demolition of the fortifications of Louiſburg on the iſland of Cape Breton; for which purpoſe ſome able engineers had been diſpatched from England. By means of mines artfully diſpoſed and well conſtructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were tranſported to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired ſo as to accommodate 300 men occaſionally; and the hoſpital, with the private houſes, were left ſtanding.

The Britiſh arms were no leſs ſucceſsful in the Eaſt Indies than in America. After the reduction of Arcot, the garriſons of Permacoil and Allumparva ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, in the beginning of May. The important ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land forces commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh and major Monſon, and the French garriſons made priſoners of war. Colonel Coote, having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and ſubdued ſeveral of the enemy's ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, at length ſhut them up within the walls of Pondicherry, which was well fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon. Five ſhips of the line, commanded by captain Haldane, blocked it up by ſea, while colonel Coote carried on the ſiege by land; which was delayed for ſome time by the exceſſive rains; but on the eighth of December four batteries, which colonel Coote had erected, were all opened at midnight, and, though placed at a conſiderable diſtance, they did great execution. The garriſon defended the town with aſtoniſhing reſolution till about the middle of January, when all the inhabitants being in danger of periſhing by hunger, the principal of the Jeſuits, accompanied by two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation; which conduct the governor was far from approving of; for he ſent out at the ſame time a paper full of invectives againſt the Engliſh, for the breach of treaties relative to India: adding, that theſe breaches rendered him incapable of propoſing any conditions. It may therefore be ſaid, that he rather ſuffered the Engliſh forces to take poſſeſſion of the place, than, that he ſurrendered it; as he refuſed to capitulate, the propoſals of the inhabitants were little regarded; and the city of Pondicherry, with a garriſon of about 1400 European ſoldiers, a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, and great riches, were given up at diſcretion to the conqueror. Soon after the acquiſition of Pondicherry, a little French ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar, called Mahie, was reduced, by which means Great Britain commanded the whole trade of the vaſt peninſula of India, from the Ganges to the Indies, the moſt extenſive and profitable ſphere of commerce in the univerſe.

The war in Germany this year was carried on with equal ſpirit on both ſides, and each vied with the other in their endeavours to augment their forces. The enemy's corps, under M. Broglio, conſiſted of near 100,000 effective men; beſides 30,000 drawn out of their quarters in Duſſeldorp, Cleves, Cologn, and Weſel, which, being completed by draughts from France, formed a ſeparate army on the Rhine, under the count de St. Germain. At the opening of this campaign, we had in Germany twelve regiments of heavy, and one of light horſe; and twelve regiments with two Highland battalions of foot; the whole amounting to about 22,000 men, but in the courſe of the ſummer they were further reinforced to near 25,000. The allied army fell very ſhort of the French army in numbers; but they exceeded it in quality of the troops; thoſe newly arrived from England were freſh, but not undiſciplined; and the old, though haraſſed, were accuſtomed to victory.

It was very late before the campaign was opened; for the allied army did not march from their cantonments till the fifth of May, when they proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the 20th, they encamped: part of the troops having been left in the biſhopric of Munſter, under general Sporcken, with orders to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head againſt the French corps commanded by the count de St. Germain. General Imhoff was ſent with a detachment to Kirchayn on the Orme; and general Gilſoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirchfield on the Fulda. By the 24th of June prince Ferdinand quitting his camp at Fritzlar, advanced to Frillendorf, and took poſt on the hills between Ziegenheim and Freyſa, general Imhoff commanding at a ſmall diſtance on the right, while the hereditary prince was ſtationed on the left of the army. In the mean time, the duke de Broglio aſſembling his forces between Merlan and Laubach, advanced to Neuſtadt, where on the 28th he encamped, and at the ſame time occupied a ſtrong poſt at Waſſemburg. His ſcheme was to penetrate through the country of Heſſe into Hanover, and make himſelf entirely maſter of that electorate. With this view he reſolved to effect a junction with the count de St. Germain, whom he ordered to advance towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himſelf decamping from Neuſtadt, on the 8th of July, advanced by the way of Frankenberg. Prince Ferdinand having received advice that the count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the 9th of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildurgen, while the hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with ſome battalions and ſquadrons under major-general Griffin, was ſent forwards to Saxenhauſen, whither the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but ſuppoſing their whole force did not exceed 10,000 infantry and 17 ſquadrons, he reſolved to give them battle. Accordingly he attacked them, and the action became very warm and obſtinate: but the ſuperiority of the enemy rendered all the efforts of the prince ineffectual, and prince Ferdinand was at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt him. He, therefore, made the proper diſpoſitions for a retreat, which proved a very difficult taſk, for ſome bodies of the German troops, both horſe and foot, fell into great confuſion, which the enemy perceiving, puſhed forward upon them with irreſiſtable fury, and in all probability the whole infantry of the allies would have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince put himſelf at the head of Bland's and Howard's regiments of dragoons, and charged the enemy with ſuch impetuoſity as ſoon ſtopped their career, and enabled the allies to make an undiſturbed retreat. In this engagement the hereditary prince was wounded; and about 500 men were killed beſides the loſs of fifteen pieces of cannon.

Prince Ferdinand having received intelligence that a body of the enemy, commanded by major-general Glaubitz, had advanced on the left of the allies to Ziegenheim, detached the hereditary prince, at the head of ſix battalions of Hanoverians and Heſſians, with Elliot's regiment of light horſe, Luckner's huſſars, and two brigades of Chaſſeurs, to oppoſe them. On the 16th of July he attacked the enemy near the village of Exdorff, and, after a warm diſpute, victory declared for the allies. Five battalions of the enemy, including the commander in chief, and the prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with ſix pieces of cannon, and all their arms, baggage and artillery. All this time the duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach, during which ſome detachments, he had ſent for that purpoſe, reduced the caſtles of Marpurg and Dillemburg, the garriſons of both theſe places being obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

The allied army now advanced to the village of Halle, near Caſſel, where they remained till the 30th of July, when the troops were again put in motion, and both armies having paſſed the Dymel, prince Ferdinand reſolved to give the French corps under M. de Muy battle. The proper diſpoſitions were accordingly made, and, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, the enemy were attacked both in flank and in rear, with equal ſucceſs, and unable to withſtand the fury of the Britiſh cavalry they betook themſelves to flight, leaving about 1500 men killed or wounded in the field of battle, with ten pieces of cannon; and the ſame number were taken priſoners. On the evening of the battle, the marquis of Granby, with twelve battalions, and ten ſquadrons, received orders to paſs the river in purſuit of the enemy, but they had retired to Wolfſhagen, and the marquis encamped at Wilda, about four miles from Warbourgh, the heights of which were occupied by the grand army of the enemy.

In conſequence of this victory prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Weſtphalia, and prevent the enemy from approaching Hanover; but at the ſame time he was obliged to ſacrifice the country of Caſſel; for prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, advanced towards that city, which he made himſelf maſter of; he then reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover, and it was not long before the garriſon of Ziegenheim, conſiſting of 700 men, were obliged, after a vigorous reſiſtance, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

In the mean time prince Ferdinand employed himſelf in ſecuring poſts and paſſes, in order to retard the progreſs of the enemy, and in ſending detachments to haraſs and ſurprize their advanced parties, which ſervice was performed with the greateſt ſucceſs. On the fifth of Auguſt the prince received intelligence, that a conſiderable body of the French, amounting to upwards of 20,000 men, were preparing to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geiſmar; upon which he reſolved to defeat their intention. For this purpoſe he paſſed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops and ſome artillery, and ſoon forced the enemy to abandon their purpoſe. The hereditary prince had, that ſame morning, ſet out to beat up the quarters of a French detachment cantoned at Zierenberg, and who, he had been informed, paſſed their time in the utmoſt ſecurity. In his way he was joined by the light troops under major Bulow, and when they had arrived within two miles of the town, the forces divided into three bodies, which took three different routs, by which the place was entirely ſurrounded. Notwithſtanding the precaution with which they had advanced, a guard of the enemy's dragoons took the alarm, and began to fire, which the Britiſh forces, who had received orders to proceed as quietly as poſſible, did not return, but puſhing on with their bayonets, drove the French piquets, killed the guard at the gate, and entered the town along with the fugitives, without the leaſt hurry or noiſe. They then advanced through the two ſtreets that lead to the church-yard, which being the only open part of the town ſerved the French as a place of arms; here they formed by the ſide of the enemy, who, the night being very dark, took them for their own piquets: but they were ſoon undeceived, for the Engliſh grenadiers making uſe of their bayonets, ſoon obliged the French to give way, and two regiments of their dragoons endeavoured to reach their camp, but they found it occupied by 400 grenadiers, who drove them back with their bayonets. They then made an attempt at another gate, but were repulſed with a ſharp fire of ſmall arms, and, finding no other way left for eſcape, they ſeparated, and got out of the town through ſeveral breaches of the wall. Thus, in about an hour the prince was maſter of the place, but the vicinity of the French camp and the approach of day, prevented his ſtaying long enough in the town to reap the full fruits of his victory. About three in the morning he began his retreat, carrying off two pieces of canon, 36 officers, and about 500 private men. In this hazardous expedition the allies loſt only ten men.

Prince Ferdinand now perceived that whilſt the enemy's communication with the Rhine, and with Frankfort on the Maine, continued open, it would be to very little purpoſe to attempt any thing either for the relief of Gottingen or Caſſel. He had, indeed, checked their progreſs into Hanover, but while they continued in ſo advanced a poſition it was evidently impoſſible to prevent their making very ruinous inroads into that country. He did not think it prudent to force them to a battle; ſo that the only reſource left was to make frequent and ſtrong detachments into the ſouthern parts of Heſſe and Wetteravia, and thus render the enemy's communication with the Rhine and Maine, from whence they drew the greateſt part of their ſupplies of all kinds, precarious. Accordingly he detached major Bulow, at the head of a ſtrong corps, towards Marpurg, which place he ſurprized, deſtroyed the French ovens, and brought off a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and baggage, with ſome priſoners. The ſame ſucceſs attended him at Butzbach, where he ſurprized and took two companies belonging to the regiment of Raugrave; after which he retired to Frankenberg, where he joined colonel Forſen. On the 12th of September they made a movement towards Frankenau; when M. de Stainville, who was poſted with a body of Frenck troops at Merdenhagen, advanced to check their progreſs. He overtook their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden, and attacked them with great vigour. Colonel Forſen with ſome of his cavalry was taken, and major Bulow obliged to abandon ſome pieces of cannon.

In the month of September the hereditary prince quitted the grand army of the allies, and with twenty battalions and ten ſquadrons, having traverſed Weſtphalia, he appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbech and Duſſeldorp. On the 29th he ſent a large detachment over the river at Rocroot, which ſurprized part of the partizan Fiſcher's corps at Rhynberg, and ſcoured the country. Some other parties croſſing at Rees and Emerick, the next day took poſſeſſion of ſome redoubts which the French had raiſed along the banks of the river; and here they found a ſufficient number of boats to tranſport the reſt of the forces. The prince then advanced to Cleves, the garriſon of which he obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. He next inveſted Weſel, but here he met with a warmer reception than he expected; beſides which his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, ſwelling the river, endangered two bridges that he had thrown over, one above the other below Weſel, to preſerve a communication with the other ſide; and the difficulties and delays occaſioned by this circumſtance entirely diſappointed his ſcheme. In the mean time the French, being informed of his motions detached M. de Caſtres after him, with thirty battalions and thirty-eight ſquadrons, and on the 14th of October they arrived at Rhynberg where the prince's light troops were poſted. Theſe they immediately attacked and compelled them to retreat, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the prince, who commanded in perſon. Leaving five battalions at Rhynberg, the enemy proceeded by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen, where de Caſtres intended to wait for ſome reinforcements, then on their march. But the hereditary prince reſolved to attack his camp that very night, and having left four battalions and five ſquadrons under general Bock, with orders to obſerve Rhynberg, and attack that poſt in caſe his attempt ſhould prove ſucceſsful, he began his march at ten in the evening. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the neceſſity of over-powering Fiſcher's corps of irregulars. This ſervice occaſioned ſome firing, the noiſe of which alarmed the French army: upon which their commander formed them with amazing expedition, and poſted them in a wood, where they were inſtantly attacked, and at firſt obliged to give ground; but they ſoon recovered their ranks, and ſuſtained an unceaſing fire of muſquetry, from five in the morning till nine at night, when the hereditary prince thought proper to retreat. His loſs on this occaſion amounted to 1600 choice men, killed, wounded and taken priſoners; and the chief of theſe were the troops of Great Britain. Several Engliſh officers were dangerouſly wounded, and the wounds of lord Downe, an amiable young nobleman, proved mortal. By this time, the Rhine was ſo exceedingly ſwelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in ſuch a manner, that it was judged neceſſary to repair and move the bridges which had been thrown over the river lower down. This work was accordingly performed in the preſence of the enemy, and the prince paſſing over without moleſtation, proceeded to Brynan, where he fixed his head quarters. Here he received advice that a body of the enemy intended to ſurprize him, upon which he called in his advanced poſts, and made preparations for giving them a warm reception. He abandoned the tents that were in front of his camp, and poſted his infantry in ambuſcade behind thoſe that were in the rear; at the ſame time he ordered ſome regiments of horſe and huſſars to take a compaſs, and fall upon the back of the enemy. The deſired ſucceſs attended this ſtratagem; for the French detachment thinking the allies had actually abandoned their camp, broke all order, and began to pillage the tents. The infantry then ſallied from their places of concealment, and fell upon them with irreſiſtible fury; the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank; and of 1200 of the enemy, who marched from Weſel, ſcarce 200 eſcaped. The ſeaſon being now too far advanced, Prince Ferdinand did not think proper to make any farther attacks on the enemy, and therefore withdrew his army into winter quarters.

While the arms of Great Britain were ſucceſsful in every part of the world where they were engaged, an event happened, which for a time obſcured the ſplendor of her triumphs, and damped the joy which theſe occaſioned. The venerable George II. who had been bleſſed with a longer life than any king of England ſince the Norman conqueſt, was, on the morning of the 25th of October, ſeized with a fit in his palace at Kenſington, and expired without either pangs or convulſions. His majeſty had got up at his uſual hour, and having drank a diſh of chocolate, he enquired of the page concerning the weather, being anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails. He then ſignified his intention of walking in the garden; but had ſcarce uttered the words when he fell down, and before his daughter, the princeſs Amelia, could come to aſſiſt him, according to his deſire, he died in the arms of his ſervants. Such was the unexpected, though not premature death of George the Second, king of Great Britain, in the 77th year of his age, and 34th of his reign!

King George II. was in perſon rather lower than the middle ſize, well ſhaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high noſe, and fair complexion. In his natural temper as a man, he was apt to be paſſionate and haſty; but in his public conduct no prince acted with more deliberation and coolneſs. In all his intentions he appears to have been ſincere; for when he entered into any public treaty, nothing could induce him to recede from his engagements. The ſervants in his houſhold, particularly thoſe who were more immediately about his perſon, were ſeldom changed, they lived to have grey hairs like their royal maſter. From this circumſtance we may infer, that whatever he was in his private character as a man of a paſſionate diſpoſition, yet notwithſtanding he muſt have been a good maſter. That he was a tender and an indulgent parent, is evident from the whole of his behaviour to his children; and to his royal conſort, who, indeed, was an ornament to her ſex. In public, with reſpect to party diſputes, the king was, during the firſt years of his reign, ſtrongly attached to a miniſter, whoſe converſation he delighted in, and whoſe abilities he eſteemed; but when he found it neceſſary, in order to ſilence the public clamour, to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, he never afterwards gave himſelf much concern who were to be his miniſters. He was perfectly well acquainted with the intereſts of the ſeveral courts of Europe, and never took up arms till in a manner he was forced to it. By his conduct, the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria were prevented from being diſmembered, and many millions were expended for that purpoſe; his majeſty well knowing that the ſafety of Europe, and the intereſt of the proteſtant religion depended on preventing the French coming into Germany. But notwithſtanding his zeal in favour of the Auſtrian family, yet he remained no longer their friend than they were the friends of the empire; from which we may conclude that he had a good heart, and a clear as well as a ſolid underſtanding.

At the time of his death all party diſtinctions were buried in oblivion; and thoſe unfortunate young gentlemen, whoſe fathers had been concerned in the rebellion, were provided for either in the army or the navy. Such as were diſaffected to the government blamed his majeſty for a partial attachment to his German dominions, without conſidering that he never neglected to attend to the affairs of Britain. Born and educated in Hanover, it was natural for him to love that country. He lived in it till he was in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, ſo that he never attained a perfect knowledge of the Engliſh language; a circumſtance that has been much dwelt on by ſome late authors, who from thence infer, that he was not a friend to learning. Nothing, however, can be more falſe; for it is well known that he eſtabliſhed the famous univerſity of Gottingen, on the moſt extenſive plan, and filled the chairs with profeſſors of ſuch abilities, that he lived to ſee it the moſt ſhining ſeminary in Europe. He ordered all the books that had been collected by the kings of England ſince the time of Henry VII. to be depoſited in the Britiſh Muſeum; and there he ordered to be depoſited all the manuſcript letters written by any of our ſovereigns, from the death of Edward III. to the death of queen Anne. Queen's College in Oxford was in a manner almoſt rebuilt at his expence, and many new profeſſorſhips were added both to the Engliſh and Scotch univerſities. Let hiſtory be ranſacked from the moſt early ages, few princes will be found like George II. who could unite, in his own perſon, two virtues totally oppoſite, namely, that of being able to conduct the affairs of two different governments. In Hanover, though poſſeſſed of abſolute unlimited power, yet he exerted that power in making his ſubjects happy, and was conſidered by them as an indulgent parent. In Britain, where his conduct was circumſcribed by law, he acted like a wiſe magiſtrate, and never undertook any thing of importance, till he had firſt conſulted his parliament, by whoſe advice he was conſtantly directed. On the whole, if he was not ſo brilliant in what was commonly called wit, yet he had the moſt ſolid judgment, which, perhaps, is a thouſand times ſuperior. He grew up, as it were, to an advanced age in the love of his ſubjects both at home and abroad; every year made him more beloved than the laſt; and when he paid the debt of nature, one tear was ſhed for him; or, in other words, the whole nation mourned at once.

George II. had, by his queen Caroline, two ſons and five daughters, who attained the age of maturity, viz. Frederic prince of Wales, father to his preſent majeſty George III. William, late duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs-royal, married to the late prince of Orange; Mary, landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; Louiſa, late queen of Denmark; and Amelia and Caroline, who were never married.

Before we relate the remarkable occurrences that happened during the courſe of this monarch's reign, we ſhall take notice of two things which particularly engaged the attention of the public a ſhort time before his death.

The firſt of theſe was the caſe of lord George Sackville, who had reſigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, where his character was repreſented in the moſt odious and deteſtable colours. With the firſt news of the battle of Minden arrived the defamation of this officer, who was accuſed of having diſobeyed orders, and of having been guilty of the moſt ſhameful cowardice. On his arrival

rival in London he was made acquainted with the particulars of this imputed guilt, which he had before indiſtinctly learned. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed three ſucceſſive orders he had received from prince Ferdinand, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and ſuſtain the infantry that were engaged; and after the cavalry were put in motion, of having halted them unneceſſarily, and marched ſo ſlow, that they could not reach the place of action in time to be of any ſervice; by which conduct the opportunity was loſt of purſuing the enemy when they gave way, and rendering the victory more glorious and deciſive.

The firſt ſtep which lord George took towards the vindication of his own character, was in preſenting to the public the following addreſs: "The various reports, ſaid he, that have been propagated to my diſadvantage, and the many falſhoods which have been aſſerted to ruin my character, lay me under the neceſſity of remaining not entirely ſilent, though I am debarred at preſent from ſtating my caſe to the public as I ſhould have done, had I not aſſurances of obtaining a court-martial for my trial; the only legal and effectual method of convincing the world how little foundation there has been for the torrent of calumny and abuſe which has been ſo maliciouſly thrown out againſt me.

"I had rather, upon this occaſion, ſubmit myſelf to all the inconveniences that may ariſe from the want of ſtile, than borrow aſſiſtance from the pens of others, as I can have no hopes of eſtabliſhing my character, but from the force of truth. I ſhall, therefore, as plainly and diſtinctly as poſſible, relate a few circumſtances, which will, at leaſt, ſhew that no body could be more deſirous than I am to bring truth to light, and ſubject my conduct to the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny.

"The inſtant I found, by the implied cenſure given out in orders the ſecond of Auguſt, that my conduct had appeared in an unfavourable light to prince Ferdinand, on the day of action, I endeavoured to inform myſelf what particular I had either failed in or neglected my duty; I heard in general of diſobedience of orders; but I could fix no certain period of time to my ſuppoſed crime, till colonel Fitzroy acquainted me with what had paſſed between his ſerene highneſs and him upon my ſubject, in regard to the orders delivered to me by him (colonel Fitzroy) that day. Whenever my trial comes I ſhall endeavour to clear up that point to the ſatisfaction of the public: my own aſſertions may have little weight, but the oaths of witneſſes, whoſe veracity cannot be called in queſtion, will, I truſt, prove my innocence beyond the poſſibility of doubt.

"Under theſe circumſtances, I immediately applied for his majeſty's permiſſion to return England, that I might anſwer any accuſation that ſhould be brought againſt me; for, as commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Germany, no perſon there could order a court-martial for my trial, had there been an accuſation laid; the power of ſummoning courts-martial, and approving their ſentences, was veſted in me by my commiſſion, and no Britiſh officer or ſoldier could be tried by any other authority.

"As ſoon as I arrived in London, I inſtantly wrote the following letter to the ſecretary of ſtate.

"My lord,

"I have the honour of acquainting your lordſhip with my arrival in England, in purſuance of his majeſty's permiſſion, ſent to me, at my requeſt, by your lordſhip.

"I thought myſelf much injured abroad, by an implied cenſure upon my conduct; I find I am ſtill more unfortunate at home, by being publickly repreſented as having neglected my duty in the ſtrongeſt manner, by diſobeying the poſitive orders of his highneſs prince Ferdinand: as I am conſcious of neither neglect nor diſobedience of orders; as I am certain I did my duty to the utmoſt of my abilities; and as I am perſuaded that the prince himſelf would have found that he had no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt me, had he condeſcended to have enquired into my conduct, before he had expreſſed his diſapprobation of it, from the partial repreſentation of others; I therefore moſt humbly requeſt, that I may at laſt have a public opportunity given me of attempting to juſtify myſelf, to his majeſty, and to my country, by a court-martial being appointed; that, if I am guilty, I may ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as I may have deſerved; and, if inncocent, that I may ſtand acquitted in the opinion of the world: but it is really too ſevere to have been cenſured unheard; to have been condemned before I was tried; and to be informed neither of my crime, nor of my accuſers.

I am, my lord, &c. &c.

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

"I received an anſwer to this letter on Monday the tenth, in which I was aſſured that a court-martial, upon my application, would be granted, as ſoon as the officers capable of giving evidence could leave their poſts; but previouſly to the receipt of that letter I was diſmiſſed from all my military employments; notwithſtanding which diſmiſſion, I ſtill hope, and am informed, that I may have the advantage of a legal trial.

"In the mean time, the only indulgence I have to aſk is, that the public will ſuſpend its judgment till ſuch facts can be produced, from which alone the truth can appear; but if plans of a battle are to be referred to, which can give no juſt idea of it: if diſpoſitions of the cavalry and infantry are ſuppoſed, which never exiſted; if orders for attacks and purſuits are quoted, which never were delivered; and if diſobedience to thoſe imaginary orders are aſſerted as a crime, what can an injured officer, under ſuch circumſtances, have recourſe to, but claiming that juſtice, which is due to every Engliſhman, of being heard before he is condemned: the ſooner that happens, the happier I ſhall be; as I am conſcious my innocence muſt appear, when real facts are truly ſtated and fully proved.

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

This addreſs was not able to ſtem the torrent of popular prejudice, which flowed againſt him with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. He might, therefore, have retired in quiet and ſafety, and left it to ebb at leiſure. But, ſeemingly impatient of the imputation under which his character laboured, he inſiſted upon the privilege of a legal trial, which was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commiſſion in the ſervice. A court of general officers being appointed and aſſembled to enquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate informed the court, that lord George was charged with having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand, relative to the battle of Minden.

In order to give the reader a more diſtinct view of the charge, it is neceſſary to remind him that lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, conſiſting of Hanoverian and Britiſh horſe, diſpoſed in two lines, the Britiſh being at the extremity on the right, extending to the village of Hartum; the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left, that reached almoſt to an open wood or grove, which divided the horſe from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry conſiſting of two brigades of Britiſh foot, the Hanoverian guards, and Hardenberg's regiment. This was the body of troops which ſuſtained the brunt of the battle with the moſt incredible courage and perſeverance. They, of their own accord, advanced to attack the left of the enemy's cavalry, through a moſt dreadful fire of artillery and ſmall arms, to which they were expoſed in front and flank; they withſtood the repeated attacks of the whole French gendarmerie, whom, at length, they totally routed, together with a body of Saxon troops on their left; and to their valour the victory was chiefly owing. The ground from whence theſe troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain, which opened a conſiderable way to the left, where the reſt of the army was formed in order of battle; but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other ſide of which the cavalry of the right wing was poſted, having in front the village of Halen, from whence the French had been driven by the piquets in the army there poſted, and in front of them a windmill, ſituated in the middle ſpace between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy.

Early in the morning captain Malhorti had, by order of prince Ferdinand, poſted the cavalry of the right wing in the ſituation we have juſt deſcribed, the village of Hartum with incloſures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Halen in their front, and a windmill in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this poſition lord George Sackville was directed to remain until he ſhould receive further orders; and here it was thoſe orders were given which he was accuſed of diſobeying. Indeed, he was previouſly charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which imported, that the horſes ſhould be ſaddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be ſtruck, nor the troops under arms, until they ſhould receive further orders. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed theſe orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed.

Captain Winchingrode, aid-du-camp to prince Ferdinand, declared upon oath, that while the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the ſecond time, he was ſent with orders to lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, and ſuſtain the infantry, which was going to engage, by forming the horſe under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments: that he delivered theſe orders to lord George Sackville, giving him to underſtand, that he ſhould march the cavalry through the wood or trees on his left, to the heath where they were to be formed: that, on his return to the heath, he met colonel Fitzroy at full gallop towards lord George; and that he (Winchingrode) followed him back in order to haſten the march of the cavalry.

Colonel Ligonier, another of the prince's aids-du-camp, depoſed, that he carried orders from the general to lord George to advance with the cavalry, in order to take advantage of the diſorder which appeared in the enemy's cavalry: that lord George made no anſwer to theſe orders, but turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their ſwords and march: that the colonel ſeeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his lordſhip that he ſhould march to the left: that, in the mean time, colonel Fitzroy arriving with orders for the Britiſh cavalry only to advance, lord George ſaid the orders were contradictory, and colonel Ligonier replied they differed only in numbers; but the deſtination of his march was the ſame, to the left.

Colonel Fitzroy, the third aid-du-camp to prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told lord George it was the prince's order for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left, his lordſhip obſerved, that it was different from the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the prince intended to break the line: that he aſked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide: that when he (the aid-du-camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his lordſhip ſeemed ſtill diſſatisfied with the order, ſaying it did not agree with the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and deſired to be conducted in perſon to the prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a reſolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, a colonel in the army, made oath, that, in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to lord George, his lordſhip was alarmed to a very great degree, and ſeemed to be in the utmoſt confuſion.

A nobleman, of high rank and unblemiſhed reputaion, declared, that captain Winchingrode having told him it was abſolutely neceſſary that the cavalry ſhould march and form a line to ſupport the foot, he had given orders to the ſecond line to march: that, as ſoon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by colonel Fitzroy, with an order for the cavalry to advance as faſt as poſſible: that, in marching to this place, an order came to halt, until they could be joined by the firſt line of cavalry: that afterwards, in advancing, they were again halted by lord George Sackville: that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come up in time enough to act againſt the enemy. Some other officers, who were examined on this ſubject, agreed with the marquis in theſe ſentiments.

Lord George in his defence ſaid, that he never received the orders iſſued on the eve of the battle, nor any ſort of intimation or plan of action, although he was certainly entitled to ſome ſuch communication as commander in chief of the Britiſh forces; that, nevertheleſs, the orders concerning the horſes were obeyed by thoſe who received them: that inſtead of loitering or loſing time while the troops were forming, he prepared to put himſelf at the head of the cavalry, on the firſt notice that they were in motion: that he was ſo eager to perform his duty, as to ſet out from his quarters without even waiting for an aid-du-camp to attend him, and was in the field before any general officer of his diviſion: that, when captain Winchingrode delivered the order to form the cavalry in one line, making a third, to advance and ſuſtain the infantry, he neither heard him ſay he was to march by the left, nor ſaw him point with his ſword to the wood through which he was to paſs: that neither of theſe directions were obſerved by the aids du camp or officers then preſent, except one gentleman, the perſon who bore witneſs to the confuſion in the looks and deportment of his lordſhip: that the neareſt and moſt practicable way of advancing againſt the enemy was by the way of the windmill, to the left of the village of Halen: that he imagined this was the only way by which he could be ordered to advance: that, in this perſuaſion, he had ſent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen, as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards: that when he received the order from Winchingrode to form the line and advance, he ſtill imagined this was his route, and on this ſuppoſition immediately detached an aid du camp to remove a regiment of Saxe Gotha, which was in the front: that he ſent a ſecond to obſerve the place where the infantry were, and a third to reconnoitre the enemy: that, in a few minutes, colonel Ligonier coming up with an order from prince Ferdinand to advance the cavalry, his lordſhip immediately drew his ſword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill: that, with regard to what the colonel ſaid, that, upon his delivering the order, he added “ by the left!” he heard no ſuch directions; nor did it reach the ears of any other perſon then preſent, except of that officer who witneſſed to the ſame direction given by Winchingrode: that immediately after the troops were put in motion, colonel Fitzroy arrived with an order from prince Ferdinand, importing, that the Britiſh cavalry only ſhould advance by the left: that he declared their orders were contradictory, and ſeemed the more puzzled, as he underſtood that both theſe gentlemen came off nearly at the ſame time from the prince, and were probably directed to communicate the ſame order: that it was, therefore, natural to ſuppoſe there was a miſtake, as there might be great danger in breaking the line, as the route by the wood appeared more difficult and tedious than that by the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy; and as he could not think that if a body of horſe was immediately wanted, the general would ſend for the Britiſh, that were at the fartheſt extremity of the wing, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry, who formed the left of the line, and conſequently were much nearer the ſcene of action: that he, in this uncertainty, reſolved to apply for an explanation to the prince in perſon, who he underſtood was at a ſmall diſtance: that, with this view, he ſet out with all poſſible expedition: that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country beyond it opened ſooner to the left than he imagined, and captain Smith, his aid du camp, adviſing that the Britiſh cavalry ſhould be put in motion, he ſent back that gentleman with orders for them to advance by the left with all poſſible diſpatch: that he rode up to the general, who received him without any marks of diſpleaſure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath; that as the marquis of Granby had already put the ſecond line in motion, according to a ſeparate order which he had received, and the head of his column was already in view coming out of the wood, he thought it neceſſary to halt the troops on the left until the right ſhould come into the line, and afterwards ſend them orders to march ſlower, that two regiments which had been thrown out of the line might have an opportunity to replace themſelves in their proper ſtations.

The court-martial having examined the evidence, and heard the defence, gave judgment in theſe words: “The court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that lord George Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, whom he was by his commiſſion and inſtructions directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever.” This ſentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover ſignified his pleaſure, that it ſhould be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any Engliſh troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature; and that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſures, much worſe than death to a man who has any ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders. To complete the diſgrace of this unfortunate general, his majeſty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy-counſellors.

This trial was ſucceeded by another of a very remarkable nature, and which no leſs attracted the attention of the public. Laurence Shirley, earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent ſpirit, who had committed many outrages, and, in the opinion of all who knew him, given manifold proofs of inſanity, at length perpetrated a murder which ſubjected him to the cognizance of the law. His deportment to his lady was ſo brutal, that application had been made to the houſe of peers, and a ſeparation effected by act of parliament. Truſtees were nominated; and one Mr. Johnſon, who had, during the beſt part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the eſtates, at the earl's own requeſt. The conduct of this man in the courſe of his ſtewardſhip gave umbrage to lord Ferrers, whoſe diſpoſition was equally jealous and vindictive. He imagined all his own family had conſpired againſt his intereſt, and that Johnſon was one of their accomplices; that he had been inſtrumental in obtaining the act of parliament, which his lordſhip conſidered as a grievous hardſhip; that he had diſappointed him in regard to a certain contract about coal-mines: in a word, that there was a colluſion between Johnſon and the earl's adverſaries. Inflamed with theſe ſuppoſitions, he firſt expreſſed his reſentment by giving Johnſon notice to quit the farm which he poſſeſſed on the eſtate; but finding the truſtees had confirmed the leaſe, he determined to gratify his revenge by aſſaſſination, and laid his plan accordingly.

On Sunday the 13th of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his houſe on the Friday following, in order to peruſe papers, or ſettle accompts; and Johnſon went thither without the leaſt ſuſpicion of what was prepared for his reception: for although he was no ſtranger to his lordſhip's dangerous diſpoſition, and knew he had ſome time before incurred his diſpleaſure, yet he imagined his reſentment had entirely ſubſided, as the earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He therefore at the time appointed repaired to his lordſhip's houſe of Stanton in Leiceſterſhire, at the diſtance of a ſhort mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid ſervant. The earl had diſmiſſed every perſon in the houſe, upon various pretences, except three women who were left in the kitchen. Johnſon advancing to the door of the apartment, was received by his lordſhip, who deſired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inſide. After a great deal of warm expoſtulation, the earl inſiſted upon his ſubſcribing a paper, confeſſing himſelf a villain; and on his refuſing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonſtrated againſt this cruel reſolution, and deprecated the indignation of this furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his intreaties, drew forth a piſtol which he had loaded for the purpoſe, and commanding him to implore heaven's mercy on his knees, ſhot him through the body while he remained in that ſupplicating poſture. The conſequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his lordſhip ſeeing the wretched victim ſtill alive and ſenſible, though agonized with pain, felt a momentary emotion of pity. He ordered his ſervants to convey Mr. Johnſon up ſtairs to a bed, to ſend for a ſurgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the wounded man's family. When Mr. Johnſon's daughter came to the houſe, ſhe was met by the earl, who told her he had ſhot her father on purpoſe, and with deliberation.

The ſame declaration he made to the ſurgeon at his arrival. He ſtood by him while he examined the wound, deſcribed the direction of the ball, and ſeemed ſurpriſed that it had not penetrated through the body. When he demanded the ſurgeon's opinion of the wound, the operator thought proper to temporize, for his own ſafety as well as for the ſake of the public, leſt the earl ſhould take ſome other deſperate ſtep, or endeavour to eſcape. He therefore amuſed him with hopes of Johnſon's recovery, about which he now ſeemed extremely anxious. He ſupported his ſpirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the ſurgeon, whom he deſired to take all poſſible care of his patient. He declared, however, that he did not repent of what he had done; that Johnſon was a villain, who deſerved to die; that in caſe of his death he (the earl) would ſurrender himſelf to the houſe of peers, and take his trial. He ſaid he could juſtify the action to his own conſcience; and owned his intention was to have killed Johnſon outright; but as he ſtill ſurvived, and was in pain, he deſired that all poſſible means might be uſed for his recovery.

Nor did he ſeem altogether neglectful of his own ſafety: he endeavoured to tamper with the ſurgeon, and enquired what evidence he would give when called before a court of juſtice. He continued to drink himſelf into a ſtate of intoxication, and the cruelty of his hate ſeemed to return. He would not allow the wounded man to be removed to his own houſe, ſaying, he would keep him under his own roof that he might plague the villain. He returned to the chamber where Johnſon lay, inſulted him with the moſt opprobrious language, threatened to ſhoot him through the head, and could hardly be reſtrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to bed, the ſurgeon procured a ſufficient number of armed men to ſeize the murderer, who at firſt threatened reſiſtance, but was ſoon apprehended, endeavouring to make his eſcape, and committed to the county priſon. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leiceſter, and conducted by the uſher of the black rod and his deputy into the houſe of lords, where the coroner's inqueſt, and the affidavits touching the murder being read, the gaoler delivered up his priſoner to the care of the black rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, compoſed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended; converſed cooly on the ſubject of his impriſonment; made very pertinent remarks upon the nature of the habeas corpus act of parliament, of which he hoped to avail himſelf; and when they withdrew from the houſe of peers, deſired he might not be viſited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His underſtanding, which was naturally good, had been well cultivated; his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantic.

The circumſtances of this aſſaſſination appeared ſo cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for juſtice; and the government gave up the offender to the laws of his country. The lord-keeper Henley was appointed lord high-ſteward for the trial of earl Ferrers, and ſat in ſtate with all the peers and judges in Weſtminſter-hall, which was for this purpoſe converted into a very auguſt tribunal. On the 16th day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the major of the Tower, the gentleman-gaoler, the wardors, and a detachment of the foot-guards. He was brought into court about ten; and the lord ſteward with the peers taking their places, he was arraigned aloud, in the midſt of an infinite multitude of people, including many foreigners, who ſeemed wonderfully ſtruck with the grandeur and magnificence of the ſcene. The murder was fully proved by unqueſtionable evidence: but the earl pleaded inſanity of mind; and, in order to make good this plea, called many witneſſes to atteſt his lunacy in a variety of inſtances, which ſeemed too plainly to indicate a diſordered imagination: unfounded jealouſy of plots and conſpiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of muſing, incoherent ejaculations, ſudden ſtarts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantic geſticulations, and a ſtrange caprice of temper, were proved to have diſtinguiſhed his conduct and deportment.

It appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected ſeveral of his lordſhip's relations; that one of them in particular, a ſolicitor of reputation, had renounced his buſineſs, on the full perſuaſion of his being diſordered in his brain; that, long before this unhappy event, his neareſt relations had deliberated upon the expediency of taking out a commiſſion of lunacy againſt him, and were prevented by no other conſideration than the fear of being ſued for *ſcandalum magnatum*, ſhould the jury find his lordſhip *compos mentis*; a circumſtance which in all probability would have happened, inaſmuch as the earl's madneſs did not appear in his converſation, but in his conduct. A phyſician of eminence, whoſe practice was confined to perſons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particulars of the earl's deportment, and perſonal behaviour, ſeemed to indicate lunacy. Indeed, all his neighbours and acquaintance had long conſidered him as a madman; and a certain noble lord is ſaid to have declared in the houſe of peers, when the bill of ſeparation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that, if ſome effectual ſtep was not taken to deprive him of the power of doing miſchief, he did not doubt but that they would one day have occaſion to try him for murder.

The lawyers for the crown endeavoured to invalidate the proofs of his lunacy, by obſerving, that he was never ſo much deprived of his reaſon but that he could diſtinguiſh between good and evil: that the murder he had committed was the effect of revenge, for a conceived injury of ſome ſtanding: that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully conducted: that immediately after the deed was perpetrated, the earl's converſation and reaſoning was cool and conſiſtent, until he drank himſelf into a ſtate of intoxication: that, in the opinion of the greateſt lawyers, no criminal can avail himſelf of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a lucid interval; but his lordſhip, far from exhibiting any marks of inſanity, had, in the courſe of his trial, diſplayed uncommon underſtanding and ſagacity in examining the witneſſes, and making many ſhrewd and pertinent obſervations on the evidence which was given.

Theſe ſentiments coincided with the opinion of the peers, who unanimouſly declared him guilty. The trial laſted two days; and on the third the lord-ſteward, after having made a ſhort ſpeech concerning the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the ſame ſentence of death upon the earl which malefactors of the loweſt claſs undergo; namely, that from the Tower, in which he was impriſoned, he ſhould on the Monday following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards diſſected and anatomized. This laſt part of the ſentence ſeemed to ſhock the criminal extremely; he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with ſurpriſing compoſure, and even unconcern. After he had received ſentence, the lords his judges, by a power veſted in them, reſpited his execution for one month, that he might have time to ſettle his temporal and ſpiritual concerns.

Before ſentence was paſſed, the earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their lordſhips for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, againſt his own inclination, pleaded lunacy at the requeſt of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and intreated their lordſhips to recommend him to the king for mercy. He

afterward

afterwards ſent a letter to his majeſty, remonſtrating, that he was the repreſentative of a very ancient and honourable family, which had been allied to the crown; and requeſting that, if he could not be favoured with the ſpecies of death which in caſes of treaſon diſtinguiſhes the nobleman from the plebeian, he might at leaſt, out of conſideration of his family, be allowed to ſuffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution: but this indulgence was refuſed. From his return to the Tower, to the day of his execution, he betrayed no mark of apprehenſion or impatience; but regulated his affairs with preciſion, and converſed without concern or reſtraint.

On the 5th day of May, his body being demanded by the ſheriffs at the Tower-gate, in conſequence of a writ under the great ſeal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, his lordſhip deſired permiſſion to go in his own landau, and appeared gaily dreſſed in a light coloured ſuit of cloaths, embroidered with ſilver. He was attended in the landau by Mr. ſheriff Vaillant and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the ſheriffs, a mourning coach and ſix filled with his friends, and a hearſe for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a poſſe of conſtables, a party of horſe grenadiers, and a detachment of infantry; and in this manner the proceſſion moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourſe of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and a ſcaffold erected under it, appeared covered with black baiſe. The earl behaved with great compoſure to Mr. ſheriff Vaillant: he obſerved, that the gaiety of his apparel might ſeem odd on ſuch an occaſion; but that he had particular reaſons for wearing that ſuit of cloaths: he took notice of the vaſt multitude which crouded around him, brought thither, he ſuppoſed, by curioſity to ſee a nobleman hanged: he told the ſheriff he had applied to the king by letter, that he might be permitted to die in the Tower, where the earl of Eſſex, one of his anceſtors, had been beheaded in the reign of queen Elizabeth; an indulgence which, he ſaid, he had the greater reaſon to hope would be granted, as he had the honour to quarter part of his majeſty's arms. He expreſſed ſome diſpleaſure at being executed as a common felon, expoſed to the eyes of ſuch a multitude.

The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, obſerving that ſome account of his lordſhip's ſentiments on religion would be expected by the public, he made anſwer, that he did not think himſelf accountable to the public for his private ſentiments: that he had always adored one God, the creator of the univerſe; and, with reſpect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proſelytes, becauſe he thought it was criminal to diſturb the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, as lord Bolingbroke had done by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of ſects, and the multiplication of religious diſputes, had almoſt baniſhed morality. With regard to the crime for which he ſuffered, he declared that he had no malice againſt Mr. Johnſon; and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occaſioned by a variety of croſſes and vexations. When he approached the place of execution, he expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee and take leave of a certain perſon who waited in a coach; a perſon, he ſaid, for whom he had the moſt ſincere regard and affection; but the ſheriff prudently ſuggeſting that ſuch an interview might unman him, at a time when he had occaſion for all his fortitude and reſolution, he acquieſced in the juſtneſs of the remark, and delivered to him a pocket-book, a ring, and a purſe, deſiring they might be given to that perſon, whom he now declined ſeeing.

On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the landau, and aſcended the ſcaffold with a firm ſtep and undaunted countenance. He refuſed to join the chaplain in his devotions; but, kneeling with him on black cuſhions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he ſaid he had always admired; and added with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me all my errors, pardon all my ſins." After this exclamation, he preſented his watch to Mr. ſheriff Vaillant, thanked him and the other gentlemen for all their civilities; and ſignified his deſire of being buried at Breden, or Stanton in Leiceſterſhire. Finally, he gratified the executioner with a purſe of money; then the halter being adjuſted to his neck, he ſtepped upon a little ſtage, erected upon ſprings, on the middle of the ſcaffold; and, the cap being pulled over his eyes, the ſheriff made a ſignal, at which the ſtage fell from under his feet, and left him ſuſpended in the air. His body having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the hearſe, and conveyed to the public theatre for diſſection, where being opened, and lying for ſome days as the ſubject of a public lecture, at length it was carried off and privately interred.

Having thus related the particulars of two remarkable trials which engaged the public attention a ſhort time before the king's death, we ſhall now proceed to ſuch occurrences as are worthy of ſingular notice, which happened during the courſe of his reign.

In his eighth year (1735) on the 16th of February the tide in the Thames roſe ſo high, that the lawyers were obliged to be carried out of Weſtminſter-hall in boats: the parade in St. James's Park was under water, and by the great quantity of rains that fell on that day numbers of cattle were deſtroyed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, particularly in the marſhes of Eſſex.

The year 1739 was remarkable for one of the ſevereſt froſts ever known in England. It began on Chriſtmas-day, and continued without intermiſſion upwards of ſeven weeks. The Thames was frozen over in ſuch a manner, that a public fair was held on it, and booths erected for the reception of all thoſe whoſe curioſity led them thither. The hardſhips of the poor were extreamly great; but, to the everlaſting honour of the Engliſh, let it be recorded, that they did every thing in their power to alleviate the diſtreſſes of their ſuffering fellow-ſubjects. From the king, down to the humble tradeſman, each ſeemed anxious to be moſt forward in acts of benevolence; ſo that a national calamity revived decaying charity.

During the courſe of the ſummer of 1741 the city of London, and places adjacent were viſited with an epidemic fever, which, for ſeveral months together, carried off great numbers of people. The cauſe of it was ſuppoſed to ariſe from the heat of the weather, which occaſioned a coagulation of the blood, or a ſtagnation thereof in the capillary arteries. This diſtemper ſpread all over the nation; and was alſo ſenſibly felt in Ireland.

On the 25th of March, 1748, early in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out at the houſe of Mr. Eldridge, a peruke-maker in Exchange-alley, Cornhill. The flames were ſo furious, that notwithſtanding there was the greateſt ſupply of water and engines, with every other poſſible aſſiſtance, yet before noon upwards of 80 houſes were entirely conſumed, beſides many others very conſiderably damaged. Mr. Eldridge and his family all periſhed in the flames: and Mr. Cook, a merchant, who lodged in the houſe, broke his leg by jumping out of the window, and died ſoon after. The damage occaſioned by this accident was eſtimated at 200,000l.

In the ſame year, in the evening of the 4th of

Auguſt, many ſwarms of locuſts were ſeen in the air in different parts of London. They were ſuppoſed to have come from Poland and Hungary, where they had this ſummer ſettled in vaſt quantities, and deſtroyed all the fruits of the earth. The next day great numbers of them were found in Pall-mall, St. James's Park, and Southwark. They ſoon, however, diſappeared, as was ſuppoſed from the difference of our climate to that from whence they came; and this tranſient viſit rather produced an amuſement to exerciſe the curioſity of the people, than any preſage of danger.

On the 2d of December, in the ſame year, there aroſe a prodigious hurricane of wind, which continued for near eight hours. A great number of houſes were intirely blown down, others ſtripped of their roofs, and many trees torn up by the roots. Several perſons, in paſſing the ſtreets, were greatly hurt by the falling of chimnies and ſigns; and a child who was ſtanding by the fire was killed by the bricks of the chimney falling within-ſide the houſe. The moſt conſiderable damage was done to the ſhipping and ſmall craft in the river, and ſeveral perſons were drowned. Many ſhips were driven on ſhore, and great damage done on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex.

In the beginning of the year 1750 two ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in London, the firſt of which happened on the 8th of February, and the ſecond on the 8th of March.----For the particulars of theſe ſee p. 717.

With reſpect to the ſtate of learning during the reign of George II. it continued advancing towards perfection. Many great men appeared in the literary world, and although they did not make ſuch a ſhining figure as ſome have done in the preſent reign, yet they laid a foundation for the nobleſt improvements in every art or ſcience. Simpſon, Saunderſon, and M'Laurin carried the knowledge of the mathematics to an height unknown before. Phyſic and natural hiſtory were cultivated by many learned gentlemen, among whom were Dr. Mead and Sir Hans Sloane, and the Doctors Warburton and Newton ſtood forth in defence of Divine Revelation. In a word, the reign of George II. produced many great men, ſome of whom are now bright ornaments to their country, while ſuch as are dead have left behind them the moſt illuſtrious examples.

BOOK XVII.

From the Acceſſion of

GEORGE III.

To the preſent Time.

NEVER, perhaps, did any prince aſcend the throne of his anceſtors with greater eclat, or under more happy circumſtances, than did his preſent majeſty king George III. who, at the time of his acceſſion, was only in the 23d year of his age.

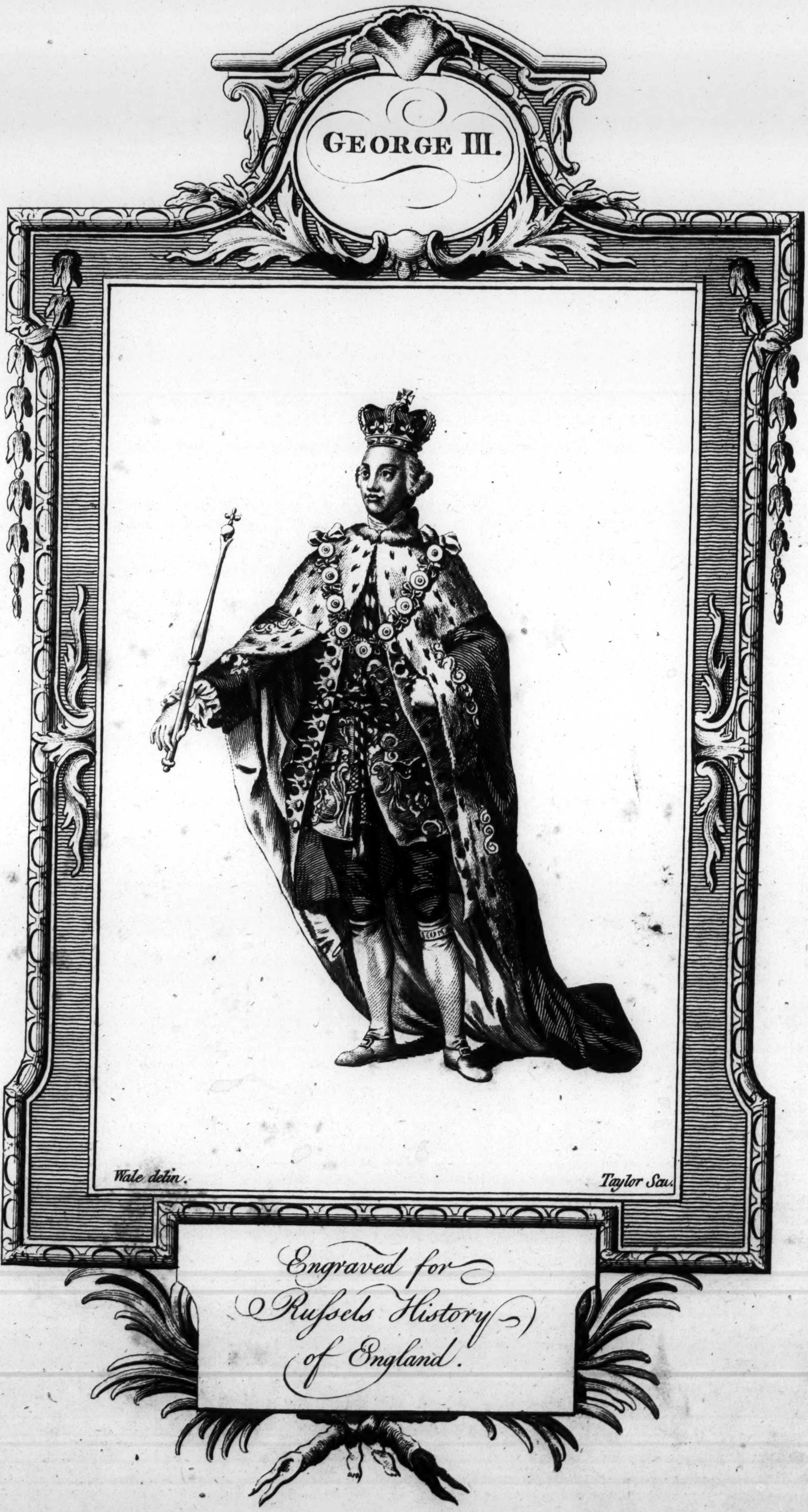
As ſoon as the death of the late king was notified to Mr. Pitt, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, he immediately repaired to Kew, (where his young ſovereign then was) and communicated to him the news of this important event. In the mean time the lords of the council aſſembled at Charlton-Houſe, and gave orders for proclaiming his majeſty, which was accordingly done the next day at the uſual places and with the accuſtomed ceremonies.

While the council was ſitting at Charlton-Houſe his majeſty arrived from Kew, and entering the room in which the members were, he addreſſed them as follows: "The loſs the nation and I have ſuſtained by the death of the king, my grandfather, would have been ſeverely felt at any time; but coming at ſo critical a juncture, and ſo unexpected, it is by many circumſtances augmented; and the weight now falling upon me is much increaſed: I feel my own inſufficiency to ſupport it as I wiſh; but, animated by the tendereſt affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordſhips, the ſupport and aſſiſtance of every honeſt man, I enter with chearfulneſs into this arduous ſituation; and ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms; to preſerve and ſtrengthen the conſtitution, both in church and ſtate; and as I mount the throne in the midſt of an expenſive but juſt and neceſſary war, I ſhall endeavour to proſecute it in a manner the moſt likely to bring about an honourable and laſting peace, in concert with my allies."

His majeſty then took the oaths to maintain the church of Scotland as by law eſtabliſhed; and having ſigned two inſtruments for that purpoſe, one of them was depoſited among the archives of the council, and the other tranſmitted to Edinburgh, to be recorded in the court of ſeſſion.

The next thing done by his majeſty was to aſſemble both houſes of parliament, not to tranſact any buſineſs but that of ſwearing in the members, whoſe oaths of allegiance were become abſolved by the death of the late king. The duke of Rutland, being conſtituted high-ſteward, ſwore in all the commons; and the lord-keeper adminiſtered the oaths to the peers.

In the mean time, addreſſes of condolence and felicitation, filled with the warmeſt profeſſions of duty and attachment, were preſented to his majeſty from moſt parts of the kingdom. The two houſes of parliament led the way, and were followed by the magiſtrates, merchants, &c. of London. Perhaps ſo great a number of addreſſes were never before ſeen, on any ſimilar occaſion. The clergy of London and Weſtminſter, with the archbiſhop of Canterbury at their head,



GEORGE III.

Wale delin. Taylor Scu.

Engraved for Ruſsels History of England.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM

head, waited on his majeſty with their compliments on his acceſſion to the throne; and were followed by the two univerſities, and moſt of the bodies politic and corporate in the three kingdoms. In a word, the whole pepole ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection to their new ſovereign, who increaſed the pleaſing idea they had formed of him, by the condeſcending and affable manner in which he received them.

The parliament met on the 18th of November*, when his majeſty, after being conducted to the houſe amidſt the univerſal acclamations of his people, opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The juſt concern which I have felt in my own breaſt, on the ſudden death of the late king my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you muſt all have been deeply affected with ſo ſevere a loſs. The preſent critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loſs the more ſenſible, as he was the great ſupport of that ſyſtem, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of theſe kingdoms can be preſerved, and give life to meaſures conducive to thoſe important ends.

" I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at ſuch a time, and under ſuch circumſtances. My conſolation is in the uprightneſs of my own intentions, your faithful and united aſſiſtance, and the bleſſing of heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

" Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happineſs of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the welfare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm affection to me I conſider as the greateſt and moſt permanent ſecurity of my throne; and I doubt not but their ſteadineſs in thoſe principles will equal the firmneſs of my invariable reſolutions to adhere to and ſtrengthen this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the ſureſt foundation of the whole, and the beſt means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

" I reflect with pleaſure on the ſucceſſes with which the Britiſh arms have been proſpered this laſt ſummer. The total reduction of the vaſt province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the moſt intereſting conſequence, and muſt be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conqueſt glorious to us; the more glorious becauſe effected without effuſion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

" Our advantages gained in the Eaſt-Indies have been ſignal, and muſt greatly diminiſh the ſtrength and trade of France in thoſe parts, as well as procure the moſt ſolid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my ſubjects.

" In Germany where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army, under the wiſe and able conduct of my general, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, has not only ſtopped their progreſs, but has gained advantages over them, notwithſtanding their boaſted ſuperiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

" My good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, although ſurrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perſeverance almoſt beyond example, not only withſtood their various attacks, but obtained very conſiderable victories over them.

" Of theſe events I ſhall ſay no more at this time, becauſe the nature of the war in thoſe parts has kept the campaign there ſtill depending.

"As my navy is the principal article of our national ſtrength, it gives me much ſatisfaction to receive it in ſuch good condition; whilſt the fleet of France is weakened to ſuch a degree, that the ſmall remains of it have continued blocked up by my ſhips in their own ports: at the ſame time the French trade is reduced to the loweſt ebb; and with joy of heart I ſee the commerce of my kingdoms, that great ſource of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flouriſhing to an extent never known in any former war.

" The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at ſea and land, have been diſtinguiſhed ſo much to the glory of the nation, that I ſhould be wanting to them if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I ſhall conſtantly encourage and reward; and I take this occaſion to declare, that the zealous and uſeful ſervice of the militia, in the preſent arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

" In this ſtate I have found things at my acceſſion to the throne of my anceſtors; happy in viewing the proſperous part of it; happier ſtill ſhould I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whoſe true intereſts I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but ſince the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous deſigns of my ememies, rendered the war both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous overture made laſt winter, towards a congreſs for a pacification, has not yet produced any ſuitable return, I am determined, with your chearful and powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with vigour, in order to that deſirable object, a ſafe and honourable peace. For this purpoſe it is abſolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of my allies, and to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" The greateſt uneaſineſs which I feel at this time is in conſidering the uncommon burthens neceſſarily brought upon my faithful ſubjects. I deſire only ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be requiſite to proſecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices; and that they may be provided for in the moſt ſure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what ſhall be granted. I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and alſo an account of the extraordinary expences which, from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

" It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged to mention any thing which perſonally regards myſelf. But as the grant of the greateſt part of the civil liſt revenues is now determined, I truſt in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper proviſion for ſupporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part you may be aſſured of a regular and becoming œconomy."

---

* In the evening of the 10th of November, the body of his late majeſty was removed from Kenſington to the apartment called the Princes Chamber near the houſe of peers, where it lay in ſtate till the next night, when it was interred with great funeral pomp in Henry the VIIth's Chapel, Weſtminſter-abbey, the duke of Cumberland attending as chief mourner.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your reſolutions the proteſtant intereſt hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preſervation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final diſappointment of their ambitious and deſtructive views. Let theſe hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour and diſpatch of our proceedings.

"In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign: that happy extinction of diviſions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongſt my ſubjects, afford me the moſt agreeable proſpect. The natural diſpoſition and wiſh of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will ariſe on your part to interrupt or diſturb a ſituation ſo eſſential to the true and laſting felicity of this great people."

Both houſes preſented the moſt dutiful and loyal addreſſes to this ſpeech; and the commons, as a proof of their affection, granted the ſum of 800,000l. to defray the expences of the civil liſt. They then proceeded to grant the ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, the whole of which amounted to upwards of nineteen millions.

A. D. 1761. As it is cuſtomary, on the acceſſion of a new king, for ſomething to be done of a public nature for the benefit of diſtreſſed ſubjects, ſo the parliament, immediately on their meeting after the holidays, paſſed an act in favour of inſolvent debtors, who, in conſequence of giving up all their effects, were to be diſcharged by the juſtices at the quarter ſeſſion. No act was ever paſſed at a more ſeaſonable juncture; for the priſons were filled with poor unfortunate creatures whoſe wives and children were ſtarving. This act, however, had in it a clauſe, attended with ſuch conſequences, that it was found neceſſary to repeal it. It was imagined that every creditor might compel a debtor to give up his effects, and if he concealed any of them, to the amount of 20l. he was to ſuffer death as a felon. This clauſe was laid hold of by many of the lower ſorts of tradeſmen, who, in in order to cheat their creditors, got one of their own relations to compel them to account; ſo that a door was opened for perjury, and many perſons were deprived of their property under the proſtituted authority of an act of parliament. Indeed, the abuſe became ſo glaring, that the city of London preſented a petition to have it repealed; but it did not take place till the meeting of the new parliament.

In the beginning of March the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes, importing, that as nothing could contribute more towards promoting the intereſts of the people than that of rendering the judges independent, ſo he deſired they would grant him leave to advance their ſalaries, and that they ſhould hold their places by patent for life; for by the act of ſettlement at the revolution, they were to expire within ſix months after the death of the king. In conſequence of this meſſage, the ſalaries of the nine puiſne judges in England were advanced from 1500l. to 2000l. and the three chiefs in proportion. In Scotland, the lord preſident, inſtead of 1000l. a year, was allowed 1300; the lords of ſeſſion 700l. inſtead of 500; and the lords juſticiary, 1000 inſtead of 500l.

Mr. Onſlow, who had ſo long filled the ſpeaker's chair with equal candour and capacity, having ſignified his intention to retire from buſineſs, in conſequence of age, infirmities, and other motives of a private nature, the commons determined to beſtow upon him ſome ſignal marks of their eſteem and regard. They accordingly reſolved that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to Mr. Speaker, for his conſtant and unwearied attendance in the chair, during the courſe of above thirty-three years, in five ſucceſſive parliaments; for the unſhaken integrity and ſteady impartiality of his conduct there; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, conſtantly taken to promote the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preſerve inviolable the rights and privileges of the commons of Great Britain.

The houſe alſo reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the king, humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow ſome ſignal mark of his royal favour upon the right honourable Arthur Onſlow, eſq. for his great and eminent ſervices performed to his country, for the ſpace of thirty-three years and upwards. This application was very agreeable to the king's own generous diſpoſition. He expreſſed a proper ſenſe of the ſpeaker's great ſervices and unblemiſhed character; and that gentleman was gratified with an annual penſion of 3000l. payable out of his majeſty's treaſure at the Exchequer, for his own life and that of his ſon.

All the public buſineſs being diſpatched, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the 19th day of March, and having ſigned ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne. Soon after which the parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for a new one to be choſen.

It is now time to direct our attention to affairs on the continent.

Early in this year the French king's ambaſſador at the court of Stockholm delivered a declaration to the Swediſh monarch, importing, that the moſt Chriſtian king, moved by the calamities of war, ſo widely diffuſed, and ſo ſeverely felt in different parts of the world, thought it his indiſpenſible duty to declare, that his humanity in general, and his regard to his own ſubjects in particular, prompted him to expreſs his deſire that his allies would concur with him in reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe: that in adjuſting the differences between France and England he would abundantly ſhew his moderation, whenever Great Britain ſhould be inclined to acquieſce in reaſonable terms: that common humanity required his allies to concert with him a plan of pacification, and he hoped every member of the alliance would labour to ſtrengthen, if poſſible, the bands of amity with which they were connected: that, in the mean time, an accumulation of diſtreſs among his unhappy ſubjects; an additional depopulation of countries; a diſorder in the finances of ſeveral powers; and the greateſt doubt whether an advantageous peace could be made in Germany, induced him to declare, that as the war had conſiderably diminiſhed his reſources, he was conſtrained to leſſen his ſubſidies, and even to give notice, that ſhould the war continue he could no longer promiſe an exact compliance with the letter of his engagements.

In conſequence of this declaration, four others were made by the courts of Peterſburgh, Vienna, Sweden, and Poland, which were ſigned at Paris on the 25th of March, and delivered at London on the 31ſt of the ſame month. The counter declaration of Great Britain and Pruſſia appeared on the third of April; and a congreſs was appointed to be held at Augſburgh, as the moſt proper ſituation for the contending powers.

But notwithſtanding theſe ſeeming diſpoſitions for peace, the war in Germany was carried on with great ſpirit. In the beginning of February prince Ferdinand aſſembled his army, and began his march towards Caſſel, on the 18th day of that month, in four columns, by the way of Warbourg, Liebelnau, Sielen, and Dringelbourg, the command of the vanguard being aſſigned to the marquis of Granby, who advanced to Kerkberg and Metze. In the mean time the hereditary prince having received intelligence that the French garriſon of Fritzlar was not prepared for a defence, he marched thither with a few battalions, in hopes of carrying the place by a ſudden aſſault, with muſquetry only: but he met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to wait for the arrival of ſome artillery, which was made uſe of with ſuch ſucceſs that the governor of the place was compelled to capitulate on honourable terms. In the interim, general Briedenback took poſſeſſion of a large magazine at Roſenthal, and made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Marpurg, in which he loſt his life; but this place was afterwards abandoned by the French at the approach of the marquis of Granby, who took poſſeſſion of it.

Prince Ferdinand now reſolved to reduce Ziegenheim and Caſſel before the duke de Broglio ſhould receive his reinforcements, and theſe two places were accordingly inveſted. The allied army was cantoned in two lines, with the right extending to Lahne, and the left ſtretched towards Fulda; while prince Ferdinand fixed his head quarters at Schwienſberg. Having left a garriſon at Marpurg, lord Granby marched into the neighbourhood of Lohr. Another body, under general Hardenberg, advanced to Kircham, while the detachment employed at the ſiege of Caſſel proceeded very ſlowly in their operations, and received ſome ſevere rebuffs from ſallies made by the garriſon.

By this time the duke de Broglio was joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, and advanced towards the army of the allies, which at this time was unable to meet him in the field. On the 21ſt day of March the detachment under the hereditary prince was, in its march from Heimbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy, near the village of Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Gronberg. The attack was made by the enemy's dragoons, the very firſt ſhock of which broke the whole foot of the allies, conſiſting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Brunſwickers. Two thouſand were either killed or taken, together with eighteen pair of colours and twelve pieces of artillery.

After this blow the allied army could no longer think of making head againſt the French, or of maintaining their ground in Heſſe. They broke up the blockade of Zeigenheim, which was followed by raiſing the ſiege of Caſſel, after the trenches had been opened 27 days. They then evacuated the whole country of Heſſe, retiring behind the Dymel, and falling back nearly to the quarters they poſſeſſed before this attempt.

The enemy was now once more in poſſeſſion of the whole landgravate of Heſſe Caſſel; they were alſo maſters of Munden and Gottingen in Hanover, and at liberty to penetrate into the heart of that electorate. The ſituation of the allies appeared the more dangerous as the prince de Soubiſe, at the head of a ſecond French army, was encamped on the Lower Rhine. About the middle of May the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, at the head of a ſeparate body, advanced to Nettolen, in the neighbourhood of Munſter, to watch the motions of this army. Soubiſe had by this time formed three different camps at Duſſeldorp, Burich and Rees, though part of his forces ſtill continued in cantonment. In the mean time the war was proſecuted by detached parties, and ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The army of the duke de Broglio, having, about the latter end of June, croſſed the Dymel, diſlodged general Sporcken from his poſt on the left of that river, with the loſs of 1800 men taken priſoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 400 horſes, and 200 waggons. The French next took poſſeſſion of Warburg, Padeborn and Dringlebroen, and on the 2d of July, compelled prince Ferdinand to paſs the Lippe. Theſe ſucceſſes, however, were over-balanced by the atchievements of ſmall parties of the allies, who, at different times, were diſpatched to haraſs them in their motions, and cut off their convoys of proviſion.

In the morning of the 13th of July general Luckner, with his detachment, advanced to Salme, where the count de Chabot was poſted with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, which he attacked with ſuch fury, that they were forced to repaſs the Lippe in haſte, having loſt about 200 men, and as many horſes in their retreat. Other parties intercepted the French convoys in the neighbourhood of Caſſel, and did ſuch conſiderable damage to the enemy, that they reſolved to unite their armies and give battle to prince Ferdinand.

The allies formed their camp at a place called Hohenover. The right wing, at the extremity of which the hereditary prince was poſted, extended as far as the village de Buderich, and this was guarded by a detachment. The body of the army occupied the heights of Wambeln, and the prince of Anhalt poſſeſſed the ground between the Illengen, and Hohenover. The marquis of Granby maintained his poſition on the heights of Kirck-Denckern, and lieutenant general Wutgenau, advancing from the heath of Untrup, marched by his right in order to reach the village of Kirck-Denckern: the avenues and poſts on the little rivers Aſte and Sultzbah were defended by the piquets of the army. On the 15th of July, the army of Soubiſe, having ſtruck their tents, advanced on the left of the allies, and diſlodged the advanced poſt of lord Granby, againſt whoſe corps their chief efforts were directed. Prince Ferdinand now commanded the marquis of Granby to maintain his ground to the laſt extremity. Wutgenau was ordered to make a motion to the left to block up the high road from Lipſtadt to Ham, and act in concert with the marquis, whoſe right was likewiſe ſuſtained by the left of the body commanded by the prince of Anhalt, and this general's own right extended to the Aſte, above Kirck-Denckren. Lieutenant general Conway replaced the prince of Anhalt between Illengen and Hohenover. The hereditary prince ordered lieutenant general Boſe to ſecure the heights of Wambeln, leaving count Kilmanſiegge on the ſide of Buderich. The greateſt part of the artillery was placed on the front of the left. General Sporcken, who encamped with a ſeparate body at Hortzfeld, was ordered to detach ſix ſquadrons and as many battalions over the Lippe, to ſupport M. Wutgenau, and to co-operate with the reſt as he ſhould judge moſt effectual for the advantage of the whole.

In the evening of the 15th of July the enemy made a furious attack on lord Granby's poſt, which was ſuſtained with the moſt intrepid bravery and reſolution till the arrival of Wutgenau, who advancing on his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into the woods with precipitation. The priſoners having informed prince Ferdinand, that marſhal Broglio had decamped from Erwite by break of day, in order to join Soubiſe, and give battle to the allies, concluded that the ſtrongeſt efforts would be made upon his left, and formed his diſpoſitions accordingly. General Howard was ordered to bring up the brigade of infantry, commanded by lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and the cavalry of lord Pembroke. Colonel Grevendorff was detached with two battalions to barricade and fortify the village of Kirck-Denckern, and to be there, in caſe of neceſſity, ſupported by general Howard. At three in the morning the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the ſide where Wutgenau was poſted, and a terrible fire of cannon and muſquetry was maintained on both ſides for five hours, during which the enemy was not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine prince Ferdinand received advice that Broglio's deſign was to cannonade lord Granby's camp, from an oppoſite eminence; he therefore ordered immediately a body of troops to anticipate this operation by making a vigorous charge. Accordingly they advanced with the greateſt intrepidity, and attacked the enemy with ſo much fury, that the French were ſoon obliged to give way, and abandon the field of action. Their left, however, ſtill maintained a ſevere cannonade on the ſide where the hereditary prince commanded; but were no ſooner informed of their defeat on the right, than they deſiſted from the attack, and retreated in good order. They were purſued as far as Hiltrup, about a league from the field of battle, and would in all probability have ſuffered a total defeat had the nature of the ground permitted the artillery to act, but this being impoſſible, the French ſuſtained very little loſs. They had, however, about 5000 men killed and taken priſoners in this attack, ſome colours, and a few pieces of artillery. Prince Ferdinand's loſs did not exceed 500 men.

This was the greateſt action that happened during the whole campaign in Weſtphalia, and did immortal honour to the commander in the diſpoſition, and to the bravery and intrepidity of the troops in the execution. It was, however, far from being deciſive; the French, notwithſtanding the conſiderable loſs they had ſuſtained, were ſtill ſuperior in number.

After this defeat, the two French generals, from a miſunderſtanding between them, divided their armies. Broglio, with his diviſion, marched towards Caſſel, and Soubiſe retreated to Dortmund, and croſſed the Roer, in order to ſecure a great number of barges then paſſing down the Rhine with proviſions for his army. He did not, however, take this ſtep, before he had ſent off two large detachments to reinforce Broglio. Nor did he continue any longer on the other ſide of the Roer, than was neceſſary to receive his proviſions, when he repaſſed both that river and the Lippe, advancing as far as Dulmen. In the mean time Broglio penetrated ſtill farther into the electorate of Hanover, took poſſeſſion of Keſter, and fortified the place.

The allied army being greatly inferior to the French, prince Ferdinand retired to Dumolt, and called in moſt of his detachments. The French encamped near him on the heights of Neim, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the two armies, in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince, was mortally wounded.

In the mean time general Lucker gained a conſiderable advantage at Caſſel. He attacked and routed a large body of the enemy, and took many priſoners, together with ſome horſes, and a large quantity of ammunition.

Nor were the French idle. Broglio, having croſſed the Weſer with his whole army, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, paſſed the Dymel, and advanced to Caſſel. Broglio perceiving that he could not now advance to the city of Hanover, without bringing on a general engagement with the allied army, thought proper to retreat. The French being thus retired, prince Ferdinand proceeded to Paderborn, and eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Buhne.

The duke de Broglio, having re-croſſed the Weſer, encamped his army at Eimbeck, where he laid the whole country under contribution. In the mean time Soubiſe erected his ovens at Dorſten, and garriſoned the place with one battalion, but the hereditary prince found means to attack and reduce the town. The garriſon were made priſoners; the ovens demoliſhed, and large quantities of proviſions deſtroyed. This obliged Soubiſe to retreat to the other ſide of the Lippe: but he ſoon after repaſſed that river, and advanced again to Coesfelt, ravaging, with his detachments, all the northern parts of the country.

Towards the end of September a detachment from the army of Soubiſe, under the command of the count de Conſlans, advanced to the gates of Embden, which was garriſoned by two companies of Engliſh invalids, who obtained an honourable capitulation, and embarked for Bremen. The French did not, however, continue long in the town: they laid the neighbouring country under contribution, and immediately evacuated the place. But the country boors, flying to arms, and ſinking the pontoons, on which the enemy had paſſed the river, it was ſome time before the detachment could return to their camp. Another party of the army entered the city of Oſnaburg, and pillaged the place, the inhabitants not being in a condition to pay the enormous contributions demanded by the enemy. A third party made an attempt upon Bremen: but the inhabitants joining the garriſon, the French were obliged to retire with the utmoſt precipitation.

During theſe tranſactions Broglio lay inactive in his camp at Eimbeck, nor was he at all diſturbed, till the beginning of November; when prince Ferdinand formed a plan for attacking him unexpectedly, before he could call in his detachments. In order to this he ordered the hereditary prince and general Luckner, reinforced by the garriſon of Wolfenbuttle, to advance from their reſpective poſts, ſo as to be in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck by a certain hour on the 5th of November. He commanded the marquis of Granby to force the French poſt at Cappelnhagen on the fourth; to proceed next day to Wickenſen, and block up a defile in that neighbourhood, on the road from Elcherſhauſen to Eimbeck. He ſent general Hardenberg with a detachment to paſs the Weſer at Badenwerder, that he might at the appointed time take poſſeſſion of a defile at Amelunxhorn, on the other road from Elcherſhauſen to Eimbeck. On the 4th he, with the main body of his army, croſſed the river near Haſtenbeck, and advanced towards Eimbeck. When he approached Wickenſen, he found part of his orders already executed, the road being occupied by a ſtrong body of Britiſh grenadiers and highlanders: for the marquis of Granby had bravely forced the enemy's poſt at Cappelnhagen, and, by the hour appointed, blocked up the defile. In the mean time M. de Chabot finding he was intercepted, immediately retreated towards Eſcherſhauſen, and ſtruck into the road to Eimbeck, which general Hardenberg had been ordered to ſecure: but, unfortunately for that officer, ſome of his pontoons were overturned, and this accident retarded him ſo long, that he did not arrive at the place appointed till ſeven in the morning; by which time Chabot had paſſed the defile on his way to Eimbeck, and by noon reached that place without farther interruption.

Prince Ferdinand, being thus diſappointed in the miſcarriage of his plan, advanced towards the French camp; but he found it too ſtrong to be attacked with any probability of ſucceſs. He therefore reſolved to turn their flanks, as if he deſigned to cut off their communication with Gottingen, a motion which, he was well aſſured, would either bring

Broglio to an engagement on equal terms, or oblige him to retreat. He choſe, however, the latter, and on the ninth of November the whole French army retired.

After this no tranſaction of conſequence happened in Germany. The duke de Broglio quartered his forces in and about Caſſel; while thoſe of Soubiſe were diſtributed at Duſſeldorp and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their quarters at Hilderſham, Munſter, Hamelen, and Eimbeck. The Britiſh cavalry wintered in Eaſt Frieſland, and the infantry in the biſhopric of Oſnaburg.

During the courſe of this year ſeveral ſucceſsful exploits were performed in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. After the reduction of Pondicherry, an armament was equipped againſt the French ſettlement of Mahie, ſituated on the coaſt of Malabar, about thirty miles to the northward of Tillicherry. A body of forces for this expedition was embarked at Bombay, under the command of major Hector Monro, who acted with ſuch ſpirit, that in the beginning of February, M. Loner, the French governor at Mahie, was obliged to ſurrender the place with all it dependencies.

But the French officers in the Eaſt Indies had exerted themſelves with ſo much induſtry, as to intereſt in their cauſe a prince of the Mogul empire, named Shah Zadda, who at the head of 80,000 men, took the field againſt the forces of the Eaſt India company, commanded by major John Carnack, and reinforced by the ſuba of Bengal. This army conſiſted of 500 Europeans, 2500 ſepoys, and 20,000 black troops, with 12 pieces of cannon. Both armies advanced to the neighbourhood of Guya, where, on the 15th of January, the Mogul's troops were routed in a pitched battle. All their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers.

About this time a revolution happened in favour of Mir Coſſim Ali Kawn, who was placed on the throne of Bengal in the room of his father-in-law Jaffier Ali Kawn, raiſed to that dignity by lord Clive, and now depoſed for his cruelty and mal-adminiſtration. This change, however, did not affect the intereſt of the Engliſh Eaſt India company: on the contrary, the new nabob confirmed and enlarged their privileges and immunities.

In the month of June the iſland of Dominico, in the Weſt-Indies, was taken from the French, by a party of Engliſh forces under the command of lord Rollo, and aſſiſted by commodore Sir James Douglas, with four ſhips of the line. At firſt the inhabitants would have ſubmitted, but M. de Longprie, the governor, ſtirred them up to hold out, under pretence that ſome ſhips would ſoon arrive to their aſſiſtance. Lord Rollo, finding him obſtinate, landed with a party of grenadiers, commanded by colonel Melville, and drove the enemy from their advanced poſts, after which they proceeded to the head quarters of the governor, whom they took priſoner with all his officers. Next day the magiſtrates, and indeed all the inhabitants of the iſland, except the ſoldiers, took the oaths to our government. The forts that had been damaged were repaired, and every thing ſettled in a proper manner; after which lord Rollo and Sir James Douglas ſet ſail for the iſland of Guadaloupe.

The Engliſh navy was this year remarkably ſucceſsful; ſeveral engagements happened in different parts of the ſeas, and many of the enemy's ſhips were taken. But the following is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt remarkable and gallant actions which diſtinguiſhed this war, and fully evinced the vaſt ſuperiority poſſeſſed by the Engliſh navy over that of France. On the tenth of Auguſt, captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and the Brilliant, a frigate of thirty guns, ſailed from the river Tagus for England, having on board a conſiderable ſum of money for the merchants of London. On the 13th in the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they deſcried three ſail of ſhips ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. As ſoon as they perceived captain Faulkner, they bore down upon him, till within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when they took both the Bellona and frigate for two decked ſhips, and not chuſing to ſtand an engagement, they ſuddenly wore round, filled all their ſails, and crouded away. Captain Faulkner being by this time convinced of their ſize, and, from the intelligence he had received, conjecturing that the large ſhip was the Courageaux, as it actually proved to be, he hoiſted all the ſail he could carry, and gave chace till ſun-ſet, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he threw out a ſignal to the Brilliant to purſue in that direction, which order was immediately obeyed. They did not loſe ſight of the enemy all night, but at ſun-riſe had gained only two miles upon them in a chace of fourteen hours, ſo that the French commodore might ſtill have avoided an engagement had he thought proper; but he no longer declined the action, for by this time he plainly perceived that one of the Engliſh ſhips was a frigate, and the Bellona, at that diſtance, appeared to him much ſmaller than ſhe really was. He now hoiſted a red enſign on the mizen ſhrouds, as a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with, and engage the Brilliant; at the ſame time he hauled down his ſtudding ſails, wore round, and ſtood for the Bellona under his top-ſails, while captain Faulkner advanced towards him with an eaſy ſail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The two ſhips were equal in burthen, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew of the Courageux amounted to 700 men, commanded by M. du Guy Lambert. The Bellona's complement conſiſted of 550 men, all the officers were perſons of known merit, and the commander had, on ſeveral occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both ſides was ſuſpended till they were within muſquet ſhot of each other, when the engagement began with a terrible diſcharge of fire-arms and artillery. In leſs than nine minutes all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, ſhrowds, and rigging were cut and ſhattered by the ſhot, and the mizzen-maſt fell over the ſtern, with all the men on the round top, who, nevertheleſs ſaved their lives, by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Apprehenſive that the enemy might ſeize this opportunity of eſcaping, captain Faulkner gave orders to board them immediately; but this attempt was ſoon rendered impracticable, by the poſition of the two ſhips. The Courageux was now fallen athwart the bows of the Bellona, in which ſituation ſhe muſt have raked the latter fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards and moſt of the other ropes by which the Bellona could be worked, were already ſhot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the aſſiſtance of his maſter, made uſe of the ſtudding ſails with ſuch ſucceſs, as to wear the ſhip quite round, and fall upon the oppoſite quarter of the Courageux. The officers and men now flew to the guns on that ſide of the ſhip oppoſed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a moſt dreadful diſcharge, and maintained it without intermiſſion or abatement. Every ſhot took place. The ſides of the Courageux were terribly ſhattered, and her decks ſtrewed with carnage. The enemy ſuſtained this fire for about twenty minutes, when the enſign was hauled down, and the engagement ceaſed; but in a ſhort time after a ſhot was fired from the lower tier of the Courageux; upon which the Britiſh ſeamen ran to their quarters, and, without waiting for orders, poured in two broadſides upon the enemy, who now called out for quarter, which was granted them. The Bellona ſuffered greatly in her rigging, but very little in the hull, and her number of killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The caſe was very different with the Courageux. Nothing was left ſtanding but her foremaſt and bowſprit; large breaches were made in her ſides; her decks were torn up in ſeveral parts; many of her guns were diſmounted; and her quarters were filled with mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above 220 were killed outright, and half that number were brought aſhore wounded, at Liſbon, to which place the prize was conducted.

The ſucceſs of the Bellona was, in a great meaſure, owing to the brave conduct of captain Logie, who finding it would be impoſſible for him to acquire any thing but laurels from two ſhips, the leaſt of which was equal in ſtrength to the frigate he commanded, he reſolved to amuſe them in ſuch a manner as to prevent either from aſſiſting the Courageux. Accordingly, he began the attack on the Malicieuſe, but the other coming up immediately, he ſtood their whole fire all the time the great ſhips were engaged, and near an hour after ſhe had ſtruck her colours; when they both thought proper to ſeek for ſafety in flight, having ſuffered conſiderable damage in their maſts and rigging.

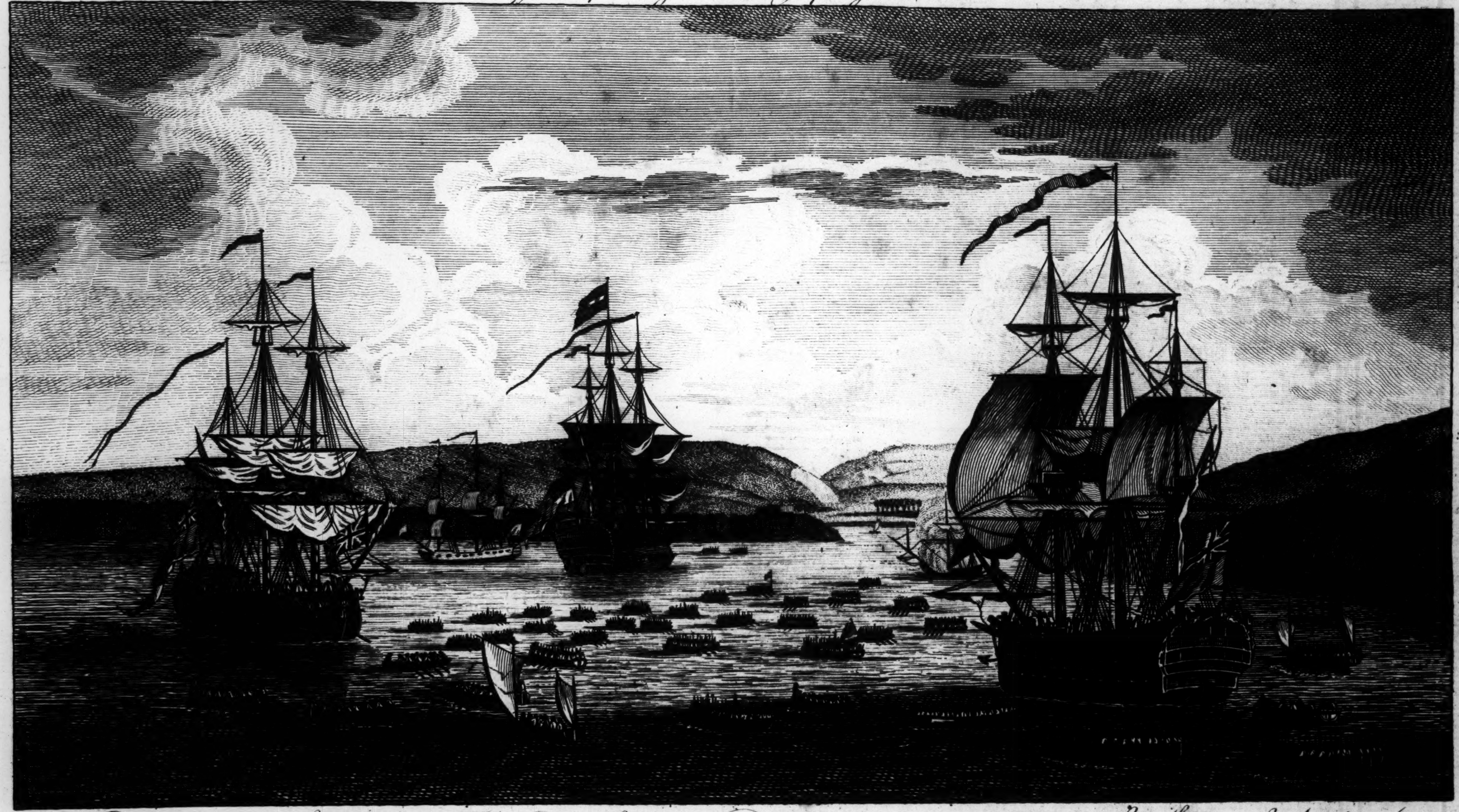
The miniſtry were this year determined to attempt the reduction of Belleiſle, the largeſt of all the European iſlands belonging to the French king; being between twelve and thirteen leagues in circumference. It contains only one ſmall city called Le Palais; has three country towns, one hundred and three villages, and about five thouſand inhabitants. A ſquadron was accordingly equipped under the command of commodore Keppel, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two fire ſhips, and two bomb ketches, beſide tranſports. The troops deſtined for this expedition amounted to ten battalions, under the command of major-general Hodgſon, aſſiſted by major-general Crawford, with proper engineers, ſome troops of light horſe, and a detachment of artillery. On the 29th of March the whole armament ſailed from Spithead; and on the 7th of April came to an anchor in Belleiſle-road. The commanders having agreed that the deſcent ſhould be made on the ſandy beach, near the point of Lomaria, towards the ſouth eaſt end of the iſland, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ſhips convoyed the troops to the landing-place, and ſilenced a battery which the enemy had erected there. This ſervice being performed, the flat-bottomed boats advanced to the ſhore, and a ſmall body of troops was landed under the command of major Purcel and captain Oſborne, which was no ſooner effected than the enemy, who had entrenched themſelves on the heights, appeared above them, and poured down ſuch a ſevere fire, as threw them into diſorder: nevertheleſs captain Oſborne, at the head of ſixty grenadiers, advanced near enough to exchange ſeveral thruſts with the French officer, till having received three ſhots in the body, he fell dead on the ſpot. Major Purcel ſhared the ſame fate, which was alſo extended to ſeveral other officers. The men were totally routed, and either killed or taken priſoners; ſo that this attempt was attended with the loſs of near 500 men.

It was ſome time before the weather would permit a ſecond attempt to be made, but when it did the Prince of Orange man of war ſailed round the iſland, in order to ſurvey the coaſt, and diſcover, if poſſible, ſome other place more favourable for a deſcent; but the whole ſeemed to be ſecured in ſuch a manner, by rocks and batteries, as precluded all acceſs. Far from being diſcouraged by theſe difficulties, the commanders only thought of the moſt proper methods to remove them, and at length fixed on the following, which met with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh. On the twenty-ſecond in the morning the troops were diſpoſed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the iſland, as if they intended to land in ſeveral places; by which means the attention of the enemy was ſo diſtracted, that they knew not where to expect the deſcent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. In the mean time, brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with amazing intrepidity, and ſuſtained the fire of a ſtrong body of the enemy, till they were ſupported by the reſt of the troops, who now landed very faſt, when the French were obliged to abandon their batteries. But this advantage was not gained without loſs. About forty men were killed, and many more wounded, among whom were colonel Mackenzie, and the captains Murray and Paterſon.

M. de Croix, the French governor, finding that the Engliſh troops were diſembarked, to the number of 8000 men, recalled all his detachments to Palais, and prepared for a vigorous defence. On the 23d of April the Engliſh troops were formed in columns, and began their march towards the capital. Next day general Hodgſon ordered a detachment of light horſe to take poſt at Sanzon; and on the 25th a corps of infantry took poſſeſſion of a village called Bordilla, where they began to throw up an intrenchment, but were diſlodged by a party of the enemy's grenadiers; the whole army, however, intrenched itſelf in the neighbourhood. The artillery and implements of ſiege being ſtill on board the fleet, and the ſtormy weather rendering it impoſſible to get them aſhore, M. de St. Croix took this opportunity to erect ſix redoubts for defending the avenues of Palais; and theſe works were finiſhed before general Hodgſon had it in his power to begin his operations. In the mean time he publiſhed a manifeſto, which was delivered to the inhabitants, importing, that if they would put themſelves under the protection of the Britiſh government, they ſhould be indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and retain all the rights and privileges which they had ever enjoyed. This promiſe had a great effect on the natives, for many of them immediately accepted the propoſal.

The French having now taken ſhelter within the walls of the town, and ſome mortars being brought up about the latter end of April, general Hodgſon began to play upon it. On the ſecond of May the beſiegers broke ground; but next night the garriſon made a ſally, and attacked the trenches with ſuch vigour, that the piquets on the left were put into diſorder. Major-general Crawford, who commanded the trenches, rallied the troops, and endeavoured, by his own example, to animate them; but on this occaſion they did not act with their uſual ſpirit; ſome hundreds were killed, and the major-general, with his two aids du camp, fell into the hands of the enemy. The engineers giving it as their opinion, that the works could not be properly advanced till the enemy's redoubts ſhould be taken, the general made the proper diſpoſitions for the attack, which began on the 13th at day-break. A terrible fire from four pieces of cannon, and above thirty cohorns, was poured into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank; after which a detachment of marines, ſupported by part of Loudon's regiment, advanced to the parapet, drove the French from the works, and, after a very obſtinate diſpute, took poſſeſſion of the place. The other five redoubts were all reduced in the ſame manner, and great ſlaughter was made of the enemy, who withdrew into the citadel; and ſuch was

Engraved for Ruſsel's History of England.



The Disposition of the British Fleet under the Command of **ADMIRAL KEPPEL** the 8th day of April 1761, previous to the Attack of **FORT ANDRÉ** on the Island of Belle-Isle.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JY 73

was the ardour of the aſſailants, that they entered the ſtreets of Palais with the fugitives, a great number of whom were made priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the town, in which they found the French hoſpital, and ſome Engliſh priſoners, who had been taken in different ſallies. Every endeavour was now exerted for the reduction of the citadel, and by the end of May a breach was made, which by the 7th of June became practicable, when M. de St. Croix, being apprehenſive of a general aſſault, demanded a capitulation. This being granted him on the moſt honourable terms, the articles were immediately ſigned and executed, and Beauclerk's grenadiers took poſſeſſion of the citadel.

During theſe tranſactions, the congreſs already mentioned at Augſburgh was intended to be opened for a general peace; but the Engliſh miniſtry finding in the mean time that no faith could be placed in the proceedings of the French; and at the ſame time the Spaniſh ambaſſador preſenting a very unſeaſonable and even unprecedented interpoſition of Spain, the intention was rendered abortive, and the intended congreſs at Augſburgh never took place. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was called upon to diſavow ſo ſtrange a proceeding; but he returned a verbal, and was ſoon after authoriſed by his court to return a written anſwer, in which he openly avowed and juſtified the ſtep he had taken as entirely agreeable to the ſentiments of his maſter. He declared that the kings of France and Spain were united, not only by the ties of blood, but by a mutual intereſt. He applauded the humanity and greatneſs of mind which his moſt Chriſtian majeſty demonſtrated in the propoſition that was complained of. He inſiſted much on the ſincere deſire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and he haughtily added, "That if his maſter had been governed by any other principles, his Catholic majeſty, giving full ſcope to his greatneſs, would have ſpoken for himſelf, and as became his dignity."

It plainly appeared, from the whole of this paper, that the court of Spain, as a ſort of party, was regularly appriſed of every ſtep that was taken in the negotiation; that her judgement was appealed to upon every point, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; that there was a perfect union of affections, intereſts and councils between thoſe two courts; and the miniſter of the former, ſo far from denying or palliating this conduct, ſeemed to glory in it.

Mr. Pitt was fully ſatisfied the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal, and this partiality, which they ſtrongly avowed, not only by declarations but by facts, would drive them into all the meaſures of France. That a war on that account was abſolutely inevitable; and if, for the preſent moment, the Spaniards had rather delayed their declaration of war, than laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, it was in order to ſtrike the blow at their own time, and with the greater effect; that therefore their reaſons for delaying to act were the very motives, which ought to induce us to act with the utmoſt ſpeed and vigour: that we ought to conſider the evaſions of that court as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a declaration of war: that we ought from prudence, as well as from ſpirit, to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow; and to be practically convinced, that the early and effective meaſures, which had ſo large a ſhare in reducing France to the dependence upon Spain, would alſo be the fitteſt for deterring or diſabling Spain from affording any protection to France; that to carry on this war with vigour, it was only neceſſary to continue our preſent efforts; no new armament would be neceſſary; and that, if any war could provide its own reſources, it muſt be a war with Spain: that their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once diſable their hands and ſtrengthen ours. This procedure ſo ſuited to the dignity of the nation, and the inſults it had received, would be a leſſon to Spain, and to every other power, how they preſumed to dictate in our affairs, and to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, and an officiouſneſs as inſidious as it was audacious: and that we would allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to think and recollect themſelves.

The ſentiments of moſt of the other miniſters, on this occaſion, were very different from thoſe of Mr. Pitt. They admitted that we ought not to be terrified from the aſſertion of our juſt demands, by the menaces of any power. They acknowledged that Spain had taken a very extraordinary and unjuſtifiable ſtep, but that we ought to allow, and even to wiſh for, an explanation. That this court, upon a ſober, yet ſpirited remonſtrance, might recall that raſh propoſition, into which they had been, perhaps, unwarily ſeduced by the artifices of France: that to ſhun a war upon a juſt occaſion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it was madneſs; and if to court a war was not in general a very wiſe meaſure, to deſire it with Spain, if poſſibly it could be avoided, was to overturn the moſt fundamental principles of the policy of both nations: that this deſire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilſt we had our hands already as full as they could hold, and whilſt all our faculties were ſtrained to the utmoſt pitch, was to over-calculate the national ſtrength of our country, which, however great, had its limits, and was not able to contend with all the world: that whilſt we were calling for new enemies, no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new reſource whatever. To plunge into ſuch meaſures, in the manner propoſed, and upon no better grounds, could not fail to ſcandalize and to alarm all Europe; and we could poſſibly derive no advantage from this precipitate conduct, which could not be counter-balanced by the jealouſy and terror it would neceſſarily create in every nation near us. As to the ſeizure of the flota, it was not to be depended upon, as at the very time of that deliberation it might probably be ſafe in its harbour; and perhaps if we could ſucceed in ſeizing it, we might perform a ſervice not very agreeable to neutral nations, and as little advantageous to our own commerce. That if Spain, blind to her true intereſts, and miſled by French councils, ſhould, in a more deciſive manner, give into the deſigns of that court, and obſtinately refuſe a reaſonable ſatisfaction, it would be then true time to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced that we acted with as much temper as reſolution, and when every thinking man at home would be ſatisfied that we were not hurried into the hazards and expences of war, from an idea of chimerical heroiſm, but from inevitable neceſſity; and that in ſuch a caſe, we might depend upon the utmoſt ſupport which the nation could give to an adminiſtration that depended upon its ſtrength, and yet dreaded to waſte it wantonly, or to employ it unjuſtly.

Fired with indignation at this oppoſition, Mr. Pitt declared, "That this was the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon: that if this opportunity was let ſlip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this inſtance, he was reſolved it ſhould be the laſt time of his ſitting in that council. He thanked the miniſters of the late king for their ſupport: ſaid he was himſelf called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he conſidered himſelf accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a ſituation which made him reſponſible for meaſures he was no longer allowed to guide."

On the diviſion Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were the only voices in favour of the immediate declaration of war againſt the Spaniards, upon which, having declared their reaſons in writing, they reſigned their employments. Certain it is, that no man was ever better qualified to conduct the affairs of government than Mr. Pitt. To a liberal education, he had joined an extenſive reading; and his conduct in parliament convinced the Britiſh ſenate, that his memory was equal to his judgment and eloquence. His majeſty was ſo ſenſible of the vaſt abilities of this great man, that he ſettled on him a penſion of 3000l. per annum, for life, and for the life of his ſon, his lady being, at the ſame time, created a peereſs in her own right.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed domeſtic tranſactions of this year were the marriage and coronation of their preſent majeſties. The king, deſirous of giving all poſſible permanency to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, reſolved to chuſe a conſort, whoſe participation might ſweeten the cares of government, and whoſe virtues ſhould make his private happineſs coincide with the ſatisfaction of his people. Struck with the character of the princeſs Charlotta-Sophia, princeſs of Mecklenburg-Strelitz *, he privately employed perſons, in whom he could confide, to aſcertain the report of her engaging qualifications: and being fully convinced of her perſonal attractions, her amiable diſpoſition, and ſuperior underſtanding, he made a formal demand of her in marriage. The propoſal of ſuch an illuſtrious alliance could not but be acceptable to the court of Mecklenburg; and the princeſs herſelf was not inſenſible of the extraordinary accompliſhments of the young monarch, who had thus diſtinguiſhed her by his affection and eſteem.

On the 8th of July, the members of the privy council being aſſembled to a very conſiderable number, the king acquainted them in a formal ſpeech, that, "having nothing ſo much at heart as to procure the welfare and happineſs of his people, and to render the ſame ſtable and permanent to poſterity, he had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, turned his thoughts towards the choice of a princeſs for his conſort; and now, with great ſatisfaction, acquainted them, that, after the fulleſt information, and mature deliberation, he had come to a reſolution to demand in marriage the princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a princeſs diſtinguiſhed by every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment, whoſe illuſtrious line had conſtantly ſhewn the firmeſt zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and a particular attachment to his family: that he had judged it proper to communicate to them theſe his intentions, that they might be fully apprized of a matter ſo highly important to him and to his kingdoms, and which he perſuaded himſelf would be moſt acceptable to all his loving ſubjects."

This declaration was ſo agreeable to the council, that they unanimouſly requeſted it might be made public for the ſatisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambaſſador plenipotentiary to the court of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, to demand the princeſs, and ſign the contract of marriage; and the royal yatchts were prepared, under convoy of a large ſquadron, commanded by lord Anſon, to convoy the future queen to England. In the mean time, her houſhold being eſtabliſhed, the ambaſſador ſet out for the continent on this important affair. The dutcheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton, and the counteſs of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburg in her paſſage to England; and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Stade on the 8th day of Auguſt. The contract of marriage being ſigned by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, her royal higneſs was complimented by the ſtates of the country, and the deputies of the town. The ambaſſador and the ladies were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the moſt ſplendid rejoicings.

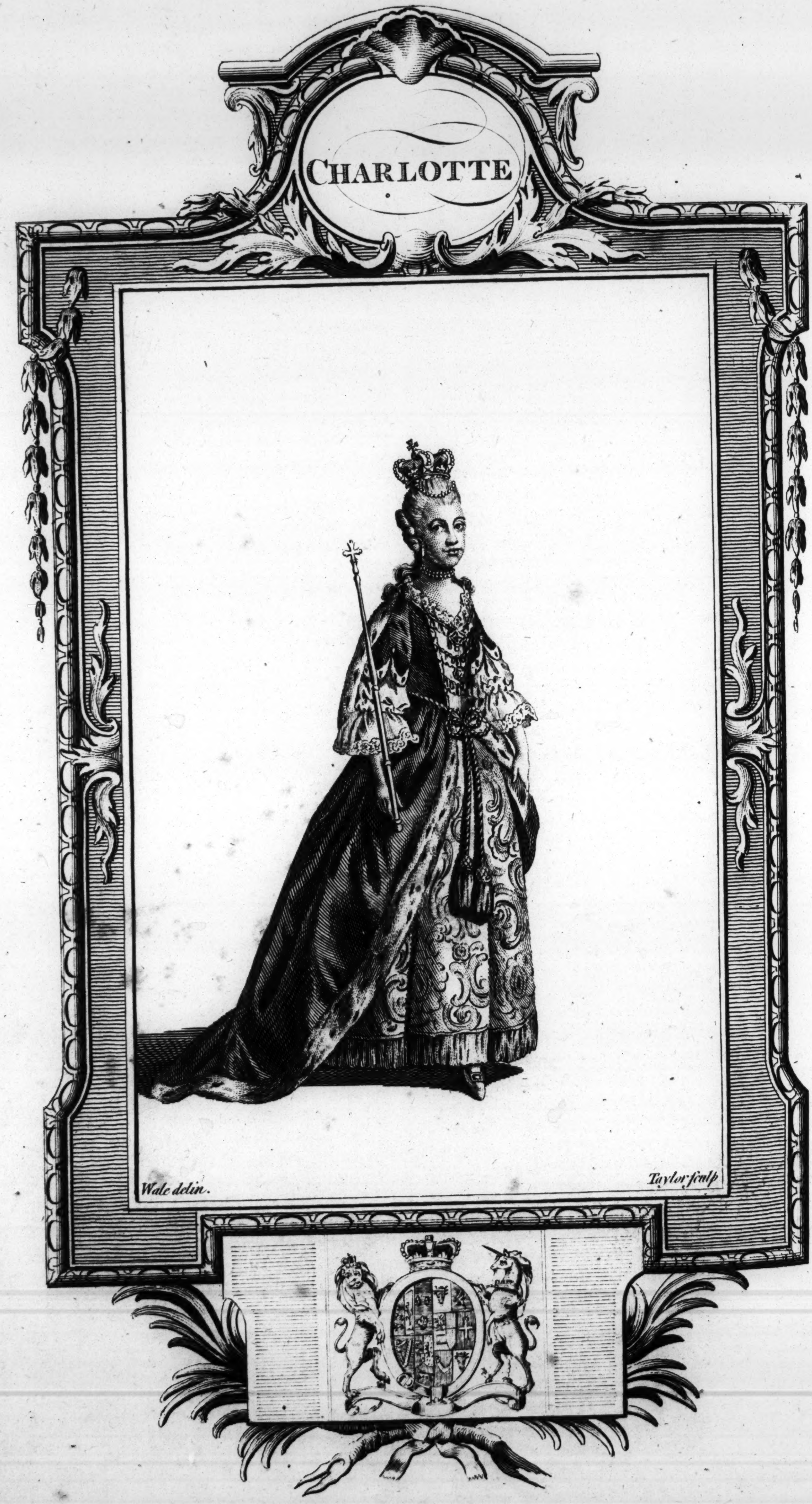
On the ſeventeenth day of the ſame month, the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, ſet out for Mirow, amidſt the tears and prayers of all ranks of people, the poor in particular, whoſe zealous patroneſs ſhe had always ſhewn herſelf. Next day ſhe arrived at Perleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the Pruſſian monarch. From thence ſhe continued her journey by Leutzen to Gourde, and on the 22d reached Stade, under a general diſcharge of cannon, and amidſt the acclamations of the people. She was received by all the burgeſſes in arms: the whole town was illuminated: triumphal arches were erected; ſeveral of the principal ladies preſented her with verſes on her approaching nuptials; and the public joy was expreſſed by every poſſible demonſtration. On the twenty-third ſhe embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where ſhe was ſaluted by the Britiſh ſquadron aſſembled for her convoy. The moment ſhe entered the cabin, ſhe ſaluted the officers of the different ſhips, who had crouded the deck, in order to have the pleaſure of ſeeing her, and were all charmed with her polite and eaſy behaviour.

In the interval the minds of the Engliſh people were wound up to the higheſt pitch of expectation. The king having ſignified his intention that the princeſs ſhould land at Greenwich, both ſides of the Thames were for ſeveral days lined with innumerable multitudes. The river itſelf was covered with pleaſure-boats, wherries, and other veſſels filled with ſpectators, and cruiſing between Blackwall and Graveſend, in order to meet and welcome their future queen's arrival. Seats and ſcaffolds were prepared along the ſhore for ſeveral miles; and all the publicans reſiding near the banks of the river, both in Kent and Eſſex, were enriched by an amazing conflux of company. Every individual obſerved the wind as earneſtly as if his whole fortune had depended upon the firſt change of weather; and London poured forth her ſwarms like an immenſe hive during the firſt gleams of vernal ſunſhine. All the medicinal wells, to which wealthy people reſort in the ſummer, either for health or pleaſure, were now deſerted; and numbers flocked to the metropolis from all parts of the united kingdom to ſee their ſovereign's bride, and be eye-witneſſes of the enſuing coronation. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was expoſed to three different ſtorms, and often in danger of being driven on the coaſt of Norway, the princeſs landed on the ſeventh day of September in the afternoon at Harwich, where ſhe was received by the

---

* The dutchy of Mecklenburgh lies between Lunenburgh and the Baltick, and is neither rich nor extenſive. The dukes are ſaid to be deſcended from the kings of the Vandals. The people were converted to the Chriſtian religion in the twelfth century, and at preſent profeſs the Lutheran perſuaſion. The duke of Mecklenburg-Swerin, being the eldeſt branch, poſſeſſes a yearly revenue amounting to about forty thouſand pounds. The duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz does not receive above twenty thouſand pounds a year; but he has a voice in the diet of the empire. The princeſs Charlotta Sophia, who was then in the ſeventeenth year of her age, is ſiſter to the laſt mentioned prince, born of Elizabeth, daughter of Erneſt-Frederick, duke of Saxe Hildburghauſen.

BRITISH
12 JY 73
MUSEUM



Wale delin. Taylor sculp

the mayor and aldermen in their formalities. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colcheſter to Witham, and lodged at a houſe belonging to the earl of Abercorn, where ſhe gratified the curioſity of the people with the moſt obliging condeſcenſion.

In the mean time, the king, whoſe ardour far ſurpaſſed the impatience of his ſubjects, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, diſpatched his own coaches, with a party of the horſe-guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crouds of people, aſſembled on the road to gratify their curioſity and welcome her arrival. Their applauſe was ſignified in tumultuous acclamations, which attended her ſeveral miles; and the eagerneſs of the populace was even carried to a degree of licentious zeal, which the guards could hardly reſtrain within the bounds of decent reſpect.

Thus accompanied by great numbers in carriages, on horſeback and on foot, this amiable princeſs proceeded by Shoreditch-church, up Old-ſtreet to the city-road, acroſs Iſlington, along the new road into Hyde-park, and down Conſtitution-hill, to the garden-gate of the palace of St. James, where ſhe was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonſhire, in quality of lord-chamberlain. At the gate ſhe was received by the duke of York, and in the garden ſhe was met by the king himſelf, whoſe looks declared the tranſports of his joy. When ſhe made her obeiſance, he raiſed her by the hand, which he kiſſed, and then led her up ſtairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by Dr. Secker, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occaſion. Beſides the royal family, all the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, peers and peereſſes, and the foreign miniſters, attended at the ſervice, the concluſion of which was announced to the people by the diſcharge of the artillery at the Park and the Tower; and the cities of London and Weſtminſter were illuminated in honour of this auſpicious event. Nothing was now ſeen at court but ſplendor and ſatisfaction. The great acceſſion of domeſtic happineſs that the king enjoyed in this connection, enabled him to ſupport the fatigue of receiving freſh addreſſes of felicitation, which were uſhered in as uſual by the city of London, and preſented to him by the clergy, the univerſities, the diſſenters, the cities, towns, and corporations in all parts of the Britiſh dominions.

The ceremony of the nuptials was ſoon ſucceeded by that of the coronation. Weſtminſter-hall was prepared for the royal banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators. A platform was laid between the Hall and Weſtminſter-abbey, where the king is actually crowned. All the houſes and ſtreets within ſight of the proceſſion were faced and crowded with benches and ſcaffolding, which extended on both ſides within the Abbey from the weſtern entrance almoſt up to the choir. The proſpect formed by theſe occaſional erections, which were ſupriſingly calculated for ſecurity and convenience, could not fail to awaken the expectation of the ſpectator for ſomething ſolemn and ſublime: but when all theſe benches were occupied by above 200,000 people, of both ſexes, arrayed in gay apparel, they filled the mind with an aſtoniſhing idea of the wealth and populouſneſs of Great Britain, and almoſt outvied the proceſſion, notwithſtanding the incredible profuſion of jewels and finery, and all the other circumſtances of pomp by which it was diſtinguiſhed. The principal objects, however, ſtill maintained their importance in the eyes and boſoms of all the ſpectators, who could not, without the moſt lively emotions of admiration and joy, behold ſuch attractive accompliſhments in the royal pair, whoſe virtues adorned the crowns they were deſtined to wear.

The oſtentation of this year was cloſed with the anniverſary pageants that celebrate the election of a new lord mayor in the city of London. As the kings and queens of Great Britain are always entertained at Guildhall by the magiſtrate who happens to be choſen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their majeſties; who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midſt of the moſt tumultuous expreſſions of loyalty and attachment that ever were known on any like occaſion.

The new parliament met on the 3d of November, and, as no miniſterial influence had been uſed in electing the members of which it was compoſed, it undoubtedly deſerved the appellation of a free parliament. The king, being ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he ſignified his pleaſure, by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, that they ſhould return to their houſe, and chuſe a new ſpeaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cuſt, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge and diſtinguiſhed probity. His majeſty, repairing again to the houſe of peers on the ſixth, approved of the ſpeaker, and harangued the parliament as follows:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" At the opening of the firſt parliament, ſummoned and elected under my authority, I with pleaſure take notice of an event, which has made me completely happy, and given univerſal joy to my loving ſubjects. My marriage with a princeſs, eminently diſtinguiſhed by every virtue, and amiable endowment, whilſt it affords me all poſſible domeſtic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happineſs of my kingdoms; which has been, and always ſhall be, my firſt object in every action of my life.

" It has been my earneſt wiſh that this firſt period of my reign might be marked with another felicity; the reſtoring of the bleſſings of peace to my people, and putting an end to the calamities of war, under which ſo great a part of Europe ſuffers. But though overtures were made to me, and my good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, by the ſeveral belligerant powers, in order to a general pacification, for which purpoſe a congreſs was appointed; and propoſitions were made to me by France, for a particular peace with that crown, which were followed by an actual negotiation; yet that congreſs hath not hitherto taken place, and the negotiation with France is entirely broken off.

" The ſincerity of my diſpoſition to effectuate this good work has been manifeſted in the progreſs of it; and I have the conſolation to reflect, that the continuance of the war, and the farther effuſion of Chriſtian blood, to which it was the deſire of my heart to put a ſtop, cannot with juſtice be imputed to me.

" Our military operations have been in no degree ſuſpended or delayed; and it has pleaſed God to grant us farther important ſucceſſes, by the conqueſts of the iſlands of Belleiſle and Dominico; and by the reduction of Pondicherry, which hath in a manner annihilated the French power in the Eaſt-Indies. In other parts, where the enemy's numbers were greatly ſuperior, their principal deſigns and projects have been generally diſappointed, by a conduct which does the higheſt honour to the diſtinguiſhed capacity of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and by the valour of my troops. The magnanimity and ability of the king of Pruſſia have eminently appeared in reſiſting ſuch numerous armies, and ſurmounting ſuch great difficulties.

“ In this ſituation, I am glad to have an opportunity of receiving the trueſt information of the ſenſe of my people, by a new choice of their repreſentatives. I am fully perſuaded you will agree with me in opinion, that the ſteady exertion of our moſt vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may ſtill be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of ſuch a peace, as may with reaſon be expected from our ſucceſſes. It is, therefore, my fixed reſolution, with your concurrence and ſupport, to carry on the war, in the moſt effectual manner, for the intereſt and advantage of my kingdoms; and to maintain, to the utmoſt of my power, the good faith and honour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with my allies. In this I will perſevere, until my enemies, moved by their own loſſes and diſtreſſes, and touched with the miſeries of ſo many nations, ſhall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace; in which caſe, as well as in the proſecution of the war, I do aſſure you, no conſideration whatever ſhall make me depart from the true intereſts of theſe my kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my crown.”

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I am heartily ſorry, that the neceſſity of large ſupplies appears ſo clearly from what has already been mentioned. The proper eſtimates for the ſervices of the enſuing year ſhall be laid before you; and I deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies as may enable me to proſecute the war with vigour, and as your welfare and ſecurity, in the preſent critical juncture, require, that we may happily put the laſt hand to this great work. Whatſoever you give ſhall be faithfully applied.

“ I dare ſay your affectionate regard for me and the queen makes you go before me in what I am next to mention; the making an adequate and honourable proviſion for her ſupport, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for, and I earneſtly recommend it to your conſideration.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I have ſuch confidence in the zeal and good affections of this parliament, that I think it quite ſuperfluous to uſe any exhortations to excite you to a right conduct. I will only add, that there never was a ſituation in which unanimity, firmneſs, and diſpatch, were more neceſſary for the ſafety, honour, and true intereſt of Great Britain.”

To this ſpeech each houſe preſented to his majeſty a moſt loyal and affectionate addreſs, in which they aſſured him he might rely on their exerting themſelves, in the moſt effectual manner, to maintain the dignity of his crown, and oblige the enemy to accept of an honourable peace; that they would make ſuch ample and honourable proviſion for his illuſtrious conſort, as might enable her to ſupport her royal dignity with proper luſtre, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty: and that his faithful commons would grant ſupplies adequate to the ſeveral ſervices that his majeſty's wiſdom ſhould think neceſſary. “ That, ſenſible of the difficult criſis in which they were aſſembled, they were determined to concur with the greateſt firmneſs and unanimity, in whatever might contribute to the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of their enemies, and convince the world, that there are no difficulties which his majeſty's wiſdom and perſeverance, with the aſſiſtance of his parliament, could not ſurmount.”

The commons, after preſenting their addreſs, immediately proceeded to ſettle the ſupplies, which amounted to 18,229,135l. 18s. and 11d.½. But they had hardly ſettled this important meaſure, when advice arrived from the earl of Briſtol, his majeſty's ambaſſador at Madrid, importing, that having demanded a categorical declaration with reſpect to the part his majeſty intended to act in the diſputes between the courts of London and Verſailles, he had received at firſt a very evaſive and unſatisfactory anſwer. He added, that on repeating his remonſtrance, he was anſwered, that the Spaniſh monarch had already taken his meaſures in concert with the court of Verſailles, and that war was that moment declared againſt Great Britain; and therefore, that he might retire home, and when he thought proper.

Soon after the count de Fuentes, ambaſſador from Spain at the court of London, delivered to the earl of Egremont, who had ſucceeded Mr. Pitt as ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, a paper calculated for ſowing jealouſies and fomenting diviſions among the ſubjects of Great Britain, and might properly be ſtiled, “ His Catholic majeſty's declaration of war againſt Mr. Pitt.”

A. D. 1762. The firſt thing of national importance this year was, a declaration of war againſt Spain, which was performed with the uſual ceremonies on the 4th of January. In conſequence of which letters of marque were iſſued, and preparations made, with the greateſt diligence and diſpatch, to humble the pride and inſolence of the Spaniſh monarch.

On the 19th of January the king went to the houſe of peers, and delivered a ſpeech to both houſes; in which he obſerved, that he had aſſured his parliament of his ſincere diſpoſition to put an end to the calamities of war, and to reſtore the public tranquillity on ſolid and laſting foundations, that no impartial perſon either at home or abroad could ſuſpect him of unneceſſarily kindling a new war in Europe. But notwithſtanding this he acquainted them, “ That ſince their receſs, he had found himſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to declare war againſt Spain. He obſerved, that his own conduct, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, as well as that of the late king his grandfather, had been ſo full of good-will and friendſhip, ſo averſe to the laying hold of ſeveral juſt grounds of complaint, which might have been alledged, and ſo attentive to the advantage of the Catholic king and his family, that it was matter of the greateſt ſurprize to find that engagements had, in this conjuncture, been entered into between that crown and France; and a treaty made to unite all the branches of the houſe of Bourbon in the moſt ambitious and dangerous deſigns againſt the commerce and independency of the reſt of Europe, and particularly of theſe kingdoms. He expreſſed his reliance on the divine bleſſing on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the zealous and powerful aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, and the concurrence of his allies, who muſt find themſelves involved in the pernicious and extenſive projects of his enemies. He added, that he left theſe conſiderations with his parliament, full of the juſteſt confidence, that the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his kingdoms were ſafe in their hands.”

Both houſes immediately took this ſpeech into conſideration, and each preſented an addreſs full of the moſt endearing expreſſions, aſſuring his majeſty that they would afford him the moſt conſtant and adequate ſupport.

The public buſineſs being finiſhed, on the 4th of June the king went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the zeal, unanimity and diſpatch, which had ſo ſignally appeared in the courſe of their proceedings.

Having thus mentioned the principal domeſtic tranſactions of this year, let us now attend to affairs abroad.

A ſhort time before Mr. Pitt's reſignation, he had determined to employ a very conſiderable part of the Britiſh forces againſt the French colonies in the Weſt Indies. Nor was this reſolution merely ſpeculative; a ſtrong ſquadron was fitted out, and ſailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year. This armament had under their convoy a number of tranſports with four battallions from Belleiſle, to join at Barbadoes a ſtrong body of forces from North America, together with ſome regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe and the Leeward Iſlands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that ſtation, and make a conqueſt of Martinico, which, ſince the attempt of general Hopſon, had been ſtrengthened with new fortifications, and a ſtrong body of troops.

The armament from North-America and England, under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, bombs, and fireſhips, having rendezvouſed at Barbadoes, ſailed from thence on the 5th of January, and on the 8th the fleet and tranſports anchored in St. Ann's bay, in the eaſtern part of Martinico, the men of war having firſt ſilenced ſome batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coaſt. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Raiſonable, a ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence ſhe could not be got off; but the men were happily ſaved, together with her ſtores and artillery.

General Monckton, not thinking this a proper place for diſembarking, detached two brigades under the command of the brigadiers Haldimand and Grant, to the bay of Petite Anſe, where a battery was cannonaded, and taken, by the ſeamen and marines. Theſe brigades were ſoon followed by the whole army, and the reſt of the ſquadron; when ſome other batteries being ſilenced, general Monckton, with the forces, landed, on the 16th, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires, and having received a reinforcement of two battalions of marines from the ſquadron, he determined to beſiege the town of Fort Royal; but previous to this attempt, he found it neceſſary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueſon, which the enemy had fortified, and ſeemed reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. For this purpoſe he raiſed a battery to protect the paſſage of a ravine that ſeparated him from thoſe heights, and made every other diſpoſition for the attack, which began on the 24th of June. Early in the morning brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced poſts of the enemy under the briſk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Rufane, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raiſed along the ſhore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, ſupported by the brigade of Walſh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if poſſible, to turn the enemy; in which attempt they ſucceeded, and by nine in the morning they were in poſſeſſion of the Morne Tortueſon, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confuſion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which being more high and inacceſſible than the other, was deemed impregnable. During the conteſt for the poſſeſſion of Tortueſon, brigadier Haldimand, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of Highlanders, and a corps of light infantry under major Leland, were ordered to paſs the ravine ſome way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy poſted on the oppoſite heights, hoping, by that method to divide their forces; but the country being difficult of acceſs, it was late before this paſſage was effected. In the mean time, the general, perceiving the enemy giving way on all ſides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walſh's brigade, and a diviſion of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and then took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt oppoſite to the Morne Garnier. Next day batteries were began to be erected againſt the citadel of Fort Royal, but in the execution of this work our troops were greatly haraſſed by the enemy's fire from Morne Garnier; and on the 27th, about four in the afternoon, they made a furious attack with the greateſt part of their forces, on the poſts defended by the light infantry and brigadier Haldimand; but met with ſo warm a reception, that they ſoon retired in diſorder. Such was the ardour of the Engliſh troops, that they paſſed the ravine with the fugitives, ſeized their batteries, and took poſſeſſion of the ground, being ſuſtained by the brigade of Walſh, and the grenadiers under Grant, who, at the beginning of the attack, marched up to their aſſiſtance. Major Leland, with his light infantry, finding no reſiſtance on the left, advanced to the redoubt, which was abandoned, and the brigadiers Walſh, Grant, and Haldimand, moved up in order to ſupport him; thus by nine at night the Britiſh troops were in poſſeſſion of this ſtrong poſt. Next day the governor, perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights which commanded the citadel, ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered by capitulation. On the 4th of February, the gate was delivered up to the victors, and next morning the garriſon, amounting to 800 men, marched out with all the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were ſent from different parts of the iſland, requeſting a capitulation: but M. de la Touche, the governor general, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he propoſed to defend to the laſt extremity. On the 7th, Pidgeon iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and eſteemed one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. This conqueſt was obtained at the ſmall expence of about 400 men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loſs of the enemy was very conſiderable.

General Monckton was juſt ſetting out for the reduction of St. Pierre, when two deputies arrived from M. de la Touche, with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland, which being agreed to, on the 14th the terms were ſettled, and the capitulation ſigned. On the 16th the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood; while the French governor-general with M. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the ſtaff officers, and about 320 grenadiers, were embarked on board ſome tranſports, and conveyed to France.

The ſurrender of Martinico was followed by that of all the dependent iſlands, by which means the Engliſh were the ſole poſſeſſors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable iſlands which form an immenſe bow, extending from the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola almoſt to the continent of South-America.

An important object now preſented itſelf to the Britiſh miniſtry, namely, that of carrying the war againſt Spain into the Weſt-Indies, from whence all their riches are derived. The Havannah, the center of their Indian commerce, was at this time ſtrongly defended. and it was reckoned impoſſible to take it; but nothing was too difficult for the Britiſh forces to undertake. Nineteen ſhips of the line, with many ſmaller veſſels, were fitted out, under the command of admiral Pocock; and about 10,000 land forces, commanded by the earl of Albemarle.

Perhaps no expedition was ever attended with more dangerous conſequences, nor any conducted with greater prudence. At firſt, the admiral intended to have landed on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Cuba, where it was ſuppoſed he might fall in with the Spaniſh galleons; but that opinion was over-ruled in a council of war, and the fleet continued on a courſe of 700 miles, in a very dangerous ſea. The admiral had no pilot to direct him; but being in poſſeſſion of an excellent chart of thoſe ſeas, taken by lord Anſon, he depended on his own judgment, and diſpatched a ſhip to make proper enquiries whether there was a probability of paſſing. On the return of the ſhip, the admiral ordered the fleet to weigh anchor, and hoiſt ſail, continuing under way, in three diviſions, conſiſting of the ſhips of the line, the frigates, and the tranſports. On the 9th of June, they got out of theſe dangerous ſeas, and came within ſight of St. Jago, on the eaſtern extremity of the iſland of Cuba. St. Jago is the capital of Cuba; but although the courts of juſtice are held there, yet the Havannah is the ſeat of commerce, and, conſequently, of the utmoſt importance. From St. Jago the fleet continued their voyage to the Havannah; but when they arrived there, they found they had more difficulties to encounter than they had as yet imagined.

The paſſage to the harbour is extremely narrow, and above half a mile in length, at the end of which is a large baſon, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety. On one ſide of the narrow paſſage is the Moro Caſtle, a ſtrong fort built for the defence of the place, and to prevent any ſhips from coming in but ſuch as have paſſports. To the weſtward of the harbour ſtands the town, ſtrongly fortified with a parapet, redoubts and baſtions; the whole being ſurrounded by a ditch, and cannon placed in proper diviſions. The difficulties they had to encounter ſeemed inſurmountable; and the admiral, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, bore away, with a large part of the fleet, to the weſtward, where he made as if he would have landed; while commodore Keppel and captain Hervey landed the forces on the eaſt of the harbour, without the loſs of a man, although the Spaniards had a conſiderable fleet then lying at anchor, which might have done them great damage.

The earl of Albemarle divided the army into eight brigades; one of which, under the command of general Elliot, was ordered to march up the country, in order to prevent any ſupplies being ſent to the town, and to cover the ſiege in the rear. General Keppel and colonel Howe were ordered to make a diverſion on the weſt of the town; while the earl of Albemarle, with the main body of the forces, attacked the Moro Caſtle, that being the grand object in view, becauſe it defended the entrance to the harbour.

Thoſe who will compare the account of this famous ſiege with the retreat of Xenophon, or the paſſage of Hannibal over the Alps, will prefer the valour of the Britiſh troops to either that of the Greeks or Carthaginians. There was no freſh water to be had; and as the men were obliged to cut their way through woods, and drag the cannon along with them, ſo many of them died on the ſpot through the heat of the climate, and the fatigues they underwent in the ſervice of their country. But courage and perſeverance overcame all difficulties; for batteries were erected in the night on the riſing grounds, to cover the approaches, and make way for the reduction of the place. To do juſtice to the Spaniards, it muſt be acknowledged that they defended the place with great bravery, and, for ſome time, the fire was, in a manner, equal on both ſides. On the 29th of June, in the evening, they made a ſally; but although they acted with great courage and reſolution, they were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of above 300 men.

All the batteries being now opened, the admiral ordered the Cambridge, the Dragon, and the Marlborough, to ſail up to the fort, under the command of captain Hervey; and then a moſt dreadful firing began. The Spaniſh artillery was well conducted, and it appeared that the beſt officers under their government were at this time at the Havannah. As the Moro Caſtle was ſituated on a high rock, the ſhips could not, after ſeven hours firing, make the leaſt impreſſion on it. In the attempt the Engliſh loſt 130 men, which is not to be wondered at when we conſider that, beſides the Moro Caſtle, they had another battery playing upon them from an oppoſite fort, which galled them exceſſively; ſo that they were obliged to retire, otherwiſe they would have been deſtroyed. Among thoſe killed in this hazardous attempt, was captain Gooſtrey, a brave officer, who had, on many former occaſions, given the moſt ſignal proofs of his courage; but duty, and the love of glory were the ſole objects he had in view.

As ſoon as the Engliſh men of war were gone to rejoin the fleet, the Spaniards turned their attention to the eaſtern part of the fort, and reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; ſo that the Engliſh officers found the reduction of the place would be a work of time. Indeed, an unforeſeen accident happened at this time, which tended, in a great meaſure, towards retarding their operations, namely, the reduction of a battery, which took fire by the exploſion of a mortar. Sickneſs likewiſe rendered many of the men incapable of acting, and the few who remained in health were fatigued beyond deſcription. Add to this, the want of freſh proviſions, the heat of the climate, and the inſupportable fatigue which both officers and men underwent, by which many gave themſelves up to deſpair, and ſunk under the load of their miſery.

About this time, however, they received a very ſeaſonable ſupply; for a fleet arrived from New York, and another from Jamaica, having on board a large quantity of proviſions, which gave new life and ſpirits both to the army and navy.

It was now evident that no time was to be loſt, and that, unleſs an immediate attack was made, the men would become diſpirited, and the whole enterprize ſink into nothing. It was therefore agreed that the miners ſhould be employed; but they had a deep ditch to croſs, ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficuly they got over it, and entrenched themſelves under a rock, where they were not perceived by the enemy.

The governor of the Havannah, ſenſible that the Engliſh would make themſelves maſters of the Moro Caſtle, unleſs he could ſend freſh reinforcements to it, ordered 1200 men to be put on board the boats in the harbour, and to land and attack the Engliſh. Accordingly, theſe men landed, and attacked our forces in three different places, but with ſo little ſucceſs, that upwards of 400 were left dead on the ſpot; ſome were drowned, and the reſt, with much difficulty, ſaved themſelves by getting into their boats.

On the 30th of July the miners blew up a part of the wall, by which a breach was made; and although it was ſmall, yet the engineers were of opinion that the army might attack it. The Engliſh troops now mounted the breach in ſuch good order, that the enemy became intimidated, after above 400 of them had been killed, among whom was the marquis de Goulales, the ſecond in command, a brave officer, who had exerted himſelf to the utmoſt during the ſiege, and died animating the ſoldiers to defend the place. The ſame fate attended Don Lewis de Velaſco, the commander in chief, who diſdaining to aſk quarter, collected as many men as yet remained, and making a ſtand with them, received a mortal wound while holding out his ſword to the conquerors.

The Engliſh being now in poſſeſſion of the fort, which had coſt the lives of many brave men, during a ſiege of 44 days, turned the cannon againſt the town. Several batteries were, at the ſame time, erected on the riſing grounds near the town; and the earl of Albemarle being willing to ſave as many lives as poſſible, ſent a meſſage to the governor, deſiring him to ſurrender, as it would be in vain to hold out any longer; but the governor, though he returned a polite anſwer to the earl, yet refuſed to comply, declaring that he would hold it out to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this the firing immediately began on both ſides; but in a little more than ſix hours all the artillery belonging to the enemy were ſilenced, and the north baſtion of the city was almoſt diſabled. This reduced the Spaniard to reaſon; and, accordingly, about two in the afternoon, white flags were diſplayed all round the place, and in a ſhort time a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters with propoſals for a capitulation. The terms, however, which the Spaniſh governor thought proper to tranſmit, were not granted: he demanded, that the ſhips in the harbour ſhould be ſent to Spain, and that the harbour ſhould be declared neutral. Theſe appeared rather the demands of a conqueror than a fallen enemy: they were, therefore, refuſed, and hoſtilities were ordered to be renewed. This produced the deſired effect; the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands, and to treat upon very different terms.

The capitulation was ſigned on the 13th of Auguſt, by which the inhabitants were ſecured in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion, as well as in their private property; and next day the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this important conqueſt. The Spaniſh garriſon, which was reduced to about 700 men, including officers, was permitted to march out with the honours of war; and it was ſtipulated that they and the ſailors ſhould be conveyed to Old Spain. About 500 of the Britiſh troops, including fifteen officers, were killed, or died of their wounds, during the progreſs of this ſiege, and about ſeven hundred, among whom were nine officers, were carried off by ſickneſs. The conquerors found in the place great quantities of artillery, ſmall arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores. Twelve ſhips of the line, two upon the ſtocks, and ſeveral trading veſſels likewiſe fell into the hands of the Engliſh. But beſides theſe captures they acquired to the amount of about three millions ſterling in ſilver, tobacco and valuable merchandize, collected on his catholic majeſty's account; which at once rendered the enemy's loſs irreparable, and indemnified the Britiſh nation for the expence of this expedition, which was carried into execution with the utmoſt alacrity, and afforded many inſtances of true courage and capacity.

The conqueſt of the Havannah was not the only inſtance in which the arms of Great Britain triumphed over thoſe of Spain. A ſcheme had been projected by the miniſtry for making a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla in the Eaſt-Indies. The city of Manilla, ſituated on an iſland of the ſame name, is extenſive, populous, and well fortified. It is the center of the Spaniſh trade, and the port from whence two large ſhips are annually ſent acroſs the vaſt Pacific Ocean to the port of Acapulco, one of the ſea-ports of Mexico, laden with ſpices, ſtuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India.

The attempt was to be made on this iſland by part of the ſquadron of vice-admiral Corniſh, and the troops deſtined for the expedition were to be under the command of brigadier-general Draper. The latter conſiſted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; to which were added, by the governor of Madraſs, ſome able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, 600 ſeapoys, one company of caffres, one of topazes, one of pioneers, and two companies of French deſerters, together with a few hundreds of laſcars, for the uſe of the engineers. The preparations being fully compleated, captain Grant, in the Sea-horſe, was detached to the entrance of the Chineſe ſea, with orders to intercept all veſſels bound for Manilla, that the enemy might not get any information of their deſign, and conſequently be unprepared for reſiſting the attack.

Theſe precautions being taken, admiral Corniſh ſailed about the beginning of Auguſt, in two diviſions, and on the 19th arrived at Malacca, where the fleet was watered, and a large quantity of rattans collected for making gabions. On the 23d of September they anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a defence, and greatly alarmed at this unexpected viſit. The governor was the archbiſhop, who aſſumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine iſlands: but the garriſon, conſiſting of 800 men, was commanded by the marquis de Villa Medina, who now reinforced it with a body of 10,000 Indians, from the province of Pampanga; but theſe were undiſciplined, and formed rather a rude rabble of people, than an army.

The admiral, on ſounding the coaſt, was fortunate enough to find a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the ſouthward of the city of Manilla; and immediately made the proper diſpoſitions for that purpoſe. The three frigates, Argo, Sea-horſe and Seaford, were ſtationed very near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent, three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the captains Parker, Pempanſeldt, and Brereton of the navy, and ſoon landed at the church and village of Malata. This was the time for the enemy to have rendered the attempt abortive, and they accordingly aſſembled in great numbers to oppoſe the deſcent; but the covering frigates kept ſuch a continual fire of cannon and ſmall arms, that they ſoon diſperſed and ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight; ſo that the troops were diſembarked without the loſs of a ſingle man. Next day the general took poſſeſſion of the Polveriſta, a ſmall fort deſerted by the enemy, and which now proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the ſtores and artillery. The curate's houſe was made the head quarters, and guarded by the 79th regiment. The church of the Hermita was occupied by colonel Monſon, with an advanced party of 200 men. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Polveriſta, to ſecure the communication with the fleet, and protect the ſtores and artillery. In the mean time a body of men approached within an hundred yards of the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithſtanding it was expoſed to the continual fire of the enemy. The admiral, on the 26th, landed a battalion of ſeamen, who were poſted between the head quarters and marines. Nor were the Spaniards idle on this occaſion. They were determined, if poſſible, to prevent the deſtruction of their city: and, accordingly, 400 of their troops, under the command of the chevalier Fayette, with two field pieces, marched up on the right of the Engliſh advanced poſt, the flank of which they began to cannonade; but their attempt was ſoon rendered abortive: Colonel Monſon, at the head of the piquets, and a ſmall reinforcement of marines, attacked them with ſo much fury, that they retreated with the greateſt precipitation, leaving one of their field pieces behind them.

The Engliſh general, from the ſmallneſs of his army, was obliged to confine his operations to one part of the town; and therefore determined to make his attack in the front. This part was ſecured by the baſtions of St. Diego and St. Andrew, a ravelin covering the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The baſtions were in good order, furniſhed with a great number of braſs cannon; but the ravelin was not mounted with cannon, nor the covered way in ſufficient repair to reſiſt the attempts of a regular army; the glacis was too low, and the ditch was carried round the capital of St. Diego. The breadth of the ditch was about thirty yards, but the depth of water did not exceed five feet. It was therefore determined to ford the ditch; and accordingly a detachment, under the command of captain Fletcher, attempted and happily performed this dangerous enterprize, with the loſs of three men only, though expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy.

The ſoldiers had no ſooner paſſed the ditch, than the bombardment was begun, and continued day and night without intermiſſion, and on the 29th the admiral ordered the Elizabeth and Falmouth to lie as near the city as the depth of water would permit, and enfilade the enemy's front, in order to ſecond the operations of the beſiegers. The taſk was executed with great intrepidity; the ſhallows indeed kept the ſhips at too great a diſtance to anſwer the purpoſe entirely; but their fire was ſo terrible to the inhabitants, that they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion.

On the 1ſt and 2d of October the weather became ſo ſtormy that the whole ſquadron was in danger of being loſt. The South-Sea-Caſtle ſtoreſhip was driven aſhore, but even in this ſituation ſhe continued to perform very great ſervice, by enfilading the whole beach to the ſouthward, and over-awing a large body of Indians, who threatened to attack the Polveriſta and the magazines of the beſiegers, at the Malata. The heavy rains now deſcended in torrents, but did not prevent the troops and ſeamen from erecting batteries. At the ſame time they drew a parallel and communication from thence to the advanced poſt at the church, and eſtabliſhed a ſpacious place of arms on the left of it, not far from the ſea beach. They alſo opened a battery againſt the left face of St. Diego's baſtion, and kept ſuch an inceſſant fire, and pointed their cannon in ſo maſterly a manner, that, in a ſhort time, twelve pieces of ordnance mounted on the baſtion were totally ſilenced, and the enemy obliged to abandon the works. In the evening a battery of three guns was begun, on the left of the place of arms, in order to ſilence thoſe that were in barbette, upon the orillon of the St. Andrew baſtion, which annoyed the flank of the beſiegers. A cloſe fire of grape ſhot and muſquetry was kept up during the whole night, to prevent the enemy from repairing their embraſures, and remounting their cannon; while ſeven mortars played, without intermiſſion, upon the gorge of the baſtion, and the neighbouring defences. This had the deſired effect; the enemy was intimidated, and the works continued in their defenceleſs condition.

But notwithſtanding this, the cantonment of the ſeamen was attacked early in the morning of the 4th, by a ſtrong body of Indians. Their approach was facilitated by a number of thick buſhes growing on the ſide of the rivulet, through which they paſſed in the night unobſerved by the patroles; but the alarm was no ſooner given than colonel Monſon and captain Fletcher advanced with the piquets to the aſſiſtance of the ſeamen, who had continued firm within their light poſts, chooſing to act upon the defenſive only, till light ſhould diſcover to them friend from foe. The Indians advanced with the moſt determined countenance to the attack, and fought with incredible fury; but about day-break a freſh piquet of the ſeventy-ninth regiment appearing upon their right flank, they gave way, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. In this attempt the enemy loſt 300 men. About the ſame time another body of theſe ſavages, reinforced by a few of the Spaniſh troops, made a furious aſſault upon the church, part of which they gained, and mounting on the roof, fired down among the Engliſh ſoldiers; but this was far from intimidating the Britiſh forces; though now expoſed to a continual ſhower of bullets and miſſiles, they maintained their poſt behind the church, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, diſlodged the enemy, who, confounded by ſuch a ſevere check, made no further attempts for the relief of the place: the Indians returned to their own habitations; the fire from the garriſon diminiſhed very faſt; and all their defences appeared to be ruined.

A conſiderable breach was now made in the wall, and it was hoped the garriſon would demand a capitulation; but finding they made no propoſitions of that nature, the Engliſh general reſolved to ſtorm the town. Accordingly, on the 6th, at four in the morning, the troops allotted for this ſervice marched off from their quarters in ſmall bodies to avoid ſuſpicion, and while they were aſſembling, a cloſe fire was maintained in order to clear thoſe places where the enemy might be lodged or intrenched.

Every thing being in readineſs for the aſſault, lieutenant Ruſſel, at the head of ſixty volunteers, ſuſtained by the grenadiers, led the way. The engineers, pioneers, and other workmen followed in order to clear and widen the breach; and after them the remainder of the army was conducted in proper order. As ſoon as the aſſailants mounted the breach, the enemy fled in the utmoſt confuſion, and the troops entered the town with very little difficulty; the only oppoſition of conſequence which they met with being from 100 Spaniards, who, with ſome Indians, were poſted at the royal guard-houſe, and, upon their refuſal to ſubmit, were all cut to pieces. The governor, with the principal magiſtrates, withdrew into the citadel, but that being, ſoon after, entirely demoliſhed, they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Spaniſh officers, on giving their parole of honour, were enlarged, and all the Indians diſmiſſed in ſafety. This important conqueſt coſt the Engliſh only 100 men, including officers. By the capitulation it was agreed, that the town and port of Cavite, with the iſlands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majeſty, and four millions of dollars paid as a ranſom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, in return, were to be protected in their religion and private property.

During the ſiege, admiral Corniſh having intercepted ſome letters to the Spaniſh governor, informing him, that the galleon, St. Phillipina, was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, he determined to ſend in queſt of her. Accordingly the Panther man of war, and Argo frigate, commanded by the captains Parker and King, were detached on this ſervice; and on the 30th of October, being off the iſland of Capul, they diſcerned a ſail, ſtanding to the northward. Unfortunately the Panther was drove by the current among the Narangoes, and obliged to come to an anchor, but captain King in the frigate continuing the chace came up with and engaged her for near two hours, during which his rigging ſuffered conſiderable damage, and obliged him to give over the attack till it could be repaired. In the mean time the Panther got under ſail again, and in her turn engaged the enemy, who ſoon ſurrendered; but when captain Parker came to take poſſeſſion, he was ſurprized to find that inſtead of the St. Phillipina, his prize proved the Santiſſima Trinidada, which had departed from Manilla for Acapulco on the firſt of Auguſt; but meeting with a hard gale of wind, wherein ſhe was diſmaſted, had been obliged to put back and refit. The merchandize on board this ſhip was valued at one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo ſuppoſed to be worth double that ſum.

Many other exploits were performed by the Britiſh arms at ſea during the courſe of this year. The Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, laden with treaſure and valuable effects to the amount of one million ſterling was taken in the month of May by two Engliſh frigates, which were on a cruiſe off cape St. Vincent, and brought from Gibraltar to England.

About the latter end of May Sir Edward Hawke ſailed from Spithead with ſeven ſhips of the line and two frigates, in hopes of falling in with a ſquadron, under the command of M. de Ternay, who had, taking advantage of a fog, eſcaped from Breſt, and his deſtination not even conjectured. He found means, however, to elude the admiral's vigilance, who having viſited the coaſt of France, and cruiſed for ſome weeks in the chops of the channel, returned to Portſmouth. In the mean time M. de Ternay ſteered his courſe to Newfoundland, and on the 24th of June landed ſome troops at the bay of Bulls, with which he immediately advanced to the town of St. John's, and this place being in no condition of defence was obliged to ſurrender. But the triumph of France on this occaſion was of ſhort duration, for Sir Jeffery Amherſt and lord Colville, who commanded by land and ſea in North America, were no ſooner informed of this loſs than the latter ſailed thither from Halifax, and blocked up the harbour. Being ſoon after reinforced with about 800 men, commanded by colonel Amherſt, they reſolved to diſembark the forces, which, after a very ſlight oppoſition, was effected. On the 16th of September colonel Amherſt took poſt in the neighbourhood of St. John's fort, and next day erected a battery. But contrary winds having driven lord Colville ſome diſtance from the coaſt, M. de Ternay, availing himſelf of his abſence, made his eſcape. M. de Hauſſonville, commander of the French forces at St. John's, who had been ſummoned, but refuſed to ſurrender, thought proper to agree to a capitulation, by which himſelf and the garriſon were to be conveyed to Breſt the firſt opportunity, and accordingly, when lord Colville returned to the harbour, he appointed ſome ſhips, in which they were tranſported to France.

Having thus related the principal actions performed by the Engliſh navy, let us take a view of affairs on the continent, where the war was ſtill carried on with the utmoſt vigour.

It was ſtrongly ſuſpected that the family treaty would ſoon produce ſome alarming, perhaps fatal conſequences to the reſt of Europe. It was not, however, known, where the gathering ſtorm would ſpread its baleful influence. Some thought the peace of Italy would ſuffer: others, that Holland would be the firſt object attacked by the houſe of Bourbon: but Portugal ſeemed to be the moſt in danger, becauſe ſhe was more cloſely connected with Great Britain, and, at the ſame time, expoſed to an invaſion both from Spain and France.

While the politicians were thus divided in their opinions, a joint memorial was preſented by the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors at the court of Liſbon to the Portugueſe miniſtry, importing, That the two ſovereigns of France and Spain, having found it neceſſary to take every method in their power to curb the pride of the Britiſh nation, had thought proper to eſtabliſh ſeveral mutual and reciprocal obligations between them, in order to prevent that nation from becoming deſpotic over all the maritime commerce of Europe: that the firſt meaſure planned by the kings of France and Spain was to engage his Portugueſe majeſty in their offenſive and defenſive alliance, and to join his forces with theirs: that they expected his moſt Faithful majeſty would not heſitate a moment to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a requeſt, when he conſidered what he owed to himſelf, to his kingdom, and to his ſubjects, who more ſeverely felt the yoke which Great Britain had laid upon them, than thoſe of any other nation, and which ſhe was deſirous of extending over all thoſe who had any poſſeſſions in the New World: that it would be unjuſt for France and Spain alone to ſupport a war, and ſacrifice their ſubjects for an object in which Portugal was equally intereſted with themſelves: that in order to this, the ambaſſador of Spain, and the miniſter plenipotentiary of France, deſired his moſt Faithful majeſty to renounce the neutrality, and declare himſelf united in the preſent war againſt the Engliſh, with the kings of France and Spain: that this declaration was made by thoſe two monarchs, as being agreed and concerted between them: that his Catholic majeſty had alſo inſtructed his ambaſſador to obſerve, that it was the brother of the queen, wife to his moſt Faithful majeſty, a true friend, a moderate and quiet neighbour, who had made this propoſal to him, and who, conſidering the intereſt of his Portugueſe majeſty as his own, wiſhed to unite the one with the other, ſo that either in peace or war, Spain and Portugal might be conſidered as belonging to one maſter. To this extraordinary memorial the two miniſters added, That they were commanded, by their reſpective courts, to demand in four days a categorical anſwer, and that any delay, beyond that period, would be conſidered as a negative.

Notwithſtanding the ſituation of Portugal was at this time truly alarming, yet the firmneſs of the king was ſuch as muſt tranſmit his name with the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantage to poſterity. He anſwered this inſulting propoſition with a moderate but intrepid reſolution. He obſerved, that the ties, which equally united him to Great Britain, and the crowns of France and Spain, rendered him a proper mediator to them all, and conſequently improper for him to declare himſelf an enemy to either: that his alliance with England was ancient, and conſequently incapable of giving offence at this juncture: that it was merely defenſive, conſequently innocent: that the late calamities of Portugal had abſolutely diſabled her from taking part in any offenſive war, into which neither the love his moſt Faithful majeſty bore his ſubjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could ſuffer him to plunge them.

But this anſwer, however reaſonable and moderate, was far from ſatisfying the princes of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was either purely defenſive, or purely innocent: they aſſerted that the Britiſh ſquadrons could not keep the ſea at all ſeaſons, nor cruize on the principle coaſts of France and Spain, without the aſſiſtance of the harbours of Portugal: that the Engliſh could not carry on the war, without the riches of that kingdom; therefore the Portugueſe furniſhed them with the means of making war; conſequently their defenſive alliance was changed into an offenſive one. They added, that if the king of Portugal did not comply with their requiſition, the Spaniſh troops which were already marched to the frontiers ſhould enter his country, ſeize his forts, and ſhut them up; and that no choice was therefore left to his majeſty, but that of receiving them as friends, or treating them as enemies.

But even this extraordinary treatment could neither divert his Portugueſe majeſty from the firmneſs of his reſolution, nor provoke him to depart from the moderation of his language. He declared he would keep his treaties with England inviolate, and mentioned, that they were ſuch as the law of God, of nature, and of nations, had always deemed innocent. He intreated the monarchs of France and Spain to conſider the crying injuſtice of purſuing againſt Portugal the war kindled againſt Great Britain. He deſired them to reflect for a moment on the conſequences of ſuch proceedings, which would be nothing leſs than the deſtruction of mankind; for if neutral nations were to be attacked becauſe they had defenſive alliances with the belligerant powers, there muſt be an end of the public ſafety, and, conſequently, the moment a war was kindled between any two ſtates, it would ſpread deſolation over all Europe. He therefore declared, that if their troops ſhould enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, repulſe them with all his forces, joined by thoſe of his allies; and concluded with this noble reſolution, "That it would affect him leſs, though "reduced to the laſt extremity, of which the "great Judge was the ſole arbiter, to let the laſt tile "of his palace fall, and to ſee his faithful ſubjects "ſpill the laſt drop of their blood, than to ſacrifice, "together with the honour of his crown, all that "Portugal held moſt dear; and to ſubmit, by ſuch "extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who would no longer "be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war ſhould be kindled between other powers "with which the former were connected by defenſive treaties." On receiving this final reſolution, the ambaſſadors of the two crowns demanded paſſports, which being granted them, they ſet out for their reſpective courts; and France and Spain, in the month of June, publiſhed a joint declaration of war againſt Portugal.

In the mean time about 8000 troops, with large ſupplies of ſtores and ammunition, and a fine train of artillery, arrived in Portugal from England. The command of the Portugueſe army had ſome time before been conferred upon count de la Lippe Buckebourg, an officer of great abilities, and who, during the whole courſe of the war, had directed the Britiſh artillery in Germany. The Engliſh forces were conducted by lord Tyrawley and the earl of Loudon, aſſiſted by ſeveral officers of great experience. Theſe forces had not been long in Portugal before lord Tyrawley, diſguſted at the behaviour of the court of Liſbon, deſired to be recalled: his requeſt was granted, and the earl of Loudon ſucceeded to the chief command.

The Spaniſh army, which had for ſome time encamped near the frontiers of Portugal, was divided into three ſeparate bodies, in order to penetrate into the territories of Portugal by three different avenues. The principal body of their army, conſiſting of thirty-ſix battalions and thirty-five ſquadrons, under the command of the marquis de Sarria, croſſed the river Eſſa and Douro, a little below Zamora. The ſecond body of forces, amounting to eight battalions of regular troops, ſix of militia, and two ſquadrons of horſe, were poſted in Galicia; and the third, conſiſting of four battalions of regulars, an equal number of militia, and eight ſquadrons of cavalry, were encamped in Andaluſia.

The firſt attempt of conſequence made by the Spaniſh army was the ſiege of Miranda, which they inveſted in the beginning of May. They immediately began to erect batteries againſt the place; but before the firſt was finiſhed, the magazine of the beſieged accidentally blew up, by which misfortune two large breaches were made in the walls, upwards of 500 Portugueſe were killed by the exploſion; and the garriſon obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Though the taking of this place was owing more to accident than courage, yet it inſpired the Spaniards with an oſtentatious pride: they looked down with contempt on the Portugueſe; and, inſtead of marching with his whole army, the marquis de Sarria thought it ſufficient to ſend a ſmall party to attack the town of Braganza. In this he ſucceeded, for the garriſon retired with precipitation at their approach; and the magiſtrates preſented the keys of the town to the commander of the Spaniſh forces. The loſs of this and ſeveral other places was, however, principally owing to the bad condition of the works, no care having been taken to repair them, notwithſtanding the Spaniſh army had lain ſo long in the neighbourhood. Chaves ſhared the ſame fate, the garriſon, though it conſiſted of 2000 effective men, having abandoned the town at the firſt appearance of the enemy.

The Spaniſh general now made an attempt to enter the province of Minho, through the paſſes of Monte Allegre; but finding thoſe poſts occupied by ſome regiments of Portugueſe militia, he changed his route, and attempted to croſs the mountains of Maran and Amarante. The city of Oporto is ſituated at the foot of theſe mountains, and the garriſon had taken proper precautions to obſtruct the paſſage of the Spaniards. In the mean time, part of the enemy that remained at Miranda had been repulſed by the inhabitants of Nova de Foſcoa, ſupported by ſome militia, in attempting to paſs the river Douro. On the ſide of Almeida, 8000 Spaniards paſſed the frontier in the beginning of June, and encamped between Val-de-la-mula and Val-de-Coelha, detaching parties to lay waſte the whole adjacent country. The third diviſion of the Spaniſh army, now encamped in the province of Tra-los-montes, was ſeparated into three bodies, of which the principal was encamped in the neighbourhood of Miranda.

In the month of July, that body of the Spaniſh forces, which had encamped near Val-de-la-mula, inveſted Almeida; and before they had finiſhed their trenches they were joined by 8000 French auxiliaries. The garriſon, however, made a much better defence than could be expected; but was at laſt obliged to ſurrender on capitulation.

Count de la Lippe, ever ſince his arrival in Portugal, had taken every ſtep that could be taken by military ſkill and prudence, to diſcipline and regulate the Portugueſe troops, by the example of the Engliſh auxiliaries. He mingled in due proportions the native and the allied ſoldiers; and poſted, in different parts of the kingdom, various detachments formed in this manner, in order to guard the paſſes of the mountains, haraſs the enemy in their progreſs, intercept their convoys, and cut off their foraging parties.

The count having received advice that the enemy had eſtabliſhed large magazines of flour and forage at Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Portugal, he determined to attack the place. Brigadier Burgoyne was intruſted with the execution of this enterprize, and on the 25th of July, at midnight, he croſſed the Tagus at the head of all the Britiſh grenadiers, commanded by lord Pulteney, and eleven companies of Portugueſe grenadiers. On the 25th at night he reached Caſtel-Vida, where he was joined by ſome infantry, and irregular cavalry. Here he made his final diſpoſitions, agreeable to the advices he had received reſpecting the ſituation and ſtation of the place he was ſent to attack. This being compleated he marched with the utmoſt expedition, but could not reach Valencia before break of day, when he entered the town with the cavalry, ſword in hand, diſperſed the guards in the great ſquare, and placed a detachment at the end of every ſtreet. This was done with very little reſiſtance, except by a few deſperate parties, who attacked the troops when drawn up in the ſquare; but were ſoon diſperſed, and the greater part of them either killed or taken. Some priſoners and a large number of horſes were taken by a detachment of dragoons ſent out to ſcour the country. Nor muſt we forget the noble exploit of a Britiſh ſerjeant, who at the head of ſix men only, fell in with a ſubaltern of the enemy at the head of 25 dragoons, unbroken and prepared for action, killed ſix, made all the reſt priſoners, and took the horſes of the whole party. The priſoners taken in the town were major-general Don Michael d'Truniberry, and Kalanca his aid du camp, one colonel, with his adjutant, ſeventeen ſubalterns, and fifty-nine ſoldiers. Three pair of colours, with a great quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors.

This ſucceſsful enterprize animated the allied army, and intimidated that of Spain, which was now commanded by the Conde de Arnda. That general, after leaving garriſons in Almida and Caſtel-Rodrigo, advanced by the way of Alſayates to Caſtel Branco. This motion obliged the count de la Lippe to abandon his ſtrong camp at Ponte de Murcella in the Baira, and return into Eſtramadura. He reached Abrantes on the 18th of September, and Lord Loudon with a ſeparate corps encamped in the neighbourhood. This plan was purſued in order to prevent the Spaniards from forcing a paſſage through the paſſes of the mountains in their front, or croſſing the Tagus at Villa-velha. The count St. Jago, with four batallions, ſix companies of grenadiers, and a regiment of cavalry, was ſent to occupy the ſtrong paſs of Alvito; and Burgoyne, with part of his own regiment, and the Engliſh grenadiers, to encamp on the ſouthern bank of the Tagus, oppoſite Villa-velha.

No ſooner were theſe diſpoſitions formed than the enemy made ſeveral motions towards the advanced corps of the allies; 6000 men encamped over-againſt the body commanded by the count St. Jago, and attacked Villa-velha, an old Mooriſh caſtle ſituated on his right, while another body aſſaulted a poſt on his left in the defile of St. Simon. The caſtle of Villa-velha was for ſome time protected by the cannon of Burgoyne, placed on the oppoſite bank of the river; but the caſtle, as well as the poſt at the defile of St. Simon, were at laſt both taken by the enemy, who, in conſequence of this ſucceſs, made themſelves maſters of the paſſes in the mountains, and the count St. Jago was obliged to retire.

As this officer was in the utmoſt danger of being attacked both in front and rear by a ſuperior force, lord Loudon was ordered to advance and cover his retreat. He accordingly marched with the utmoſt expedition to Soubrira formoſa, where he was joined by major Macbean of the artillery, with four regimental field pieces. A ſtrong body of the enemy had croſſed the river in order to attack the rear-guard, which conſiſted of four Engliſh regiments, ſix companies of Portugueſe grenadiers, a few light dragoons, a regiment of Portugueſe cavalry, and the four field pieces already mentioned. But their attempt was rendered abortive by the good order and firmneſs of the Engliſh; for notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy, not a ſingle man was loſt; and the Spaniards being terribly galled by the artillery, thought proper to retire, and ſuffer the count to purſue his march unmoleſted.

In the mean time the Spaniſh corps at Villa-velha being weakened by the detachments ſent againſt the count St. Jago, a deſign was formed of ſurpriſing them in their camp. Accordingly lieutenant-colonel Lee, at the head of a detachment of Britiſh troops, was ordered to ford the Tagus in the night, and attack the Spaniſh forces. He obeyed his orders, and fell upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury, while the brigadier pointed his cannon, and made a falſe attack on the other ſide, to amuſe and diſtract the Spaniards. The enemy, being at length alarmed, began to make a confuſed and irregular defence; but the grenadiers puſhed them ſo vigorouſly, that, finding it impoſſible to form, they ſubmitted. The greater part of the Spaniſh officers were killed in endeavouring to rally their men; four pieces of cannon were ſpiked up in their camp; their magazines were deſtroyed; and many priſoners taken, together with a conſiderable number of horſes and mules, and a large quantity of valuable baggage.

The ſafety of Portugal was, in a great meaſure, owing to this important advantage: for the ſeaſon was now far advanced; the rain fell in torrents; the roads were deſtroyed; and the country, in many places, rendered impaſſable. The Spaniards, therefore, who had not ſecured any advanced poſt, where they could maintain themſelves during the winter; deſtitute of magazines for their ſupport, and their convoys continually cut off by the enemy, were obliged to retreat to their own country.

Having thus given an account of the military tranſactions in Portugal, we ſhall now direct our attention to the war in Germany, which was ſtill proſecuted with great ſpirit and activity.

Before the armies had began their operations, a detachment of 4000 men was ſent from the French garriſon of Gottingen, to ſurprize the eaſt chain of the allied cantonments. The enterprize, however, was rendered abortive by the timely retreat of the troops; ſo that the French could only make a very ſmall impreſſion upon their rear. Prince Ferdinand, to prevent a ſimilar attempt, ſent 3000 men to take poſt at Eimbeck, which effectually anſwered the purpoſe.

On the other hand general Luckner, a famous Hanoverian partiſan, and who had made ſeveral ſucceſsful invaſions into the country poſſeſſed by the enemy, obtained a conſiderable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Gottingen, at the head of 1800 horſe and 2000 infantry, to intercept Luckner. But the latter falling unexpectedly on the marquis, forced him to retire, with great loſs and precipitation, to Gottingen. About the ſame time a party of French irregulars were made priſoners at Eichffeld, by major Wingerode, commander of the Heſſian huſſars.

The French had for ſome time occupied the caſtle of Roer, in order to maintain a communication between their forces poſted on the Rhine and thoſe encamped on the Weſer. This caſtle the hereditary prince of Brunſwic determined to beſiege; accordingly, in the month of April, he ſet out at the head of a ſtrong detachment and a train of artillery, in order to carry his deſign into execution. He ſoon inveſted the caſtle; and his batteries had ſcarce begun to play before the fort was ſet on fire. Every method was purſued by M. de Muret, who commanded in the caſtle, to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he was obliged, with his whole garriſon of 230 men, to leap over the walls, and ſurrender at diſcretion.

Towards the latter end of April, the French generals Soubiſe and d'Etrees arrived at Frankfort, and immediately applied themſelves to aſſemble their forces on the banks of the Weſer; while the prince of Conde commanded a ſeparate army encamped at Duſſeldorp on the Lower Rhine. The main body of the allied army, commanded by prince Ferdinand, was poſted behind the Dymel, to make head againſt the two marſhals, while the hereditary prince, at the head of a conſiderable corps, was encamped in the biſhopric of Munſter, to watch the motions of Conde. Prince Xavier of Saxony had taken poſt, with a corps de reſerve, between the river Werra and the town of Gottingen, and general Lukner encamped near Eimbeck on the Leine, to obſerve that prince's motions.

On the 24th of June prince Ferdinand made the proper diſpoſitions for attacking the French camp, ſituated between Graebenſtein and Meinbrexen. In order to execute this plan with ſucceſs, general Luckner left his camp in the morning of the 23d, croſſed the Weſer in the evening, and by three o'clock the next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Undenhauſen. General Sporcken paſſed the Dymel at Sielem about four in the morning, at the head of twelve Hanoverian battalions and part of the cavalry of the left wing, in order to fall upon the enemy's flank, while Luckner attacked them in the rear. Prince Ferdinand paſſed the river about the ſame time, at the head of twelve Britiſh battalions, eleven of the Brunſwic troops, eight regiments of Heſſians, the Engliſh cavalry, and part of the German horſe of the left wing. On his gaining the bank on the oppoſite ſide, he drew up his forces in order of battle, behind the ponds of Kalſe. The vanguard on the right was compoſed of the chaſſeurs, of the Engliſh and German infantry commanded by lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and Treytag's Hanoverian chaſſeurs, who had orders to occupy the mountain of Langenberg; while the left conſiſted of the piquets of the army. The body of reſerve conducted by the marquis of Granby croſſed the Dymel at Warburg, and marched to an eminence oppoſite to Furſtenwalde, in order to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. All theſe preparations were made with ſuch judgment, activity and good order, that the French were attacked with the utmoſt impetuoſity in front, flank and rear, before they knew any thing of the approach of the allied army. Terrified at this vigorous and unexpected aſſault, a very precipitate retreat was the immediate conſequence, and would probably have ended in a total defeat of the whole army, had not M. de Stainville, at the head of a choſen body of troops, conſiſting of the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, the regiment of Aquitaine, and ſome other forces which conſtituted the flower of the French infantry, thrown himſelf into the woods of Willemſtahl, where he made a noble ſtand, and effectually covered the retreat of the French marſhals, who retired, in the utmoſt confuſion, under the cannon of Caſſel. Stainville was attacked by lord Granby with his uſual impetuoſity, and the whole body, except two battalions, either killed or taken. Two thouſand five hundred and fifty of the enemy, including 162 officers, were made priſoners: ſome ſtandards and colours were alſo taken, while the whole loſs of the allied army did not exceed 300 men. Colonel Townſhend was the only officer of diſtinction who loſt his life in the action.

From this ſucceſs prince Ferdinand was encouraged to purſue the bold and maſterly plans he had formed againſt the enemy. His firſt attempt was to cut off the communication of the French with Franckfort, while they continued in their ſtrong camp under the cannon of Caſſel. This communication was preſerved by M. Rochambeau, who, at the head of a body of horſe and ſome brigades of infantry, had poſſeſſed himſelf of a very ſtrong poſt near Hamburg. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendiſh advanced, with a ſtrong detachment, to diſlodge them. At their approach the enemy began to retreat, upon which the marquis ordered his horſe to attack them in the rear. In performing this ſervice they were in imminent danger of being overpowered by the French cavalry, who, facing about ſuddenly, fell upon them ſword in hand; but the infantry coming to their aſſiſtance, the enemy were obliged to fly in their turn, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they effected a retreat with the loſs of 400 men.

The French marſhals having withdrawn to their camp at Melſungen, in order to maintain their communication with Franckfort, and facilitate their junction with the prince of Conde, who had received orders to advance from the Lower Rhine, prince Ferdinand reſolved to attack them. Accordingly, on the 25th of July, he croſſed the Eder, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg, after which he reconnoitred the enemy's ſituation, when he found there was no probability of engaging them with ſucceſs: and, having contented themſelves with cannonading their camp, he re-croſſed the Eder, leaving the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg. The French now croſſed the Fulda, and retired to Caſſel, having left a body of troops under M. de Guerchy, oppoſite to the camp they abandoned: at the ſame time the marquis of Granby took poſſeſſion of Melſungen, by which means the enemy's communication with Franckfort was once more cut off. Immediately after a body of their dragoons advancing towards Ruthenburn, under M. de Stainville, fell into an ambuſcade at Morſchen, and were entirely routed. This was followed by the loſs of Gottingen, which place they relinquiſhed, after having deſtroyed the fortifications.

The French now ſecured themſelves in a ſtrong camp on the banks of the Fulda, from whence they ſent repeated orders to the prince of Conde to haſten to their relief. That general began his march from Coeſfeldt on the 16th of July, and paſſed the Lippe at Halderen. He was followed by the hereditary prince, at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the allied army; who, having received intelligence, that a large body of the enemy were on their march to meet the prince of Conde, he determined to attack him before their arrival. In the beginning of this action the French were drove from the heights into the plain; but while the allies were eagerly purſuing their advantage, the main army of the enemy arrived. Such a powerful reinforcement could not fail of turning the balance in their favour. The allies were totally defeated, having loſt about 3000 men. This misfortune was greatly increaſed by a wound which the hereditary prince received, from a muſquet-ball, in his hip-bone, by which, for a conſiderable time, his life was in the moſt imminent danger.

The vigilance of prince Ferdinand was remarkable on this occaſion, and it was ſufficiently evident, that his meaſures after a defeat were equal to his conduct in war: for the allies, notwithſtanding the misfortune of the hereditary prince, did not loſe an inch of ground, nor did the French obtain the leaſt advantage from their victory.

Part of the French army under the command of the generals de Caſtries and Saarsfeldt being poſted on the one ſide of the Ohme, and oppoſite to them a ſtrong detachment commanded by the marquis of Granby and general Zaſtrow on the other, a furious cannonade was carried on between them. In the neighbourhood of the allies was the caſtle of Ameneburg, which they had furniſhed with a garriſon conſiſting of ſeven hundred men under the command of captain Cruſe. This fortreſs the enemy determined to take; but, in order to conceal their real intention, they attacked a poſt of the allies called Brucker-mulk, which defended the paſſage of a bridge over the Ohme. This poſt was defended by a detachment of 200 men, the greater part of whom were poſted in a ſmall redoubt which they had erected to defend them againſt the random ſhot of the enemy. The attack on this poſt was made by the French with muſquetry and cannon, by a detachment placed on an eminence, a little beyond the bridge. This attack brought on a moſt violent cannonade on both ſides; while a warm diſpute with ſmall arms was maintained between the French and Hanoverians, who defended the redoubt. The latter having expended all their ammunition, and ſuffered a conſiderable loſs from the conſtant fire of the enemy, general Waldegrave was detached with the firſt battalion of guards, to relieve the Hanoverians. In the mean time prince Ferdinand obſerving that the enemy were continually throwing in freſh troops, and increaſing the number of cannon that played inceſſantly upon the allies, thought proper to reinforce his artillery with ſix pieces of heavy cannon, and three howitzers from the army; and ordered four Heſſian regiments to advance, in order to ſuſtain thoſe who were ſo warmly engaged. A terrible fire both of ſmall arms and artillery was now maintained for fifteen hours; both ſides fighting with the moſt determined reſolution, though neither made the leaſt attempt to paſs the bridge. At length the darkneſs put an end to the action, in which 1100 men of the enemy, and 600 of the allies, were killed.

A few days after this action. prince Ferdinand inveſted Caſſel; and notwithſtanding all the activity and reſolution of a numerous garriſon, commanded by the baron de Dieſbach, the operations were carried on with ſuch remarkable vigour, that, on the 10th of October, the city was taken by capitulation.

This was the laſt action between the French and the allies in Germany. Prince Fredinand, indeed, was making preparations for laying ſiege to Ziegenheim, the only place the French were now poſſeſſed of in Heſſe; but before he could carry his deſign into execution, the preliminaries of peace were ſigned between France and Great Britain; in conſequence of which a ceſſation of arms took place between the two armies.

The preliminaries of peace being ſigned, and the definitive treaty in great forwardneſs, the parliament met on the 25th of November, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he obſerved, that the war with Spain, and the attack of his ally, the king of Portugal, having greatly affected the commerce of his ſubjects, multiplied the objects of his military operations, and added to the heavy burthens of his people, he had willingly embraced an occaſion that offered of renewing the negotiation for peace. He informed them that the preliminary articles were actually ſigned: that by the conditions in which all parties had acquieſced, an immenſe territory was added to the empire of Great Britain; and a ſolid foundation laid for the increaſe of commerce; that care had been taken to remove all occaſions of future diſputes; that the king of Portugal was ſecured in all his dominions; and that all the territories of his German allies were evacuated by the troops of France. He lamented that a great number of his ſubjects had been loſt in different parts of the world; a conſideration which reinforced the other reaſons he had to engage in the negotiation; and that he had haſtened the concluſion of it, to prevent the neceſſity of making preparations for another campaign. He deſired the commons to conſider of ſuch methods, in the ſettlement of the new acquiſitions, as ſhould moſt effectually tend to the ſecurity of thoſe countries, and to the improvement of the Britiſh trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention his gallant ſubjects by whom thoſe acquiſitions were made. He obſerved, that union at home was peculiarly neceſſary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themſelves and their poſterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the neceſſities of a long and expenſive war.

In anſwer to this ſpeech addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, containing general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales.[*] The next day a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were iſſued for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain.

The preliminaries of the peace underwent a very ſevere examination by the parliament; but were at length approved of by a great majority in both houſes; and each preſented an addreſs to the king on the occaſion; in which they declared, "That they owed the utmoſt gratitude to his majeſty for the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour to the crown, and of advantage to the people."[†]

A. D.

---

[*] He was born on the 12th of Auguſt, and on the 17th was created prince of Wales, &c. On the 12th of September following he was baptized by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and named George Auguſtus Frederick.

[†] It would be unpardonable to paſs over the domeſtic tranſactions of the year 1762, without taking notice of an event that happened, of a very ſingular nature, and which, for a conſiderable time, almoſt wholly engaged the attention of the public. It was a maſter-piece of deception, and was then diſtinguiſhed, as it is ſtill remembered, by the name of the Cock-lane Ghoſt; the particulars of which were briefly as follow:

In 1759 one Mr. K---, a broker, married a young lady of Norfolk, who dying in child-bed, her ſiſter came to reſide with him in the character of a houſe-keeper. In this familiar ſituation they continued ſome time, during which they conceived ſuch an affection for each other, that they broke through the laws of prudence, and poſſeſſed thoſe enjoyments that were forbid by the ſtrictneſs of the canon law. Each of them made their will in the other's favour, and removing to town, lodged for ſome time in the houſe of one Parſons, (officiating pariſh-clerk of St. Sepulchre's) in Cock-lane, near Weſt Smithfield.

Some difference ariſing between Mr. K. and his landlord, the former ſuddenly left his lodgings, and removed to Clerkenwell. Here the young lady died of the ſmall pox, on the ſecond of February, 1760, and was buried in Clerkenwell church.

The ſcheme, ſuppoſed to have been concerted by Parſons, now began to ſhew itſelf. An alarm was ſpread that his daughter, a girl about eleven years of age, was viſited by a ſpirit, who having been interrogated, had declared itſelf to be the ſpirit of Fanny, which was the name of the deceaſed lady, and that ſhe had been poiſoned by K. when ill of the ſmall pox.---A worthy clergyman, however, who attended her ſeveral times, and who adminiſtered to her the laſt comforts of his office, declared, that the ſmall pox with which ſhe was ſeized was of the confluent ſort, and that the gentlemen of the faculty who attended her had pronounced her irrecoverable, ſome days before her death.

On the 13th of February, 1762, between ten and eleven at night, Parſons ſent for a gentleman in the neighbourhod to come to his houſe, in order to be witneſs of the ſtrange noiſe and extraordinary circumſtances that were ſuppoſed to proceed from this inviſible agent, which he ſaid had for two years paſt greatly terrified his family.

The gentleman accordingly attended, and found the child in bed; when ſeveral queſtions being put to the ſpirit, who was ſuppoſed to be preſent, by the father, they were reſpectively anſwered by an unaccountable noiſe like that of knocking and ſcratching. The gentleman not chuſing to pronounce too haſtily upon what appeared to him ſo extraordinary, left the houſe, and the next evening got together a number of his friends, among whom were two or three clergymen, all of whom went to the

houſe

A. D. 1763. On the 10th of February the definitive treaty of peace was ſigned at Paris; and being tranſmitted to England, was immediately laid before the parliament. Though the ſubſtance of this treaty is ſtill recent in the memory of a great part of the preſent age, yet, for the ſatisfaction of poſterity, we ſhall preſent our readers with an exact copy of it.

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip, between his Britannick Majeſty, the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the king of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10th Day of February, 1763. To which the king of Portugal acceded on the ſame Day.

In the Name of the moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

BE it known to all thoſe whom it ſhall, or may, in any manner, belong.

"It has pleaſed the Moſt High to diffuſe the ſpirit of union and concord among the princes, whoſe diviſions had ſpread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inſpire them with the inclination to cauſe the comforts of peace to ſucceed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having ariſen between England and France, during the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Second, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, ſucceſſor, and, in its progreſs, communicated itſelf to Spain and Portugal: conſequently, the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, Arch Treaſurer, and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the Grace of God, the moſt Chriſtian King; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Charles the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundation of peace in the preliminaries, ſigned at Fontainbleau the third of November laſt; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Don Joſeph the Firſt, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpoſe the high contracting parties have named and appointed their reſpective ambaſſadors extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majeſty the King of Great Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord John Duke and Earl of Bedford, marquis of Taviſtock, &c. his Miniſter of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: his Sacred Majeſty the Moſt Chriſtian King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord Cæſar Gabriel de Choiſeul, Duke of Praſlin, Peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies, and of the province of Brittany, Counſellor of all his Councils, and Miniſter and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred Majeſty the Catholick

---

houſe on a determination of ſatisfying themſelves by ſitting up during the courſe of the night.

On their firſt entering the room they examined the bed, bedcloaths, &c. and being ſatisfied there was not any viſible appearance of deceit, the child was put into bed, which was immediately found to ſhake extremely by the gentleman who had placed himſelf at the foot of it.

During the courſe of the night a prodigious number of queſtions were put to the ſuppoſed ſpirit, all of which were anſwered either by knocking or ſcratching. An affirmative was one knock, and a negative, two: and the ſcratching intimated diſpleaſure.

The ſound of the noiſes appeared to proceed occaſionally from the different parts of the room where the child lay; and as her preſence was neceſſary to the production of the noiſes, ſo the ſpirit declared it would follow her wherever ſhe went. The circumſtances of this ſtrange viſitation being reported, with many idle exaggerations, the public became ſo intereſted in it, that in all companies nothing was heard but remarks on the ghoſt in Cock-lane; and to this place ſuperſtition and curioſity brought a vaſt concourſe of people, of all ranks and conditions.

The farce was carried on for ſome time much to the advantage of the projectors. The girl was actually removed to other houſes, where the noiſes equally accompanied her; and ſuch an impreſſion did this ſtrange occurrence make, even on thoſe of ſuperior underſtanding, that two clergyman became the avowed patrons of this inarticulate revelation.

The ſuppoſed ſpirit, however, was at length decoyed into a promiſe that entirely deſtroyed its reputation. It had publickly declared, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen to the vault of St. John's church, Clerkenwell, where the body was buried, and then would give a token of its preſence by a knock upon the coffin. It was therefore determined to make this trial of the exiſtence or veracity of the ſuppoſed ſpirit.

While they were deliberating on this matter, they were ſummoned into the girl's chamber by ſome ladies who were near her bed, and had heard knocks and ſcratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that ſhe felt the ſpirit like a mouſe upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the ſpirit was very ſolemnly requeſted to manifeſt its exiſtence by appearance, by impreſſion on the hand or body of any preſent, by ſcratches, knocks, or any other agony, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

The ſpirit was then duly informed, that the perſon to whom the promiſe was made of ſtriking the coffin was then about to viſit the vault, and that the performance of the promiſe was then claimed. At one o'clock in the morning the company went to the church, and the gentleman, with the two credulous clergymen, went into the vault, where the ſpirit was ſolemnly required to fulfil her promiſe. Here, however, ſhe failed, and the company not ſeeing or hearing any thing beſide themſelves, returned back to the houſe.

It was now they began to ſuſpect ſome fraud, and ſtrictly examined the girl, but without obtaining any information. However, it was the general opinion of the aſſembly, that the child had ſome art of making or counterfeiting particular noiſes, and that there was not any agency of a higher cauſe.

The friends of the ghoſt, however, in order to retrieve their reputation, ſpread a report that the coffin and body had been removed out of the vault; but Mr. K. who began now feelingly to intereſt himſelf in defence of his reputation, deprived them of this laſt refuge, by ordering the coffin to be opened before ſufficient witneſſes. The coffin was ſoon diſcovered by the undertaker, and was opened before the clergyman of the pariſh, the clerk, the ſexton, Mr. K. and ſome others, when the contents of it exhibited the melancholy remains of mortality.

Mr. K. now thought it high time to vindicate his character in a legal manner; this affair appearing to be no more than a contrivance of Parſons, to be revenged on Mr. K. who had ſued Parſons for a ſmall ſum of money he had lent him while he lodged in his houſe; and which he found it impoſſible otherways to regain.

Accordingly Mr. K. preferred a bill of indictment againſt Parſons and his wife, Mary Frazer, (a woman who lived in the houſe and officiated as interpreter between the ghoſt and the ſpectators), one of the clergymen, and a tradeſman, who had been active dupes in the affair; for conſpiring againſt his life and character. On the 10th of July the cauſe was heard before lord chief juſtice Mansfield and a ſpecial jury, at the court of King's Bench, Guildhall; when, after a trial of twelve hours, the parties were all convicted of the crimes with which they were charged.

The court, however, being willing that the proſecutor, who had been ſenſibly injured by this iniquitous tranſaction, ſhould receive ſome reparation from the offenders, poſtponed their ſentence for ſome months, in hopes the parties would make it up in the interim. Accordingly the clergyman and tradeſman compromiſed their part of the matter by a large ſum of money, and were diſmiſſed with a ſevere reprimand. Parſons was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory three times in one month, and to be impriſoned two years; his wife was impriſoned one year; and Mary Frazer was committed to Bridewell for ſix months.

Thus ended this myſterious affair, which had not only been prejudicial to the party to whom it was levelled, but alſo injurious to many people of reputation, who, by their credulity, had been led to place confidence, and were ſuppoſed to be active, in the proſecution of this diabolical contrivance. Happily, however, it was at length detected, and the real parties concerned met with that puniſhment their iniquity juſtly merited.

King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord,
on Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight
the Moſt Chriſtian King's Orders, Gentleman of
Catholic Majeſty's Bed-chamber in employment,
d his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to his Moſt
riſtian Majeſty: his Sacred Majeſty the Moſt
ithful King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent
d Martin de Mello and Caſtro, Knight profeſſed
the Order of Chriſt, of his Moſt Faithful Maje-
's Council, and his Ambaſſador and Miniſter Ple-
otentiary to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

" Who, after having duly communicated to each
er their full powers, in good form, have agreed
on the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

" I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal and
rpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſin-
e and a conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed
tween their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholick,
d moſt Faithful Majeſties, and between their heirs
d ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces,
unties, vaſſals, and ſubjects, of what quality or
ndition ſoever they be, without exceptions of
ces, or of perſons: ſo that the high contracting
rties ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain
tween themſelves and their ſaid dominions and
jects, this reciprocal friendſhip and correſpond-
ce without permitting, on either ſide, any kind of
ſtilities, by ſea or by land, to be committed from
nceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence
hatſoever; and every thing ſhall be carefully
oided which might hereafter prejudice the union
ppily re-eſtabliſhed, applying themſelves, on the
ntrary, on every occaſion, to procure for each
er whatever may contribute to their mutual glory,
ereſts, and advantage, without giving any aſſiſt-
ce or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe
o would cauſe any prejudice to either of the high
tracting parties: there ſhall be a general oblivion
every thing that may have been done or com-
ted before, or ſince, the commencement of the
r which is juſt ended.

' Art. II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648;
ſe of Madrid between the two crowns of Great
itain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of
ace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryſwick
1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of 1713;
t of Baden 1714; that of the tripple alliance of
Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance
London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna
1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of
48; and that of Madrid between the crown of
eat Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the
aties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal,
the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of Febru-
1715; and of the 12th of February 1716; and
t of the 11th of April 1713; between France
d Portugal, with the guarantees of Great Britain;
ve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and the
ſent treaty: and for this purpoſe they are all re-
wed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all
treaties in general, which ſubſiſted between the
h contracting parties before the war, as if they
re inſerted here word for word; ſo that they are
be exactly obſerved, for the future, in their whole
or, and religiouſly executed on all ſides, in all
ir points, which ſhall not be derogated from by
preſent treaty; notwithſtanding all that may have
en ſtipulated to the contrary by any of the high
ntracting parties: and all the ſaid parties declare,
t they will not ſuffer any privilege, favour, or
lulgence, to ſubſiſt, contrary to the treaties above
nfirmed, except what ſhall have been agreed and
ulated by the preſent treaty.

" Art. III. All the priſoners made on all ſides,
well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, each crown reſpectively paying the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the atteſted receipts and eſtimates, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on one ſide and the other: and ſecurities ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners ſhall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ſhips of war and merchant-veſſels, which ſhall have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall be likewiſe reſtored bona fide, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

" Art. IV. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia in all its parts; and guarantees the whole of it, and with it all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes and guarantees to his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river St. Lawrence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt Chriſtian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the moſt Chriſtian King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guaranty, under any pretence, or to diſturb Great Britain in the poſſeſſions above mentioned. His Britannic Majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholic religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, conſequently, give the moſt preciſe and moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannic Majeſty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King in Canada, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: the term limited for this emigration ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

" Art. V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as it is ſpecified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton, as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Lawrence); and his Britannic Majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the ſubjects of

France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

" Art. VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſerve as ſhelter to the French fiſhermen: and his ſaid moſt Chriſtian Majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands: to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery; and to keep upon them a guard of 50 men only for the police.

" Art. VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic majeſty and thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe, the moſt Chriſtian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

" Art. VIII. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France, the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſiderade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms; provided that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannic Majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places and ports of the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, and that the merchandize which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated.

" Art. IX. The moſt Chriſtian King cedes and guarantees to his Britannic Majeſty, in full right the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inſerted in the IVth article for thoſe of Canada: and the partition of the iſlands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high contracting parties guarantee the partition ſo ſtipulated.

" Art. X. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes in full right, and guarantees to the King of Great Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam; and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

" Art. XI. In the Eaſt-Indies, Great Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions to the acquiſition which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain, in the Eaſt-Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſsly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the *Decan*; and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretentions of ſatisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations, or pillage, committed on the one ſide or on the other, during the war.

" Art. XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannic Majeſty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the moſt Chriſtian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the ſaid iſland and the ſaid fort were taken.

" Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette ſhall be deſtroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the ſide of the ſea; and proviſion ſhall be made, at the ſame time, for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by ſome other means, to the ſatiſfaction of the King of Great Britain.

“ Art. XIV. France ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Heſſe, to the Duke of Brunſwic, and to the count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or ſhall be occupied by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's arms: the fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which ſhall have been carried elſewhere, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight, and metal.

“ Art. XV. In caſe the ſtipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries ſhould not be completed at the time of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Pruſſia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the Britiſh and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the departure of the troops into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns: their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties promiſe to proceed, bona fide, with all the diſpatch the caſe will permit of, to the ſaid evacuations, the entire completion whereof they ſtipulate before the 15th of March next, or ſooner if it can be done: and their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties further engage and promiſe to each other, not to furniſh any ſuccours, of any kind, to their reſpective allies who ſhall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

“ Art. XVI. The deciſion of the prizes made in time of peace, by the ſubjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, ſhall be referred to the courts of juſtice of the admiralty of Great Britain, conformable to the rules eſtabliſhed among all nations, ſo that the validity of the ſaid prizes, between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations, ſhall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of juſtice of the nation who ſhall have made the capture.

“ Art. XVII. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed all the fortifications which his ſubjects ſhall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the preſent treaty: and his Catholic Majeſty ſhall not permit his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, or their workmen, to be diſturbed, or moleſted, under any pretence whatſoever, in the ſaid places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away, logwood: and for this purpoſe they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines which are neceſſary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholic Majeſty aſſures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of thoſe advantages, and powers, on the Spaniſh coaſts and territories, as above ſtipulated, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

“ Art. XVIII. His Catholic Majeſty deſiſts as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors, from all pretenſions which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuſcoans, and other his ſubjects, to the right of fiſhing in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Newfoundland.

“ Art. XIX. The King of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havannah; and this fortreſs, as well as all the other fortreſſes of the ſaid iſland, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by his Britannic Majeſty's arms; provided that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſland, reſtored to Spain by the preſent treaty, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecution: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed, between his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

“ Art. XX. In conſequence of the reſtitution ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Catholic Majeſty cedes and guarantees, in full right, to his Britannic Majeſty, Florida, with Fort St. Aguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of North-America, to the eaſt or to the ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſſippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwiſe, which the Catholic King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; ſo that the Catholic King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. His Britannic Majeſty agrees, on his ſide, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will conſequently give the moſt expreſs and the moſt effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh Church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit: his Britannic Majeſty farther agrees, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the Catholic king in the ſaid countries, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts or of criminal proſecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. It is moreover ſtipulated, that his Catholic Majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

" Art. XXI. The French and Spaniſh troops ſhall evacute all the territories, lands, towns, places, and caſtles, of his moſt Faithful Majeſty in Europe, without any reſerve, which ſhall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and ſhall reſtore them in the ſame condition they were in when conquered, with the ſame artillery and ammunition, which were found there: and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt-Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain and Portugal, before the preſent war.

" Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns and places that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be reſpectively and bona fide delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

" Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannic and moſt Faithful Majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic Majeſties, which are not included in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

" Art. XXIV. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the Britiſh and French troops ſhall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that ſhall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, ſigned the 3d day of November laſt, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elſewhere. The iſland of Belleiſle ſhall be evacuated ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Deſiderade, Mariegalante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. Great Britain ſhall likewiſe, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done, enter into poſſeſſion of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, as they are ſpecified in the VIIth article. The iſland of Goree ſhall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the iſland of Minorca by France, at the ſame epoch, or ſooner if it can be done: and, according to the conditions of the VIth article, France ſhall likewiſe enter into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Pierre and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The factories in the Eaſt Indies ſhall be reſtored ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The fortreſs of the Havannah, with all that has been conquered in the iſland of Cuba, ſhall be reſtored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done: and, at the ſame time, Great Britain ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his moſt Faithful Majeſty in Europe ſhall be reſtored, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the Portugeſe colonies, which may have been conquered, ſhall be reſtored in the ſpace of three months in the Weſt Indies, and of ſix months in the Eaſt Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. All the fortreſſes, the reſtitution whereof is ſtipulated above, ſhall be reſtored, with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conqueſt. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips that ſhall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

" Art. XXV. His Britannic Majeſty, as Elector of Brunſwic Lunenburg, as well for himſelf, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the dominions and poſſeſſions of his ſaid Majeſty in Germany, are included and guaranteed by the preſent treaty of peace.

" Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and moſt Faithful Majeſties, promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guarantee to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

" Art. XXVII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged, in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

" In witneſs whereof, we, the underwritten, the Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Miniſters Plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the preſent Definitive Treaty, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto."

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.
(L. S.) El Marq. de Grimaldi.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. SOME of the titles made uſe of by the contracting powers, either in their full powers and other acts, during the courſe of the negotiation, or in the preamble of the preſent treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, That no prejudice ſhall ever reſult therefrom to any of the ſaid contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted on either ſide, on occaſion of the ſaid negotiation and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, That the French languague, made uſe of in all the the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice in any manner, any of the contracting powers: and that they ſhall conform themſelves, for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are uſed, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the preſent treaty having ſtill the ſame force and effect, as if the aforeſaid cuſtom had been therein obſerved.

III. Though the king of Portugal has not ſigned the preſent definitive treaty, their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, acknowledge, nevertheleſs, that his moſt Faithful Majeſty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expreſsly ſigned the ſaid treaty; conſequently, their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties, reſpectively and conjointly, promiſe to his moſt Faithful Majeſty, in the moſt expreſs and moſt binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauſes contained in the ſaid treaty, on his act of acceſſion.

The preſent ſeparate articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted in the treaty.

Declaration of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great Britain having deſired that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills, which have been delivered to the Canadians, for the neceſſaries furniſhed to the French troops, ſhould be ſecured; his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, entirely diſpoſed to render to every one that juſtice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the ſaid bills and letters of exchange ſhall be punctually paid, agreeable to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the diſtance of the places, and to what ſhall be poſſible; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French ſubjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange which are in the poſſeſſion of the new ſubjects of the King of Great Britain.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underwritten miniſter of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, duly authorized for this purpoſe, have ſigned the preſent declaration, and cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.
(L. S)

Declaration of his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the Eaſt Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, in order to prevent all ſubject of diſpute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as the coaſt of Coromandel, and Orixa, declare, in the name, and by order of his ſaid Britannic Majeſty, that the ſaid dominions of the Subah of Bengal ſhall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon excluſively, and that Yanaon ſhall be conſidered as included in the north part of the coaſt of Coromandel or Orixa.

In witneſs whereof, &c.

Done at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.)

Such were the articles of this treaty of peace, both for and againſt which many ſtrong arguments were uſed by the different parties who countenanced or condemned it. On the one hand it was aſſerted, that as we had, at a great expence of blood and treaſure, reduced the French nation to a ſtate of beggary, ſo we ought, in order to keep them humble, to have retained all the conqueſts to ourſelves; for by ſo doing, their commerce being effectually ruined, they would not have been able for many years, to give us the leaſt diſturbance. On the other hand, it was urged, by ſuch as were friends to the peace, that the advantage to Britain was very great, and that we had not only regained the iſland of Minorca, but that we had acquired the moſt extenſive territories in North America and the Weſt-Indies, which, if cultivated in a proper manner, would turn out to the advantage of the mother country. It was urged further, that had we inſiſted on retaining all, we might have loſt all. The body would have been too large for the head, and the inhabitants being moſtly French, the Engliſh would have been obliged to keep up a large ſtanding army to enforce the execution of the laws, and promote good order among the people.

The parliament were no leſs divided in their opinions than the nation in general. The treaty, like the preliminaries, occaſioned very violent debates in both houſes, but was at length approved of by a great majority. The ſpirit of the minority was not, however, exhauſted in this attempt. They fell upon the miniſtry in the moſt critical juncture, and puſhed their arguments with the utmoſt force when the ſupplies came to be debated in the lower houſe. Several circumſtances favoured their deſign. The buſineſs of impoſitions is, in itſelf, unpopular; it is, therefore, no wonder that diſcontented and fertile minds ſhould very readily and plauſibly forebode ill conſequences from an untried tax: and there is ſcarce a public burthen which may not, with an appearance of reaſon, be ſpeculatively traced to the ruin of ſome branch of manufacture or commerce. It may alſo be obſerved, though taxes were full as neceſſary at the concluſion as during the war, that neceſſity was not ſo glaringly evident; conſequently they were not ſo well received as when victory and plunder ſeemed to pay, in glory and profit, for every article of national expence.

Senſible in what ſtate the minds of the people now were, the miniſtry determined to impoſe as few new taxes as the public ſervice could poſſibly admit. Accordingly, the ſupplies were to be raiſed, firſt, by taking two millions out of the ſinking fund; ſecondly, by ſtriking 1,800,000l. in exchequer bills; thirdly, by borrowing 2,800,000l. on annuities; and laſtly, by two lotteries, for 350,000l. each. To pay the intereſt on theſe loans, which, in the whole, amounted to 7,300,000l. an additional duty of eight pounds per ton was laid upon all wines of the growth of France, and four pounds per ton upon all other wines.

Thus far the ſcheme was wholly unexceptionable; but another duty was added, which put the whole nation into a ferment, viz. four ſhillings per hogſhead upon cyder, to be paid by the maker, collected by the officers, and ſubjected to all the laws of exciſe.

The heads of the oppoſition differed in opinion with the treaſury upon every particular in this plan. They firſt attacked the new taxation, upon which almoſt the whole ſcheme of ſupply was founded. In direct contradiction to the advocates of the miniſtry, they maintained that the nation was far from exhauſted: that there were reſources for carrying on the war at leaſt two years longer, and much more towards clearing off incumbrances on the peace: that as individuals abound in wealth, and as the public is loaded with ſo immenſe a debt, it was, in ſuch circumſtances, the dictates of the wiſeſt and moſt enlarged policy to add as much as poſſible, by bold and liberal grants, to the income of the nation; as the fund of payment would then be enlarged, and œconomy would have ſomething to operate upon: that, in any other method, the practice of frugality was mean and ſordid, and the effect would certainly prove trifling: that it might ſtarve many uſeful parts of public ſervice, but muſt ever be found a frivolous and fallacious reſource towards the diſcharge of the public debt. To the lottery loan they objected the enormous profit which was allowed to the ſubſcribers, exceeding that of former occaſions, without any alterations in the ſtate of public credit; two lotteries, for the firſt time, eſtabliſhed in one year, without any urgent neceſſity; and the incitement which muſt thence ariſe to the pernicious ſpirit of gaming, which cannot be too much diſcountenanced in every ſtate governed by wiſdom, and a ſober regard to the morals of the people. As to the money that was to be taken from the ſinking fund they obſerved, that ſcarce any neceſſity could, in our ſituation, be pleaded in favour of a perverſion of this fund from its original purpoſes to the current ſervices; that the appearance of tenderneſs for the people in this ſcheme was entirely deceitful, as they were exonerated for a time, only to be burthened more heavily hereafter, and that their preſent eaſe muſt infallibly cauſe their future weakneſs. As to the tax on cyder, they urged, that with regard to its object it was both partial and oppreſſive; with regard to the manner of collecting it, dangerous and unconſtitutional: that it lays the whole burthen of expences incurred in the general defence of the kingdom, and in defence of the national commerce, on a few particular counties, which in every other article of the public charge contribute at leaſt their full ſhare: they ſtated the diſproportion of this tax to the natural original value of the commodity: that it was oppreſſive both to farmers and landholders: to the latter in diminution of their rents, operating more ſeverely than the land-tax: to the former, becauſe, if they compounded, it would be in effect a heavy capitation, if they did not, it would be a ſubjection to new, unknown, and perplexed laws: they obſerved, that when new orders of men, by ſituation and profeſſion diſtinct from traders, are rendered objects of the exciſe laws, the precedent is formidable not to commerce only, but to more important objects; and had a fatal tendency, which they trembled to think on: they alſo lamented, that things were come to that melancholy paſs, that, beſides what might be dreaded for the future, the houſes of all orders of people, peers, gentlemen, freeholders and farmers, were rendered liable to be entered and ſearched at pleaſure.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, the friends of the adminiſtration obſerved, That to aim at increaſing the national income by any further taxes, than the moſt extreme neceſſity demanded, was a wild project: that every tax proved a diſcouragement to trade, becauſe, in its conſequences, it enhanced, more or leſs, in foreign markets, the price of our manufactures, which muſt always, in time of peace, depend for their vent principally on their cheapneſs; and that this muſt be the caſe, let the peace be made upon what terms they would: that every tax alſo, in order to be effectual, naturally implied ſome reſtraint upon liberty: that nothing demonſtrated more fully the ſolidity of theſe principles, than the oppoſition then made to the duty on cyder and perry, a moſt moderate and equitable impoſition; and that of all men it ill became thoſe who ſpoke ſo ſtrongly of continuing and enlarging the charge of the nation, to object to one of the leaſt diſtreſſing reſources which could be found for the public. They inſiſted that nothing could be leſs founded on reaſon than the charge, "That "this tax was unequal, and lay heavy upon ſome par"ticular counties," it being well known that it did not even bring them on a par with the charge on thoſe counties where the people drink beer. In ſuch counties all private, as well as public conſumption, is charged in the malt tax, which the charge on cyder is by no means equal to, beſides its having exemptions in favour of the poor, which are not indulged in the malt tax; ſo that the cyder counties ought to be rather thankful for their long immunity, than complain that they are at laſt obliged to contribute rather leſs than their proportion towards the ſupport of the national burthens.

Such were the principal arguments uſed in this remarkable debate; when the queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very conſiderable majority. In the upper houſe alſo the bill was ſtrongly oppoſed; but after a ſmart debate the miniſtry carried their point, and the bill received the royal aſſent.

On the 22d of March peace was proclaimed in London at the uſual places, and with the accuſtomed ſolemnities.

On the 19th of April * the king went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he prorogued the parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his thanks for the zeal and diſpatch they had manifeſted in their proceedings: he told them, that, having ordered the preliminary

---

* On the day preceding this M. Querini, and M. Moroſini, ambaſſadors extraordinary from the republic of Venice to the court of London, made their public entry. As this ceremony is not very frequent, and as many of our readers muſt be ſtrangers to the nature of it, we ſhall lay before them a deſcription of the proceſſion.

The whole company aſſembled at Greenwich, from whence they ſet off, between twelve and one, in a number of barges, appointed for the purpoſe. About three they landed at the Tower, and, in the following order, proceeded through the Minories, Leadenhall-ſtreet, Cornhill, Cheapſide, Ludgate-ſtreet, Fleet-ſtreet, and along the Strand to Somerſet-houſe, which was appointed for their reſidence, at his majeſty's expence, till he granted them an audience.

Four king's under marſhalmen on horſeback.
City-marſhal on horſeback.
Aſſiſtant maſter of the ceremonies, in a coach and ſix.
Thirty-eight ſervants, two and two, on foot.
Eight gentlemen of the bed-chambers, belonging to ambaſſadors, on horſeback, two and two.
Houſe-ſteward, on horſeback.
Eight pages on horſeback, two and two.
Maſter of the horſe.
Ten muſicians on horſeback, two and two.
Kettle-drum.
Second maſter of the horſe.
King's ſtate coach drawn by ſix horſes, with the ambaſſadors, the earl of Guildford, and
The maſter of the ceremonies.
King's ſecond coach, drawn by ſix horſes, with the two ſecretaries to the embaſſy.
Six gentlemen of the privy-chamber, in the next royal coaches.
The coaches belonging to her majeſty, the princeſs of Wales, the duke of York, princeſs Auguſta, duke of Cumberland, and princeſs Amelia, drawn by ſix horſes each.
The ambaſſadors grand ſtate coach, empty, drawn by eight horſes.
The ſecond coach, empty, drawn by ſix horſes.
The third coach, with two Venetian noblemen, drawn by ſix horſes.
The peers coaches and ſix.

On the 21ſt their excellencies were conducted in great ſtate from Somerſet-houſe to St. James's, where they were received by the guards on duty, under arms. They were then conducted to the little council-chamber by the earl of Suſſex and Sir Charles Cotterel Dormer, maſter of the ceremonies. At the door of the guard-chamber they were received by the lord viſcount Falmouth, captain of the yeomen of the guard; at the drawing-room door by the earl of Litchfield, captain of the band of penſioners; and at the great council-chamber, where his majeſty gave them audience, by the duke of Marlborough, lord chamberlain.

M. Moroſini addreſſed the king in Italian, and his majeſty replied in Engliſh; after which their excellencies retired, and were admitted to an audience of the queen, with the ſame ceremony. They were then conducted to a houſe in Great Ormond-ſtreet, where they reſided during their ſtay in England.

preliminary articles to be laid before them, he had received the higheſt ſatisfaction at their grateful expreſſions of entire approbation: he acquainted them with his firm reſolution to form his government on a plan of ſtrict œconomy: aſſured the commons, that they might depend on the utmoſt frugality being obſerved in the diſpoſition of the ſupplies they had granted; and when the account of the money ariſing from the ſale of ſuch prizes, as were veſted in the crown, ſhould be cloſed, it was his intention to direct, that the produce ſhould be applied to the public ſervice; and concluded with declaring, that his future attention ſhould be directed to the extenſion of the commerce of his ſubjects, the improvement of the advantages they had obtained, and the increaſe of the public revenue.

We come now to the commencement of an event, which wholly engroſſed the attention of the public, and afterwards produced ſuch circumſtances as will not, in all probability, be ever paralleled.

A rule for an information was granted by the court of King's Bench againſt the author, printers and publiſhers of a periodical paper, called the North Briton, Nº 45; which contained a ſevere commentary on the king's ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament on the 19th of April.

John Wilkes, Eſq. member of parliament for Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, was the gentleman pitched on as the ſuppoſed author of this performance. A warrant was therefore iſſued by the ſecretary of ſtate for taking Mr. Wilkes, together with the printer and publiſher, into cuſtody. Accordingly, on the evening of the 29th of April, the meſſengers went to Mr. Wilkes's houſe for that purpoſe. On their entrance he excepted to the generality of the warrant, as his name was not mentioned in it, and threatened the firſt who ſhould offer violence to his perſon in his own houſe, at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order which they might, or might not, have received for that purpoſe. Upon this the meſſengers thought proper to retire, and defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody, and carried him before the ſecretaries of ſtate for examination.

On the intimation of this event a motion was made in the court of Common-Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall, for a Habeas Corpus, which was granted, though by reaſon of the Prothonotary's office not being open, it could not be ſued out till four o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time ſeveral gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was refuſed, upon pretence of an order, from the ſecretaries of ſtate, which order, notwithſtanding many ſolicitations to that purpoſe, was never produced; and though it was well known that the court of Common-Pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, and Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq. was aſſured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, where many of his friends were alſo denied admittance to him.

On the 3d of May he was brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, where he addreſſed himſelf to the judges on the illegality and hardſhips of his commitment, in a very bold and animated ſpeech*.

The caſe was then learnedly argued by eminent lawyers on both ſides; but the court, after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay (requiring farther time to conſider of the affair) he was remanded to the Tower till the 6th of May, with orders that his friends and lawyers ſhould have free acceſs to him. In the mean time orders were given that Mr. Wilkes ſhould no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham.

On the day appointed Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Weſtminſter-hall, when, after another ſpirited addreſs † to the court, and many learned arguments on both ſides, the lord chief juſtice Pratt proceeded to give his opinion on the three following points, viz. The legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in Nº 45 of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament. Theſe points were diſcuſſed by his lordſhip in a manner, which will redound to his honour to the lateſt poſterity: and his opinion having deſervedly met with the approbation of the whole court, Mr. Wilkes was diſcharged. Before, however, he had quitted the court, a gentleman of eminence in the law ſtood up, and informed the lord chief juſtice, that he had juſt received a note from the attorney and ſolicitor-general, to deſire his lordſhip would detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, as they had ſomething to offer againſt his plea of privilege. This requeſt, however, was not complied with; and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court with the following ſpeech:

---

* Mr. Wilkes's addreſs on this occaſion was as follows:

"My Lords,

"I feel myſelf happy to be at laſt brought before a court, and before judges whoſe characteriſtic is the love of liberty. I have many humble thanks to return for the immediate orders you were pleaſed to iſſue, to give me an opportunity of laying my grievances before you. They are of a kind hitherto unparalleled in this free country, and I truſt the conſequences will teach miniſters of Scottiſh and arbitrary principles, that the liberty of an Engliſh ſubject is not to be ſported away with impunity, in this cruel and deſpotic manner.

"I am accuſed of being the author of the North Briton, No. 45. I ſhall only remark upon that paper, that it takes off all load of accuſation from the ſacred name of a prince, whoſe family I love and honour as the glorious defenders of the cauſe of liberty, and whoſe perſonal qualities are ſo amiable, great, and reſpectable, that he is deſervedly the idol of his people. It is the peculiar faſhion and crime of theſe times, and of thoſe who hold high miniſterial offices in government, to throw every odious charge from themſelves upon majeſty: the author of this paper, whoever he may be, has, upon conſtitutional principles, done directly the reverſe, and is, therefore, in me, the ſuppoſed author, meant to be perſecuted accordingly; the particular cruelties of my treatment, worſe than if I had been a Scotch rebel, this court will hear, and I dare ſay, from your juſtice, in due time, redreſs.

"I may, perhaps, ſtill have the means left, to ſhew that I have been ſuperior to every temptation. They may, indeed, have flattered themſelves, that when they found corruption could not prevail, perſecution might intimidate. I will ſhew myſelf ſuperior to both. My papers have been ſeized, perhaps with a hope the better to deprive me of that proof of their meanneſs and corrupt prodigality, which it may poſſibly, in a proper place, be yet in my power to give."

† His ſpeech to the court at this time was as follows:

"My Lords,

"Far be it from me to regret that I have paſſed ſo many more days in captivity, as it will have afforded you an opportunity of doing, upon mature reflection and repeated examination, the more ſignal juſtice to my country. The liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and what touches me more ſenſibly, that of all the middling and inferior claſs of people, who ſtand moſt in need of protection, is, in my caſe, this day to be finally decided; a queſtion of ſuch importance, as to determine at once, whether Engliſh liberty be a reality or a ſhadow. Your own free-born hearts will feel with indignation and compaſſion all that load of oppreſſion under which I have ſo long laboured. Cloſe impriſonment, the effect of premeditated malice, all acceſs for more than two days denied to me, my houſe ranſacked and plundered, my moſt ſecret and private concerns divulged, every vile and malignant inſinuation, even of high treaſon itſelf, no leſs induſtriouſly than falſely circulated by my cruel and implacable enemies, together with all the various inſolence of office, form but a part of my unexampled ill treatment. Such inhuman principles of Star-chamber tyranny will, I truſt, by this court, upon this ſolemn occaſion, be finally extirpated; and henceforth every innocent man, however poor and unſupported, may hope to ſleep in peace and ſecurity in his own houſe, unviolated by king's meſſengers, and the arbitrary mandates of an overbearing ſecretary of ſtate.

"I will no longer delay your juſtice. The nation is impatient to hear, nor can be ſafe or happy till that is obtained. If the ſame perſecution is after all to carry me before another court, I hope I ſhall find that the genuine ſpirit of Magna Charta, that glorious inheritance, that diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of Engliſhmen, is as religiouſly revered there as I know it is here, by the great perſonages before whom I have now the happineſs to ſtand; and, as in the ever-memorable caſe of the impriſoned biſhops, that an independent jury of free-born Engliſhmen will perſiſt to determine my fate, as in conſcience bound, upon conſtitutional principles, by a verdict of Guilty, or Not Guilty. I aſk no more at the hands of my countrymen."

“ My Lords,

“ Great as my joy muſt naturally be at the deciſion which this court, with a true ſpirit of liberty, has been pleaſed to make concerning the unwarrantable ſeizure of my perſon, and all the other conſequential grievances, allow me to aſſure you that I feel it far leſs ſenſibly on my own account, than I do for the public. The ſufferings of an individual are a trifling object, when compared with the whole; and I ſhould bluſh to feel for myſelf in compariſon with conſiderations of a nature ſo tranſcendently ſuperior.

“ I will not trouble you with my poor thanks. Thanks are due to you from the whole Engliſh nation, and from all the ſubjects of the Engliſh crown. They will be paid you, together with every teſtimony of zeal and affection to the learned ſerjeant, who has ſo ably and conſtitutionally pleaded my cauſe, and in mine, with pleaſure I ſay it, the cauſe of liberty. Every teſtimony of my gratitude is juſtly due to you, and I take my leave of this court with a veneration and reſpect, which no time can obliterate, nor the moſt grateful heart ſufficiently expreſs.”

Soon after Mr. Wilkes was releaſed from the Tower, he cauſed a printing-preſs to be ſet up, under his own direction, at his houſe in Great-George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where he advertiſed the proceedings of the adminiſtration, with all the original papers; and the North-Briton was re-publiſhed. In the mean time an information was filed againſt him in the court of King's Bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as being author of the North Briton, No. 45; and on the meeting of the parliament a meſſage was ſent to the houſe of commons with the information his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, Eſq. a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel. The examinations and proofs of the ſaid libel, together wtth the meaſures that had been taken thereon, were alſo laid before the houſe; in conſequence of which, the North Briton, No. 45, was adjudged a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, and was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

On the 3d of December, the day appointed for this ſentence to be put in execution, a great mob aſſembled at the Royal Exchange, who inſulted the ſheriffs in a very groſs manner, and one of them received a ſlight wound in the fray, which obliged him to quit the place. The North-Briton, however, was partly conſumed, by means of a lighted link, but ſome ſcraps of it were carried off in triumph by the mob, who, in the evening, diſplayed them at Temple-Bar, where a bonfire was made, and the greateſt rejoicings exhibited on the occaſion.

A complaint had been made to the houſe of commons, by Mr. Wilkes, of a breach of their privilege, by the impriſonment of his perſon, the plundering of his houſe, the ſeizing of his papers, and the ſerving him with a ſubpœna upon an information in the court of King's-Bench, &c. Mr. Wilkes, however, not ſatisfied with this, commenced an action againſt Robert Wood, Eſq. under ſecretary of ſtate, for ſeizing his papers. The cauſe was tried on the 6th of December before lord chief juſtice Pratt, and a ſpecial jury; when, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, many arguments on both ſides, and a moſt maſterly, pathetic and eloquent charge given by his lordſhip, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff with one thouſand pounds damages, and full coſts of ſuit *.

Previous to this, a complaint had been exhibited againſt Mr. Wilkes in the houſe of lords, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe to a book entitled, “ An eſſay on woman;” which book was publicly produced, to the utter confuſion and eternal diſgrace of every perſon concerned in it; but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his anſwer, being at that time indiſpoſed, in conſequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Samuel Martin, Eſq; late ſecretary of the treaſury; who, thinking himſelf groſsly inſulted in the North Britain, and, by what had paſſed, preſuming Mr. Wilkes was the author of that abuſe, he ſent him a challenge, which being readily accepted by Mr. Wilkes, he unfortunately received a dangerous wound in the belly; of which he ſent immediate notice to the houſe of commons, who thereupon gave him time for his appearance, and afterwards, on the report of his phyſician and ſurgeon, enlarged it: but at length beginning to ſuſpect ſome colluſion between him and them, on the 16th of December they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to obſerve the progreſs of his cure, and make a report of the ſame to the houſe. This being made known to Mr. Wilkes by his phyſician, he ſent cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expreſſing his juſt ſenſe of the kind care of the houſe for his ſpeedy recovery, but at the ſame time intimated his perfect reliance on the gentlemen to whom he had committed his caſe, and aſſured them, that though he did not wiſh to ſee them at preſent, he was impatient for an opportunity of ſhewing the juſt regard he would ever pay to diſtinguiſhed merit.

We will not attempt to ſay whether the attention of the houſe had any happy effect on Mr. Wilkes's health, but he recovered ſo faſt, that on the 24th of December he ſet out for France on a viſit to his daughter, who was at this time very ill at Paris, and where for the preſent we ſhall leave him to attend to the tranſactions of the enſuing year.

A. D. 1764. The firſt event of a public nature that happened

---

* On the evening of the day on which this verdict was obtained, a perſon knocked at Mr. Wilkes's door, deſiring to ſpeak with him on particular buſineſs, but it appearing by his dialect that he was a Scotchman, and being beſides an entire ſtranger, he was refuſed admittance; on which he went to a coffee-houſe in Parliament-ſtreet, where a perſon made affidavit, that he heard him declare, himſelf and ten more were determined to cut off Mr. Wilkes, let the event be what it would. This perſon the next morning gave information to Mr. Wilkes, deſiring him to be on his guard. According to the information the perſon ſworn againſt, as was ſuppoſed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's houſe, ſigned Alexander Dun, (the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on buſineſs of the utmoſt importance) he was deſired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and ſeven o'clock in the evening being then appointed, he again attended; but as he was going out of the parlour door two gentlemen, who had placed themſelves behind it for that purpoſe, ſeized him by the arms, and threw him on his back. On ſearching his pockets a new penknife was found, which he pretended he had purchaſed about nine months before; but after many equivocations he acknowledged to have bought it at Chatham within a fortnight. From theſe circumſtances he was taken into cuſtody, and the next morning carried before one of the judges: after which a complaint was exhibited againſt him in the houſe of commons, and he was ordered to be brought to the bar of the houſe, when, after an examination, he was diſcharged, being generally ſuppoſed to be inſane.

happened this year was, the marriage of her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta (eldeſt ſiſter to his majeſty) to his ſerene highneſs Charles William, hereditary prince of Brunſwick Lunenburg. The ceremony was performed on the evening of the 16th of January, in the great council-chamber at St. James's by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of a great number of peers, peereſſes, and foreign miniſters. Their ſerene highneſſes left London on the 26th, and on the 29th embarked at Harwich on board different yachts; but, from the badneſs of the weather, they did not reach Helvoetſluys, till the 4th day after their embarkation. Her royal highneſs's dowry was 80,000l. which was granted by the parliament.

On the 20th of January the commons expelled Mr. Wilkes, for a contempt of their authority, and publiſhing the North Briton, being adjudged an infamous libel, and iſſued out a writ of election for Ayleſbury in his room; and in the month of February his trial came on in the court of King's Bench, before lord chief juſtice Mansfield, for reprinting and publiſhing the North Briton, No. 45. at his own houſe; of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards of printing and publiſhing the "Eſſay "on Woman." A letter received from Mr. Wilkes was then publiſhed, together with a certificate, ſigned by one of the French king's phyſicians, and a ſurgeon of eminence, which was atteſted by two notaries, and the earl of Hertford, our ambaſſador at the court of France, wherein it appeared that he was ſo bad with his wound as not to have been able, during the month of January, to return to England.

On the 18th of April his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament, without returning you my hearty thanks for the prudent and ſalutary meaſures which you have taken to extend the commerce, and ſecure the happineſs of my kingdoms.

"The aſſurances which I have received of the pacific diſpoſition of the ſeveral powers with whom we were lately at war, and of their reſolution to adhere inviolably to the terms of the late treaty, promiſe the continuance of peace abroad; and the firm and temperate exertion of your authority, joined to the conſtitutional and public-ſpirited conduct which you have manifeſted on every occaſion during the preſent ſeſſion will, I truſt, eſtabliſh at home due obedience to the laws, reverence to the legiſlature, and domeſtic union.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I thank you for the ſupplies which you have ſo chearfully and unanimouſly granted. The ample proviſion you have made for the ſeveral ſervices recommended to you, and eſpecially for maintaining my fleet in a reſpectable ſtate, will, I am confident, preſerve to this nation its proper weight and influence, and give ſtrength and ſecurity to all my dominions.

"The wiſe regulations which have been eſtabliſhed to augment the public revenues, to unite the intereſts of the moſt diſtant poſſeſſions of my crown, and to encourage and ſecure their commerce with Great Britain, call for my hearty approbation.

"Your regard to public credit, in diſcharging a part of the heavy debt contracted and unprovided for during the war, without impoſing on this kingdom the burthen of any new taxes, is particularly pleaſing to me, from the tender concern which I feel for my people.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is the proper employment of this ſeaſon of tranquillity to conſider of the moſt effectual means for perfecting thoſe works of peace, and plans of public utility, which have been ſo wiſely and happily begun.

"I recommend theſe important objects to your conſideration during the receſs. You may depend upon my conſtant endeavours for the ſucceſs of theſe good purpoſes; as I ſhall ever eſteem it my trueſt glory to employ that power with which the conſtitution has entruſted me, in promoting your real intereſts and laſting happineſs."

On the 23d of April a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held at St. James's, where his majeſty was pleaſed to inveſt the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz, eldeſt brother to her majeſty, with one of the vacancies of that order, and the other was beſtowed on the right honourable the earl of Halifax. Theſe vacancies were occaſioned by the demiſe of the earls of Granville and Waldegrave.

In the month of Auguſt a circumſtance happened that gave manifeſt proof of the wonted humanity and beneficence of the inhabitants of London. One colonel Stumpel, an officious German Soldier of fortune, pretending authority from the Britiſh miniſtry, engaged about 600 proteſtant Wurtzburgers and Palatines to emigrate from their own country, by a promiſe of ſettling them in the iſlands of St. John and le Croix in America. After they had been ſhipped for England, the contractor, finding himſelf unable to fulfil his engagements, abandoned them, and they arrived at the port of London in the moſt imminent danger of periſhing for want. Thoſe who were able to pay their paſſage were permitted to come on ſhore, and retired to the fields adjoining to Whitechapel, where they continued ſome days in the moſt wretched ſtate, not having the leaſt ſhelter to preſerve them from the inclemency of the weather; while thoſe who remained on board the ſhip were nearly in as deſtitute a ſituation.

The only aſſiſtance theſe poor deluded people received for ſome days was what could be gathered from the different German churches and chapels about London; but this was far from being ſufficient to relieve ſo great a number. At length, however, Mr. Wachſel, miniſter of the German Lutheran church in Ayliffe-ſtreet, Goodman's-fields, laid their caſe before the public in the news-papers of the laſt day of Auguſt; and in ſo true and affecting a manner was it related, that it immediately attracted the attention not only of the great, but alſo of royalty itſelf. Before eleven o'clock on the ſame day 100 tents were ſent them from the Tower, by order of his majeſty; the paſſage of thoſe who were detained in the ſhip was defrayed, and 300l. was ſent for their immediate ſupport. Subſcriptions were opened, and prodigious ſums of money were gathered for their relief. Phyſicians, ſurgeons and midwives offered their ſervice for the ſick and thoſe in travail, for the latter of whom proper apartments were hired.

Thus happily relieved from the direful diſtreſs in which they had been placed, Mr. Wachſel, who with ſeveral other benefactors had formed themſelves into a committee for the management of the ſubſcriptions, waited on the king to know his pleaſure reſpecting their future diſpoſal. His majeſty communicated his intention of eſtabliſhing them in South Carolina, ordered 150 ſtand of arms to be delivered to them for their defence, and contracts to be immediately made for proper veſſels to convey them to that colony. When every thing was prepared for their embarkation, their camp was broke up, and they went on board ſinging hymns of thankſgiving in praiſe of their benefactors, whoſe beneficence had been ſo extenſive, that the committee were not only enabled to furniſh them with every neceſſary while on board, but even to make ſome proviſion for them after their landing in America.

Having thus related the principal domeſtic occurrences of this year, we ſhall now take notice of ſome material tranſactions that happened on the continent.

In the beginning of the year the Eaſt-India company received advice, that the diſputes between their ſervants and the reigning nabob, Coſſim Aly Kawn, had been productive of ſuch animoſities and jealouſies on the part of the latter, that it was judged highly neceſſary to uſe every means to allay them: and for this purpoſe Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council were deputed to wait upon the nabob with inſtructions to endeavour to adjuſt the difference in an amicable manner. Accordingly, being arrived at Mongheer, the place of his reſidence, they held many conferences with him, in which he always ſhewed a great averſion to an accommodation upon the terms offered him; and, about this time, a ſupply of 500 arms going to Patna, was ſtopt by his officers. Other acts of hoſtility were likewiſe committed, by which affairs were brought to ſuch an extremity that a war with Coſſim Aly was unavoidable. Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the former of thoſe gentlemen having received the uſual paſſports ſet out for Calcutta, accompanied by Meſſrs. Amphlett, Wollaſton, and Hutchinſon; the lieutenants Jones, Gordon and Cooper, and Dr. Crooke; Meſſrs. Hay and Guiſton being left with the nabob as hoſtages.

As the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, they were attacked by a number of troops, aſſembled on both ſides the river for that purpoſe, and ſome of the gentlemen in the boats being ſlain, Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few ſepoys, whom he forbad to fire. He then endeavoured to make the enemy underſtand that he was furniſhed with the nabob's paſſports, and had no deſign of committing hoſtilities; but the Mooriſh horſe advancing, ſome of the ſepoys inadvertently fired, and, in the confuſion which enſued, Mr. Amyatt, with moſt of his ſmall party, were killed.

In conſequence of this, Mr. Ellis, and the other gentlemen in council at Patna, agreed, with the approbation of captain Corſtairs, to attack the city of Moorſhedabad. This reſolution was executed with the utmoſt ſucceſs, on the 25th of June, and captain Corſtairs, with his party, were in poſſeſſion of the city for four hours, the Mooriſh governor, and his people having fled as far as Futwa. Here, however, he came to a reſolution of returning and making an effort to regain the city, in which he ſucceeded but too well, for moſt of the ſepoys and Europeans being engaged in plundering the place, they were not prepared to receive him, and conſequently eaſily diſpoſſeſſed of it. Hereupon they retired into the factory, but the men were ſo diſpirited, and the ſepoys deſerted in ſuch numbers, that it was found impoſſible to make any ſtand there; upon which a reſolution was taken to proceed to Sujah Dowlah's country. Accordingly they croſſed the river on the 26th in the evening, and met with no obſtruction till they paſſed Churpa; when, on the 30th, they were attacked by the phouſdar, with about 2000 men, whom they eaſily routed; but he being joined that evening by near 500 ſepoys from Bugepore, who brought ſix field pieces with them, he again attacked the Europeans, who, quitting their ranks at the firſt onſet, were entirely defeated. Fifty of them were killed, among whom was captain Corſtairs. Mr. Ellis and the reſt were all made priſoners.

From theſe and other acts of hoſtility committed by Coſſim Aly, in ſeveral of the company's ſettlements, it was determined to declare war againſt him, and to reſtore Meer Jaffier, the former nabob, (who had been depoſed) to the ſubahſhip; obliging him firſt to enter into the following treaty with the company:

1. The treaty which I formerly concluded with the company, upon my acceſſion to the nizamut (government) engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the company, the governor and council as my own, granting orders for the currency of the company's trade; the ſame treaty I now confirm and ratify.

2. I do grant and confirm to the company for defraying the expences of their troops, the chucklehs of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the ſame purpoſe.

3. I do ratify and confirm to the Engliſh the privilege granted them by their firmaund (a patent ſigned by the mogul) and ſeveral huſbullhookums, (patents ſigned by the vizir) of carrying on their trade, by means of their own duſtucks (orders) free from all duties, taxes, and impoſitions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of ſalt, on which a duty of two and a half per cent. is to be levied on the rewana (ſtated) market price.

4. I give to the company half the ſalt-petre which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their gomaſtahs (factors) ſhall ſend to Calcutta; the other half ſhall be collected by my phouſdar (renter) for the uſe of my officers; and I will ſuffer no other perſons to make purchaſes of this article in that country.

5. In the chuckleh (juriſdiction) of Silet, for the ſpace of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my phouſdar and the company's gomaſtah ſhall jointly prepare chunam (lime) of which each ſhall defray half the expences; and half the chunam ſo made ſhall be given to the company, and the other half ſhall be for my uſe.

6. I will maintain 12,000 horſe, and 12,000 foot, in the three provinces; if there ſhould be occaſion for more, the number ſhall be increaſed by the conſent of the governor and council, proportionably to the emergency; beſides theſe the forces of the Engliſh company ſhall always attend me when wanted.

7. Wherever I ſhall fix my court, either at Moorſhedabad or elſewhere, I will adviſe the governor and council; and whatever number of Engliſh forces I may have occaſion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them and they ſhall be allowed me: and an Engliſh gentleman ſhall reſide with me, to tranſact all affairs between me and the company; and a perſon ſhall alſo reſide on my part at Calcutta to negotiate with the governor and council.

8. The late perwannahs (orders) iſſued by Coſſim Aly Kawn, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the ſpace of two years, ſhall be reverſed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

9. I will cauſe the rupees coined in Calcutta to paſs reſpect equal to the ſiccas (pieces of the pureſt gold) of Moorſhedabad, without any deſtruction of batta (an extraordinary allowance to the army when in the field, or in a garriſon where proviſions are ſcarce) and whoever ſhall demand batta ſhall be puniſhed.

10. I will give thirty lack of rupees (about 375,000l.) to defray all the expences and loſs accru-

ing to the company from the war, and ſtoppage of their inveſtment: and I will reimburſe to all private perſons the amount of ſuch loſſes, proved before the governor and council, as they may ſuſtain in their trade in the country: if I ſhall not be able to diſcharge this in ready money, I will give aſſignments of lands for the amount.

11. I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

12. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, zemindaries, (freeholds) &c. but they ſhall pay tribute and carry on their trade as in former times.

13. Some regulations ſhall be hereafter ſettled between us for deciding all diſputes which may ariſe between the Engliſh gomaſtahs and my officers, in the different parts of the country.

This treaty was ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed at Fort William on the 10th of July 1763, and, a few days after, Meer Jaffier ſet out to join the army under major Adams, then on its march towards Moorſhedabad. On the 19th of July the firſt action happened oppoſite to Cutwa on the Coſſimbuzar ſide of the river. The preceding night major Adams had croſſed with the army, and in the morning came up with a large body of the enemy's troops who were ſtrongly poſted, in order to oppoſe his paſſage to the city. Theſe he attacked, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, routed them. At the ſame time a detached party, under captain Long, poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Cutwa, on the other ſide of the river, together with all the enemy's artillery. Major Adams now purſued his march to Moorſhedabad, which place he entered on the 24th, at night, with very little oppoſition; and here the army halted for ſome days, during which Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in proper form. On the 28th of July the army was again put in motion, and on the 2d of Auguſt they arrived near a place called Sooty, at the head of the Coſſimbuzar river. At this place, a numerous army of the enemy's beſt troops, with artillery, occupied a very advantageous poſt. Major Adams immediately attacked them, and for four hours they made a reſolute defence, but then, being thrown into confuſion, they were eaſily defeated. In this engagement the loſs of the Engliſh conſiſted of ſix officers, and forty Europeans; together with 292 ſepoys and black cavalry, killed and wounded. Twenty-three pieces of cannon, and about 150 boats, laden with military and other ſtores, were taken.

Immediately after this battle major Adams advanced with the army near to Rajamant; about three or four miles from which place the enemy had thrown up a ſtrong entrenchment from the hills to the river. This the major was reſolved to attack, and every thing being ready for the aſſault by the 5th of September, it was carried on with ſuch vigour, that in a ſhort time the enemy were obliged to abandon the entrenchment to the conquerors. By this victory the province of Bengal was entirely ſecured to the Engliſh; and the letters which brought theſe accounts expreſſed their hopes, that by this action the fate of the war would be entirely decided.

In the month of July advices were received from North-America, by which it appeared that the military operations in that quarter had been carried on with great vigour; but that Sir William Johnſon had at laſt brought the Seneca nation to conceſſions highly advantageous to the ſubjects of Great Britain, and that they had entered into the following treaty of peace, friendſhip, and alliance, with the Engliſh, which was reciprocally ſigned in congreſs held for that purpoſe at Niagara.

1. That the Seneca nation do immediately ſtop all hoſtilities, and ſolemnly engage never more to make war upon the Engliſh, or ſuffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the perſons or properties of any of his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects.

2. That they forthwith collect all the Engliſh priſoners, deſerters, Frenchmen and negroes, amongſt them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnſon, and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any deſerters; but ſhould any ſuch take refuge amongſt them, they are to be brought to the commanding officer of the next garriſon, and delivered up.

3. That they cede to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, for ever, in full right, the lands from the fort of Niagara, to the Creek above fort Schloſſer, and down the ſame river or ſtreight, comprehending the whole carrying place, and containing a tract of about fourteen miles in length, and four in breadth.

4. That they allow a free paſſage through their country, from that of Cayugus to Niagara, or elſewhere, for the uſe of his majeſty's troops for ever; engaging never to obſtruct, or moleſt any of his majeſty's troops, or other his ſubjects who may make uſe of the ſame.

5. That they grant to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors for ever, a free uſe of the harbours for veſſels, within their country on Lake Ontario, or in any of the rivers, with liberty to land ſtores, and erect ſheds for their ſecurity.

6. That they immediately ſtop all intercourſe between any of their people and thoſe of the Shawaneſe and Delawares, or other his majeſty's enemies, whom they are to treat as common enemies, and to aſſiſt his majeſty's arms in bringing them to proper puniſhment; ſolemnly engaging never to be privy, or aſſiſt any of majeſty's enemies, or thoſe who may hereafter attempt to diſturb the public tranquillity.

7. That ſhould any Indian commit murder, or rob any of his majeſty's ſubjects, he ſhall immediately be delivered up to be tried and puniſhed, according to the equitable laws of England: and ſhould any white man be guilty of the like crimes towards the Indians, he ſhall be immediately tried and puniſhed if guilty: and the Senecas are never for the future to procure themſelves ſatisfaction, otherwiſe than as before mentioned, but to lay all matter of complaint before Sir William Johnſon, or his majeſty's ſuperintendant of Indian affairs for the time being, and ſtrictly to maintain and abide by the covenant claim of friendſhip.

8. For the due performance of theſe articles, the Senecas are to deliver up three of their chiefs, as hoſtages, who are to be well treated, and reſtored to them, ſo ſoon as the ſame are fully performed on their parts.

9. In conſequence of their perfect agreement to the foregoing articles, Sir William Johnſon doth, by virtue of the powers and authorities repoſed in him, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, promiſe and engage, that the ſaid Indians ſhall have a full pardon for paſt tranſgreſſions: that they ſhall be left in the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of all their rights not compriſed in the foregoing articles, and that on their duly performing the ſame, and ſubſcribing the definitive treaty of peace to be held in conſequence hereof, they ſhall be once more admitted into the covenant chain of friendſhip with the Engliſh, and be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade, ſo long as they abide by their engagements.

The forces commanded by the colonels Bradſtreet and Bouquet met with the ſame ſucceſs as thoſe under Sir William Johnſon. The Delawares and Shawaneſe had refuſed to meet Sir William at the congreſs of Niagara, but now, intimidated by the march of ſuch a number of troops towards their country, they met colonel Bradſtreet at Preſque Iſle, and, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, ſued for peace, which was granted them on the following conditions:

1. That all priſoners in their hands ſhould be delivered to colonel Bradſtreet at Sanduſky in twenty-five days.

2. That they ſhall renounce all claim to the poſts and forts the Engliſh now have in their country, and that the latter ſhall be left at liberty to erect as many as they ſhall judge proper to ſecure their trade; and that the Indians ſhall cede to them, for ever, as much land as a cannon ſhot can fly over, on which they may raiſe proviſions.

3 That if any Indian hereafter kill an Engliſhman, he ſhall be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the Engliſh laws, only to have half the jury of Indians: and if any one of the nations renew the war, the reſt ſhall join to bring them to reaſon.

4. That ſix of the deputies ſhall remain with colonel Bradſtreet as hoſtages, and the other four with an Engliſh officer, and one Indian in the Engliſh intereſt ſhould proceed immediately to acquaint the dependent nations with theſe terms of peace, and forward the collecting of the priſoners to be ready at the day appointed.

The Delawares and Shawaneſe, finding theſe were the only terms which colonel Bradſtreet would grant them, they were agreed to and ſolemnly ratified: but it was not long before theſe ſavages again revolted, and renewed their outrages with aggravated inſolence.

In conſequence of this perfidious behaviour, major-general Gage, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in thoſe parts, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. Accordingly the regular and provincial troops under colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, Maryland and Penſylvania, in the beginning of October marched from Fort Pitt, and about the fifteenth arrived at Tuſcarowas. The ſight of the troops in their country threw the ſavages into the utmoſt conſternation, they having depended on their woods for protection, and had frequently boaſted that their ſituation ſecured them from the attacks of our army. Not chooſing to come to an engagement they had again recourſe to negotiation, and received for anſwer, that they might have peace, but every priſoner in their poſſeſſion muſt firſt be delivered up, upon which they brought up about twenty, and promiſed to deliver the reſt; but as their promiſes were not regarded, they engaged to ſend the whole on the 1ſt of November, to a fort about 250 miles from Fort Pitt, the centre of the Delaware towns, and near to the moſt conſiderable ſettlement of the Shawaneſe. Colonel Bouquet being determined not to loſe ſight of them, moved his camp to that place, and ſoon obliged the Delawares, together with ſome broken tribes, to bring in all their priſoners, even to children bought of white women. They were then told that they muſt appoint deputies to go to Sir William Johnſon, in order to receive ſuch terms as he might think proper to impoſe upon them, which the nations muſt agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a number of their chiefs in the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for the performance of this agreement. All the nations readily agreed to the above terms, except the Shawaneſe, who did not approve of the conditions, and were particularly averſe to the giving of hoſtages: but finding their obſtinacy would only bring on their deſtruction, they at laſt conſented, gave up forty principal chiefs as hoſtages, and appointed their deputies to go to Sir William Johnſon, in the ſame manner as the reſt. The number of priſoners delivered up by theſe ſavages exceeded 300, and it was expected that the Engliſh parties would bring in near 100 more from their different towns.

During the month of June various accounts were received from the bay of Honduras, complaining that our logwood cutters there had not only been diſturbed in their buſineſs, but ſuddenly ordered to remove from their uſual places of ſettlement, on pretence of their having nothing to prove that they were ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty; and granting they were, that they had roved too freely about the country, gathering the fruits of it as if it belonged to them. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, a remonſtrance was preſented to the court of Madrid by our ambaſſador there; and on the 27th of September a meſſenger arrived in London, with a duplicate of the orders which were immediately diſpatched to Don Felix Raming de Eſtenoz, governor of Jucatan. From the tenor of theſe it appeared, that his catholic majeſty diſapproved of the proceedings of the ſaid governor, with reſpect to the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain in the bay of Honduras: that he expreſſed his deſire of giving his majeſty the greateſt proofs of his friendſhip, and of preſerving peace with the Britiſh: that he had commanded the ſaid governor to re-eſtabliſh the ſaid Britiſh logwood cutters in the ſeveral places from which they had been obliged to retire, and to acquaint them, that they might return to their occupation of cutting logwood, without being diſturbed under any pretence whatſoever.

A. D. 1765. The parliament met on the 10th of January, when his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſituation of affairs, both at home and abroad, has enabled me to allow you that receſs, which has been uſual in times of public tranquillity. I have now the ſatisfaction to inform you, that I have agreed with my good brother the king of Denmark, to cement the union which has long ſubſiſted between the two crowns by the marriage of the prince royal with my ſiſter the princeſs Carolina Matilda, which is to be ſolemnized as ſoon as their reſpective ages will permit. I obſerve with pleaſure, that the events which have happened in the courſe of the laſt year, give us reaſon to hope for the duration of that peace which has been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and which it is my reſolution ſtrictly to maintain. The courts of France and Spain have given me freſh aſſurances of their good diſpoſitions. The future quiet of the empire has been confirmed by the unanimous choice of a ſucceſſor to the imperial dignity; and the peaceable election of the king of Poland has prevented thoſe fatal conſequences which, upon ſimilar occaſions, have ſo frequently been deſtructive to the repoſe of Europe. I am happy, therefore, to meet my parliament, at a time when no foreign diſturbances interrupt their conſultations for the internal good order and proſperity of my kingdoms.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I ſhall aſk, for the current ſervice of the year, no other ſupplies but ſuch as are neceſſary for thoſe eſtabliſhments which have already met with your approbation, and I will order the proper eſtimates to be laid before you. I muſt, however, earneſtly recommend to you, the continuance of that attention which you have hitherto ſhewn to the improvement of the revenue, and the diminution of the public debt. For theſe deſirable and neceſſary ends, I am perſuaded that you will purſue every proper meaſure which the ſtate of my dominions, and the circumſtances of the times, require.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The experience which I have had of your former conduct, makes me rely on your wiſdom and firmneſs in promoting that obedience to the laws, and reſpect to the legiſlative authority of this kingdom, which is eſſentially neceſſary for the ſafety of the whole, and in eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations as may beſt connect and ſtrengthen every part of my dominions, for their mutual benefit and ſupport. The affection which I bear to my people excites my earneſt wiſhes that every ſeſſion of parliament may be diſtinguiſhed by ſome plan for the public advantage, and for their relief from thoſe difficulties, which an expenſive war has brought on them. My concurrence and encouragement ſhall never be wanting where their welfare is concerned; and I truſt that, for the attainment of that great object, you will proceed with temper, unanimity and diſpatch."

To this ſpeech both houſes preſented the moſt loyal and affectionate addreſſes: and the commons, in order to raiſe the ſupplies for the enſuing year, reſolved to put the Americans on the ſame footing as the inhabitants of Great Britain, by obliging them to pay ſtamp duties. Great oppoſitions were made to this bill; but it at length paſſed both houſes, and on the 22d of March received the royal aſſent.

Soon after this his majeſty was pleaſed to order, that America ſhould be divided into two diſtricts, viz. Northern and Southern by the river Potomack, and a due Weſt line drawn from the head of the main branch of that river, as far as his majeſty's dominions extend, and that a ſurveyor-general ſhould be appointed in each, to make general ſurveys both of the ſea-coaſt and the inland country, in order to facilitate the navigation, and to promote the ſpeedy ſettlement of the new acquiſitions.

Commiſſioners were likewiſe appointed to ſettle the new ceded iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, who received orders, firſt to divide each iſland into pariſhes and diſtricts: then in every pariſh to trace out a town, its ſtreets, market-place, and other public places; after which they were to parcel out the ground into proper allotments to build on, with a ſmall field annexed to each. It was alſo ordered, that where the land was cleared, the purchaſers, beſides the purchaſe money, ſhould pay a quit-rent of one penny per foot in front of each town lot, and ſixpence for every acre of the field that accompanied it. On the other hand, if the land was uncleared, it ſhould be granted by the governor, upon ſecurity given to build on, incloſe, and fence it in a reaſonable time, and to pay the ſame quit rent.

On the 24th of April * his majeſty, who had been for ſome time indiſpoſed, went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, made the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The tender concern which I feel for my faithful ſubjects makes me anxious to provide for every poſſible event which might affect their future happineſs or ſecurity.

"My late indiſpoſition, though not attended with danger, has led me to conſider the ſituation in which my kingdoms and my family might be left, if it ſhould pleaſe God to put a period to my life, whilſt my ſucceſſor is of tender years.

"The high importance of this ſubject to the public ſafety, good order, and tranquillity; the paternal affection which I bear to my children, and to all my people; and my earneſt deſire that every precaution ſhould be taken which may tend to preſerve the conſtitution of Great Britain undiſturbed, and the dignity and luſtre of its crown unimpaired; have determined me to lay this weighty buſineſs before my parliament. And as my health, by the bleſſing of God, is now reſtored, I take the earlieſt opportunity of meeting you here, and of recommending to your moſt ſerious deliberation the making ſuch proviſion, as would be neceſſary, in caſe any of my children ſhould ſucceed to the throne before they ſhall reſpectively attain the age of eighteen years.

"To this end, I propoſe to your conſideration, whether, under the preſent circumſtances, it will not be expedient to veſt in me the power of appointing, from time to time, by inſtruments in writing, under my ſign manual, either the queen, or any other perſon of my royal family, uſually reſiding in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the perſon of ſuch ſucceſſor, and the regent of theſe kingdoms, until ſuch ſucceſſor ſhall attain the age of eighteen years; ſubject to ſuch reſtrictions and regulations as are contained in an act, paſſed upon a ſimilar occaſion, in the 24th year of the reign of the late king, my royal grandfather. The regent ſo appointed to be aſſiſted by a council, compoſed of the ſeveral perſons, who, by reaſon of their dignities and offices, are conſtituted members of the council eſtabliſhed by that act, together with thoſe whom you may think proper to leave to my nomination."

To this ſpeech each houſe preſented a loyal addreſs; and, in conformity to his majeſty's requeſt, a bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of lords, where it was paſſed, and ſent to the houſe of commons. Here, however, it met with ſome oppoſion; but an amendment being made, which was approved of by the lords, on the 15th of May it received the royal aſſent.

By this act his majeſty was empowered to appoint the queen, with the princes of the blood, and all the great officers of ſtate jointly, regents during the minority of the prince; and that his majeſty ſhould further be allowed to add to the number of regents ſuch perſons as he thought proper, whoſe names ſhould be left, in caſe of his death, ſealed up in a deed, to be opened by the privy-council.

This affair being thus ſettled, on the 25th of May his majeſty prorogued the parliament by commiſſion, being

---

* A few days before this the attention of the lords was engaged in the trial of a member of that houſe for murder, the particulars of which were as follow:

In the month of January, at a meeting of the Nottinghamſhire club, a diſpute aroſe between lord Byron and Mr. Chaworth, a gentleman of that county, concerning the quantity of game on their reſpective eſtates. In conſequence of this diſpute a duel was fought between them, at the Star and Garter Tavern in Pall-mall, in which the latter was unfortunately killed; and ſome time after lord Byron ſurrendered himſelf to be tried by his peers. Accordingly, on the 26th of April, about half paſt nine in the morning his lordſhip was brought from the Tower to Weſtminſter Hall, where a court had been erected, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions. The number of witneſſes on behalf of the crown was ſo great that they could not be all examined that day. On the next the trial being reſumed, and the examinations againſt the priſoner finiſhed, the ſolicitor-general ſummed up the evidence; after which lord Byron, who declined examining any witneſſes on his own behalf, told their lordſhips, "That what he had to offer "in his own vindication he had committed to writing, and begged that it might be read by the clerk, as he feared his own "voice, conſidering his preſent ſituation, would not be heard." This requeſt being complied with, the clerk, in a very audible and diſtinct manner, read his ſpeech, which contained an exact detail of all the particulars relating to the melancholy affair between him and Mr. Chaworth. He ſaid, he declined entering into the circumſtances of Mr. Chaworth's behaviour farther than was neceſſary for his defence, expreſſed his deep and unfeigned ſorrow for the event, and repoſed himſelf with the utmoſt confidence on their lordſhip's juſtice and humanity, obſerving that he would with chearfulneſs acquieſce in the ſentence of the nobleſt and moſt equitable court of judicature in the world, whether it were for life or for death.

When the clerk had concluded, the peers adjourned to their own houſe; and, after ſome time, returned, when they found his lordſhip guilty of manſlaughter: and as, by an old ſtatute, peers are, in all caſes where benefit of clergy is allowed, to be diſmiſſed without burning in the hand, loſs of inheritance, or corruption of blood, his lordſhip was immediately diſmiſſed on paying his fees.

being ſo indiſpoſed as to be unable to attend in perſon.

Soon after the riſing of the parliament, accounts were received of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in conjunction with the company's troops, in the Eaſt Indies. On the 22d of October, in the preceding year, major Monro, who, on the deceaſe of major Adams, had ſucceeded to the command of the king's forces in that part of the world, came up with the Indian army at a place called Buxard, on the river Camnaſſary, about 100 miles above Patna. They were moſt advantageouſly encamped, having a moraſs in their front, judiciouſly lined with cannon, ſo that which-ever way the Engliſh ſhould move, whether forward to paſs the moraſs, or ſideways to double it, they could greatly annoy them. This induced the major to encamp his forces that night; and the next morning, by day-break, he went out to reconnoitre the enemy, being reſolved to attack them the day following; but he found them already under arms; upon which he returned to his camp, called in his advanced poſts and grand guards, ordered the drums to arms, and in leſs than twenty minutes the line of battle was perfectly formed. About nine the Indians began to cannonade the Engliſh; and half an hour after the action became general. The moraſs in the front of our troops prevented their advancing for ſome time, during which they were greatly galled by the enemy's cannon. Major Monro perceiving this, ordered a battalion of ſepoys from the right of the firſt line to move forward, in order to ſilence one of the Indian batteries, which played upon his flank; he was ſoon obliged to detach another battalion to the ſupport of the firſt, which had the deſired effect. He then ordered both the lines to face to the right, and keep marching till they had cleared the left wing of the moraſs; and when that was accompliſhed to face to their former front; the right wing at the ſame time wheeling up to the left, in order to clear a ſmall wood that was upon their right: the firſt line then moved forward, keeping a very briſk cannonade; during which major Monro ſent orders to major Pemble, who commanded the ſecond line, to face to the right about, and follow the firſt. Immediately after the fire with ſmall arms began, and both lines puſhed forward with ſo much ardour and reſolution, that the enemy ſoon began to give way, and a little before twelve at noon their whole army was put to flight, leaving 6000 men on the ſpot, with 130 pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military ſtores, and all their tents ready pitched. The loſs of the victors was comparatively ſmall, for they had only 32 Europeans, and 239 Indians killed; and 57 Europeans, and 473 Indians wounded.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in the Eaſt-Indies, when major Monro was recalled; and Sir Robert Fletcher, an officer brought up in the company's ſervice, was appointed to command in his room. He took the field as ſoon as he arrived; and marched about 150 miles up the Ganges, when he attacked ſeveral of the enemy's forts, and made the garriſons priſoners of war.

In America great diſturbances aroſe on account of the ſtamp-act. The firſt intelligence that arrived there of ſuch a bill being in agitation threw an univerſal melancholy on the countenances of the people; but when it was known that the bill had paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, they were fired with indignation, and nothing but confuſion took place throughout moſt of the provinces.

As ſoon as the news arrived at Boſton, the ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half maſt high, in token of the deepeſt mourning; the bells were rung muffled: copies of the act were printed, with a death's head to it in the place where it is uſual to fix the ſtamps, and cried publickly about the ſtreets by the name of "The folly of England, and ruin of America." Eſſays ſoon followed, not only againſt the expediency, but even the equity of it, in ſeveral news-papers, one of which bore the ſignificant title of "The Conſtitutional Courant, containing matters intereſting to liberty, and no ways repugnant to loyalty, printed by Andrew Marvel, at the ſign of the Bribe Refuſed, on Conſtitution-Hill, North America." The head-piece to this paper was a ſnake cut in pieces, with the initial letters of the names of the ſeveral colonies, from New England to South Carolina, affixed to each piece, and above them the words "Join or Die." To theſe were added caricatures, paſquinades, puns, bon-mots, and ſuch ſayings, ſuited to the occaſion, as by being ſhort could be moſt eaſily circulated and retained, at the ſame time that, by being extremely expreſſive, they carried with them the weight of a great many arguments. The two chief articles urged in theſe news-paper eſſays were, firſt, that the perſon acting under this ſtatute had it in his power to bring an action, the cauſe of which had ariſen at one extremity of the North American colonies, and extended itſelf to the other, at almoſt 2000 miles diſtance, without the traders being entitled to recover damages, in caſe the judge certified that there was any probable cauſe for the proſecution. The ſecond was, the judge having an intereſt in giving a decree in favour of the party ſuing for the penalies of the act, on being allowed, by way of commiſſion, a very large ſhare in theſe penalties.

By the time the act itſelf, as printed at the king's printing-houſe, reached the colonies, the populace were every where exaſperated againſt it to ſuch a degree, as to ſhew it the moſt public marks of contempt. In ſeveral places it was burnt, together with the effigies of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have voted for, or otherwiſe had any hand in favour of it. At the ſame time it was agreed, at the meetings of thoſe in higher rank, that thanks ſhould be given to general Conway and colonel Barré, two gentlemen whom they conſidered as the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of it in the Britiſh houſe of commons; that their ſpeeches againſt it, and their pictures, ſhould be requeſted. The pictures to be hung up in their places of meeting; and their ſpeeches to be inſerted in the books deſtined to record all their principal tranſactions.

When the news of this diſcontent arrived in England, ſeveral maſters of ſhips refuſed to take any ſtamps on board for the colonies; and it ſoon appeared that their precaution was well founded; for ſuch as ventured to take them had ſufficient cauſe to repent it at their arrival at their deſtined ports, where, to ſave their veſſels from fire, and their perſons from the gallows, they were moſt of them obliged to ſurrender their execrated cargoes into the hands of the enraged multitude, which they treated in the ſame ignominious manner they had done the act: the other veſſels were obliged to take ſhelter under ſuch of the king's ſhips as happened to be at hand to protect them.

Thoſe gentlemen who went from England with commiſſions to act as diſtributors of the ſtamps met with ſtill worſe treatment. Many of them were made to renounce, now and for ever, publicly and upon oath, all manner of concern in them: others thought it moſt prudent to return from whence they came, whilſt ſome, who were ſuſpected of obſtinately perſiſting in endeavouring to enſlave their country, as it was termed, or of having ſpoke too freely concerning the behaviour of the people on this occaſion, had their houſes burnt down, and their moſt valuable effects plundered or deſtroyed. Even thoſe who, without their ſolicitation or knowledge, had been named, or were obliged in virtue of the offices they already filled, to ſuperintend the diſtribution of the ſtamped paper, were treated in the ſame manner; and the populace having ſuſpected one of writing to England in diſreſpectful terms concerning their proceedings, ſurrounded his houſe, and, notwithſtanding the moſt earneſt intreaties, obliged him to deliver up the copies of his letters, and thereby turn evidence againſt himſelf. Even ſhips bringing ſtamped mercantile or cuſtom-houſe papers, merely in their own defence, from ſuch of the colonies as had thought proper to ſubmit to the ſtamp act, were forced to part with them to be ſtuck up in deriſion in coffee-houſes and taverns, and publicly committed to the flames.

Many of the better ſort now joined the populace in theſe tumults. One in particular ſet the act openly at defiance, by advertiſing under his hand, that thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to enforce it, might ſave themſelves the trouble of calling upon him for that purpoſe; for that he was reſolved to pay no taxes but what was laid by his repreſentatives. The provincial aſſemblies themſelves declined giving the governors any advice concerning their behaviour on this critical occaſion, and, though they diſavowed theſe riotous proceedings, and bid rewards for apprehending the rioters, yet they could not be brought to condemn them further than decency required; and abſolutely refuſed, when exhorted to it by the governors, to make any compenſation to the injured parties; much leſs could they be brought to ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power ſo far as to prevent any future commotions; which as levelled entirely at the ſtamp act, and as having no particular leaders, whoſe ignorance and brutality might be attended with worſe conſequences than what they wiſhed to avoid, they did not think proper to conſider as objects of military reſtraint. This behaviour of the general aſſemblies was openly approved, if not encouraged, by aſſemblies of the freeholders and principal inhabitants of ſome places, who directed their repreſentatives not to agree to any ſteps for the protection of ſtamped papers, or ſtamp officers; though they owned there had been already ſome tumults and diſorders relating to them; and likewiſe cautioned them againſt all unconſtitutional draughts on the public treaſury.

The general aſſemblies went ſtill further. Inſtead of barely conniving at the people's aſſerting their independence by tumultuous acts, they proceeded to avow it themſelves, and, at the ſame time, conſidering that unanimity is the chief ſource of ſtrength, they eſtabliſhed committees to correſpond with each other concerning the general affairs of the whole, and even appointed deputies from theſe committees to meet in a congreſs at New York. But ſuch harmony already prevailed in the ſentiments of the general aſſemblies of the ſeveral provinces, that the deputies, when met, had little more to do than to congratulate each other upon it, and put their hands to one general declaration of their rights, and the grievances they laboured under; and to one general petition expreſſive thereof, to the king, lords, and commons, of the mother country.

At length, thoſe inveſted with the ſubordinate executive powers began to join the legiſlative. The juſtices of the peace for the diſtrict of Weſtmoreland in Virginia gave public notice, under their hands, that they had declined acting in that capacity; becauſe, in conſequence of their judicial oath, they were liable to become inſtrumental in the deſtruction of their country's moſt eſſential rights and liberties. Their example was followed by the gentlemen of the law, who reſolved rather to give up their buſineſs than carry it on with ſtamped papers.

By the time the act took place, which was on the firſt of November, not a ſheet of ſtamped paper was to be had throughout the ſeveral colonies of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a ſmall parcel, which the governor of New York, terrified by the threats of the enraged multitude, had ſurrendered into the hands of the corporation of that place, on condition of their not being deſtroyed; ſo that all buſineſs which could not be legally carried on without ſtamps was at once put to a ſtand, except that of news printing, which the printers ſtill continued, pleading in excuſe, that, if they did not, the populace would ſerve them as they had done the ſtamp-maſters themſelves. The courts of juſtice were cloſed, and the ports ſhut up. Even in thoſe colonies where ſtamps were to be had, the people of the beſt fortune ſubmitted to be aſked in church rather than take out licences for private marriages.

The conſequences of this ſtagnation ſoon began to be ſo ſeverely felt, that the inhabitants found it neceſſary to hit upon ſome expedient by which they might elude the act. Accordingly, one of them ſent a thin piece of bark to the printers at Boſton, on which he had written, " That it being neither paper, " parchment or vellum, he would be glad to know, " if iſtruments written on ſuch ſtuff might not be " valid, though not ſtamped, in which caſe he was " ready to ſupply, with good writing bark, all thoſe " whoſe conſciences were bound by the late act." At laſt the governors of ſome of the provinces, though bound by the act to ſwear to ſee it obſerved, under the ſevereſt penalties, imagining the total ſtoppage of all public buſineſs of ſuch bad conſequence to the community, as to render lawful the non-compliance with any injunctions laid on them, or even the breach of any oath taken by them in conſequence of injunctions, merely for the ſake of that community, thought proper to diſpenſe with the uſe of ſtamps; grounding their diſpenſation on the abſolute impoſſibility of procuring any; and, accordingly, granted certificates of that impoſſibility to all outward-bound veſſels, to protect them from the penalties of the act in other parts of his majeſty's dominions.

The lieutenant-governor of South-Carolina was one of thoſe who refuſed to acquieſce in the tranſacting of any public buſineſs without ſtamps; in conſequence of which the commons houſe of aſſembly took the following method with him. They preſented an addreſs to him, wherein they deſired to be informed, if the ſtamp act had been tranſmitted to him by the ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords of trade, or through any other authentic channel; and, on his anſwering that he had received it firſt from the attorney-general of the province, on that gentleman's arrival from England, and ſince from Mr. Boone the governor of the province, they replied, that neither of theſe ways of receiving any act was ſuch a notification thereof, as to oblige him to inforce the execution of it; as the governor, while out of the province, or the attorney-general, even while in it, could not, at leaſt with regard to this communication, be conſidered in any other light than private gentlemen. At the ſame time they put him in mind, that there were ſeveral inſtances of the province having ſuffered peculiar and very great hardſhips, and for no ſmall length of time, even from the accidental detention or miſcarriage of governmental informations, enough to prove, that certain forms were abſolutely neceſſary in all matters of government, eſpecially ſuch as related to the authenticity of new laws of ſuch immenſe conſequence. Theſe arguments, however, ſeemed to make little or no impreſſion on the governor or his council. The merchants, of all thoſe colonies which ventured openly to oppoſe the act, now entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements with each other, not only not to order any more goods from Great Britain, let the conſequences be what they would, and recall the orders they had already given, if not obeyed by the 1ſt of January 1766, but even not to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them on commiſſion, that were not ſhipped before that day; or, if they conſented to any relaxation from theſe engagements, it was not to take place till the ſtamp act, and even the ſugar and paper money acts were repealed. The people of Philadelphia alſo reſolved, though not unanimouſly, that, till ſuch repeal, no lawyer ſhould put in ſuit a demand for money owing by a reſident in America to one in England; nor any perſon in America, however indebted in England, make any remittances there. Theſe reſolutions were adopted by the retailers, who unanimouſly agreed not to buy or ſell any Britiſh goods ſhipped contrary to them.

The only place that received any material benefit from theſe proceedings was Ireland, as what goods the colonies could not poſſibly do without they took from that country in exchange for their hemp-ſeed and flax-ſeed, in which they ſent yearly very large quantities. In the mean time they omitted no methods to free themſelves even from this dependence. A ſociety of arts, manufactures and commerce, on the plan of the London ſociety, was inſtituted at New York, and markets opened for the ſale of home-made goods; by which it ſoon appeared, that neither the natives, nor the manufacturers, whom the natives had for ſome time paſt been inviting from Great Britain by very large encouragements, had been idle. Linens, woolens, the coarſer but moſt uſeful kinds of iron ware, malt-ſpirits, paper-hangings, &c. were produced to the ſociety, and greatly approved; and when brought to market every body appeared deſirous of purchaſing them. At the ſame time, leſt the new woolen manufactures ſhould come ſhort of materials, moſt of the inhabitants came to a reſolution not to eat any lamb; and to extend the influence of their reſolution to thoſe who did not join them in it, not to deal with any butcher that ſhould kill or expoſe any lamb to ſale. In ſhort, the ſpirit of induſtry and frugality took place of the ſpirit of idleneſs and profuſeneſs. The moſt ſubſtantial and even faſhionable people were the firſt in ſetting the example to their countrymen, by contenting themſelves with home-ſpun or old cloaths, rather than make uſe of any thing Britiſh; and ſuch were the efforts of all ranks, and ſo prudent their meaſures, that many now began to be convinced of what they had, till then, thought impoſſible, that the colonies would ſoon be able to ſupply themſelves with every neceſſary of life *.

In conſequence of the diſtracted ſtate of America, his majeſty thought proper to aſſemble the parliament ſooner than had been intended. Accordingly, on the 17th of December † he went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The preſent general ſtate of tranquillity in Europe gave me hopes that it would not have been neceſſary to aſſemble my parliament ſooner than is uſual in times of peace: but as matters of importance have lately occurred in ſome of my colonies in America, which will demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament, and as further informations are daily expected from different parts of that country, of which I ſhall order the fulleſt accounts to be prepared for your conſideration; I have thought fit to call you now together, in order that the opportunity may be thereby given, to iſſue the neceſſary writs on the many vacancies that have happened in the houſe of commons ſince the laſt ſeſſion, ſo that the parliament may be full, to proceed immediately, after the uſual receſs, on the conſideration of ſuch weighty matters as will then come before you.”

A. D. 1766. On the 14th of January his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and being ſeated on his throne addreſſed both houſes as follows:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ When I met you laſt, I acquainted you, that matters of importance had happened in America, which would demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament.

“ That no information which could ſerve to direct your deliberations in ſo intereſting a concern might be wanting, I have ordered all the papers that give any light into the origin, the progreſs, or the tendency of the diſturbances which have of late prevailed in ſome of the northern colonies, to be immediately laid before you.

“ No time has been loſt, on the firſt advice of theſe diſturbances, to iſſue orders to the governors of my provinces, and to the commanders of my forces in America, for the exertion of all the powers of government, in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, and in the effectual ſupport of lawful authority.

“ Whatever remains to be done on this occaſion, I commit to your wiſdom; not doubting but your zeal for the honour of my crown, your attention to the juſt rights and authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, and your affection and concern for the welfare and proſperity of all my people, will guide you to ſuch ſound and prudent reſolutions, as may tend at once to preſerve thoſe conſtitutional rights over the colonies, and to reſtore to them that harmony and tranquillity, which have lately been interrupted by riots and diſorders of the moſt dangerous nature.

“ If

---

* During theſe tranſactions abroad the nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of his royal highneſs William duke of Cumberland (uncle to his majeſty) who paid the debt of nature, at his houſe in Upper Groſvenor-ſtreet, in the evening of the 31ſt of October, in the 45th year of his age. His royal highneſs was at court in the morning, dined with lord Albermarle, and drank tea with the princeſs of Brunſwick at St. James's, from whence he came to his own houſe in the evening to be preſent at a counſel to be held on affairs of ſtate. As ſoon as he entered the houſe he complained of a pain in the ſhoulder, and deſired to be laid on the couch, where, in about twenty minutes, he expired. On examining the body a coagulation of extravaſated blood was found in the right ventricle of the brain, which was the cauſe of his death; but all the noble parts were ſound, except the membrane between the lobes of the brain, which was oſſified.

This prince had been, from his moſt early youth, deſigned for the command of the army; and, while only a boy, he formed a company of noblemen and gentlemen's ſons, who, along with himſelf, were trained up in military exerciſes. Being properly qualified, he accepted of an enſign's commiſſion in the guards, and roſe from one ſtation to another, till at laſt he became the commander in chief. Ever attentive to the intereſts of his royal father's ſubjects, he freely expoſed his perſon in the moſt hazardous enterprizes during the wars in Germany and Flanders; and, at the battle of Dettingen, when only arrived to the rank of a colonel, he commanded his own regiment, and received a wound on the thigh while advancing upon the enemy. His prudence and valour in ſuppreſſing an unnatural rebellion are well known to the nation in general, ſo that nothing need be ſaid of it in this place. As a friend to merit in diſtreſs, he never neglected any opportunity of rewarding either officers or ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. During the interval that took place between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the breaking out of the war in 1756, he conſtantly aſſiſted in the privy-council; and when ordered to take upon him the command of the allied army in Hanover, he chearfully obeyed, although he knew that the French forces were double his number. If his ſucceſs was not equal to his wiſhes, it was owing to the inferiority of his army; and when he thought proper to reſign all his public employments, he retired to a private ſtation, and ſpent the remainder of his life in giving proper encouragement to induſtry. Upon the whole, his highneſs was a wiſe counſellor, an able general, and indulgent maſter; and, what is ſtill more than any of theſe, he was a good man.

† On the twenty-ninth of this month, between three and four in the afternoon, prince Frederic William, his majeſty's youngeſt brother, departed this life in the ſixteenth year of his age, to the great grief of their majeſties and all the royal family.

“ If any alterations ſhould be wanting in the commercial œconomy of the plantations, which may tend to enlarge and ſecure the mutual and beneficial intercourſe of my kingdoms and colonies, they will deſerve your moſt ſerious conſideration. In effectuating purpoſes ſo worthy of your wiſdom and public ſpirit, you may depend upon my moſt hearty concurrence and ſupport. The preſent happy tranquillity ſubſiſting in Europe will enable you to purſue ſuch objects of your interior policy with a more uninterrupted attention.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the current ſervice of the year to be laid before you. Such ſupplies as you may grant ſhall be duly applied with the utmoſt fidelity, and ſhall be diſpenſed with the ſtricteſt œconomy.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ I earneſtly recommend to you to proceed in your deliberations with temper and unanimity. The time requires, and I doubt not but your own inclinations will lead you to thoſe ſalutary diſpoſitions. I have nothing at heart but the aſſertion of legal authority, the preſervation of the liberties of all my ſubjects, the equity and good order of my government, and the concord and proſperity of all parts of my dominions.”

Petitions were now preſented to parliament by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Lancaſter, Liverpool, Hull, Glaſgow, and, in ſhort, from moſt of the trading and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom, wherein they ſet forth the great decay of their trade, owing to the new laws and regulations made for America: the vaſt quantity of our manufactures, (beſides thoſe articles imported from abroad, which were purchaſed either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies) which the American trade formerly took off our hands; by all which many thouſand manufacturers, ſeamen, and labourers, had been employed, to the very great and increaſing benefit of the nation. That, in return for theſe exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval ſtores, oil, whale-fins, furs, and lately pot-aſh, with other ſtaple commodities; beſides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the coloniſts for articles of their produce, not required for the Britiſh market, and therefore exported to other places: that from the nature of this trade, conſiſting of Britiſh manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them uſed in our manufactures, and all of them tending to leſſen our dependence on neighbouring ſtates, it muſt be deemed of the higheſt importance in the commercial ſyſtem of this nation: that this commerce ſo beneficial to the ſtate, and ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of multitudes, then lay under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements, that nothing leſs than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the intermediate interpoſition of parliament: that the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, to the amount of ſeveral millions ſterling; and that, when preſſed for payment, they appeal to paſt experience in proof of their willingneſs; but declare it is not in their power at preſent to make good their engagements, alledging that the taxes and reſtrictions laid upon them, and the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the vice-admiralty courts eſtabliſhed by ſome late acts of parliament, particularly by an act of parliament paſſed in the fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America, and by an act paſſed in the fifth year of his majeſty, for granting and applying certain ſtamp-duties, &c. in the ſaid colonies, &c. with ſeveral regulations and reſtraints, which, if founded in acts of parliament for defined purpoſes, they repreſent to have been extended in ſuch a manner as to diſturb legal commerce and haraſs the fair trader, and to have ſo far interrupted the uſual and former moſt uſeful branches of their commerce, reſtrained the ſale of their produce, thrown the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces into confuſion, and brought on ſo great a number of actual bankruptcies, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments were utterly loſt and taken from them. That the petitioners were, by theſe unhappy events, reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the houſe, in order to ſecure themſelves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burden to the community, or elſe ſeeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loſs of the kingdom: and to preſerve the ſtrength of this nation entire, its commerce flouriſhing, the revenues increaſing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a ſtate of growth and extenſion, and the colonies from inclination, duty and intereſt, firmly attached to the mother country.

Petitions from every part of the kingdom, replete with ſuch a number of intereſting facts, ſtated and atteſted by ſo many people, whoſe lives having been entirely devoted to trade, muſt naturally be eſteemed competent judges of a ſubject which they had ſo long and ſo cloſely attended to, could not fail of having great weight with the houſe, as had alſo a petition which arrived at this time from the agent for the iſland of Jamaica, ſetting forth the ill conſequences that had attended a ſtamp-tax which the aſſembly of that iſland had impoſed, and which was ſuffered to expire, it having been found unequal and burdenſome in a very high degree: and he gave it as his opinion, that the preſent law for a ſtamp-duty in the colonies would be attended with the ſame, if not greater inconveniencies. Petitions were likewiſe received from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, ſetting forth their inability to pay the ſtamp-duty.

The party, however, who had reſolved on the ſupport of the ſtamp-act at all events could not be prevailed on, either by the arguments, or the facts contained in the petitions, to remit the leaſt of their ardour. Such petitions they repreſented as the effect of miniſterial artifice, and obſerved, that ſuppoſing the diſtreſs of trade, for a due exertion of the authority of parliament, was as real and as great as it was repreſented, yet it were better to ſubmit to this temporary inconvenience, than, by a repeal of the act, to hazard the total loſs of the juſt ſuperiority of Great-Britain over her colonies.

Thoſe who contended for the repeal were divided in their opinion as to the right of taxation; the more numerous body, among whom were the miniſtry, inſiſted that the legiſlature of Great Britain had an undoubted right to tax the colonies, but acknowledged the inexpediency of the preſent tax, as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and built upon principles ruinous to the trade of Great Britain.

Thoſe who denied the right of taxation were not ſo numerous; but they conſiſted of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and popular characters in the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding this affair was attended to by the houſe with the moſt unwearied application, yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witneſſes they had to examine occaſioned a delay which could not be remedied; during this there were continual debates, and the oppoſition made the moſt ſtrenuous efforts for enforcing the ſtamp act, and by every means to prevent the repeal. In the courſe of this debate two queſtions aroſe, upon which the whole turned. The firſt was, whether the legiſlature of Great Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies, or not? The ſecond was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late laws.

The gentlemen who oppoſed the right of taxation produced many learned authorities from Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf, ſhewing, "That the very foundation and ultimate point in view of all government is the good of ſociety." They likewiſe urged, that by going up to Magna Charta, and referring to the ſeveral writs upon record, iſſued out for the purpoſe of raiſing taxes for the crown, and for ſending repreſentatives to parliament, as well as from the bill of rights, it appears, throughout the whole hiſtory of our conſtitution, that no Britiſh ſubject can be taxed, but *per communem conſenſum parliamenti*, that is to ſay, of himſelf or his own repreſentative; and this is that firſt and general right, as Britiſh ſubjects, with which the firſt inhabitants of the colonies emigrated; for the right does not depend upon their charters: the charters were but the exterior modelling of the conſtitution of the colonies: but the great interior fundamental of their conſtitution is this general right of a Britiſh ſubject, which is the very firſt principle of liberty,---No man ſhall be taxed, but by himſelf or his repreſentative. That the counties palatine of Cheſter, Durham and Lancaſter were not taxed but in their own aſſemblies or parliaments; till at different periods in our hiſtory they were melted into our preſent form of parliamentary repreſentation. That the body of the clergy, till very late, taxed themſelves, and granted the king benevolences. That the marches of Wales had a right of taxing themſelves till they ſent members to parliament, and from this circumſtance has continued the ſtyle of the king's proclamations, and of our acts of parliament to this day, although unneceſſarily, to name eſpecially the principality of Wales, and the town of Monmouth and Berwick. That many people carry the idea of a parliament too far, in ſuppoſing it can do every thing; which is not true, and if it were, it is not right conſtitutionally: for then there might be an arbitrary power in a parliament as well as in any one man. There are many things a parliament cannot do. It cannot make itſelf executive, nor diſpoſe of offices that belong to the crown. It cannot take any man's property, even that of the meaneſt cottager, as in the caſe of incloſures, without his being heard. The lords cannot reject a money bill from the commons, nor the commons erect themſelves into a court of juſtice. The parliament could not tax the clergy, till ſuch time as they were repreſented in parliament. Nor can the parliament of England tax Ireland.

The charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogatives, and are in fact only ſo many grants from the crown, are not the only right the colonies have to being repreſented before they are taxed. They, as Britiſh ſubjects, take up their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters only. They take them up from the ſame origin and fountain, from whence they flow to all Engliſhmen, from Magna Charta, and the natural right of the ſubject. By that rule of right, the charters of the colonies, like all other crown-grants, are to be reſtricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the ſubjects. Had the firſt inhabitants of the colonies renounced all connection with their mother country, they might have renounced their original rights; but when they emigrated under the authority of the crown, and the national ſanction, they went out from hence, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, with all the firſt great privileges of Engliſhmen on their backs: but at the ſame time they were not, and could not be bound by penal laws of this country, from the ſeverity of which they fled, to climates remote from the heavy hand of power, and which they hoped to find more friendly to their principles of civil and religious liberty. It is upon this ground, that it has been univerſally received as law, that no acts of parliament made here, and particularly thoſe which enact any penalty, are binding upon the colonies, unleſs they are ſpecially named. The inhabitants of the colonies once removed from the domeſtic legiſlation of the mother country, are no more dependent upon it in the general ſyſtem, than the Iſle of Man is, or than, in the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, many ſubordinate principalities are dependent on the juriſdiction of the ſeigneur ſuzerain, or lord paramount; but owing only to a limited obedience. By what has been ſaid it is not meant to affect the caſe of any external duties laid upon their ports, or of any reſtrictions which by the act of navigation, or other acts are laid upon their commerce; for they are in the ſame caſe, as all other colonies belonging to the reſt of the maritime powers in Europe; who have ſhut up their colonies from all intercouſe with foreign countries, in the very firſt eſtabliſhment. What is ſpoken of are internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people; and that, before they can be liable to theſe internal taxes, they muſt firſt be repreſented.

Several other arguments were made uſe of, and many inſtances brought from antient hiſtory of the conduct of ſome of the moſt famous republics, with reſpect to their colonies; and likewiſe of colonies which outgrew their mother countries, ſuch as Carthage, the northern emigrants, &c. Precedents were alſo quoted from what happened in the United Netherlands, and other places, which ſhould ſerve as a beacon, to warn us from purſuing ſuch meaſures, as brought about thoſe revolutions.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, thoſe on the other ſide obſerved, that it was neceſſary to clear away from the queſtion all that maſs of diſſertation and learning, diſplayed in arguments which have been brought from ſpeculative men, who have written upon the ſubject of government: that the refinements upon that ſubject, and arguments of natural lawyers, as Locke, Selden, Puffendorf, &c. are little to the purpoſe in a queſtion of conſtitutional law: that it is abſurd to apply records from the earlieſt times to our preſent conſtitution; becauſe the conſtitution is not the ſame; and it is impoſſible to tell what it was at ſome of the times that are quoted: that there are things even in Magna Charta which are not conſtitutional now, and that thoſe records are no proofs of our conſtitution as it now is: that the conſtitution of this country has always been in a moving ſtate, either gaining or loſing ſomething: that the repreſentation of the commons of Great Britain was not formed into any certain ſyſtem till Henry VII: that with regard to the modes of taxation, when we get beyond the reign of Edward I. or king John, we are loſt in obſcurity, the hiſtory of thoſe times being entirely uncertain: that as to the writs upon record, they were ſome of them iſſued according to law, and others not; and ſuch were thoſe concerning ſhip-money; calling aſſemblies to tax themſelves, or to compel benevolences: that other taxes were raiſed by eſcuage, fees for knight's ſervice, and other means ariſing from the feudal ſyſtem: that benevolences are contrary to law, and it is well known how people reſiſted the demands of the crown in the caſe of ſhip-money, and were proſecuted by the court: and that were any ſet of men to meet now, in order to lend the king money, it would be contrary to law, and a breach of the rights of parliament: that as to the privilege enjoyed by the marches of Wales of taxing themſelves, it was but of ſhort duration, only during the life of Edward I. after his deceaſe they were annexed to the crown, and became ſubject to taxes like the reſt of the dominions of England, and from thence came the unneceſſary cuſtom of naming Wales and the town of Monmouth in all proclamations and acts of parliament: that Henry VIII. was the firſt who iſſued writs for it to return two members to parliament: that the crown extended the right *ad libitum*; from whence the inequality of repreſentation, in our conſtitution of this day, ariſes: Henry VIII. iſſued a writ to Calais to ſend one burgeſs to parliament; and one of the counties palatine was taxed fifty years to ſubſidies, before it ſent members to parliament: that the clergy were at no time unrepreſented in parliament; for when they taxed themſelves in their aſſemblies it was done with the concurrence and conſent of parliament, who, upon their petition for that purpoſe permitted them to tax themſelves, the convocation ſitting at the ſame time with the parliament: they had their repreſentatives two biſhops and abbots, always ſitting in the houſe of lords, and in the other houſe, they had ever a right of voting ſingly for the election of members: therefore the argument founded on the caſe of the clergy is not of any force, becauſe they were at no time unrepreſented. So the reaſoning about the colonies of Great Britain drawn from the colonies of antiquity, is a meer uſeleſs diſplay of learning; for the colonies of the Tyrians in Africa, and of the Greeks in Aſia, were totally different from our ſyſtem: that no nation before ourſelves formed any regular ſyſtem of colonization, but the right of juriſdiction of the mother country over her colonies was, among the Romans, boundleſs and uncontrolable: that the ſtates of Holland were not colonies; but ſtates dependent on the houſe of Auſtria, in a feudal dependence: that nothing could be more different from our colonies, than that ſhock of men, as they have been termed, who came from the north and poured into Europe: they renounced all laws, all protection, all connection with their mother countries: they choſe their leaders and marched under their banners, to ſeek their fortunes and eſtabliſh new kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman empire; whereas our colonies emigrated under the ſanction of the crown and parliament: were modelled gradually into their preſent forms, by charters, grants and ſtatutes; for they were never ſeparated from the mother country, or ſo emancipated, as to become *ſui juris*.

They farther obſerved, that there are ſeveral ſorts of colonies in Britiſh America: the charter colonies, the proprietary governments, and the king's colonies: that the firſt colonies were the charter colonies; ſuch as the Virginia company, and theſe companies had amongſt their directors, members of the privy council, and of both houſes of parliament; they were under the authority of the privy council, and had agents reſiding here reſponſible for their proceedings: that ſo much were they conſidered as belonging to the crown, and not to the king perſonally (a great difference, though attended to by few) that when the two houſes in the time of Charles I. were going to paſs a bill concerning the colonies, a meſſage was ſent to them by his majeſty, importing, that they were the king's colonies, and that the bill was unneceſſary; for that the privy council would take order about them: and accordingly the bill never received the royal aſſent.

They urged, that the commonwealth parliament, as ſoon as it was ſettled, were, very early, jealous of the colonies ſeparating themſelves from them; and paſſed a reſolution or act, to declare and eſtabliſh the authority of England over her colonies. But ſuppoſing there was no expreſs law, or reaſon founded upon any neceſſary inference from an expreſs law, yet the uſage alone would be ſufficient to ſupport that authority: for, continued they, have not the colonies, ever ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment, ſubmitted to the juriſdiction of the mother country? In all queſtions of property, the appeal of the colonies have been to the privy council here; and ſuch cauſes have been determined, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England: frequently have the colonies been obliged to refer to the juriſdiction here to ſettle the diſputes among their own governments. New Hampſhire and Connecticut have been in blood about their differences; which ſhews the abſolute neceſſity of one ſuperior deciſive juriſdiction to which all ſubordinate juriſdictions may apply. Nothing could be more fatal to the peace of the colonies at any time, than the parliament giving up its authority over them; for in ſuch a caſe there muſt be an entire diſſolution of government. It is eaſy to foreſee, conſidering how the colonies are compoſed, that there would be no end of feuds and factions among the ſeveral ſeparate governments to decide their mutual differences: and government being diſſolved, nothing remains but that the ſeveral colonies muſt either change their conſtitution, and take ſome new form of government, or fall under ſome foreign power. The ſeveral forms of their conſtitution are, at preſent, very various, having been produced, like all other governments, by accident and circumſtances. The forms of government in every colony were adapted from time to time according to the ſize of the colony, and ſo have been extended again from time to time, as the numbers of the inhabitants, and their commercial connections, outgrew the firſt model. At firſt ſome of the colonies had only one governor, aſſiſted by two or three council; after which more were added; courts of juſtice were next erected, and then aſſemblies were created. Some things were done by inſtructions from the ſecretaries of ſtate, others by order of the king and council, and ſome by commiſſion under the great ſeal. It is obſervable, in conſequence of theſe eſtabliſhments from time to time, and the dependency of theſe governments, upon the ſupreme legiſlature at home, that the lenity of each government in the colonies has been extreme towards the ſubject; but if all theſe governments, which are now independent of each other, ſhould become independent of the mother country, it is to be feared the inhabitants would ſoon find, to their coſt, how little they were aware of the conſequences. They would, in that caſe, ſoon feel the hand of power much heavier upon them in their own governments than they have yet done, or ever imagined. The conſtitution of the ſeveral colonies being made up of different principles, they muſt remain dependent upon the juriſdiction of the mother country, or they muſt be totally diſmembered from it. No one ever thought the contrary, till the trumpet of ſedition has been lately blown. Acts of parliament have been made, not only without a doubt of their legality, but with univerſal applauſe, the great object of which has been ultimately to fix the trade of the colonies, ſo as to centre in the boſom of that country, from whence they took their origin. The navigation act ſhut up their commerce with foreign countries. Their ports have been made ſubject to cuſtoms and regulations, which cramped and diminiſhed their trade, and duties have been laid, affecting even the inmoſt part of their commerce, and among others that of the poſt; yet all theſe have been ſubmitted to peaceably, and no one ever thought, till now, of this doctrine, that the colonies are not to be taxed, regulated, or bound by parliament. A few particular merchants then, as now, were diſpleaſed at reſtrictions which did not permit them to make the greateſt advantage of their commerce in their own private and peculiar branches: but though theſe few merchants might think themſelves loſers, in articles which they had no right to gain, as being prejudicial to the general national ſyſtem, yet upon the whole, the colonies were benefited, becauſe their reſtrictive laws, founded upon principles of the moſt ſolid policy, flung a great weight of naval force into the hands of the mother country, which was to protect the colonies, and without which union the colonies muſt have been entirely weak and defenceleſs; inſtead of which they became relatively, ſubordinately, and in proportion great, as the mother country advanced in ſuperiority over the reſt of the maritime powers in Europe; to which both mutually contributed, and of which both have reaped the benefit, equal to the natural and juſt relation in which they both ſtand reciprocally, of dependency on one ſide, and protection on the other.

They added, there can be no doubt but that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much repreſented in parliament as the greateſt part of the people of England, among nine millions of whom, there are eight who have no votes in electing members of parliament: every objection therefore to the dependency of the colonies upon parliament, which ariſes to it upon the ground of repreſentation, goes to the whole preſent conſtitution of Great Britain. A member of parliament choſen for any borough repreſents not only the conſtituents, and inhabitants of that particular place, but alſo the inhabitants of every other borough in Great Britain: he repreſents the city of London, and all other the commons of the land, and the inhabitants of all the colonies and dominions of Great Britain, and is in duty and conſcience bound to take care of their intereſts. As to the diſtinction of internal and external taxes, it is as falſe and groundleſs as any other that has been made. It is granted, that reſtrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports, are legal, at the ſame time that the right of the parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies is denied. What real difference can there be in this diſtinction? A tax laid in any place, is like a pebble falling into, and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre; for nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco, either in the ports of Virginia or London, is a duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia an hundred miles from the ſea, wherever the tobacco grows. It was alſo urged, that protection is the ground that gives a right of taxation: that the obligation between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, conſiſting of defence on the one ſide, and obedience on the other; and that common ſenſe tells, that they muſt be dependent in all points upon the mother country, or elſe not belong to it at all; that the queſtion is not, what was law? or what was the conſtitution? but the queſtion is, what is law now? and what is the conſtitution now? That if a matter of right has been generally exerciſed, and as generally held to be law, as has been proved in numberleſs inſtances, without its ever having been queſtioned before, it is now the conſtitution. It was alſo obſerved, that the colonies had gone very great lengths; and it was even inſiſted, that, by appointing deputies, from their ſeveral aſſemblies, to confer together, they had abſolutely forfeited their charters.

The debates being at an end, and the queſtion put, the power of the legiſlature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, and without any diſtinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and aſcertained, without a diviſion.

The grand committee who had paſſed the reſolutions, on which the foregoing queſtion was debated, had alſo paſſed another for the total repeal of the ſtamp act; and two bills were accordingly brought in to anſwer theſe purpoſes. By the reſolutions on which the former was founded, it was declared, that tumults and inſurrections of the moſt dangerous nature had been raiſed and carried on in ſeveral of the colonies, in open defiance of government, and in manifeſt violation of the laws and legiſlative authority of this kingdom. That theſe tumults and inſurrections had been encouraged and inflamed, by ſeveral votes and reſolutions which had paſſed in the aſſemblies of the ſaid colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and deſtructive to their legal and conſtitutional dependency on the crown, parliament, &c. By the bill itſelf, all votes, reſolutions, or orders, which had been paſſed by any of the general aſſemblies in America, by which they aſſumed to themſelves the ſole and excluſive right of taxing his majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, were annulled, and declared contrary to law, derogatory to the legiſlative authority of parliament, and inconſiſtent with their dependency upon the crown.

Far from being diſpirited, the oppoſition gained new vigour, and ſtill reſiſted the repeal in every part of its progreſs. So many inſtances of the inexpediency of the ſtamp duty had already occurred, that the queſtion was ſcarcely controvertible; therefore inſtead of entering into the merits of that part of the controverſy, they reſted their principal defence upon the reſolutions, on which the late bill for ſecuring the dependency of the colonies had been founded.

From thence they argued, that the total repeal of the ſtamp-act, while ſuch an outrageous reſiſtance continued, would for the future leſſen the authority of Great Britain, and make it appear even contemptible: that ſuch a ſubmiſſion of the ſupreme legiſlature would be in effect a ſurrender of their antient unalienable rights, to ſubordinate provincial aſſemblies, eſtabliſhed only by prerogative; which in itſelf had no ſuch power to beſtow; that a conceſſion of this nature carried with it ſuch an appearance of weakneſs and timidity in government, as might probably encourage freſh inſults, and leſſen the reſpect of his majeſty's ſubjects to the dignity of his crown, and the authority of the laws: that the power of taxation is one of the moſt eſſential branches of all authority; that it cannot be equitably or impartially exerciſed, if it is not extended to all the members of the ſtate, in proportion to their reſpective abilities; but if a part are ſuffered to be exempt from a due ſhare of thoſe burthens, which the public exigencies require to be impoſed upon the whole, ſuch a partiality ſo directly repugnant to the truſt repoſed by the people in every legiſlature, muſt be abſolutely deſtructive of that confidence, on which all government ſhould be founded.

The inability of the coloniſts to comply with the terms of the ſtamp-act was alſo denied, and, as an inſtance to the contrary, that of the debt, contracted by them in the laſt war, 1,755,000l. has been already diſcharged, and that in the courſe of three years only: and that the much greater part of their remaining incumbrances, amounting in the whole to 760,000l. will be diſcharged in two years more.

Many other arguments were made uſe of in order to ſhew the heavy burdens with which the mother country was loaded; the ability of the Americans; their exemption from all manner of taxation; and their peremptory and refractory refuſal to contribute in any degree to the public expences.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, it was obſerved by thoſe on the other ſide of the queſtion, that the three firſt objections bore no manner of weight, as every conſequence, they preſumed, was already guarded againſt, by the bill for ſecuring the dependence of the colonies; which had alſo ſufficiently provided for the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and its conſtitutional ſuperiority over them.

They ſaid, that the propriety of all the parts contributing to the expences of the whole is readily admitted: the fact alledged, of the heavy debt contracted by the Americans in the courſe of the war, ſufficiently ſhews they contributed largely to the public expence; as their being repaid a part of it ſince is alſo a convincing proof, that the parliament were of opinion, they had contributed beyond their abilities: that nothing could be more remote from fact than the aſſertion, that they paid no taxes. They even paid many which had been laid on them by act of parliament; as they then paid a great variety of port duties, impoſed previous to the ſtamp-act; which lay very heavy upon their trade, and tended much to inflame their minds againſt that law. That they paid many port duties impoſed by provincial authority; many exciſes; a land-tax in many provinces; a heavy poll-tax; beſides a faculty-tax upon all family eſtates and acquiſitions, amounting in ſome provinces to five or ſix ſhillings in the pound: ſo that the aſſertion of their not contributing to the public expence being falſe, every argument built upon ſo baſeleſs a foundation muſt, of courſe, fall to the ground.

It was further urged, that moſt of the provinces in North America are notoriouſly poor: that they were upwards of four millions in debt to the merchants of Great Britain; who being creditors to ſuch an amount, are, in reality, the proprietors of a great part of what the Americans ſeem to poſſeſs: that the ſuppreſſion of manufactures in that country, and obliging them to take every ſort which they uſe from Great Britain, comprizes all ſpecies of taxes in one, and makes them, in reality, the ſupporters of a great part of the public burthens: that their great diſtance from hence, and the difficulty of making us thoroughly acquainted with the minute circumſtances of every colony, renders us liable to great miſtakes, and conſequently to the hazard of great oppreſſion, whenever we attempt to levy internal taxes in that country: that our true policy is to acquieſce in the great commercial advantages we derive from the Americans, rather than to attempt a revenue from thence; which, by diſabling the people to make returns to our merchants, will put them under a neceſſity of ſetting up manufactures of their own: that by the former policy, America has been advantageous to us, and quiet in itſelf; but that the preſent ſtate of things ſhews, too evidently, the ill effects of a contrary mode of acting.

On the queſtion being put, notwithſtanding the vigour with which the oppoſition was ſupported, the bill paſſed by a majority of 108, and was carried up to the lords by above 200 members of the houſe of commons. The eclat, however, with which it was introduced did not prevent its meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition in the upper houſe, a proteſt was entered againſt it at the ſecond reading by thirty-three lords, and at the third by twenty-eight, notwithſtanding which it was carried by a majority of thirty-four; and on the eighteenth of March received the royal aſſent.

The American merchants made a moſt numerous appearance on this occaſion, to expreſs their joy and gratitude; the ſhips in the river diſplayed their colours; ſeveral houſes in the city were illuminated; and every proper method was taken to demonſtrate the juſt ſenſe that was entertained of his majeſty's goodneſs, and the wiſdom of parliament, in conciliating the minds of the people on this critical occaſion.

The national buſineſs being finiſhed, his majeſty, on the 16th of June, went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ It is with the utmoſt ſatisfaction that I have obſerved the wiſdom and moderation which have uniformly guided you through the many important deliberations in which you have been engaged, during the courſe of this long and intereſting ſeſſion of parliament. I perſuade myſelf that the moſt ſalutary effects muſt be the natural reſult of deliberations conducted upon ſuch principles.

“ Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

“ I thank you for the ſupplies which you have ſo chearfully given for the ſeveral eſtabliſhments, and for the ſupport of public credit: and you may reſt aſſured, that no œconomy will be wanting, to render them effectual for the purpoſes for which they were granted.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The preſent general diſpoſition of all the powers of Europe ſeems to indicate a continuance of peace: and it is my earneſt deſire to preſerve the general tranquillity, by fulfilling, on my part, all the engagements I am under by treaties. And, on this foundation, I may reaſonably hope and expect the ſame ſtrict performance of thoſe engagements which other powers are under to my crown.

“ The many regulations which you have made for extending and promoting the trade and manufactures of Great Britain, and for ſettling the mutual intercourſe of my kingdoms and plantations, in ſuch a manner as to provide for the improvement of the colonies, on a plan of due ſubordination to the commercial intereſts of the mother country, are the ſtrongeſt proofs of your equitable and comprehenſive regard to the welfare of all my dominions; an object truly worthy of a Britiſh parliament.

“ It ſhall be my endeavour, that ſuch care be taken, as may tend to ſecure and improve the advantages which may be expected from ſuch wiſe and ſalutary proviſions.

“ I have nothing further to recommend to you, than that you will exert your beſt endeavours in your reſpective counties to enforce the execution of the laws, and to promote good manners and good order among my people; whoſe true and laſting happineſs ſhall be my conſtant care, and upon whoſe affections I ſhall always firmly rely.

“ I receive your condolance on the melancholy event of my brother's death, as a mark of your affection and loyalty.

“ I ſhall be careful that my conduct ſhall juſtify the confidence you ſo affectionately expreſs, in my applying properly ſuch ſupplies as you have judged neceſſary for the public ſervice.”

Soon after the riſing of the parliament his majeſty thought proper to make the following changes in the miniſtry: His grace the duke of Grafton was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne ſucceeded the duke of Richmond as ſecretary of ſtate; lord Camden was created lord high chancellor in the place of the earl of Northington, as was the honourable Charles Townſhend chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of the right honourable William Dowdeſwell; and the right honourable William Pitt, who ſome days before had been created viſcount Pynſent and earl of Chatham, was made lord privy-ſeal.

The exceeding high price of proviſions at this time cauſed the poor to riſe in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; when they deſtroyed the flour mills, ſeized on corn, and other neceſſaries of life, which they ſold at a moderate price, and delivered the money to the owners. In ſome places they were much more violent; for, inſtead of taking the above method of ſupplying their wants, they ripped open the ſacks, and ſcattered the corn about, ſeized butter, cheeſe, and bacon, in the ſhops, which they threw into the ſtreets, and behaved in the moſt outrageous manner to the proprietors of the goods they thus demoliſhed.

To prevent the dreadful conſequences that were likely to enſue on this account, a proclamation was publiſhed on the 11th of September for putting in execution the laws againſt foreſtalling, regrating and engroſſing of corn. And on the 23d of the ſame month two other proclamations were publiſhed; by the firſt of which an embargo was laid on all veſſels laden, or to be laden, with wheat or flour for exportation, till the 14th of November; and the other prohibited the diſtilling of ſpirits from wheat.

On the evening of the 1ſt of October her royal highneſs Caroline Matilda, youngeſt ſiſter to his majeſty, was married to the king of Denmark, at the chapel royal at St. James's, the duke of York being proxy for the Daniſh king. The next morning her majeſty ſet out from Carlton-houſe for Harwich, accompanied by his royal highneſs the duke of Glouceſter, the right honourable lady Mary Boothby, and count de Bothmar, her majeſty's vice-chamberlain. The next day her majeſty embarked with her whole retinue, and on the 18th landed at Altena, amidſt the acclamations of her new ſubjects.---Her marriage portion was 100,000l.

The parliament met on the 18th of November, when his majeſty repaired to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The high price of wheat, and the defective produce of that grain laſt harveſt, together with the extraordinary demand for the ſame from foreign parts, have, principally, determined me to call you thus early together; that I might have the ſenſe of parliament, as ſoon as conveniently might be, on a matter ſo important, and particularly affecting the poorer ſort of my ſubjects.

"The urgency of the neceſſity called upon me, in the mean time, to exert my royal authority for the preſervation of the public ſafety againſt a growing calamity, which would not admit of delay. I have, therefore, by and with the advice of my privy council, laid an embargo on wheat and wheat flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken thereupon.

"If further proviſions of law be requiſite or expedient, with regard to the dearneſs of corn, ſo neceſſary to the ſuſtenance of the poorer ſort, they cannot eſcape the wiſdom of parliament, to which I recommend the due conſideration thereof.

"At the ſame time I muſt with concern take notice that, notwithſtanding my cares for my people, a ſpirit of the moſt daring inſurrection has, in divers parts, broke forth in violences of the moſt criminal nature.

"Neceſſary orders have been given for bringing ſuch dangerous offenders to condign puniſhment and ſpeedy juſtice; nor ſhall vigilance and vigour on my part be wanting to reſtore obedience and reverence to law and government.

"I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, that ſince I laſt met you I have concluded a treaty of commerce with my ſiſter the empreſs of Ruſſia, whereby that conſiderable branch of trade is fixed on a juſt and ſatisfactory footing.

"It is with pleaſure I alſo acquaint you, that the marriage between my good brother the king of Denmark, and my ſiſter the princeſs Caroline Matilda, has been ſolemnized, and the natural alliance between the two crowns happily ſtrengthened by an additional tie of ſo agreeable a nature.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the current ſervice of the year to be laid before you. Such ſupplies as you may grant ſhall be duly applied, with the utmoſt fidelity and ſtricteſt regard to the object for which they were granted.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The general poſture of affairs in Europe affords no occaſion to lay any thing new before you on that head. My purpoſes are conſtant, and to maintain, on my part, the public tranquillity inviolate, and to ſupport the dignity of my crown and the rights of my ſubjects. The wiſdom and juſtice of the other great powers of Europe leave no room to apprehend any intentions of a contrary nature."

As the miniſtry had been recently changed, great oppoſition was made to every thing propoſed by adminiſtration. Nay, ſome of the diſcarded went ſo far as to attempt to palliate, and even excuſe, the rioters, who had made ſuch diſturbances in different parts of the kingdom. However, it was agreed upon, by a great majority in both houſes, that addreſſes of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, in anſwer to his ſpeech, which being done, they adjourned till after the holidays.

A. D. 1767. The firſt object that attracted the notice of parliament this ſeſſions was the ſtate of the Eaſt-India company, which was now become extremely rich, and actually exerciſed a ſovereign authority over their ſettlements. To all wiſe miniſters ſuch a circumſtance muſt have been very alarming; and therefore a committee was appointed to examine into the affair. The charter of the company was ordered to be produced, and that a perfect knowledge might be obtained of every thing relating to their tranſactions, they were obliged to deliver up to the houſe the originals of ſuch treaties as they had entered into with the princes in the Eaſt-Indies; and alſo an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the ſupport of the company.

This was a moſt mortifying affair for the proprietors of Eaſt-India ſtock; and what was ſtill worſe, all theſe papers were printed and publiſhed. The queſtion ſtated by adminiſtration was, "What right "had the Eaſt-India company to territorial juriſdic-"tion?"

By their charter they were even excluded from making any conqueſts; and yet it was certain that they had ſubdued ſeveral of the princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own ſettlements. It was urged further, that ſuch powers veſted in a corporate body of merchants was inconſiſtent with the nature of government, derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the generality of the ſubjects. That if the government was to ſupport them, then all thoſe acquiſitions of territory became the property of the crown, otherwiſe a ſyſtem would take place ſimilar to that in the feudal law, where regalities were eſtabliſhed, and the chief enjoyed a commutative juriſdiction with the ſovereign. That ſuch practices would contribute towards the promoting confuſion among all ranks of ſubjects, and might, in the end, lead us back to a ſtate of barbarity, equal to that in which our predeceſſors were five hundred years ago.

On the other hand, thoſe who contended for the rights of the company, argued in the following manner. They ſaid, that the words of the charter were general, and, therefore, the notion of acquiſitions was implied by inferences drawn from conſequences, without an aſſigned ſpecification. That by ſuch a chain of reaſoning, all the new ſettlements made in America, beyond thoſe that were ſpecified in the charters, might be claimed by the crown, although it was evident that they were private property. That people who went to ſettle in foreign parts, eſpecially among uncultivated ſavages, were obliged, for their own ſafety, to extend the bounds of their territories; and if the government is at ſome trifling expence in ſupporting them, it is no more than what they owe to the ſubjects in general. It was further urged, that if the crown had any claim on the company, the courts of law were open, where there was not the leaſt doubt but juſtice would be done to all parties; and as the houſe of commons was not a court of judicature, ſo it had no right to meddle with points of law, nor could it decide on any legal privileges. That if ever ſuch an event ſhould take place, as that of the commons aſſuming a power to judge in matters of law, it would prove fatal to the ſubjects in general, who would chuſe that their reſpective properties ſhould be intruſted in other hands.

The diſputes were carried on with great warmth by both parties, and the reſult was, that the company ſhould, during the ſpace of two years enſuing, pay a certain ſum to the government; and that no dividend of their ſtock ſhould be made without the conſent of a general court of proprietors.

On the 24th of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament. [*]

With reſpect to public affairs on the continent of Europe, this year, an event took place little expected, and which ſurprized moſt people. It is well known that Italy, once the ſeat of learning, has been for many ages the mother and nurſe of ſuperſtition; and from thence originated all thoſe ridiculous ceremonies that debaſed the Chriſtian religion, and made it reſemble the groſſeſt paganiſm, for ſuch is the nominal worſhip performed in popiſh churches, that a ſtranger would conſider it in much the ſame light as the idolatry of the antient heathens.

For ſome time popery had been loſing ground in thoſe countries where it is by law eſtabliſhed, and encreaſing where it was prohibited, owing to the diſgrace into which the jeſuits had brought themſelves. That ſociety had been eſtabliſhed above two hundred years, and in that time had riſen to ſuch fame, that they became objects of jealouſy, and even reſentment to the other orders. It is true, they were become ſo affluent, that even princes might have looked upon them as dangerous rivals; but that was not the ſole cauſe of their ruin. It had been a conſtant practice with princes, and other great men, to make them their confeſſors; and it is well known, that he who acts the part of a confeſſor to a prince, may, with propriety, be conſidered as his prime miniſter. All ſecrets had been truſted with them, and as ſome of them were, at the ſame time confeſſors to thoſe in oppoſite intereſts, jealouſies took place; and the king of Portugal having been attacked in his carriage, in conſequence of a plan laid by theſe fathers, reſolved to baniſh them out of his dominions. This happened ſeveral years before the period we are now treating of, and Spain followed the example of Portugal, by baniſhing them out of all their dominions, whether in Europe or America.

It might reaſonably have been imagined that they would have found an aſylum in Italy, and it is true, the did ſo for ſome time; but during the former part of this year they were baniſhed from Naples and Parma, and all their eſtates confiſcated. Under various characters, ſuch as thoſe of tutors, clerks, ſurgeons, &c. many of them have ſettled in proteſtant countries: but it is to be hoped, that parents and guardians will take care to prevent youth from being ſeduced by them.

In Ruſſia, the empreſs had ſummoned all the learned men in her empire to aſſemble at Moſcow, in order to compile a code of laws, which was the more neceſſary, as many of the provinces conſiſted of ſubjects governed by different laws, and theſe frequently claſhing with each other contributed towards injuring claimants to private property, and retarded the regular courſe of diſtributive juſtice.

The attention of the people in Europe was, this year, particularly directed to Corſica, an iſland in the Mediterranean, almoſt adjoining to the iſland of Sardinia. It is extremely fertile and populous, and ſome centuries ago had been given by the pope to the republic of Piſa; but the Genoeſe took it, and for many years treated the inhabitants in the moſt arbitrary and cruel manner. The ſpirit of liberty, however, was not extinct, it wanted only the breath of a hero to kindle it; and ſuch a one was found in the perſon of the famous Paoli, a native of the iſland, but had travelled into other countries, where he had learned the art of war. The prudence and valour of that hero will be tranſmitted to the lateſt ages, but we ſhall ſee in the ſubſequent part of this work, that overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to abandon the iſland.

On the 24th of November his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told the members that he had aſſembled them at ſo early a period, that they might have time to deliberate with ſteadineſs and judgment; and in particular he recommended to them the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the price of proviſions.

A. D. 1768 [†]. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion (in the courſe of which 112 public and private bills received the royal aſſent) being brought to a concluſion, on the 10th of March his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and in a moſt gracious ſpeech returned thanks to the parliament for the many ſignal proofs they had given him of their affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government: and concluded with the following words:

"In the approaching election of repreſentatives, I doubt not but my people will give me freſh proofs of their attachment to the true intereſt of their country; which I ſhall ever receive as the moſt acceptable mark of their affection to me. The welfare of all my ſubjects is my firſt object. Nothing therefore has ever given me more real concern, than to ſee any of them, in any part of my dominions, attempting to looſen thoſe bonds of conſtitutional ſubordination, ſo eſſential to the welfare of the whole, but it is with much ſatisfaction that I now ſee them returning to a more juſt ſenſe of what their own intereſt, no leſs than their duty, indiſpenſably requires of them; and thereby giving me the proſpect of continuing to reign over an happy, becauſe a united people."

The parliament was then prorogued to the laſt day of the month; but on the 12th of April it was diſſolved by proclamation.

We have already obſerved that Mr. Wilkes had retired to France. By his long reſidence there, and not appearing to the indictments laid againſt him, he was declared an outlaw. Previous, however, to the general election he returned to England, and, to the great aſtoniſhment of the public, declared himſelf a candidate to repreſent the city of London in parliament; but loſt his election. He then ſet up for the county of Middleſex, and on the 28th of March was elected by a prodigious majority. On the 20th of the ſame month he ſurrendered himſelf to the court of King's-bench, and on the 27th was committed to the King's bench priſon. Some time after, his trial came on in that court, and being found guilty, the following ſentence was pronounced on him: "That for "the republication of the North-Briton, No. 45, he "ſhould pay a fine of 500l. and be impriſoned ten "calendar months: and for publiſhing the Eſſay on "Woman, that he ſhould likewiſe pay a fine of 500l. "and be impriſoned twelve calendar months, to be "computed from the expiration of the term of the "former impriſonment; and that he afterwards find "ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, "himſelf to be bound in the ſum of 1000l. and two "ſureties in 500l. each."

---

[*] On the twenty-ſeventh of September captain Wrotteſly arrived from Monaco with the melancholy news, that his royal highneſs Edward Auguſtus, duke of York and Albany, died at that place, on the 17th of the ſame month, about eleven in the morning. His royal highneſs's diſorder was a malignant fever, in which he lay fourteen days. The body was opened and embalmed; after which it was put on board his majeſty's ſhip, Montreal, to be brought to England; where it arrived on the firſt of November, and, on third, was interred in the royal vault in king Henry the VIIth's chapel.

[†] This year began with a very ſevere froſt, which greatly contributed to the calamity of the lower ſort of people, who were already much diſtreſſed from the exorbitant price of proviſions. On the 9th of January the river below bridge bore all the appearance of a general wreck, ſhips, boats and ſmall craft lying in a very confuſed manner, ſome on ſhore, and others ſunk or overſet by the ice. A fiſhing boat was diſcovered near Deptford creek jammed in by the ice, and all the people in it frozen to death; one of whom, a youth about ſeventeen, was found ſitting erect as if alive.

The general election was carried on with great heat, and violent conteſts enſued in many parts of the nation. Nor did the diſorders, which this occaſion gave riſe to, ſubſide with it. A general murmuring and diſſatiſfaction prevailed among the lower claſs of people, partly occaſioned by the high price of proviſions, and partly from other cauſes. The riotous aſſemblies of the weavers, coal-heavers, and ſailors, kept the capital and its environs in continual alarm. From ſome unknown cauſe, juſt at this time, when it was moſt wanted, the civil power ſeemed to loſe its force and energy, and too frequently give occaſion for the dangerous interpoſition of a military force in its ſupport: the unhappy effects of which are ſtill recent in the minds of the greater part of the preſent age.*

On the 10th of May† the members of the new parliament were ſworn in and took their ſeats in the houſe: and the following day the commons, having re-choſen Sir John Cuſt for their ſpeaker, preſented him to the lords commiſſioners for their approbation, who were pleaſed in his majeſty's name to approve their choice. After which the lord chancellor opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"In purſuance of the authority given us by his majeſty's commiſſion under the great ſeal, amongſt other things, to declare the cauſes of your preſent meeting, we are, by the king's command, to acquaint you, that his majeſty has not called you together at this unuſual ſeaſon of the year, in order to lay before you any matters of general buſineſs, but merely to give you an opportunity of diſpatching certain parliamentaay proceedings, which his majeſty's deſire of providing, at all events, for the welfare and ſecurity of his good ſubjects, makes him wiſh to ſee completed as ſoon as poſſible, and with that diſpatch which the public convenience, as well as your own, requires.

"His majeſty at the ſame time, has commanded us to aſſure you of his perfect confidence in this parliament; and that he has the ſtrongeſt reaſon to expect every thing from their advice and aſſiſtance, that loyalty, wiſdom, and zeal for the public good, can dictate or ſuggeſt."

A joint addreſs was preſented by the lords and commons to his majeſty, beſeeching him to exert his authority for quelling the diſorders and tumults which prevailed to ſo alarming a degree; at the ſame time aſſuring his majeſty that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts which might enable him to maintain the public authority, and carry the laws into due execution; and ſoon after an end was put to this ſhort ſeſſion.

On the 11th of Auguſt the king of Denmark arrived at St. James's, to viſit his royal brother-in-law, our ſovereign. He was attended by moſt of his great officers of ſtate, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to him by all ranks of people. But nothing leſs than the moſt unbounded diſſipation ſeemed to have taken place. His Daniſh majeſty gave orders for a maſquerade, which was one of the moſt magnificent ever ſeen in England; and while the preparations for it were going on, he viſited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Mancheſter; and, on his return to London, coming through Oxford, he was met by the whole univerſity in proceſſion. When he came to the ſenate-houſe, the public orator complimented him in a moſt elegant Latin ſpeech, to which his majeſty replied in the ſame language. He was then preſented with a diploma, as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in his honarary robes along with the doctors and regents. In the beginning of October, his majeſty left England; and, much about the ſame time, ſeveral changes took place in the Engliſh miniſtry; for certain it is, that the political ſtate of this country had, for ſeveral years, been of a very fluctuating nature.

The other affairs in England not being very intereſting,

---

* Of all the diſturbances that occaſioned public attention at this time, the moſt fatal was that which happened in St. George's Fields on the 10th of May, and which evinced the raſh violence exerciſed againſt the people on account of their attachment to Mr. Wilkes, then a priſoner in the King's Bench. The particulars of this remarkable affair were as follow:

The parliament being to aſſemble on that day, great numbers of people aſſembled about the priſon, in expectation that Mr. Wilkes would, on that account, obtain his liberty, and intending to conduct him to the houſe of commons. Finding themſelves diſappointed, they grew tumultuous, and a party of the third regiment of guards was ſent for. The riot was greatly increaſed by a paper, that had been ſtuck againſt the wall of the priſon, which was forcibly taken down by one of the juſtices for the Borough. The populace inſiſted on having this paper, which the juſtice not regarding, the tumult became exceeding violent; the drums beat to arms, and the riot act was read, during which great quantities of ſtones and bricks were thrown by the populace. William Allen, a young man, ſon of Mr. Allen, keeper of the Horſe-ſhoe inn in Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, being purſued, along with others, was unfortunately ſingled out, followed by three ſoldiers, and ſhot dead. Theſe meaſures not having any tendency to diſperſe the mob, an additional number of the guards was ſent for, as alſo a party of horſe-grenadiers; but the people growing ſtill more numerous, they were fired upon by the ſoldiers, when five were killed on the ſpot, and about fifteen wounded. Among the latter were two women, one of whom afterwards died in St. Thomas's hoſpital.

The following day an inquiſition was taken by the coroner for Surry, on the above William Allen, when the jury gave their verdict, that Donald Maclaine was guilty of wilful murder, and Donald Maclaury and Alexander Murray (the laſt of whom was commanding officer) were aiding and abetting therein. This inqueſt was held at the houſe of Mr. Allen; and it appeared on examination that the deceaſed was only a ſpectator, and, on ſeeing ſome perſons run, he ran alſo, but was unhappily miſtaken, and followed by the ſoldiers into a cow-houſe, where he was ſhot. Maclaury and Murray were admitted to bail, but Maclaine was committed to priſon for the murder. He was afterwards tried at the Surry aſſizes at Guildford, and acquitted.---Two other inquiſitions were taken in the Borough on perſons killed by the ſoldiers in this riot; one on the body of Mary Jeffs, who having a baſket with oranges, was ſhot in removing them; the other, on one William Bridgman, who was ſhot on the top of a hay-cart, as he was looking at the fray at a diſtance; on both theſe inquiſitions the jury brought in their verdict, Chance Medley.

† On the 19th, after a long and painful illneſs, her royal highneſs the princeſs Louiſa Anne, daughter of her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales, and ſecond ſiſter to his preſent majeſty, paid the great debt of nature. On the 22d, after laying in ſtate that day, the royal corpſe was interred in Henry the VIIth's chapel.

tereſting, we ſhall now take notice of the moſt material tranſactions that happened, during the courſe of this year, on the continent.

In the month of Auguſt the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa, of a very extraordinary nature, and ſuch as ought to have been oppoſed by all the maritime ſtates in Europe. The brave Corſicans ſtill continued to defend thoſe rights which the Genoeſe ſought to deprive them of; and the latter deſpairing of ever bringing them into ſubjection, agreed to give up that valuable iſland to the French king, upon condition of his ſending an army thither to ſubdue the people. It was really ſurpriſing that other nations ſhould have ſuffered ſuch a treaty to be put in execution; for if a war ſhould break out, the French would have an opportunity of ſending a ſwarm of privateers from Corſica, and to this iſland they could bring their prizes without being obliged to ſail to Marſeilles; ſo that the trade along the ſouth and weſt coaſt of Italy would be wholly their own.

In America great diſturbances happened on account of ſome duties having been laid on glaſs, ſalt, and other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the ſtamp-act would have given ſome ſatisfaction to theſe people, but they ſtill inſiſted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themſelves.

At Boſton, the people met in a large body, and entered into ſeveral reſolutions not to import any goods of a ſuperfluous nature, but to attend to the ſtricteſt œconomy, both in dreſs and furniture. A ſubſcription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the eſtabliſhment of new ones. This was done to elude the payment of the duties upon ſuch articles as ſhould be ſent from England; and, at the ſame time, an aſſociation of gentlemen from all the old colonies was formed, in order to propoſe the moſt likely means to be uſed in preventing Engliſh acts of parliament from being put in force there, or in any other of the American provinces, or the Weſt-Indies.

The freeholders, and, in general, all the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay, had placed the greateſt confidence in their repreſentatives, and there was a continual conteſt between them and their governor. The earl of Shelburne had ſent over a letter to the governor, complaining of theſe abuſes, and it was read in the open aſſembly of the repreſentatives. This occaſioned moſt violent debates; and ſome of the members went ſo far as to declare, that the governor had miſrepreſented their conduct to the miniſtry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on the ſubject, vindicating themſelves, and throwing the whole blame on the governor. At the ſame time, the merchants of Boſton ordered their agent to repreſent to the lords of the treaſury, that unleſs theſe duties, which had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be deſtroyed, as they ſeemed to them contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with their charter. Their repreſentations occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of a new officer, who was to act as ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies in America; and the firſt perſon made choice of was the earl of Hillſborough, at that time firſt lord of trade. The firſt thing done by his lordſhip, was to ſend circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majeſty was highly diſpleaſed at the conduct of the people, as it was apt to create confuſion, and throw every thing into the utmoſt diſorder. He ſaid, that their conduct in oppoſing the legiſlative power of Great Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to ſuch practices, the government would be overturned, and no regard paid to the laws. He concluded by recommending to them to preſerve the public peace, by puniſhing all diſorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere oppoſition in words, or in ſcandalous libels, they were to treat them with contempt.

Governor Barnard had diſſolved the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and new ones being choſen, it was inſiſted on by him, that they ſhould make a public act to diſapprove of the conduct of the late aſſembly. This was going too far; becauſe, unleſs repreſentatives are left free to act according to the will and orders of their conſtituents, they do not deſerve the name. They deſired to ſee a copy of the governor's inſtructions, which was granted them, and, to their ſurprize, they found, that in caſe they refuſed to comply, they were to be diſſolved, and an account of their conduct ſent to England, in order to be laid before the next ſeſſions of parliament.

This ſet the whole nation in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to paſs a cenſure on the conduct of the laſt aſſembly, ninety-two voted againſt it, and no more than ſeventeen for it. The reſt of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almoſt every where not to take any goods from England, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary.

The diſcontents among the people of Boſton now broke out into open violence: for a ſhip having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any regard to the new laws by which the new cuſtoms were to be regulated, the officers made a ſignal to the Romney man of war, who ſent her boats; and having cut down the maſts of the trading veſſel, hawled her along-ſide of the king's ſhip. This was ſo ſeverely reſented by the populace, that they roſe in great numbers, demoliſhed the houſes of the cuſtom-houſe officers, and laying hold of the commiſſioner's boat, dragged it on ſhore, and then ſet it on fire.

While theſe diſorders continued in the town, the governor diſſolved the aſſembly; but that had not the deſired effect, for the diſturbances increaſed every day, ſo that two regiments were ſent over from Ireland to ſupport the civil power. Their place of rendezvous was to be at Hallifax, in Nova-Scotia; and no ſooner had the people of Boſton received news that they were landed at that place, than they met, and choſe a preſident among themſelves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reaſon, or with what view, his majeſty's forces were to be ſent among them. They deſired, at the ſame time, that a general aſſembly might be ſummoned to meet; but he refuſed to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer, and only told them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and ſubmit quietly to the laws. He added, that as they ſeemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he muſt freely tell them, that unleſs they ſubmitted to the government, he ſhould be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this time he refuſed to receive any meſſages from them; upon which they ſent a long detail of their grievances to London, in order to be laid before the miniſtry. In the mean time, the tranſports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houſes of townſmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor that they ſhould have barrack proviſions, ſo as to be as little burthenſome to the people as poſſible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general ſatisfaction to ſuch of the people as were moderate in their ſentiments; but notwithſtanding, a great majority were ſtill diſcontented. They could not behold without jealouſy, an armed force quartered among them in time of peace; for, with reſpect to their late combinations, they conſidered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

In the Eaſt-Indies, during the latter end of the laſt, and the beginning of this year, things began to aſſume a new form; and it was even feared that a revolution would take place much to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, whoſe ſtock was now advanced to a ſurpriſing height. Hyder Ally, a perſon who had ſerved ſome time as a common ſoldier, having received ſome affront from his officers, left the army, and raiſed a choſen band of followers, with a view of driving the Engliſh out of all their ſettlements in that part of the world. Although brought up in the moſt humble ſtation, yet, like Tamerlane, or Caius Marius, he had all the qualities of a great general, which were only obſcured for want of a proper opportunity of diſplaying them to public view.

Such was the character of the man with whom the Engliſh had now to contend, and it muſt be acknowledged, that it required the greateſt ſkill to oppoſe him. He had conquered ſeveral provinces on the coaſt of Malabar, and, upon the whole, was conſidered as one of the moſt formidable princes in the eaſt. He was ſenſible, however, that the Eaſt-India company would be ſo powerfully ſupported, that policy muſt be added to force, otherwiſe he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his ſchemes. Accordingly, he brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his intereſt; and having raiſed a large body of forces, prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's ſervice, was ſent to oppoſe this formidable alliance; and a moſt deſperate engagement enſued, in which Hyder Ally diſcovered all the courage and conduct of the braveſt general. He made his diſpoſitions with ſo much prudence, that it was no eaſy matter to attack him; ſo that colonel Smith, in order to avoid the force of his cannon, which galled the company's troops on the right, marched to a riſing ground on the left, and ſo turned his lines. The Aſiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at laſt they gave way, and the Engliſh continued purſuing them with great ſlaughter. All their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the Engliſh, beſides a vaſt quantity of treaſure; and the Nizam perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, made peace with the company. This, however, did not put an end to the war; for Hyder Ally finding himſelf deſerted by the Nizam, transferred the ſeat of war into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was well acquainted with all the paſſages and defiles, and could defend himſelf even againſt ſuperiority of numbers.

During the latter part of this year, the war was carried on with great violence in Corſica: for although the French had landed there with a numerous army, the brave iſlanders diſputed the ground with them inch by inch. Paoli had ſome hopes of aſſiſtance from England, and, for that purpoſe, ſent notice of his diſtreſs to our miniſtry by one Mr. Boſwell, a young gentleman with whom he had become acquainted while on his travels: but no aſſiſtance being given him, he had nothing to depend on beſides the juſtice of his cauſe and the bravery of his countrymen. At firſt, the French obtained ſome very conſiderable advantages; but the Corſicans killed ſuch vaſt numbers of them in ſtraggling parties, that had they not been reinforced by freſh ſuccours continually ſent to them, the whole army that firſt landed would have been totally cut off. The Corſicans concealed themſelves in buſhes and caves near the roads where the enemy were to paſs, and galled them ſo much, that many of them deſerted, while ſuch as fell into the hands of the Corſicans as priſoners were inſtantly put to death. Some perſons may be apt to blame the conduct of the Corſicans on this occaſion, as inconſiſtent with the law of nations; but whoever does ſo, muſt be unacquainted with the peculiarity of their circumſtances. They had been ſo much oppreſſed by the Genoeſe, that they had, conſiſtent with the opinions of the beſt writers on natural law, aſſerted their own freedom; and when the republic of Genoa found that they could not again reduce them to a ſtate of ſubjection, they gave them up to the French, as if they had been a parcel of ſheep or oxen. The French, upon their landing in the iſland, commanded all the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and take an oath of allegiance to their ſovereign, otherwiſe they were to be treated as rebels. Thus theſe innocent people, knowing that no mercy was to be ſhewn to ſuch of themſelves as were taken priſoners, reſolved to treat the French in the ſame manner, and ſell their lives and liberty as dear as poſſible. Such was the ſtate of the Corſicans: and their putting the French priſoners to death was no more than an act of retaliation, which ſtands juſtified by Grotius, Budin, Locke, and Puffendorff.

Paoli, who ſtill hoped for aſſiſtance from England, as well as from ſome of the other European powers, called an aſſembly of the Corſican chiefs, and aſked their opinion concerning the moſt proper methods to be uſed in the proſecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had cauſed to be diſtributed throughout the iſland; but no ſooner did the chiefs perceive that they were looked upon as vaſſals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thouſand pieces.

Although this campaign was but ſhort, yet ſo great was the loſs the French ſuſtained, that, notwithſtanding the new reinforcements which were daily ſent them, they were on the point of being totally routed. Adjoining to Corſica are ſame ſmall iſlands; and as the harbours of them were ſafe and commodious, ſo the Corſican privateers prevented, in a great meaſure, the enemy from receiving ſuch ſupplies as had been ſent them from France. This induced the French, in the month of November this year, to embark a conſiderable body of forces on board thirteen tranſports, in order to attack theſe ſmall iſlands.

Their firſt attack was made on the iſland of Pietra; but although they made good their landing, they were repulſed with great loſs by a few Corſicans, who, animated by the love of liberty, fought like lions. From thence the French proceeded to Iſola Boſſa, another iſland, where the Corſicans were driven from their poſts; but no ſooner had they recollected themſelves, and recovered from their firſt ſurprize, than they faced about, and not only recovered the poſts they had loſt, but drove the enemy, with great ſlaughter, back to their ſhips. Above 900 of the French were killed in this fruitleſs expedition, and their general began to deſpair of ever taking the iſland. But we muſt now return to Britain.

The Engliſh miniſtry were thrown into ſome confuſion by the death of Mr. Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer, a gentleman of great natural parts, univerſal erudition, and a perfect knowledge of the conſtitution. Indeed, the miniſtry were far from being popular, and ſome parts of their conduct ſeemed to border on weakneſs; ſo that it was neceſſary that a perſon ſhould be made choice of, who would be able, by a firmneſs of temper, to add ſome luſtre to their fading characters. In conſequence of that reſolution, lord North was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townſhend paymaſter of the forces, earl Gower preſident of the council, lord Weymouth one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr.

Rigby was appointed one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland.

The parliament met on the 24th of November, when his majeſty went to the houſe, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his wiſhes that the parliament would proſecute the conſideration of thoſe great commercial intereſts which had been entered upon before, but which the ſhortneſs of the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament had prevented from being brought to a final concluſion. He obſerved, that it would have given him great ſatisfaction could he have aſſured them that all the other powers of Europe had been as careful as himſelf to avoid taking any ſtep that might endanger the general tranquillity: that he had received repeated aſſurances of their pacific diſpoſitions towards this country; which ſhould not, however, divert his conſtant reſolution, ſtedfaſtly to attend to the general intereſts of Europe. He then took notice of the conduct of the Americans, and obſerved, that the capital of one of the colonies was in an actual ſtate of diſobedience, having proceeded to meaſures ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and attended with circumſtances that manifeſted a diſpoſition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain; but that he did not doubt, with their aſſiſtance and concurrence, of being able to defeat the miſchievous deſigns of thoſe turbulent and ſeditious perſons, who, under falſe pretences, had too ſucceſsfully deluded numbers of his ſubjects in America; and whoſe practices, if ſuffered to prevail, could not fail to produce the moſt fatal conſequences to his colonies immediately, and in the end to all the dominions of his crown. He aſſured them, that the relief the laſt plentiful harveſt had afforded the poor, gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction, and exhorted them to conſider of ſuch meaſures as would prevent a return of the like calamity. And laſtly, he recommended a ſpirit of harmony among themſelves, as a conduct that would be attended with the moſt ſalutary conſequences both abroad and at home.

The only material thing the parliament did previous to their breaking up for the holidays was, to bring in a bill to prevent the exportation of corn for a limited time, which, after long debates in both houſes, paſſed into an act, to the great ſatisfaction of the poor in general.

A. D. 1769. The parliament having again aſſembled on the 19th of January, the firſt thing they took into conſideration was, the ſtate of public affairs in America. A petition was preſented, ſigned by Mr. Danforth, preſident of the council at Boſton, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was penned in the moſt modeſt manner, with a promiſe, that if theſe acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compenſation, by taxing themſelves. Great debates aroſe in both houſes concerning the petition, thoſe of the antiminiſterial party making uſe of the ſame arguments which had been urged in the debate concerning the ſtamp-act.

The lords agreed to addreſs his majeſty on the American affairs; and their reſolution being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both. By theſe reſolutions it was declared, that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament, were illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majeſty. It was farther reſolved, that the town of Boſton was in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, diſturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obſtructed in the diſcharge of their duty, and their lives endangered: that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary magiſtrates, had exerted their authority for ſuppreſſing theſe riots and tumults; and that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the aſſiſtance of a military force to ſupport the civil power, and protect the officers of the cuſtoms: that the reſolutions of the town meetings in Boſton were unconſtitutional, and calculated to excite ſedition and inſurrection againſt the government. It was alſo agreed to by both houſes, that all thoſe who had written circular letters to the other colonies, were guilty of a high indignity to the crown, and that they had committed a daring inſult on the legiſlative power of Great Britain. In the end, his majeſty was deſired to iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe orders, according to the ſtatute 30th of Henry VIII. The debates on this occaſion, with reſpect to his majeſty granting writs of habeas corpus, to bring over the perſons concerned in the riots, to be tried in England by virtue of ſpecial commiſſions, was ſtrongly and learnedly oppoſed in both houſes. It was ſaid by thoſe who oppoſed the bill, that the laws already made for the preſervation of the Britiſh rights over the colonies, were ſo complete, that there was no reaſon for an amendment; that the miniſtry, having loſt all credit with the people, wanted to make the cauſe of the Americans their own, by eſtabliſhing their authority on the ruin of the colonies: that, with reſpect to bringing priſoners over from America, to be tried here for crimes ſuppoſed to have been committed there, was contrary to the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution. A man charged with a crime in England is uſually tried in the county where it is ſaid to have been committed; for this reaſon, that thoſe who carry on the proſecution may have it in their power to produce proper evidence, and that the accuſed perſon may likewiſe be able to vindicate himſelf, if innocent. But if an American was brought over here to be tried, it would be next to impoſſible for him to produce one ſingle witneſs, although he might be entirely innocent. If an American has committed any breach of the laws, let him be tried there, where juſtice can be done to both parties. It was farther urged, and repreſented as a ſtrange meaſure on this occaſion, to drag out of obſcurity an obſolete law, which was a diſhonour to the ſtatute-books: that it was made during the reign of a tyrant, to ſerve the moſt arbitrary purpoſes, becauſe our conſtitution of government had not then arrived at a ſtate of perfection: that when the above act was made, we had not one colony in America, for it had then only been recently diſcovered; and that it would be much to the honour of the legiſlative power, to expunge from the records all ſuch iniquitous ſtatutes as that already mentioned: that it was the duty of all thoſe in power to promote the intereſts of the people, both at home and abroad; but if the above meaſure was carried into execution, it would increaſe the ſeditions complained of in the colonies, and, conſequently, injure the trade of the mother country. They concluded by calling upon the miniſtry to produce the perſon who had adviſed his majeſty to put the above act in force.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by thoſe who oppoſed adminiſtration, and certainly they were very rational, and conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our moſt excellent conſtitution. The miniſtry were ſo ſenſible of the error they had committed, that they became weak and languid in their anſwers. They referred back to the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and imputed all the troubles which had happened in America to the ill-judged lenity ſhewn on that occaſion: that nothing but the vigorous uſe of coercive authority could ever reduce them to obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity of their dependence on the mother country: that unleſs this meaſure was adopted, the moſt flagrant acts of treaſon and rebellion, with all other public crimes, might be committed with impunity: that ſuch crimes had been already committed, and being attended with ſeveral circumſtances of an aggravating nature, the perpetrators were not objects of compaſſion: that, with reſpect to there being no colonies in America when the act of Henry VIII. was made, it did not in the leaſt apply to the argument in hand, for the act was made for the trial of all his majeſty's ſubjects who ſhould happen to commit crimes in any part of the world. For example; ſuppoſing a ſhip being at anchor near an iſland not belonging to Britain, and two perſons going on ſhore, fight, and one of them is killed; then, by the above act, a ſpecial commiſſion is granted by the king for the trial of the offender, in whatever country he pleaſes. And, in proof of this doctrine, they mentioned an inſtance of a man of war lying at anchor in the Baltic in 1720; and a quarrel happening between the lieutenant and the ſurgeon, they went on ſhore, fought, and the former was killed. Upon the ſhip's arrival in England, a ſpecial commiſſion was granted for the trial of the ſurgeon, who being found guilty, was executed at Tyburn. They concluded by taking notice, that the revival of the act was not to promote puniſhment, but to preſerve peace; and that the coloniſts, ſeeing the vigorous meaſures which the government intended to purſue, might be brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. Such were the hopes of adminiſtration at that time; but experience, as will appear in the ſequel, has convinced us, that they were wrong in their conjectures.

While the parliament were debating on the affairs of America, Mr. Wilkes publiſhed a letter, written by lord Barrington, ſecretary at war, to the juſtices of the county of Surry, to which he prefixed an introduction that gave great offence to the houſe of lords, who voted it "an inſolent, ſcandalous, and "ſeditious libel, tending to inflame and ſtir up the "minds of his majeſty's ſubjects to ſedition, and to a "total ſubverſion of all good order and legal government." The lords then complained to the commons, who confirmed the vote of the peers, expelled Mr. Wilkes their houſe, and ordered a new writ to be iſſued for the county of Middleſex: Mr. Wilkes was, however, unanimouſly re-choſen, and again expelled by the commons, who at the ſame time declared him incapable of being a member of that houſe.

On the 13th of April a new election for the county of Middleſex came on at Brentford. The candidates were, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Luttrell, Mr. ſerjeant Whitaker, and Mr. Roach, when Mr. Wilkes had a majority of 847 votes: notwithſtanding which he was rejected by the houſe of commons, and Mr. Luttrell declared duly elected. No public meaſure, ſince the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, had excited ſo general an alarm, or cauſed ſo univerſal a diſcontent as the preſent, nor was ever oppoſed with more firmneſs, or debated with greater ability. At the ſame time a great number of maſterly writings were publiſhed, ſo that the affair was thoroughly diſcuſſed both within doors and without.

On the 9th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction. He applauded them in the warmeſt manner for having attended with ſo much care to the intereſts of the people, and the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, which had been ſo frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the country. He added, that he had done all he could to bring about a negotiation between the Turks and Ruſſians, to no purpoſe; but he hoped the calamities of war would not extend to any other parts of Europe. He thanked the commons for having ſo generouſly contributed towards ſupporting the dignity of government; and promiſed, that, in the whole of his conduct, he would attend to the moſt regular œconomy. Finally, he concluded, by recommending to them to promote peace among their neighbours, ſo that public juſtice might not be obſtructed, and a proper regard might be paid to the laws.

On the 24th of May the freeholders of Middleſex, who thought themſelves particularly injured by the deciſion of the houſe of commons againſt Mr. Wilkes, in favour of Mr. Luttrell, preſented a petition to the king; the ſubſtance of which was as follows:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, beg leave, with all affectionate ſubmiſſion and humility, to throw ourſelves at your royal feet, and humbly to implore your paternal attention to thoſe grievances of which this county and the whole nation complain, and thoſe fearful apprehenſions with which the whole Britiſh empire is moſt juſtly alarmed.

"With great grief and ſorrow we have long beheld the endeavours of certain evil-minded perſons, who attempt to infuſe into your royal mind notions and opinions of the moſt dangerous and pernicious tendency, and who promote and council ſuch meaſures as cannot fail to deſtroy that harmony and confidence, which ſhould ever ſubſiſt between a juſt and virtuous prince, and a free and loyal people.

"For this diſaffected purpoſe, they have introduced into every part of the adminiſtration of our happy legal conſtitution, a certain unlimited and indefinite diſcretionary power; to prevent which is the ſole aim of all our laws, and was the ſole cauſe of all thoſe diſturbances and revolutions which formerly diſtracted this unhappy country; for our own anceſtors, by their own fatal experience, well knew, that in a ſtate where diſcretion begins, law, liberty and ſafety end. Under the pretence of this diſcretion, or, as it was formerly, and has been lately called, *law of ſtate*, we have ſeen, &c.

Then follow a long catalogue of grievances relative to infringements on the conſtitution, from the firſt proſecution of Mr. Wilkes, to his being expelled the houſe of commons as member for Middleſex: after which the petition concludes thus:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"Such are the grievances and apprehenſions which have long diſcontented and diſturbed the greateſt and beſt part of your majeſty's loyal ſubjects. Unwilling, however, to interrupt your royal repoſe, though ready to lay down our lives and fortunes for your majeſty's ſervice, and for the conſtitution, as by law eſtabliſhed, we have waited patiently, expecting a conſtitutional remedy by the means of our own repreſentatives: but our legal and free choice having been repeatedly rejected, and the right of election now finally taken from us by the unprecedented ſeating of a candidate who was never choſen by the county, and who, even to become a candidate, was obliged fraudulently to vacate his ſeat in parliament, under the pretence of an inſignificant place, invited thereto by the prior declaration of a miniſter, that whoever oppoſed our choice, though but with four votes, ſhould be declared member for the county. We ſee ourſelves, by this laſt act, deprived even of the franchiſes of Engliſhmen, reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, and left without hopes or means of redreſs but from your majeſty or God.

"Deign then, moſt gracious ſovereign, to liſten to the prayer of the moſt faithful of your majeſty's ſubjects; and to baniſh from your royal favour, truſt, and confidence, for ever, thoſe evil and pernicious counſellors, who have endeavoured to alienate the affection of your majeſty's moſt ſincere and dutiful ſubjects, and whoſe ſuggeſtions tend to deprive your people of their deareſt and moſt eſſential rights, and who have traiterouſly dared to depart from the ſpirit and letter of thoſe laws which have ſecured the crown of theſe realms to the houſe of Brunſwic, in which we make our moſt earneſt prayers to God, that it may continue untarniſhed to the lateſt poſterity."

The city of London, and moſt of the counties in England followed the example of Middleſex, and preſented petitions and remonſtrances to the throne; but the only anſwer they all received was, that his majeſty would not do any thing without the conſent of his parliament.

This year the pope died at Rome in a very advanced age, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Ganganelli, who aſſumed the name of Clement XIV. He had been brought up, from his moſt early youth, for the church; and was an enemy to all combinations among princes, which tend to prolong civil diſturbances. He endeared himſelf to the people of Rome, by iſſuing orders for lowering the prices of proviſions; and he ſuppreſſed the cuſtom, ſo long in uſe with his predeceſſors, to oblige all foreign ambaſſadors to kiſs their toe.

A. D. 1770. The parliament met on the 9th of January, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which not the leaſt notice was taken of the petitions and remonſtrances from the different counties relative to the Middleſex election. The chief things principally pointed out were, the diſtracted ſtate of America, and the diſtemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to their ſerious attention, as a thing of the utmoſt importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a moſt dreadful calamity to the nation in general; and it was recommended to everyone to exert themſelves in endeavouring to put a ſtop to the infection, before it ſhould ſpread any farther.

This ſpeech was ſeverely handled by the public in general, who thought that nothing ſhould have been ſo much touched on as the petitions and remonſtrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom, eſpecially as the exiſtence of the diſtemper among the horned cattle was not believed to be of ſo univerſal a nature as had been inſinuated and repreſented.

Before any buſineſs of importance was undertaken, ſome very remarkable changes took place in the miniſtry. The ſeals were taken from Lord Camden, and the honourable Charles York was created chancellor in his room, but he died within three days afterwards; and then the chancery was put into commiſſion, the ſeals being delivered to baron Smythe, and the juſtices Bathurſt and Aſton. The marquis of Granby reſigned all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort reſigned the place of maſter of the horſe to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the ſtole; and the duke of Mancheſter, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bedchamber. Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, reſigned at the ſame time, owing to his infirm ſtate of health; and Sir Fletcher Norton, a gentleman who had made a very diſtinguiſhed figure at the bar, was choſen in his ſtead. The duke of Grafton alſo reſigned the place of firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by lord North, who had been ſome time chancellor of the exchequer.

The firſt thing that came before the commons was an enquiry into the validity of the Middleſex election; but after warm debates it was held, by a conſiderable majority, that no court of law was to meddle with any of their rules and orders. This meaſure aſtoniſhed the whole nation, and many perſons began to look upon the houſe of commons as a ſtanding council for the crown. Nor was this important ſubject agitated with leſs heat in the houſe of lords. The earl of Chatham with lord Camden, and many other peers, oppoſed it with great ſtrength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law books, and parliamentary journals, that no ſuch ſtep had ever been taken, not even in the moſt deſpotic reigns. But notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, miniſterial intereſt prevailed, and the proceedings of the houſe of commons, in the affair of the Middleſex election, were all juſt and equitable.

A motion was made to bring in a bill to diſqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members of parliament. It was ſaid by thoſe who ſupported the motion, that at the revolution the produce of the cuſtoms and exciſe were both extremely ſmall, nor was there at that time any probability that they would ever amount to the enormous ſum of ſix millions ſterling, as they then actually did. To this they attributed the inattention of the patriots of that age, who, if they had foreſeen the unconſtitutional weight that muſt have been thrown into the ſcale on the ſide of the crown, by the appointment of officers to collect ſo vaſt a revenue, they would undoubtedly have taken proper and effectual meaſures to prevent the dangerous influence which it muſt afford, in the election of repreſentatives for the people.

On the other ſide it was urged, that the bill was altogether unneceſſary, and in its own nature extremely cruel. That it was no leſs than the disfranchiſing a great number of men who had long enjoyed that privilege; and as the motion then ſtood, it might extend to all the officers under the crown. It was added, that no evidence had been ſo much as ſuggeſted of an undue influence uſed by the crown, and therefore the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

The popular party, having loſt this motion, deſired that all the papers, containing a liſt of the expences of government, ſhould be laid before them. It was ſaid in ſupport of the motion, that the civil-liſt revenue, if miſapplied, inſtead of maintaining the dignity of the crown, ſerved only to beſiege it with paraſites; and in the place of promoting arts and induſtry, to ſubvert the liberties of the people. That though the funds allotted for this purpoſe were fully adequate, not only to every neceſſary, but to every liberal expence, that was proper to ſupport the dignity of the regal character; yet neither the greatneſs of the fund, nor the confeſſed œconomy of the times, were ſufficient to prevent an enormous debt from being contracted, and the people from being applied to for more money, at a time when men in the kingdom were of opinion that too much had been granted already.

That neceſſary expences had been much more conſiderable in the latter reign than the preſent, becauſe the branches of the royal family were then grown up, and conſequently demanded larger allowances. The journies to the continent, however expedient, were frequent, and at all times expenſive; and none would pretend to ſay, that magnificence was not as well underſtood, and perhaps better ſupported, than at preſent; yet his late majeſty not only lived within the bounds of the civil-liſt, but a ſum of 175,000l. wholly ſaved from that revenue.

That it was neither intended nor wiſhed, to limit the crown to a ſalary inadequate to its real dignity and greatneſs; for if it ſhould appear that the money had been ſpent in promoting uſeful purpoſes, thoſe who made the motion will be the firſt to give their approbation. But if on the contrary, it ſhould appear that the money had been ſquandered away among time-ſerving wretches, who ſought to ruin their country, then thoſe who adviſed ſuch meaſures ſhould be called to a ſevere account.

To this it was anſwered by thoſe who ſtood up for the miniſtry, that if an application had been now made for an additional ſum to make good any deficiency in the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, an enquiry into the cauſes of it would be natural and juſtifiable; and it would be but reaſonable, that the miniſtry, in ſuch a circumſtance, ſhould give the utmoſt ſatisfaction to the people; nay, that it was even their duty to do ſo, and ſhew the reaſons why the proviſion already made was not ſufficient; but till ſuch a requiſition was made, it would be improper and very diſreſpectful to the crown, to ſcrutinize into the manner in which the money for the ſupport of the royal family had been expended. It was urged farther, that a certain ſum of money was allowed annually for the ſupport of the civil-liſt, and while the expences do not exceed that ſum, there can be no reaſon for making any enquiry. They concluded by taking notice, that as the civil liſt was the property of the crown, his majeſty had a right to diſpoſe of it in whatever manner he pleaſed. At laſt, the motion being put, it was rejected by a great majority.

This affair being ended, the next thing was, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the colonies in America. A petition had been preſented by the merchants trading to North America, ſetting forth the great hardſhips they laboured under in conſequence of an act, by which a duty had been laid on ſome trifling articles exported from Great Britain; and this had ſo much enraged the people, that they refuſed to purchaſe the goods, after they had been ſent there at a conſiderable expence. This affair being of a very ſerious nature, the houſe took it into conſideration, and repealed every part of it, except what related to tea, which was ſtill continued. The debates concerning this bill were managed by great force of argument on both ſides, for the popular party ſought a repeal of the whole, while the miniſtry inſiſted, that the Americans, inſtead of deſerving any ſuch indulgence, ought to have had more ſevere laws binding upon them.

While the greateſt part of the nation was agitated by reflecting on the conſequences that would reſult from theſe meaſures; while individuals were ſeeking to promote their private intereſts, and the government to eſtabliſh its authority, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by one of the leading men in the oppoſition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally juſt and popular, and in which all the ſubjects of Great Britain were more or leſs concerned. It will be proper to make the reader acquainted with the nature of this bill, that he may be the better able to judge of its utility, and how far ſuch a law was, in a manner, abſolutely neceſſary.

It had been the cuſtom formerly, in all conteſted elections, to refer the matter to a ſelect committee of the moſt learned and upright members in the houſe; and, in general, their opinion was ſeldom called in queſtion; but in time the committees had been enlarged, and all who came in having votes, a ſhameful partiality prevailed, which in the end induced thoſe, who thought themſelves injured, to apply for remedy at the bar of the houſe.

This method, however, was found to be very defective, and attended with many inconveniences, owing principally to the vaſt number of thoſe who were to try the cauſe in diſpute; and who, beſides being biaſſed by the ties of private friendſhip, were not bound by any oath to prevent ſuch influence from operating on their minds.

At the ſame time, the method of trying theſe cauſes at the bar became an obſtacle to many branches of public buſineſs, eſpecially in the laſt ſeſſions of a new parliament, when there was ſcarce time to attend to any thing elſe. It was at the ſame time very diſagreeable to the members themſelves, who were continually teazed with applications in favour of both candidates, that they would give their attendance, and although it was not ſaid that they were to vote contrary to truth and equity, yet their attendance was conſidered as equivalent to their approbation. To all this it may be added, that as the miniſtry have always a majority on their ſide to ſupport them in all their meaſures, ſo if they chuſe to ſtand up in defence of any one of the candidates, they can, by promiſes and threatenings, get a ſufficient number to vote him the ſitting member.

To remedy theſe defects this bill was brought in, and the plan of it was conſiſtent with the firſt principles of the conſtitution. When a petition was to be preſented, a day was to be fixed for hearing both parties, who were to attend with their witneſſes and council; and if one hundred members were not preſent, then they were to wait till ſuch time as ſo many were preſent; when the names of the whole, although they ſhould exceed that number, were to be put into ſix boxes or glaſſes, to be drawn alternately and read by the ſpeaker, till forty-nine are choſen; the ſitting member and the petitioner being allowed to chuſe one each. Liſts were then to be given to the ſitting member, the petitioner, councils, witneſſes, &c. who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and ſtrike off one alternately till the number ſhould be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two named by the parties, were to make a committee to determine the affair in diſpute. Such was the nature of this new bill, and it muſt be acknowledged that nothing could be more juſt or equitable for the freedom of elections, and every meaſure uſed to prevent corruption and bribery muſt at all times be the life of the British *conſtitution*.

While the houſe of commons were engaged on this grand ſubject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and agreed upon another petition, addreſs and remonſtrance, for redreſs of grievances in the affair of the Middleſex election. In this addreſs it was expreſsly declared, that the houſe of commons had acted in the moſt unconſtitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be diſſolved; that they might be left at liberty to make a free choice. In anſwer to this, his majeſty told them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and conſent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their requeſt.

Violent diſputes aroſe in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expreſſions were made uſe of on both ſides. It was ſaid that the citizens of London were the ſupport of the government on every occaſion; that it had been the cuſtom, time immemorial, to conſult them on the moſt important matters; to which the miniſtry anſwered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, except ſuch as was in its own nature improper to be granted.

Towards the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament ſeveral propoſals were made in the houſe of lords relative to the ſtate of affairs in America, which were chiefly ſupported by the duke of Richmond. Theſe were introduced by ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration. He ſaid, that the ſtate of America had been recommended from the throne in a ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, and yet the ſeſſion was near ſpent without any thing being done, though the buſineſs was of the utmoſt importance. The miniſtry were now ſenſible that they had been too raſh in recommending the care of America before any ſettled plan had been laid down; and therefore, perplexed to the utmoſt, they ſaw no other method left, but that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued.

On the 19th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he applauded both houſes for the zeal they had ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation. He aſſured them, that he ſhould, on all occaſions, ſeek the happineſs of his people; and that it ſhould be the ſole object of his care, to watch over their intereſts. He concluded, by recommending to them the preſervation of public peace, and the diſcountenancing of tumultuous meetings of the people, which, if encouraged, muſt end in general confuſion.

Soon after the riſing of the parliament, advices were received from America of a violent tumult that had happened at Boſton, occaſioned by a quarrel between the ſoldiers and the journeymen and apprentices belonging to the rope-makers, in which the former unfortunately fired among the latter, whereby ſome were killed, and others wounded. Different accounts of this tranſaction were ſent to England, but one from captain Preſton, who happened that day to be captain of the guard, ſeems to be the moſt authentic.

He obſerved, that it was matter of too great notoriety to need proofs, that the arrival of his majeſty's troops in Boſton was extremely obnoxious to its inhabitants. That the people ever uſed all means in their power to weaken the regiments, and to bring them into contempt, by promoting deſertions, and by groſly and falſly propagating untruths concerning them. That on the arrival of the 64th and 65th regiments, their ardour ſeemingly began to abate; but that the ſame ſpirit revived immediately on its being known that thoſe regiments were ordered for Halifax. That after their embarkation, one of their juſtices, from the ſeat of juſtice, declared, "That the ſoldiers muſt now take care of themſelves, nor truſt too much to their arms, for they were but an handful." That this alarming declaration was ſucceeded by ſeveral diſputes between the towns-people and ſoldiers of both regiments; and that on the 2d of March two ſoldiers of the 29th going through a rope-walk, belonging to one Gray, the rope-maker inſultingly aſked them, if they would empty a vault. That this had, unfortunately, the deſired effect, by provoking the ſoldiers, blows enſued, and both parties ſuffered greatly in the fray. That the hatred of the inhabitants towards the troops had now arrived to ſuch an height, that the 5th and 6th of March were privately agreed on for a general engagement; in conſequence of which, ſeveral of the militia came from the country, armed, to join their friends, threatening to deſtroy any who ſhould oppoſe them. That on the 5th, about 8 o'clock at night, two ſoldiers were attacked and beat. That about nine, ſome of the guard informed him (captain Preſton) that the inhabitants were aſſembling to attack the troops, that the bells were ringing as a ſignal, and not for fire, and that they intended to fire the beacon in order to bring in the diſtant people of the country. That, upon this intelligence, being captain of the day, he immediately repaired to the main guard, and in his way ſaw the people in great commotion. That, ſoon after, about an hundred paſſed him, and went towards the cuſtom houſe, where the king's money was lodged, ſurrounded the centinel poſted there, and with clubs and other weapons threatened to execute their vengeance on him. That he (captain Preſton) fearing their plundering the king's cheſt, ſent a non-commiſſioned officer and twelve men to protect both the centinel and the king's money, and followed himſelf to prevent diſorder. That the ſoldiers ruſhed through the people, and by charging their bayonets in a half circle, kept them at a diſtance. That the mob then increaſed greatly, and were very outrageous, ſtriking bludgeons againſt each other, and calling out, "Come out you raſcals, you bloody "backs, you lobſter ſcoundrels; fire if you dare; "fire and be damned; we know you dare not;" with much more ſuch opprobrious language. That they then advanced to the points of the bayonets, ſtruck ſome of them, and even the muzzles of the pieces, and ſeemed to be endeavouring to cloſe with the ſoldiers. That ſome well behaved perſons then aſked him (captain Preſton) if he intended to fire? That he anſwered, no; but while he was ſpeaking, a ſoldier, having received a ſevere blow with a ſtick, inſtantly fired. That he immediately reprimanded him, and while he was thus engaged received a moſt violent blow on his own arm. That a general attack was then made on the men by heavy clubs and ſnow balls; and ſome perſons from behind cried out, "Damn your "bloods, why don't you fire?" That inſtantly three or four of the ſoldiers fired, one after another, and directly after, three more in the ſame confuſion and hurry. That the mob then ran away, except three unhappy men who inſtantly expired, in which number was Mr. Gray, at whoſe rope walk the prior quarrel took place. That one more was ſince dead: three were dangerouſly, and four ſlightly wounded. That on his (captain Preſton's) aſking the ſoldiers why they fired without orders? they ſaid, they heard the word "Fire," and ſuppoſed it came from me.

Captain Preſton concludes his account in the following words: "On the examination before the juſtices "they have ſworn that I uſed the word Fire, and ſo "bitter and inveterate are the malcontents againſt the "officers and troops, that I am, though perfectly in"nocent, under moſt unhappy circumſtances, having "nothing in reaſon to expect but the loſs of life in a "very ignominious manner, without the interpoſition "of his majeſty's goodneſs."

This gentleman was, ſome time after, tried at Boſton, and honourably acquitted.

The attention of the people was now principally engaged in an affair of a very ſingular and ſuſpicious nature. About 4 o'clock in the morning of the 27th of July a moſt dreadful fire was diſcovered to have broke out in the great dock-yard at Portſmouth. It burnt with the moſt rapid fury, and communicating itſelf with the hemp-houſe and other offices, conſumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of ſome vile wretch and incendiary, has not yet been diſcovered, and perhaps never will. Some impoſtors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who, ſince that time, has been tranſported for perjury, and the other, whoſe name was Britain, has been ſince executed for forgery. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this fatal affair was, the fire was diſcovered in five different places at once, which gave ſtrong ſuſpicions that more than one perſon muſt have been concerned; for accidental fires generally break out in one place only. Had this accident, or whatever it was, happened during the heat of the war, it might have proved fatal to the nation in general; for the whole loſs, amounting to 149,888 l. could not have been made good without great difficulty, till ſuch time as the parliament met. But even ſuppoſing one individual could have advanced it, yet the time neceſſary for replacing the ſtores might have given the enemy an opportunity of doing us the moſt irreparable injuries.

During the courſe of this year the wretched inhabitants of Corſica felt all the ſeverity of a French deſpotic government. Many of them ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, and ſuch of them as were taken were inſtantly put to death. Some of them were tranſported to France; but this was little more than ſhifting the ſcene; for as in Corſica they beheld the ruin of their country, ſo in France they ſaw a whole nation of people ruined. But here their ſufferings did not end; for ſuch as were brought to France, after a journey of 600 miles on foot from Marſeilles to Breſt, were put on board ſeveral veſſels, and ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt-Indies.

This year a war was likely to have broke out between Great Britain and Spain, the cauſe of which, with the previous particulars, were as follow:

In the year 1592 captain Davies, who commanded an Engliſh man of war, ſailed to the South Seas, where he diſcovered ſome iſlands, ſince called Falklands; but little notice was taken of them for more than a century, till commodore Anſon, in his voyage round the world, diſcovered the importance they would be of to us, if properly cultivated. Accordingly, ſoon after the late peace, when lord Anſon was at the head of the admiralty, he mentioned the affair in council, and it was propoſed to ſend out ſome frigates to viſit them. This ſcheme, however, was not ſo well conducted, but the Spaniards got notice of it before it could be carried into execution; and ſuch remonſtrances were made by their ambaſſador at our court, that it was again laid aſide.

It was again revived, and in 1764 commodore Byron was ſent out with a ſmall ſquadron to make diſcoveries, and, if poſſible, eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Patagonia. During that voyage, he took poſſeſſion of Falklands iſlands in the name of his Britannic majeſty, with all the forms uſed on ſuch occaſions.

Much about this time the French, ſtimulated by their loſſes during the war, undertook an expedition of a ſimilar nature, namely, to make diſcoveries in the South Seas; and the care of it was committed to one M. de Bougainville, colonel of a regiment of foot. This gentleman entered into this adventure with all that life and ſpirit ſo peculiar to his countrymen. Having fitted out a frigate of twenty guns, with a ſloop to carry proviſions, he took on board 100 ſeamen, and about 150 people, who choſe to try their fortune in that part of the world. The French ſhips ſet ſail from St. Malo, and arrived at the Canaries, where they were kindly received by the Spaniards, who gave them every ſort of aſſiſtance. From thence they proceeded to the river Plata, and took in freſh proviſions, the Spaniards ſtill continuing to treat them with every mark of reſpect. At length, they came to Falklands Iſlands, where they formed an eſtabliſhment, and built a ſmall fort.

Theſe French adventurers had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes from the diſcovery of theſe iſlands, but they did not anſwer their expectations; for it coſt them more money to ſupport their ſettlements than the profits ariſing from it could afford; ſo that they gave it up to the Spaniards in the moſt formal manner.

Theſe iſlands are ſituated in latitude 51 ſouth, and about 100 leagues on this ſide the ſtreights of Magellan. The ſettlement, which had been given up by the French to the Spaniards, was on one of the iſlands that lay to the weſt, and was called Port Solidad; and Port Egmont, belonging to the Engliſh, was one of the iſlands to the eaſtward. It is not certainly known, that theſe ſettlers knew of each other for ſome time, and certain it is, that in commodore Byron's account of them, he mentions nothing of any ſettlement but the Engliſh one at Port Egmont. However, in the year 1769, we had a frigate and a ſloop upon that ſtation, and captain Hunt, in the Tamar frigate, being on a cruiſe, fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Solidad, and according to his orders, commanded the Spaniſh captain to depart, becauſe theſe iſlands were the property of Great Britain. In two days afterwards, the captain came on board the Tamar frigate with a letter to captain Hunt, written by the governor of Port Solidad, telling him, that if he had been driven in there by ſtreſs of weather, he was ready to give him every aſſiſtance; but if he came there in violation of the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties, he had far better depart immediately. Captain Hunt, not in the leaſt intimidated with theſe threatenings, aſſerted the right his Britannic majeſty had to theſe iſlands, and warned him to depart from them, giving him ſix months for that purpoſe. The Spaniſh officer entered a formal proteſt againſt captain Hunt, and declared, that if he offered any inſult to the ſettlement at Port Solidad, or removed from theſe iſlands, he ſhould conſider it as a breach of the peace, and tranſmit an account thereof to Spain. Soon after this affair, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence that they wanted freſh water; and the commander in chief ſent notice to captain Hunt, that he was aſtoniſhed to ſee the Engliſh flag hoiſted in an iſland that belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. He charged captain Hunt with violating the peace; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would ſend an account thereof to Spain, that his maſter might aſſert his right to thoſe iſlands which had been made over to him by treaty.

Captain Hunt ſtill continued to found his poſſeſſion on the claim of right, juſtified his conduct by the orders of his ſovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart from theſe iſlands. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, and were ſupplied by our people with water: the captain and officers behaved with civility, but they declined going on ſhore, though they were ſeveral times invited. As theſe tranſactions ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture, captain Hunt ſet ſail for England, and arriving at Plymouth on the 3d of June, ſent an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty. The Swift and Favourite ſloops of war, each bearing 16 guns, were left to take care of the ſettlement; but the Swift having ſailed as far as the ſtreights of Magellan, was overſet, and ſuch of the crew as could get into the boat undertook a voyage of three weeks, which brought them to Port Egmont, after experiencing an innumerable variety of hardſhips. Five Spaniſh frigates arrived at Port Egmont, and captain Farmer, not doubting but they came with hoſtile intentions, reſolved to be upon his guard. He accordingly hoiſted his flag, which the Spaniſh commodore ſeeing, fired two ſhots, and being aſked what were his reaſons for ſo doing, he ſaid they were only by way of ſignals.

In the mean time captain Farmer wrote to the Spaniſh commodore, that as he had received the refreſhments he wanted, he was obliged in the name, and by the authority of his maſter, to command him to depart, and totally evacuate all thoſe iſlands known by the name of Falklands. In anſwer to this letter, the commodore put captain Farmer in mind of his great power, and how eaſy it was for him to deſtroy their defenceleſs ſettlement. He begged that he and the other Engliſh officers would not force him to any extremities, but depart quietly from the place, as the iſlands belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. Next day he wrote again, both to captain Farmer and captain Maltby, telling them, that if they would depart peaceably, they ſhould have leave to take all they had along with them from the ſettlement, and what they could not take, he ſhould give them a receipt for, that the whole affair might be ſettled by their reſpective courts. But on the other hand, if they refuſed to comply, he would, contrary to his inclinations, be obliged to obey his orders, by attacking their ſettlements both by ſea and land, and that he would ſpread deſolation every where before him; for he had, under his command, a large body of marines, beſides a train of heavy artillery.

He concluded by aſſuring them, that if they did not, in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter, give him a plain and favourable anſwer, he would immediately commence hoſtilities, and at the ſame time deſired them to think of the dreadful conſequences which their obſtinacy would be productive of to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty.

To theſe, and all his other menaces, the Engliſh captains returned for anſwer, that words are not always conſidered as acts of hoſtilities; and that they could not believe that he would, in a time of profound peace, when the greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between the two nations, put his threats in execution: that they did not doubt, but he was thoroughly convinced, that the king of Great Britain, their maſter, was capable of demanding ſatisfaction throughout every part of the globe where any inſult was offered to his flag; and therefore they were, in conſequence of their orders, obliged to defend the place to the laſt extremity. Accordingly, the Spaniſh commodore ordered the frigates to row cloſe to the ſhore, directly oppoſite the Block-houſe, where there was only a ſmall battery; and at night captain Maltby brought fifty ſeamen, belonging to the Favourite, on ſhore, with two ſix pounders, ten ſwivels, and a quantity of ſmall arms and ammunition. Next morning, part of the Spaniſh troops and artillery landed about a mile to the northward of the Block-houſe; and when they had advanced about half a mile, the reſt of the boats, with the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spaniſh frigates, and rowed right in for the cove, being covered by the fire from the frigates, whoſe ſhot went over the Block-houſe. The Engliſh ſeamen, who were then on ſhore, fired ſome ſmall ſhot, but ſeeing the utter impoſſibility of defending the ſettlement, and the Spaniards having broke through all the limits of peace, even to the actual commencement of hoſtilities, ſo that their conduct could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers, as they had judiciouſly led them to this open avowal of their conduct, and had, at the ſame time, ſupported the honour of their own country, as far as the means in their power would admit of, with the ſame propriety, preferred ſaving the valuable lives of their people; and leaving the injury to be redreſſed by thoſe in power, they thought it moſt prudent to hang out a flag of truce, in order to know what terms of capitulation the Spaniſh commodore would grant.

All the conditions which he would grant were, that the Engliſh ſhould immediately, or as ſhort as poſſible, ſo that it did not exceed 40 days, remove from the ſettlement, and what ſtores they left behind them ſhould be produced as ſoon as orders for that purpoſe arrived from Spain. This was one of the greateſt inſults, perhaps, that had ever been offered to the Britiſh flag; but the Engliſh, who had not ſtrength ſufficient to defend themſelves, were obliged to comply, and in September arrived at Portſmouth.

The navy of Great Britain was then in a very indifferent ſtate, and political debates ran ſo high, that people in general were diſſatisfied with the conduct of the miniſtry. Preſs warrants had been iſſued for raiſing ſeamen, but the legality of them was, in ſeveral places, called in queſtion. In the city of London, Mr. Croſby, the lord-mayor, refuſed to back the preſs warrants; Mr. alderman Wilkes diſcharged a man who had been impreſſed; and although the opinion of council was taken on this important ſubject, yet, among the more ſenſible and judicious, the practice itſelf was looked upon as inconſiſtent with the nature of the Britiſh conſtitution.

In the mean time, ſuch as were averſe to a war, or dreaded the conſequences of it, looked back with reſentment to the laſt peace, and to thoſe who had adviſed the making of it. All the arguments made uſe of in defence of it were treated with the utmoſt contempt, and the whole was conſidered as a meaſure which, in its conſequences, muſt for ever diſhonour the Britiſh nation. Indeed, many ſober perſons, whoſe minds were free from paſſion or prejudice, and who, judging of the diſputes between the rival nations only by the ſame equitable and diſintereſted principles which ſhould at all times take place between private perſons, had not, at that time, in general, diſapproved of the conditions of peace, could not now refrain from the utmoſt indignation, at beholding the flagrant inſult we had received from an enemy we had ſo lately in our power to chaſtiſe, and from thinking that thoſe who ſaid, that the fruits of one of the moſt glorious and ſucceſsful wars mentioned in hiſtory, had been bartered away for an inglorious and inſecure peace, had but too much reaſon on their ſide; and therefore there was no wonder that the people ſhould find fault with the meaſures of adminiſtration.

In this ſtate of anxiety, doubt, and expectation, all people longed, in the moſt eager manner, for the meeting of parliament. No change had taken place in adminiſtration during the receſs; and as lord North had ſucceſsfully weathered all the ſtorms of the winter, ſupported by a prodigious majority in both houſes, he ſeemed now to be as ſecurely fixed in his ſeat at the head of the treaſury, as the precarious circumſtances of the times would admit of. The ſtate of the different parties in oppoſition had not hitherto ſuffered any material change. The death of Mr. Grenville, which happened in the beginning of November, having left that party to which he belonged without a leader, ſome of the moſt ſanguine in oppoſition went over to the court. The party that adhered to the marquis of Rockingham, and who were called the Whig party, ſtill adhered to their formal principles: and ſuch as were attached to the earl of Chatham, earl Temple, and the earl of Shelburne, conſiſting of a mixture of whigs and tories, generally coincided with the Rockingham party.

The parliament met on the 13th of November, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, that the Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres had acted in ſuch a manner as was inconſiſtent with the honour of Great Britain, and demanded the utmoſt ſatisfaction: that, under theſe circumſtances, an immediate demand had been made for proper ſatisfaction, in conſequence of the injury received: that the neceſſary preparations had been made, without loſs of time, in order to be enabled to obtain juſtice, in caſe the requiſition to the court of Spain ſhould fail in procuring it. An aſſurance was given that theſe preparations ſhould not be diſcontinued, until proper reparation had been made; and that ſufficient proofs ſhould be given, that all other powers on the continent diſapproved of ſuch proceedings. He ſaid he had called them together ſo early, that they might be ready to aſſiſt him with the beſt of their advice, and provide for the honour and ſecurity of the nation. With reſpect to the colonies in America, it was obſerved, that many of the factious people had deſiſted from thoſe combinations into which they had inadvertently entered, and which had been attended with many fatal conſequences to their peaceable fellow ſubjects: that the people of Boſton, and, in general, the inhabitants of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, could not yet be brought into a proper ſtate of obedience, but continued in carrying on the ſame violent and unwarrantable practices as before. He added, that the eſtimates for the preſent year would naturally exceed the former; and that it would be neither conſulting the inclinations nor the intereſts of his people, if they ſhould decline any expence that ſhould ſeem neceſſary towards promoting the national honour: that as to foreign meaſures, no doubt was held, that there could be any other conteſt, than who ſhould appear moſt forward in ſupport of the common cauſe, in upholding the reputation, and promoting the proſperity of the kingdom. He concluded by telling them, that the crown had no intereſt ſeparate from that of the people; that they were all members of the ſame body, and, conſiſtent with the order of nature and the laws of ſociety, they muſt ſtand or fall together.

The addreſſes were the moſt ſpirited that had been preſented for ſome years; and the moſt unreſerved aſſurances were given, that every degree of requiſite ſupport ſhould be chearfully granted. The moſt unreſerved confidence was placed in his majeſty, that he would never be induced, by a miſtaken tenderneſs for the preſent eaſe of the people, to ſacrifice their more eſſential and laſting intereſts. The commons concluded by a declaration, that if any hopes had been conceived, or it ſhould have been any where ſurmiſed that there were any ſuch differences ſubſiſting among the people, as could, in the leaſt degree, abate the ardour of their affectionate attachment to his majeſty, or prevent their joining, as one man, in maintaining unſullied the luſtre of the crown, and preſerving undiminiſhed the rights of the people, they would, by their proceedings, convince the world how falſe and ſcandalous all ſuch ſurmiſes were; and make it manifeſt that, whenever they were called upon in the cauſe of their king and country, there would be but one heart and one voice among them.

Notwithſtanding theſe addreſſes were carried by a great majority, there aroſe conſiderable debates upon them. It was ſaid by thoſe in oppoſition, that as one inſult is always the forerunner of others, ſo the preſent outrage offered by Spain was a natural conſequence of our paſſive and ſhameful conduct with regard to Corſica: that the ſpeech was an oſtentatious diſplay of miniſterial conduct, and the addreſs an approbation of it: that before ſuch a public approbation was given, it was neceſſary to know what that conduct had been, which merited ſuch applauſes: that it was neceſſary to know what the Spaniards had done, and what previous information our miniſtry had received of their deſigns: that by our conduct for twelve months paſt, it ſeemed as if we had not an enemy in the world; and yet, by the ſpeech, it was evident that a war was apprehended: the bad ſtate of our navy, and the defenceleſs manner in which the valuable iſland of Jamaica was left, were much inſiſted on, and with great force of argument: that, independent of any private intelligence, the accounts publicly avowed to have been received on the third of June, that the Spaniards had warned our people to depart from their ſettlement on Falklands Iſlands, was, in itſelf, a ſufficient indication of their ill deſigns, and of what was naturally to follow; but between that and the 22d of September, when our people brought the account of the inſult on our flag, what had been done to put us in a ſtate of ſecurity at home, or enable us to protect our dominions abroad? Were the regiments completed, or was the navy manned and put in a proper condition? None of all theſe things were done, and yet we are to return thanks to the miniſtry, not for any thing, but only becauſe they have not done ſomething worſe than we are yet acquainted with.

It was farther inſiſted, that while the rights of the people were violated at home, it was abſurd to expect ſuch unanimity among them as was neceſſary to ſupport the honour of the nation againſt any foreign power. That part of the ſpeech which mentions the governor of Buenos Ayres, was moſt ſeverely cenſured, and even ridiculed, both without and within doors. It was ſaid, Why ſhould an officer, who acted only under command, be conſidered, inſtead of the king his maſter, as the principal in an injury offered to this great nation? The anſwer is evident; the ſame temporizing, mean and cowardly policy prevails, which beheld the ſeizure of Corſica, in defiance of faith and of treaties; and now hopes, under this ſubterfuge, to find ſome means of prolonging its exiſtence, though at the price of the national honour and dignity.

Upon the whole, it was aſſerted, in poſitive terms, that the conduct of our miniſtry had neither been honeſt in the deſign, nor able in the execution; they had loſt the confidence of the people, and yet imagined they would ſupport them: that they had threatened the colonies with unrelenting ſeverity, in purſuit of an unconſtitutional meaſure, and yet ſuppoſe that we ſhall ſuffer nothing from an alienation of their affection: that Ireland was ruled with a rod of iron, and yet they conſtantly declared that they were not making ſtrides towards arbitrary power. Laſtly, that, with reſpect to the deſigns of our enemies, they had been totally blind and improvident, and yet we were in danger.

In anſwer to this it was ſaid by thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the miniſtry, that all Europe, friends as well as enemies, were attentive to, and would found much of their opinion upon the iſſue of the preſent day: that the ſentiments contained in the addreſs would ſerve nearly as much as our military preparations, to intimidate Spain, by convincing them, that whatever differences in opinion, or even tranſient animoſities, might occaſionally ſubſiſt among us, yet we have but one heart and one hand againſt the common enemy: that an addreſs was a compliment to the throne, and not the approbation of a miniſter; and that if a miniſter had acted amiſs, there were other methods of enquiry and cenſure well known, and which would involve no other character; but that the preſent objections were meant as an invidious attack on the crown: that nothing could be more abſurd than the idea, that any private differences, diſcontents, or political ſquabbles among ourſelves, could operate in ſuch a manner upon the minds of the people, as to prevent their defending their own rights and intereſts, as well as the dignity of the crown, againſt any confederacy of our enemies: that no man would ſit ſtill, while his eſtate was ravaged, or his houſe burned, through his diſlike to the manner in which public affairs were conducted: that therefore, if any domeſtic quarrels ſtill exiſted, it would be time enough to adjuſt them when the common danger was removed: that the charge of alienating the colonies is ſo far from being well founded, that the reverſe is the fact; and, except a part of one inconſiderable province, they have been brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, by a ſpirit and prudence which do equal honour to adminiſtration. The charge of not arming ſooner, and of making it a crime that ſome of our Weſt-India iſlands were liable to danger, would, upon examination, it was ſaid, appear equally groundleſs: that the truth was, the nation could not have been armed ſooner; our fleets cannot be fitted out, except when our trade is at home, or juſt coming home, as ſailors are not to be had at any other time; and that it is well known, that the trade was not at home, nor near coming home, in the preſent inſtance. As the miniſtry, therefore, could not arm effectually, it was an act of the greateſt prudence not to excite a general alarm by attempting it, which would have been a ſignal to our enemies to have done the ſame, as they are not under the ſame diſadvantages, to have effected that, which we could only have attempted; whereas now we are upon an equal footing, if not before them.

As to the other charge, it is only to aſk, Whether there can be a poſſibility of undertaking to ſecure every part of the Britiſh dominions, in their whole extent, from every ſudden blow that might be given in caſe of a war; and if there is, what given number of troops would be required to anſwer ſuch an undertaking? It was ſaid, that our character for courage was too well, and too generally eſtabliſhed, to leave any room for our being concerned about it; and as war was never deſirable while peace could be preſerved with ſecurity and honour, therefore it was right to leave an opening, whereby the king of Spain might, if he choſe it, withdraw himſelf with honour, and, by diſavowing the act of his ſervant, avoid the alternative of a war, or of making diſagreeable conceſſions, and of acknowledging himſelf the author of a raſh and haſty meaſure.

The addreſs being carried and preſented, the duke of Richmond in the houſe of lords, and Mr. Dowdeſwell in that of the commons, both made motions, that all the papers which had been ſent to the miniſtry ſhould be produced, but this the miniſtry would by no means comply with. In defence of their conduct, they ſaid, that we were now engaged in a negotiation of the utmoſt importance with the kingdom of Spain, by which it was expected that matters would be brought to an accommodation; that the honour and happineſs of two great nations were now at ſtake, and that if the papers were produced, it would, in a great meaſure, contribute towards making all Europe acquainted with ſecrets which ought to be concealed till the event they related to had taken place.

That if it had been prudent on our own account to unlock the Engliſh cabinet to all Europe, yet it would have been very wrong to betray the ſecrets of the king of Spain; that they were now treating with us, and a rude publication of what was delivered in ſecrecy, muſt at once put an end to all amicable intercourſe; that the king of Spain had openly diſavowed of the conduct of his ſervant, and promiſed the moſt equitable ſatisfaction; that by acting with temper and prudence we might avoid the horrors of a long, bloody and expenſive war; that adminiſtration had not been negligent on this occaſion, for the ſame day the intelligence arrived, a meſſenger was diſpatched to our ambaſſador at Madrid to demand ſatisfaction; that diſputes had now ariſen between the two kingdoms, on account of the ignorance or inſolence of officers, while there was no intention of a quarrel between their reſpective governments; for in ſome inſtances our officers had not been always guarded in their conduct.

That therefore in the preſent inſtance, as well with regard to the honour as the intereſt of the nation, it was neceſſary to demand ſatisfaction; firſt, in a peaceable manner, for nothing was more reaſonable than to enquire whether we had a warrantable right to reſent before we commenced hoſtilities; otherwiſe it would be ſaid that we courted war. Secondly, if the Spaniards were not to be urged into juſtice by reaſon, then they muſt be compelled; and adminiſtration, though willing, if poſſible, to avoid the calamities of war, had prepared, at all events, for the worſt; ſo that the preparations for the war went hand in hand with the negotiation for peace. In behalf of the motion it was urged, that parliament can never have too ample a field for information; that the members are all counſellors of the crown; and to enable them to give proper council, it was neceſſary that every intelligence, with reſpect to what they were to give their advice upon, ſhould be laid before them; that they were now met to conſider the buſineſs of the kingdom, in a time of public danger; and that they had been told from the throne, that they would be applied to for advice, and although they were not, yet it was their duty to give it; that their advice and interference was now particularly neceſſary, when by an unparalleled ſucceſſion of weak and ſhameful meaſures, the nation was diſgraced, inſulted, and diſhonoured abroad and at home, weak, divided, and expoſed to every danger; that the pretence to negotiation was an indignity to the crown, and a diſhonour to the nation; that we had been forcibly robbed by a foreign power, and till what had been in this manner unjuſtly taken was returned, it was inconſiſtent with our honour to negotiate; that in fact, there is no ground or matter to negotiate upon; the Spaniards have driven our people from one of our ſettlements, and taken poſſeſſion of it, although they had no right to do ſo, and yet our miniſters enter into a treaty with them; that the very terms of the motions obviate all the objections that have been made to it, and which are only founded on the pretended ill conſequences that would attend the expoſing the papers, while this negotiation is going on.

Such were the principal points upon which this debate was carried on; but the queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a great majority. Many people blamed the miniſtry for their conduct in this affair; for they thought, that as parliament alone could grant the neceſſary ſupplies, ſo they ought to have had the peruſal of all the papers relating to the controverſy; and it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that the man who acts from motives of integrity, need never be either afraid or aſhamed to have his conduct enquired into.

A. D. 1771. On the 22d of January the following declaration was delivered by prince de Maſſerano, ambaſſador extraordinary from his catholic majeſty, to our court:

“His Britannic majeſty having complained of the violence which was committed on the 10th of June 1770, at the iſland commonly called the Great Malouine, and by the Engliſh Falkland's Iſland, in obliging, by force, the commander and ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, to evacuate the port by them called Egmont; a ſtep offenſive to the honour of his crown: the prince de Maſerano, ambaſſador extraordinary of his catholic majeſty, has received orders to declare, and declares, that his catholic majeſty, conſidering the deſire with which he is animated for peace, and for the maintenance of good harmony with his Britannic majeſty, and reflecting that this event might interrupt it, has ſeen with diſpleaſure this expedition tending to diſturb it, and in the perſuaſion in which he is, of the reciprocity of ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty, and of its being far from his intention to authoriſe any thing that might diſturb the good underſtanding between the two courts, his catholic majeſty does diſavow the ſaid violent enterprize; and in conſequence, the prince de Maſerano declares, that his catholic majeſty engages to give immediate orders, that all things ſhall be reſtored in the Great Malouine, at the port called Egmont, preciſely in the ſtate in which they were before the 10th of June 1770. For which purpoſe his catholic majeſty will give orders to one of his officers to deliver up to the officer authorized by his Britannic majeſty the Port and Fort called Egmont, with all the artillery, ſtores, and effects of his Britannic majeſty and his ſubjects, which were at that place

“ the day above mentioned, agreeable to the inventory which has been made of them.

“ The prince de Maſerano declares, at the ſame time, in the name of the king his maſter, that the engagement of his ſaid catholic majeſty, to reſtore to his Britannic majeſty the poſſeſſion of the Port and Fort called Egmont, cannot, nor ought, any wiſe, to affect the queſtion of the prior right of ſovereignty of the Malouine Iſlands, otherwiſe called Falkland's Iſlands.”

“ In witneſs whereof, &c.”

(L. S.) Signed le prince de Maſerano.

The earl of Rochfort ſignified the acceptance of this declaration in the following terms:

“ His catholic majeſty having authorized the prince de Maſerano, his ambaſſador extraordinary, to offer in his majeſty's name to the king of Great Britain, a ſatisfaction for the injury done to his Britannic majeſty, by diſpoſſeſſing him of the Port and Fort of Port Egmont; and the ſaid ambaſſador having this day ſigned a declaration, which he has juſt delivered to me, expreſſing therein that his catholic majeſty being deſirous to reſtore the good harmony and friendſhip which before ſubſiſted between the two crowns, does diſavow the expedition againſt Port Egmont, in which force has been uſed againſt his Britannic majeſty's poſſeſſions, commander, and ſubjects; and does alſo engage, that all things ſhall be immediately reſtored to the preciſe ſituation in which they ſtood before the 10th of June, 1770. And that his Catholic majeſty ſhall give orders, in conſequence, to one of his officers, to deliver up to the officer authorized by his Britannic majeſty, the Port and Fort of Port Egmont, as alſo all his Britannic majeſty's artillery, ſtores and effects, as well as thoſe of his ſubjects, according to the inventory which has been made of them. And the ſaid ambaſſador having moreover engaged, in his catholic majeſty's name, that what is contained in the ſaid declaration ſhall be carried into effect by his ſaid catholic majeſty; and that duplicates of his catholic majeſty's orders to his officers ſhall be delivered into the hands of one of his Britannic majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, within ſix weeks. His ſaid Britannic majeſty, in order to ſhew the ſame friendly diſpoſitions on his part, has authorized me to declare, that he will look upon the declaration of prince de Maſerano, together with the full performance of the ſaid engagement on the part of his catholic majeſty, as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the crown of Great Britain. In witneſs whereof, &c.”

(L. S.) Signed Rochfort.

This tranſaction was immediately announced to both houſes of parliament, and copies thereof were laid before them. It was then moved, that all the papers relating to the convention ſhould be laid before the houſe, which was complied with, except in one inſtance, namely, that of keeping back ſuch papers as contained the Spaniſh claims to Falklands Iſlands. This occaſioned a warm debate, but the miniſtry ſcreened themſelves under pretence that all the offices had been ſearched, but no more papers could be found. It was, at the ſame time, charged upon the miniſtry, that the interference of France was a diſhonour to Great Britain; but the miniſtry denied the charge, by aſſerting, that France had never been employed to act as a mediator. It was then propoſed to preſent an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for ordering the papers to be laid before them, but this was objected to by the minority, who denied that all the papers had been laid before them. Warm debates enſued in both houſes; but the miniſterial party prevailed, and the addreſs was preſented without any amendment whatever.

About this time an affair happened which it was greatly feared would have been attended with the moſt alarming conſequences. The ſpeeches ſaid to have been made in the houſe of commons had for a conſiderable time been publiſhed by ſome bookſellers, who being cited before the houſe, refuſed to appear; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed with a reward for apprehending them. This produced the intended effect. J. Wheble, one of theſe perſons, was apprehended and taken before John Wilkes, eſq. the ſitting alderman at Guildhall: but he finding that the perſon who had apprehended Mr. Wheble had no accuſation againſt him, and only apprehended him on the authority of the proclamation; and at the ſame time Mr. Wheble declaring that the apprehender had forcibly detained him, and brought him there, the alderman immediately diſcharged him, and bound him over to proſecute his accuſer.

Mr. Miller, printer of a public paper, was likewiſe taken into cuſtody by a meſſenger from the houſe of commons; who, on his refuſing to go with him, took him by the arm, upon which a conſtable was ſent for, and Mr. Miller gave him charge of the meſſenger for aſſaulting him in his own houſe; whereupon he was carried to the manſion-houſe, and a hearing came on before the Lord-mayor and aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. In the mean time the ſerjeant at arms being informed of this tranſaction, came to demand the bodies of the meſſenger and of Mr. Miller; upon which the Lord-mayor aſked the meſſenger if he had applied to a magiſtrate to back the warrant, or to any peace officer of the city to aſſiſt him; and on his replying in the negative, his lordſhip declared, that no power had a right to ſeize a citizen of London, without an order from him or ſome other magiſtrate; and that he was of opinion, the ſeizing of Miller and the warrant were both illegal; he therefore declared Miller to be at liberty, and proceeded to examine witneſſes to prove the aſſault on the meſſenger; which being done, his lordſhip aſked the latter if he would give bail. This he at firſt refuſed to do; but his commitment being actually made out, he thought proper to comply, when himſelf was bound in forty pounds, and two ſureties in twenty pounds, for his appearance at the next ſeſſions at Guildhall.

After many and long debates, the houſe of commons having reſolved, “ That the proceedings of the “ Lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver was a breach of the “ privilege of that houſe,” committed them both to the tower, where they continued till the prorogation of parliament, which happened on the 8th of May, when his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne.

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ As the ſtate of public buſineſs no longer requires your attendance, I think it right, at this ſeaſon of the year, to put an end to the preſent ſeſſion of parliament.

“ The ſatisfaction I have obtained from his catholic majeſty for the injury I had received, together with the proofs which the courts of France and Spain have given me, by laying aſide their armaments, of their ſincere diſpoſition to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe, have enabled me to reduce my force by ſea and land. The zeal with which you have exerted yourſelves upon the apprehenſion of a rupture with Spain, muſt convince the world of your affectionate attachment to me, and of your conſtant regard for the true intereſts of your country. On that ſupport I ſhall always rely for the defence of my honour, and for the ſecurity of the rights of my people.

“ With regard to the troubles which ſtill agitate ſome parts of the continent, my endeavours have never been wanting to bring them to an end; and in thoſe endeavours, you may be aſſured I ſhall perſevere.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"It was with real concern that I found myſelf called upon, by the ſituation of public affairs, to aſk of my faithful commons more than ordinary ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year; and I cannot ſufficiently thank you for the unanimity, chearfulneſs, and public ſpirit, with which they have been granted.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"While we acknowledge the goodneſs of divine providence in preſerving us from thoſe calamities with which ſome parts of Europe have been afflicted, let me exhort you to employ your beſt endeavours, in your ſeveral ſtations and countries, to render the national happineſs complete, by diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing all groundleſs ſuſpicions and domeſtic diſturbances. I have no other object, and I can have no other intereſt, than to reign in the hearts of a free and happy people: and it is my earneſt wiſh, that my ſubjects may not be prevented, by any miſtakes or animoſities amongſt themſelves, from enjoying, in the fulleſt extent, the bleſſings of a mild and legal government. The ſupport of our excellent conſtitution is our common duty and intereſt: by that ſtandard I would wiſh my people to try all public principles and profeſſions, and to look upon thoſe as the moſt dangerous enemies, who, under any pretence whatſoever, would perſuade them to violate thoſe laws, and undermine that authority, which the conſtitution has provided for the purpoſe of preſerving the general liberty and happineſs."

During the continuance of the lord-mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver in the Tower, they were addreſſed and thanked for their ſpirited conduct in maintaining the authority of the laws of their country, by every ward in London and by ſeveral towns and boroughs in England. Great preparations were made for conducting the two patriots from the Tower; but the parliament being prorogued one day ſooner than was expected, a few only of the aldermen, &c. could attend; the proceſſion was, however, magnificent, and they were conducted to the manſion-houſe amidſt thouſands of applauding ſpectators.

Having thus noticed the moſt material domeſtic tranſactions, let us now take a view of affairs on the continent, where the war, which had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the Turks and Ruſſians, was carried on with the moſt horrid devaſtations. The ſeat of war the preceding year [*] was on the Danube, and the Ruſſians were in general victors; but their conqueſts were not obtained without great loſs of men, as well by ſickneſs as the ſword. Beſides this, all the other caſualties that conſtantly attend the carrying on a war in a diſtant country were prodigious. The neighbouring provinces were ruined, ſo as to reſemble a deſert, and no ſubſiſtance could be procured, but at an enormous expence. Money was borrowed in other countries for the uſe of the Ruſſians, at the moſt exorbitant intereſt, and in ſome parts the merchants refuſed to advance any, ſo that it is impoſſible to deſcribe the hardſhips the Ruſſian army ſuffered. In March a moſt bloody battle was fought between them and the Turks, on the Walachian ſide of the Danube; and general Weiſman, having obtained a victory, croſſed the river, where the enemy had ſome ſmall parties; but the general drove them from their poſts, and deſtroyed their magazines.

The two grand objects the Ruſſians had in view at the opening of this campaign were the ſecuring ſuch conqueſts as they had made on the Danube, and at the ſame time to penetrate with one of their armies into Crim Tartary.

Crim Tartary, ſo famous among the antient Greeks by the name of Taurica Cherſoneſus, is a peninſula ſurrounded on all ſides by the Euxine or Black Sea, except where it joins Little Tartary by a ſmall iſthmus, not above ſix miles broad. In this iſthmus ſtood the antient city of Precop; but the Turks have changed the names of thoſe once celebrated places, which were formerly the ſeats of learning and arts. The whole peninſula is one of the moſt fertile ſpots in the world, abounding with many towns and cities; and the entrance, near where Precop ſtood, is fortified by ſtrong lines, with a trench forty-two feet deep, ſeventy-two broad, and from the bottom of the ditch to the creſt of the parapat was ſeventy feet. Strong towers had been erected at proper diſtances from each other, and ſtrong cannon were placed upon them.

Prince Dolgorucki was the Ruſſian general appointed to attack this place, and when he arrived before the lines, he found it defended by the chan Selim Guery in perſon, with an army of 50,000 Tartars, and 7000 Turks. But notwithſtanding the difference of numbers, the prince attacked the place on the 25th of June, two days after their arrival. The Tartar prince behaved with great bravery: for finding it impoſſible to rally his right wing, he went and charged bravely at the head of his left. All his efforts, however, were in vain; for in four hours his whole army was routed, and the lines forced in every place. The Turkiſh garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war the next day; and their whole army, cannon, ammunition and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors. From this circumſtance the reader will ſee, that no fortifications, however ſtrong, nor troops, however courageous, can hold out againſt cool, ſteady, regular diſcipline, which, although it may ſometimes be ſlow, yet in the end it bears down all oppoſition.

The Ruſſians, having made themſelves maſters of this important paſs, over-run the whole of the peninſula; the Turkiſh garriſon deſerted, and having deſtroyed the fortifications, embarked on board ſome ſhips that lay in the harbour, and ſet ſail for their own country. The governor of Arabat made ſome defence; but the place was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword. From thence the prince continued his march to Caffa, the capital city of Crimea, which was immediately ſurrendered to him, and 1000 men, the remains of the garriſon, were made priſoners of war.

---

[*] This year alſo the Ruſſians were no leſs ſucceſsful by ſea than land. On the 7th of July, the whole fleet engaged that of the Turks, when the Ottomans were totally defeated. In this fight, which was very bloody and deſperate, admiral Spiritdorff engaged the Capitana of 100 guns, yard arm to yard arm, when the Turkiſh ſhip taking fire, the flames communicated to the Ruſſian ſhip: both unhappily blew up, and the crews, a few officers and men excepted, periſhed either in the exploſion or the waves.

The Turks now fled, in order to ſecure themſelves in the bay of Schiſma, where, a few nights after their fleet was fired by means of three fire-ſhips. A perſon, who was upon the ſpot, mentioning this action, ſays, "A fleet, conſiſting of 200 ſail, almoſt in one general blaze, preſented a picture of diſtreſs and horror, dreadfully ſublime; while the flames, with the utmoſt rapidity, were ſpreading deſtruction on all ſides, and ſhip blowing up, after ſhip, with every ſoul on board, that feared to truſt the waves to ſwim for ſhore: the Ruſſians kept pouring upon them ſuch ſhowers of cannon balls, ſhells, and ſmall ſhot, that not one of their many thouſand weeping friends on land, who ſaw their diſtreſs, dared venture to their relief. Nothing now remained but united ſhrieks and unavailing cries, which, joined to the martial muſic, and the loud triumphant ſhouts of victors, ſerved to ſwell alternately the various notes of joy and ſorrow, that compoſed the ſolemn dirge of their (the Turks) departing glory."

The loſs, on the part of the Ruſſians, was admiral Spiritdorff's ſhip, and between 7 and 800 men: on the ſide of the Turks, beſides the deſtruction of their whole fleet, above 9000 men periſhed.

The Turks quitted Schiſma in the greateſt conſternation, and haſting to Smyrna, murdered an incredible number of Greeks and other Chriſtians, whom they ſuppoſed to be well affected to the Ruſſians, ſparing neither age nor ſex.

The terror was now ſo great, that the Turks, without waiting for the arrival of the enemy, abandoned the important fortreſſes of Taman, Jenicola, and Kertſch, which commanded the ſtreights between the Black Sea and the town of Azoph, which now fell into the hands of the Ruſſians, without ſtriking a ſingle blow. The Tartars ſubmitted to the conquerors, who took them under their immediate protection; while their unfortunate leader retired to Conſtantinople, where he ſoon after died, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion that he had been put to death in a private manner.

During theſe tranſactions in the Crimea, the Turks, under the command of Mouſſon Oglou, croſſed the Danube in three diviſions, in order to attempt to relieve the fort of Torre, ſituated on the north of that river oppoſite to the antient city of Nicopolis. The Turkiſh army, however, did not ſucceed; but a detachment of them, under the command of a baſſaw, attacked the ſtrong fort of Guirgewo, in which was a Ruſſian garriſon, and in three days the governor agreed to capitulate, upon being allowed to march out with all the honours of war. As this place was very ſtrong, and had coſt the Ruſſians much trouble and loſs before they took it, ſo the conduct of the governor filled the minds of the army with indignation, and prince Repuin ordered all the officers to be put under arreſt.

On the 17th of Auguſt a detachment of the Turks came up with a body of Ruſſians, and the latter were, after a moſt obſtinate defence, put to flight; but they retreated in the moſt excellent order, taking along with them their wounded men. This was the only field action in which the Turks had hitherto reaped any advantage, and it was magnified at Conſtantinople as if it had been a complete victory.

The Turks had nothing ſo much at heart as that of eſtabliſhing winter quarters in Walachia, and with this view they continued croſſing the Danube in detached parties. But theſe motions could not eſcape the notice of a general ſo vigilant and penetrating as Romanzow, who no ſooner perceived their deſigns, than he made ſuch a number of maſterly diſpoſitions, as not only overthrew their ſchemes, but were conducted with ſuch ability, that every one of them took place at the inſtant of time, and was productive of the effect which was intended.

Inſtead, therefore, of waiting for the enemy, the Ruſſians boldly croſſed the Danube, and attacked them on their own ſide, a circumſtance they had not ſo much as imagined. Two great bodies of Turks, one entrenched at Tuleza, and the other at Maczin, were attacked at the ſame time by the Ruſſian generals Weiſman and Miboradowits, and the event was the ſame in both places. The entrenchments were ſtormed, the Turks totally routed, and the towns taken, in which were large magazines of arms and proviſions.

The night following, general Weiſman marched to attack the grand vizir's camp, which was ſtrongly fortified, at a place called Babadagh; and in it was the flower of the Turkiſh army, covered with a ſtrong train of artillery. Victory, however, was obtained by the Ruſſians as cheap as before; the Turks were routed with great ſlaughter, the entrenchments and artillery taken, with the caſtle of Babadagh; while the vizir and his ruined army fled thirty miles, to ſeek refuge in mount Hemnus.

A few days after this important event, general Eſſen attacked a large body of Turks, and totally routed them, after having killed 2000, and taken 4000 priſoners, beſides all their baggage, tents, artillery waggons, ammunition and proviſions. By theſe rapid ſucceſſes, the Turks were driven out of Walachia, while the Ruſſians remained maſters of that province. When the news arrived at Conſtantinople, the people became quite outrageous, and would have proceeded to great extremities, had they not been made to believe, that the loſs was owing to a mutiny which had taken place in the army.

During this year, the Ruſſian fleet in the Mediterranean did not perform any thing remarkable, and the ſevere check given the Greeks, had deterred the more ſober from engaging in the war. The fleet was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and ſome of their ſhips having been ſent to the Italian ports, to purchaſe ſuch things as were wanting, they were refuſed admittance, under pretence that they were infected with the plague. But ſtill, under all theſe diſadvantages, and many others, the Ruſſians, by falling in with a pitiful cowardly enemy, ſtruck unſpeakable terror in the Levant, and made even the Grand Seignior tremble on his throne. A moſt ſevere blow was given to the trade of the Levant; and throughout all the iſlands of the Archipelago, the coaſts of Greece and Aſia, nothing was to be ſeen but ruin and deſolation: but notwithſtanding, the Ruſſians reaped but very few advantages, and the climate killed many more of their men than thoſe who fell by the ſword.

Whilſt war was thus carried on between thoſe rude and wide-extended empires, and appeared expoſed rather to exterminate than diminiſh the human race, the peſtilence, that other dreadful enemy to mankind, claimed a ſhare of the ſpoil, and ſeemed too impatient to wait for the gleanings of the ſword. When we conſider the havock made by this dreadful diſorder in the Turkiſh army, and that all the provinces near the Black Sea were more or leſs infected with it, it will appear little leſs than a miracle that the Ruſſian army ſhould have eſcaped the fatal contagion. But if their army was ſo fortunate as to eſcape, it was not ſo happy with the interior part of their empire. It firſt diſcovered itſelf in the imperial city of Moſcow; but as it was many hundreds of miles from the theatres of the war, and from the countries infected, it could not reaſonably be ſuppoſed that it had been communicated from thence. It raged during the ſummer under the appearance of a malignant fever, but in autumn it aſſumed its true form, and ſwept away many thouſands before it.

The cruel ravages of the diſorder were not, however, more ſhocking to humanity, than the effects it produced on the minds of the barbarous people. The ſeverity of government had been, in ſome meaſure, relaxed, and the moſt horrid licentiouſneſs took place. A wild enthuſiaſt pretended that he had a revelation from heaven, by which he was informed, that a certain image of a ſaint was endowed with efficacy ſufficient to cure thoſe who were infected, and to preſerve thoſe who were not. This drew innumerable crowds of people together, ſo that many thouſands were trampled to death, and the ſick dropped down dead in the midſt of ſuch as were healthy. Thus the contagion was communicated in ſuch a manner, that no attempts could reſtrain its progreſs; while the populace, aſſembling in ſuch numerous bodies, broke out into the moſt violent outrages.

The artful impoſtor, who contrived the fraud, had placed a cheſt before the image of the ſaint, to receive ſuch money as the people gave; but the archbiſhop of Moſcow, who ſeems to have been a prudent man, ordered the cheſt to be ſealed up, and both it and the image of the ſaint removed out of the church. This act, which deſerved the higheſt commendation, had a quite different effect on the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude, for they ran to the archbiſhop's houſe, and utterly demoliſhed it. The good prelate had eſcaped through a back door, to one of the monaſteries, where he hoped to be protected; but thither the enraged multitude followed him, and dragging the venerable old man into the ſtreets, put him to death in the moſt horrid and barbarous manner.

A body of troops having been ſent to quell the rioters, they refuſed to diſperſe; upon which the ſoldiers fired upon them, and many hundreds of them were killed. Many priſoners were taken, and being brought to their trials, were puniſhed according to the cuſtom of the country. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this tragical affair was the murder of the good old archbiſhop, for the Ruſſians regard their clergy in a more ſacred manner than any other nation in Europe; but who can ſet bounds to enthuſiaſm, when urged on by the violence of a peſtilential diſtemper?

During the courſe of this year, the great kingdom of Poland was deluged with blood, from the one extremity to the other: the confederates became more and more inveterate againſt each other, and yet the fertility of the ſoil furniſhed the means of ſubſiſtence.

Indeed, it may be juſtly ſaid, that the Ruſſian ambaſſador was the ſovereign of Poland: all orders were iſſued from him, though they were ſanctified with the name of the king. From this circumſtance we may ſee, what an unhappy thing it is to be under an ariſtocratical government, where the king is elected by a ſelect company of noblemen, who pay no regard to his power, and, in the mean time, make ſlaves of their own tenants. In ſhort, there cannot be a more perfect form of government than that where all the powers in the ſtate are put upon an equal balance.

In the mean time, the king of Poland, who had been raiſed to the throne from a private ſtation, ſupported himſelf under his misfortunes with the moſt heroic fortitude. Conſcious of the moral rectitude of his own heart, he did not even ſuſpect that his enemies had the leaſt intention to do him any injury; but he was miſtaken, as will appear from the following narrative.

About ten in the evening of the 3d of November, the king, having been on a viſit to a nobleman in the country, returned to his palace at Warſaw; but, juſt as his coach was turning the end of the ſtreet, it was beſet by ſeveral armed men on horſeback, the chief of whom was Koczinſki, an officer among the confederates. Theſe deſperadoes having fired their piſtols into the coach, dragged out the king, and carried him off between two horſemen. The domeſtics who attended the coach did all they could to reſcue the king, but in vain, for one was killed on the ſpot, and the reſt deſperately wounded.

The Ruſſian ſoldiers ran to arms, and found the coach covered with blood, but could learn no account of the king; upon which they ſallied forth, and alarmed the detached parties which were on the roads leading to the capital. The aſſaſſins had been joined by ſome of their accomplices at one of the gates, and, without ſtopping, rode off with the king till they came to the village of Willanow, about ſeven Engliſh miles diſtant from Warſaw. The Ruſſians continued purſuing; upon which Koczinſki, with four others, ſeparated from the reſt of his companions, carrying the king with him. When he had proceeded a few miles, he ſent his four companions to procure intelligence, whether any of the Ruſſian forces were advancing; and no ſooner were they all gone, than he fell at the king's feet, imploring his pardon, and, at the ſame time, offering to ſave his life. They then proceeded to a hut about a mile diſtant, from whence the king diſpatched a meſſenger to the Ruſſian general, who ſent proper perſons to attend him, and conduct him home. The king had received two wounds on his head, the one from a ſword, and the other from a ball; and his eſcaping with life may be conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary incidents we meet with in hiſtory.

The aſſaſſin Koczinſki produced a paper, by which it appeared, that he and his confederates were bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths to deliver the king, dead or alive, to the confederacy at Czenſtochau; but, as he ſaid, his heart failed him, and he was ſeized with remorſe as ſoon as he ſaw the bleeding wounds of his ſovereign.

It is evident, that the manner in which the king was carried off was attended with much more difficulty than if they had killed him on the ſpot; but then it muſt be remembered, that no perſons in the world are more bewildered in their minds than thoſe who engage in unlawful ſchemes: they are bold and reſolute in words; but no ſooner have they liſted their hands, than all the dreadful conſequences preſent themſelves to their minds, and they are unable to proceed any farther.

During theſe tranſactions in Poland, the empreſs of Ruſſia, the emperor of Germany, and the ever enterprizing king of Pruſſia, were not idle; they reſolved to avail themſelves of ſuch circumſtances, and divide the unhappy kingdom, by each taking a part; but this greatly offended the Germans, who were afraid of having the Ruſſians too near them.

While Greece and Poland were overrun with armies, Germany, eſpecially towards the ſouth and eaſt, was ſuffering all thoſe calamities which ariſe from the ſcarcity of proviſions. This dearth was not artificial, but real; for in Bohemia the ſcarcity was ſo great, that a ſevere famine prevailed, and great numbers of people periſhed for want of food. Theſe diſtreſſes were much heightened by the ſeverity of the winter, for in many places the poor people ſtripped the thatch from off their houſes, in order to feed their cattle with it. Nor was the ſpring more favourable, for the vaſt quantities of ſnow which melted on th mountains, fell down in torrents on the level country, and ſwept away every thing before it; and the great rivers having burſt through their ancient boundaries, ſcenes of confuſion, terror and diſtreſs were ſpread on every ſide. The calamity continued to increaſe as the ſeaſon advanced; and, in ſummer, when the beſt weather is expected, nothing was to be ſeen but continual rains, ſo that the country ſeemed to reſemble the ocean, rather than land for the habitation of men.

The inundations of the Elbe were particularly dreadful; many parts of Lower Saxony, and the march of Brandenburgh were totally ruined. The inhabitants of the town of Hamburgh were truly diſtreſſed; the water entered one of the gates, and threatened immediate deſtruction; ſo that every perſon in the place was obliged to aſſiſt, in order to divert its courſe, and prevent its further progreſs. The great ſuburb towards the Elbe, where the gentry had their houſes and gardens, was ſo covered with water, that only the tops of the trees could be ſeen. The magiſtrates ordered a public faſt to be kept, to implore the divine mercy, and avert the threatened judgments.

At Prague, a riot having happened, in conſequence of the ſcarcity of proviſions, the governor told the people, that unleſs they diſperſed, he would order the troops to fire upon them: to which they anſwered, with great coolneſs and indifference, that they would look upon the execution of his threatenings as a favour, a ſudden death by a ſhot being much preferable to a ſlow one by famine. The governor had humanity and prudence enough to refrain from fulfilling his threats; and having tranſmitted an account of theſe tranſactions to the empreſs queen, ſhe burſt into tears, and immediately ſent them a comfortable relief.

On the 12th of February this year the king of Sweden died ſuddenly, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, the preſent king, then at Paris on his travels. The Senate of Sweden met, and having drawn up the common diploma, by which the prince was inveſted with the regal dignity, expreſſes were diſpatched to him at Paris, to notify the news in form, and deſire his majeſty would return to his own dominions. He did not, however, leave Paris till he had concluded a treaty with the French king, and then he ſet out, accompanied by his brother. At Berlin, he ſpent a few days in cloſe conference with his uncle, the king of Pruſſia; and then continued his journey to Stockholm, where he was received amidſt the acclamations of his ſubjects.

This year one of the moſt remarkable revolutions in the internal government of France took place, of any we find mentioned in hiſtory. That faithful, uncorrupted body of men, the parliament of Paris, had long defended the liberties of their fellow ſubjects; but integrity, and every other virtue, are little regarded by lawleſs power. The king having ſent for the members to the palace, ordered them to regiſter ſome iniquitous edicts; but they abſolutely refuſed, and returning to the parliament-houſe, entered into a bond to ſtand by each other in doing juſtice, although the conſequence ſhould be death.

A body of dragoons ſurrounded the parliament-houſe, and forced the clerks to regiſter the edicts; upon which the parliament proteſted againſt it, and deputed their firſt preſident to wait on the king. But all the anſwer they received from the haughty monarch was, that next day they ſhould be all ſent into baniſhment. This accordingly took place, and theſe venerable fathers and guardians of the laws were ſent to different villages at a great diſtance from their friends and families. Such was the fate of this noble and diſintereſted aſſembly, whoſe actions would have done honour to a Roman ſenate. This fall was not ſo glorious from the cauſe in which it was engaged, than from the circumſtances which attended it; for ſeveral of the other parliaments in the provinces reſigned their offices, in honour of that of Paris.

Having thus noticed the moſt material foreign tranſactions of this year, let us now return to affairs at home, where, during the receſs of parliament, an event took place, which ſurprized the whole nation, and made way for an act, the next ſeſſions, of a moſt extraordinary nature. The event alluded to was no other than the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter to lord Irnham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This ſtep of the duke's gave great offence at court, eſpecially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not concealed in the ſame manner as the marriage of the duke of Glouceſter with the counteſs dowager of Waldegrave.

A. D. 1772. The parliament met on the 21ſt of January[*], and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he expreſſed much ſatisfaction, that neither the foreign nor domeſtic ſtate of affairs required their more early attendance: that, now they were aſſembled, they would, no doubt, attend to the intereſts of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewiſe informed that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on the beſt terms with that court. He concluded, with recommending to them, to keep the navy, on the moſt reſpectable footing, to be ready in caſe of any neceſſity for the future.

To this ſpeech addreſſes were preſented in the uſual form; after which the public buſineſs was opened, by making proper inquiries into the ſtate of the navy; and the miniſtry propoſed, that 25,000 men ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the current year.

In ſupport of this motion, it was urged, by the miniſtry, that the French had ſent a conſiderable fleet to the Eaſt-Indies; and that we were, on that account, obliged to ſupport a more conſiderable naval force there than before: that a large ſquadron was employed in the protection of our Weſt-India iſlands; for ſhould any miſunderſtanding ariſe between us and the Spaniards, thoſe valuable acquiſitions, if not properly taken care of, would fall into the hands of our enemies: that the war between the Ruſſians and Turks made it alſo neceſſary to employ a greater number of ſhips for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, than had been cuſtomary in times of general peace: that by keeping up a reputable body of ſeamen, we ſhould not be under the cruel neceſſity of granting preſs-warrants in caſe of the breaking out of a new war; and although the expence might be more than is common in times of peace, the advantages would amply repay it.

To theſe arguments it was anſwered, by thoſe in oppoſition, that the nation was already groaning under a load of taxes; and, inſtead of doing or propoſing any thing for paying off the national debt, here was a propoſal made to increaſe it in a time of profound peace: that, allowing the exigencies of the times required it, yet it did not appear, but that, on every future occaſion, the ſame pretence might be made, whether there was any real neceſſity for it or not.

---

[*] On the 8th of February, abont ſix o'clock in the morning, died, at Carlton-houſe, her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales, mother to his preſent majeſty. In the evening preceeding her death, the phyſician felt her pulſe, and told her it was more regular than it had been for ſome time: her highneſs anſwered, "Yes: and I think I ſhall have a good night's reſt." She them embraced the king, and he obſerved nothing particular in her, except that ſhe ſeemed to teſtify greater warmth and affection than uſual. His majeſty afterwards retired to an anti-chamber with the phyſician, who told him, that her highneſs would not out-live the morning, which induced his majeſty to ſtay there all night. He did not ſee his royal mother any more till ſhe was dead, for ſhe remained very quiet all the night, nor did ſhe give any tokens of death till a few minutes before ſhe expired, when ſhe laid her hand upon her heart, and went off without a groan. As ſoon as his majeſty was informed of her departure, he came and took her by the hand, kiſſed it, and burſt into tears: a ſhort time after which he retired to St. James's.

Her royal highneſs was the youngeſt daughter of Frederick II. Duke of Saxe-Gotha; born on the 30th of November 1719. She was married at St. James's on the 27th of April 1736, to Frederick, late prince of Wales; by whom ſhe had iſſue as follow:

Augusta, born July 31, 1737, O. S. married to the hereditary prince of Brunſwick.

George, born May 24, 1738, O. S. now king of Great Britain.

Edward duke of York, born March 14, 1739; died September 7, 1767, at Monaco in Italy.

Elizabeth, born December, 30, 1740; died September 4, 1759.

William Henry, Duke of Glouceſter, born November 14, 1743.

Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, born October 27, 1745.

Louiſa, born March 8, 1748. Dead.

Frederick, born May 13, 1750; died December 29, 1765.

Caroline Matilda, born July 11, (after the death of her father) 1751; married October 2, 1766, to Chriſtian VII. king of Denmark. Dead.

Her royal highneſs had, by an act of parliament of the 10th of George II. a revenue of 50,000l. per annum for life, in caſe ſhe ſurvived the prince, which was to be paid quarterly, and the firſt payment took place five days after his deceaſe; 40,000l. of that annuity was to be paid out of the revenues of the Poſt-office, and the other 10,000l. out of the hereditary duties of exciſe, exempt from all fees, taxes or charges whatever.

On the 15th the corpſe of her royal highneſs was interred with the uſual ſolemnities in Henry the VIIth's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey.

Two of our greateſt naval commanders ſtrongly oppoſed the motion, and condemned the then preſent arrangement of the fleet. They obſerved, that the force already in the Eaſt-Indies was either too great, or too little: that if the appearances of a permanent peace, as held out in the ſpeech, were to be relied on, it was too great, and, in caſe of war, it was inſufficient: that the ſame objections lay to the arrangement at Jamaica, where the ſquadron conſiſted only of about four ſhips, and was altogether unable to protect it, ſuppoſing any danger of an attack. Many ſevere ſarcaſms were levelled at the miniſtry for the futility of their conduct, becauſe they accompanied a ſpeech which breathed nothing but ſentiments of peace, with all the actual preparations for war. At laſt, the queſtion having been put, the motion was carried as uſual, and the miniſtry reigned triumphant,

The next buſineſs that came before the houſe was a petition for leave to bring in a bill to excuſe ſome of the clergy from ſubſcribing to the 39 articles of religion. It was urged in favour of the motion, that they could not ſubſcribe to doctrines of human invention, but only to the ſacred ſcriptures; and that it was their right to explain them according to what they eſteemed their genuine ſenſe and meaning. On the other hand, it was urged againſt the motion, that to grant ſuch an indulgence would be to open a door for all ſorts of licentiouſneſs: for, under a pretence that ſuch and ſuch tenets were the pure dictates of conſcience, the fundamental doctrines of our religion would be ſubverted, and blaſphemy taught in our churches: that moſt of thoſe who had aſſociated at the Feathers Tavern upon this ſiniſter buſineſs had been formerly diſſenters, but had left their original profeſſion, in order to enjoy ſome of the ſpoils of the church, and that they had brought their Arian and Socinian notions along with them: that if their conſciences were ſo very tender, they might throw up their livings, and return to their conventicles, where they would be at liberty to diſſeminate what notions they pleaſed: that, by doing ſo, they would give a convincing proof of their diſintereſtedneſs; but nothing could be more reaſonable, than for a church eſtabliſhed by law to beſtow her honours upon thoſe who ſubſcribed to her doctrines, and conformed to her diſcipline. Upon the whole, the motion was rejected by a great majority, and not without ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of thoſe by whom it had been promoted.

But of all the buſineſs tranſacted during this ſeſſions, none was conſidered as of ſuch importance, or made greater noiſe, than that of a meſſage ſent by his majeſty to the houſe of lords. In this meſſage it was obſerved, that his majeſty being deſirous, from paternal affection to his own family, an anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, as a matter of public concern, had always belonged to the princes of this realm; he therefore recommended to both houſes to take it into their ſerious conſideration, whether it may not be wiſe and expedient to ſupply the defects of the laws now in being, and, by ſome new proviſion, more effectually guard the deſcendants of his late majeſty, except ſuch as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained.

In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, which fully anſwered all the purpoſes intended. This bill was oppoſed, with great ſtrength of argument, by ſome of the moſt reſpectable peers in the nation. All the judges were ſent for to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the intermediate branches of the royal family muſt be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches, they could not ſay. At laſt the motion was carried, though not till fourteen lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as being inconſiſtent with the law of nature.

In the houſe of commons, the bill met with a much ſtronger repulſe; and thoſe in oppoſition boldly declared, that it had been brought in at a time when moſt of the gentlemen of the law, whoſe opinions would have been of great ſervice, were gone on the circuits. But, notwithſtanding all the ſtrength of argument, it paſſed, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent. All that we ſhall ſay concerning this bill ſhall be reduced to a few words. By thoſe who promoted it, it was ſaid, that, abſtracting from all principles of natural right, it was neceſſary that municipal inſtitutions ſhould take place, eſpecially where the public ſafety was concerned: that, during the diſtractions between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, ſome branches of the royal family had married in the moſt imprudent manner with the daughters and widows of ſubjects, which was attended with ſuch a train of evils, that the whole nation was deluged in blood: that, properly ſpeaking, no attempt had been made to ſet aſide natural rights, any further than was abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the public peace, which was much preferable to the ſtate of individuals.

On the other hand, it was urged, that all mankind, in the act of marriage are, by nature, free: that no marriage can ever be a real, legal one, where the conſent of the parties has not firſt been obtained: that no political laws can ſet aſide natural rights: that if choice alone can conſtitute a real marriage, then nothing can authorize the moſt dignified perſon in the univerſe to lay a reſtraint on any perſon whatever. It was urged further, that ſuch an unlimited power given to the ſovereign was, in all reſpects, inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, nor was there one precedent in hiſtory to give countenance to it: that, had it been inherent as a principle in our conſtitution, it muſt have long ſince become the ſubject matter of many of our ſtatutes: that, on the contrary, till the preſent time, this prerogative was unheard-of in Engliſh juriſprudence: that there was no remedy in law appertaining to ſuch pretended right in the crown, nor any court of law in which a proſecution could be carried on for ſuch pretended offences; and as, therefore, there could be no right without a remedy, it was evident this prerogative could have no real exiſtence: that the act which regulated other marriages, expreſsly excepted the royal family; and it is well known, that the common law, until that period, left all men to their natural liberty.

Such were the arguments made uſe of in this debate, at the cloſe of which the queſtion being put, it was carried by a great majority, and (as we have already obſerved) afterwards received the royal aſſent.

This matter being adjuſted, the attention of the parliament was directed to the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, which at this time were in a very perplexed ſituation. On the 30th of March, the deputy-chairman of the company moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the ſervants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to reſtrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the ſervants belonging to the company from carrying on any ſort of trade, and to give the directors of the company a ſovereign power over their own ſervants.

It was urged, in ſupport of the motion, that the bad ſtate of Affairs in India was owing to the ſmall power the court of directors had over their ſervants, as they could not puniſh them in any other manner than by diſmiſſing them. That nothing was more inconſiſtent with true policy, than to ſuffer governors of provinces, at a great diſtance, to become traders and merchants; and that the court of Bengal was not able to adminiſter juſtice to all the other ſettlements.

In anſwer to this it was ſaid, that it was an unparliamentary thing to propoſe bringing in a bill to redreſs a grievance without producing ſufficient proof that the grievance exiſted.. That the houſe ought firſt to enter into an enquiry concerning our preſent ſituation of affairs in India, and the cauſes that led to it; that it was to be feared the enquiry would ſhew, that the evils lay too deep to be remedied by the propoſed bill; that it would be almoſt impoſſible to prevent the company's ſervants from trading either directly or indirectly; and that the ſending out ſome gentlemen learned in the laws as judges was very inadequate to the purpoſe of adminiſtering juſtice to the people, in ſuch a vaſt extended tract of land; and that the matter was premature, becauſe we had not yet determined by what code of laws the people were to be governed.

The motion, however, was carried, and this led to an enquiry into the ſtate of affairs in India. All the papers belonging to the company were ordered to be laid before a ſelect committee of the houſe, and from the peruſal of them, many important diſcoveries were made. Indeed, it was found, that the mode of government in India was, in every reſpect, arbitrary, unconſtitutional, and no way fit for preſerving the rights of the people, or adminiſtering juſtice to individuals. The committee, finding the buſineſs encreaſing faſt, and the ſeaſon far advanced, deſired leave to continue ſitting during the receſs of parliament, or, at leaſt, till ſuch time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

In the mean time, the ill temper which had unaccountably taken place between the two houſes the preceding ſeſſion, ſtill continued during the preſent; and, except in tranſmitting of bills from the one to the other, there was no more communication between them, than if they had been the jealous councils of two rival ſtates.

In this ſtate of affairs, the lords having ſent a bill to the commons by a maſter in chancery, and a clerk aſſiſtant, the whole houſe conſidered it as an indignity, and would not accept the meſſage till they had examined the journals, to know if there were any precedents of ſendings bills in that manner. In the courſe of a haſty and paſſionate debate, which enſued upon that occaſion, ſeveral gentlemen mentioned, that, on the firſt day of the preſent ſeſſions, they had been rudely turned out of the houſe of lords, even before the ſpeaker could get out of the door. A motion was then made to appoint a committee to ſearch for precedents, of the manner of bills being ſent from the lords, and alſo of the improper behaviour of the lords to the commons. Exceptions, however, were taken to the word *improper*, as if it had carried an appearance of prejudging the caſe; and, after a warm debate, the word was left out.

The report of the committee was, that the lords had behaved in a very improper manner, and that the bill, which ſtill lay on the table, ſhould be ſent back. This was oppoſed by adminiſtration, who ſaid it would lay a foundation for a quarrel, which might not be eaſily accommodated; and accordingly the motion was over-ruled.

A motion was then made for a conference with the lords, but over-ruled in the ſame manner as the other; and, after long debates, and ſeveral propoſed amendments, the matter ended in a meſſage to the lords, wherein the impropriety of the meſſengers was the only complaint ſtated, which, it was hoped, would not be drawn into a precedent. This produced an anſwer, that the bill had been ordered in the uſual manner, and that the matter of complaint was occaſioned by the illneſs of one of the perſons who ſhould have preſented it; that a good correſpondence was wiſhed for, and that it was not meant to introduce any precedent contrary to eſtabliſhed uſage.

On the 9th of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he took notice of the laudable conduct of his parliament, that had conducted the affairs of the public with ſuch ſpirit and prudence. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family in making the act relating to the royal family; and informed them of the pacific diſpoſition of thoſe perſons with whom we had any concern. That there was great reaſon to believe, that the public tranquillity would not be diſturbed. The commons were thanked in the moſt cordial manner for the ſupplies they had granted; and great joy was expreſſed that there were ſtill ſome hopes that the national debt would be reduced. He concluded with telling them, that he doubted not but they would carry to their reſpective countries the ſame principles and the ſame zeal for the public good they had already manifeſted; and that they would cultivate a ſpirit of harmony and confidence among all ranks of the people; to convince them, that without a due reverence for the laws, neither their civil nor religious rights could be enjoyed in comfort or ſecurity; and to aſſure them that their intereſts were conſidered as inſeparably connected with thoſe of the crown; and that his majeſty is, and ever was perſuaded, that the proſperity and glory of his reign muſt depend on his poſſeſſing the affections, and maintaining the happineſs of his people.

Having thus mentioned the moſt material domeſtic tranſactions of this year, we ſhall now conſider the ſtate of affairs on the continent; where, the firſt thing that engages our attention is, the revolution that took place in the government of Sweden, which is of ſo remarkable a nature, as to deſerve a minute relation.

It is acknowledged, by moſt of thoſe who have written of Sweden, that no nation in general ever enjoyed more liberty. Though governed by kings, theſe kings were originally elected by the people, and their power circumſcribed within very narrow limits. The ſenate, in a manner, exerciſed the whole executive power; and the general diets, were compoſed of repreſentatives from the nobility, clergy, burgeſſes, and peaſants. Here we find a happy mixture of power, and ſuch as had not been known in any other European nation theſe many years; for all ranks of people were repreſented in their diets or parliaments. It was not, however, without its defects; for the power of the diet being great, ſuch as compoſed it often played the tyrant over their dependents or tenants, which made the people wiſh for a change of government.

About the time of the reformation, the popiſh clergy in Sweden had become ſo odious to the people, that they embraced the doctrines of Luther, and the proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed among them. From that time forward, Sweden began to emerge from obſcurity; and ſeveral worthy princes having, for about a century, conducted the affairs of government, it became at laſt a flouriſhing nation. But good princes are not of continual ſucceſſion. Charles XI. was a bold, domineering tyrant, and joining cunning to the natural cruelty of his diſpoſition, he ſoon aboliſhed the power of the ſenate by aſſuming it to himſelf, while the ſtates were forced, by a military power, to give up all pretence to legiſlation. By the ſame, or ſimilar methods, he greatly enlarged the dominions of Sweden, by new conqueſts; and, at his death in 1696, left it one of the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles XII. who inherited the intrepidity, obſtinacy, harſhneſs, and violence of his father, without any of his diſſimulation. He carried deſpotiſm to a ſtill greater height; for he threw by all the forms of law, and decided peremptorily in every thing, without admitting of any diſcuſſion. The events of this prince's life are too well known to be recited here, only that his invincible obſtinacy and implacable diſpoſition brought on his ruin, after a life ſpent in heroic adventures, and abſurd purſuits, which ſeemed to border on madneſs. He found his nation, when he aſcended the throne, at the higheſt pitch of glory; but he left it reduced to miſery.

His ſiſter received the crown from the ſtates and the ſenate, to be held by her in the ſame manner as in ancient times; ſo that from the bleſſings of a mild government, the nation began to aſſume a new form; and to recover from the miſeries into which it had been plunged. In this manner things were conducted with great prudence, till the death of the late king; and his preſent majeſty, when he aſcended the throne, made ſuch proteſtations of his doing nothing without their advice and conſent, that thoſe perſons who are well acquainted with the heart of man, and the common occurrences of life, would have imagined that he intended to deceive.

But notwithſtanding all the plauſible pretences and the ſtrenuous endeavours of the court party, no relaxation could be obtained in the articles which reſtricts the regal power, although the coronation had been delayed a conſiderable time for that purpoſe. The king was obliged to ſign all the articles in their original form, without any ſingle exception, and even to confirm them by oath. Indeed the articles were ſo numerons and ſo reſtrictive, that ſcarce any prince could have been brought to comply with them; but this king had ſo repeatedly profeſſed republican principles, that it might have been ſaid they were framed by himſelf.

Theſe affairs being ſettled, the coronation was conducted in the moſt magnificent manner, and every demonſtration of joy was diſplayed on that occaſion. He was next day waited on by the ſenate and the four orders of the diet, and the ſpeech made to them by the king was one of the moſt lively and animated that we meet with in hiſtory. There was, however, ſomething of ambiguity in it; for ſpeaking of the articles he had ſigned, he ſaid, "Unhappy is that king who wants the tie of oaths to ſecure himſelf on the throne, and who, not aſſured of the hearts of his ſubjects, is conſtrained to reign by the laws, when he cannot by the love of his people." Such was the manner in which this prince began his reign, and what were his views will appear afterwards.

The diet ſtill continued ſitting, when thoſe ſchemes that had been hatching began to reveal themſelves. As it was neceſſary the experiment ſhould be made at a conſiderable diſtance from the capital, in order that it might in ſome degree operate before the ſenate or diet ſhould receive information of it, and might thereby acquire a conſiderable degree of ſtrength, before their attempt to cruſh it could take place, it was reſolved that it ſhould break out where ſuch of the military were quartered as the court could confide in.

Scania, a province in the ſouth-weſt extremity of Sweden, and about 250 miles from Stockholm, was the place pitched upon; for as that province is only ſeparated from Denmark by the Sound, conſequently great numbers of the military are conſtantly quartered in it. It was agreed, that the king ſhould remain in Stockholm; that his brother, prince Charles, ſhould ſet out for Chriſtianſtadt, under pretence of meeting his mother, who had been on a viſit to the court of Berlin; and prince Frederick Adolphus went into the neighbouring province of Oſtragothia, which lies in the way from Stockholm, under pretence of drinking the mineral waters.

Every thing being now in as good order as poſſible, one Hellichins, a captain of foot, having brought over his company to join him, the magazines and arms were ſeized on, and then he cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed and diſtributed among the people to the following purport: That thoſe perſons who called themſelves the ſtates of Sweden had not only uſurped that power, but had likewiſe by their arbitrary proceedings brought the nation to a ſtate of ruin: that they had entered into foreign connections without the conſent of either the king or the people; and although the people were in a manner ſtarving, yet no corn had been brought into the country to relieve their preſſing neceſſities: that under pretence of promoting the good of the ſubjects, they had made the moſt oppreſſive taxes: that they had ſtripped the king of the regal power, and left him no more than an empty title; ſo that however willing he might be to redreſs their grievances, yet it was not in his power. For theſe reaſons, and for many others that might be mentioned, they renounced all allegiance to this pretended diet, and exhorted all faithful Swedes to join with them in ſuppreſſing an order that had brought ſuch evils upon the kingdom. They concluded, in the uſual ſtrain, with an appeal to heaven, of the rectitude of their motives and intentions; at the ſame time, begging for the divine bleſſing upon their undertakings.

From theſe particulars it will appear, that this manifeſto had been firſt fabricated in the king's cabinet; and that Hellichins, who publiſhed it, was no more than a tool for that purpoſe, and had previouſly been inſtructed to act his part. The whole garriſon of Chriſtianſtadt declared in favour of the manifeſto, and they were ſoon joined by great numbers of peaſants from different parts of the country.

Prince Charles, who was then at Carelſcroon, no ſooner heard of the revolt, than he aſſembled the forces in the neighbourhood, and took upon him the command of the garriſon, in which was a great magazine of arms and ammunition. He then cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed, of ſo myſterious a nature, that no perſon could well know what part he intended to act. He ſaid, he could not behold with indifference the flames of civil war breaking out in his dear native country; and therefore he was determined to ſuppreſs the inſurrection, and deſired that all thoſe who wiſhed well to their country would follow his ſtandard. Accordingly, having placed ſuch a garriſon in Carelſcroon as he could depend on, he put himſelf at the head of the remainder of the troops, and began his march to Chriſtianſtadt, with ſeveral pieces of cannon. His brother prince Frederick, taking the ſame advantage of the inſurrection, put himſelf at the head of the troops of Oſtragothia, before any news had reached Stockholm. In the mean time general Rudbeck, who happened to be then in Oſtragothia, ſet out for Stockholm, and having informed the ſenate of theſe proceedings, and ſhewn them prince Charles's manifeſto, there remained no doubt what were the real intentions of the court.

As the guards were firmly attached to the king, the ſenate did not chuſe to truſt them, nor did they conſult the king upon any thing. They ordered the burghers to put themſelves under arms, and take their ſtations in different parts of the city, under the command of count Halling; who was alſo conſidered as prime miniſter. All this time the king ſeemed perfectly eaſy; but when the ſenate ſent him an order to ſign for recalling his brother, he refuſed to do it; but the refuſal was not regarded, for they put both the king's ſeal and name to it.

Though the king ſeemed totally inactive with reſpect to theſe important tranſactions, yet it is evident that he was taking the moſt effectual meaſures to accompliſh the great deſign he had in view; to the ſucceſs of which nothing contributed ſo much as the ſecrecy and ſilence with which they were conducted. The ſenate had ſent for two regiments from Upland, and upon their arrival the king aſſembled the ſenate, demanding to know why they had ſent for troops without his conſent. Upon that they, in a manner, commanded him to ſhew ſome letters that had been ſent him by his brothers? but this he refuſed to comply with in the moſt poſitive manner. The altercation between him and the ſenators grew warm; and one of them proceeded ſo far as to attempt to ſeize his ſword, upon which he boldly drew it, and the ſenators were ſo much frightened, that he had an opportunity of getting out of the door, which he locked behind him, and put the key in his pocket.

Having thus cooped up the ſenators, he went to the guard room, where he aſſembled the officers, and made a long ſpeech to them, complaining of the miſeries the people groaned under, from the abuſe of power in the ſenators, and that this cruel tyranny became every day more and more intolerable.

He told them further, that he was determined to run all hazards to get rid of them, and aſked the officers whether they would not aſſiſt their king in ſhaking off ſo ignominious a yoke, and reſtore the nation to its antient liberty. To this propoſal the officers in general aſſented with great readineſs, as well as the ſoldiers; upon which the king aſked them, if they would take an oath of allegiance to him? which they as readily complied with.

Every thing being thus far conducted, the king, in conſequence of a previous conſultation with his friends, had a white linen handkerchief round his arm, as a ſignal; upon which many of the nobility and gentry flocked to him. He then put himſelf at the head of the guards, and ſeized on all the magazines, without ſo much as one perſon venturing to oppoſe him.

The whole garriſon of Stockholm, although commanded by baron Rudbeck, who hated the king, deſerted their leader, and followed the king's ſtandard. The old baron ran with his ſword drawn through the ſtreets, calling out to the people to take arms in defence of their liberties; but it was too late, for they imagined they might live as happily under one tyrant as under five hundred.

Thus, in a large nation, a revolution was brought about without bloodſhed, tumult, or the leaſt oppoſition; while the people flocked together in the ſame inoffenſive manner as if they had been going to ſee ſome holiday ſports. The king then repaired to the caſtle, where having aſſembled the foreign miniſters, he told them, that it was with the utmoſt reluctance he had been obliged to take ſuch a ſtep, as would ſurprize all Europe; but the ſafety of his own perſon, and the ſecurity of the ſtate, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. He entreated them to inform their reſpective courts, that his motives, when made known, would juſtify them; and that this affair ſhould not make the leaſt alteration in his conduct with reſpect to the other European powers. The next morning all the magiſtrates took an oath to obey none but the king, and ſuch of the ſenators or deputies who refuſed to take it were committed to priſon, and told, that unleſs they complied within one month, they muſt for ever depart out of the kingdom.

The following day being appointed for aboliſhing the old form of government, and the eſtabliſhment of the new, the king ordered the ſtates to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. Previous to this, guards had been placed round the hall of the palace, ſo that there was not the leaſt doubt but his orders would be punctually obeyed. The king entered the hall in his regalia, and having made a long ſpeech, complained of the ſenate for having preſumed to act as if in a legiſlative capacity, without power from the diet. He ſaid, that the diet on the one hand, and the ſenate on the other, ſeemed to claim each a ſeparate power, while himſelf, though honoured with the title of king, enjoyed no more than the ſhadow of royalty. He concluded by telling them, that the ſenate had actually preſumed to receive ſubſidies from foreign powers, whoſe counſels governed Sweden; but that he would now aſſert the honour of his crown, and promote the intereſts of his loyal and peaceable ſubjects.

The king took a moſt ſolemn oath, by which he renounced all claims to arbitrary power; after which he cauſed the new form of government to be read. It conſiſted of fifty-ſeven articles, but they may be all comprized in the following: That the king ſhall, for the future, chuſe the ſenate, or, in other words, he ſhould appoint to that office ſuch as he approved of: that he ſhall aſſemble the ſtates when he pleaſes, and likewiſe, when he pleaſes, diſſolve their meeting, ſo as they have ſat at one time full three months: that the taxes ſhall be granted by the ſtates; but if not granted within three months after their meeting, then the old ones ſhall be levied. In caſe of any ſudden exigence, ſuch as the fear of invaſion, the king ſhall impoſe taxes till ſuch times as the ſtates can be called together: that when the ſtates are aſſembled, they are not to deliberate on any thing but what the king ſhall cauſe to be laid before them: that the king ſhall have full power to diſpoſe of the army and navy in whatever manner he pleaſes, and likewiſe to give away all places, either in the civil or military departments.

When all the articles were read, the king ſtood up, and aſked the ſtates, Whether they would give their oath to obſerve the form of government? As they knew that it was in vain to diſpute, they all conſented with one voice; after which they were immediately ſworn in the king's preſence, and the ſpeakers of each order ſigned a bond in name of the reſt.

The great work being thus finally accompliſhed, the king ſtood up, and told them, that it was neceſſary they ſhould return thanks to God for bringing about ſo happy an event, without the effuſion of human blood; and then taking a book out of his pocket, the whole aſſembly joined with him in ſinging *Te Deum*, according to the cuſtom of the Lutherans. They were then permitted to kiſs his hand; after which the king departed, and the ſtates ſeparated, without knowing whether they were ever to meet again.

Next day, all the old ſenators were diſmiſſed, and, in their room, fifteen noblemen were appointed, on whoſe attachment to him he could, with the moſt unſhaken confidence, rely.

This prince was too much of a politician not to ingratiate himſelf with the lower claſs of people; and as the diſtreſſes of the poor were then very great, in order to throw the greater odium on the ſenate, he cauſed 10,000 meaſures of meal to be diſtributed among them, each meaſure weighing twenty pounds; which, although far from being ſufficient to relieve all their wants, anſwered the end deſigned, namely, to endear himſelf the more to them. He alſo cauſed the forces to be kept in conſtant pay. But now every thing ſeemed totally changed; for, inſtead of enquiring into the conduct of the king, as had been cuſtomary on former occaſions, each order of the ſtates ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt to flatter him, and every thing he aſked was granted, without one diſſenting voice. The ſupplies were granted in the moſt laviſh manner; and a ſecret committee being choſen from each order of the ſtates, to aſſiſt the ſenate, the king diſmiſſed them, and they returned to their reſpective habitations with as much good humour as if he had been conferring with them on the moſt valuable privileges.

It may be conſidered as one of the extraordinary circumſtances of this extraordinary revolution, that not a drop of blood, either by legal or military execution, was ſhed in the progreſs, or in conſequence of it: a ſtriking inſtance, how much the manners of mankind have been ſoftened within a few ages; and, that whatever progreſs the meaner or buſier qualities of the mind may have made, the more terrible ones, which proceed from cruelty and ferocity, are, in a great meaſure, worn out. Indeed, too much cannot be ſaid of the extraordinary wiſdom and ſuperior abilities diſplayed by the king in the whole of his conduct. The profound diſſimulation with which he covered his deſigns, by putttng on the republican cloak, ſo as to elude the eyes of a whole nation, and to eſcape the vigilant attention of thoſe whom age and experience had rendered both cautious and ſuſpicious, cannot be paralleled in hiſtory, eſpecially when we conſider that it was performed by one ſo young. He never ſeemed irritated by any paſſion, but ſolidity regulated his judgment, and prudence directed his hands.

About the ſame time that the above remarkable revolution took place in Sweden, another of a very ſingular nature happened in Denmark: the particulars of which we ſhall give in the words of an intelligent gentleman who made the moſt minute enquiries concerning it, and wrote this narrative in the metropolis of Denmark. "I have, ſays he, made it my endeavour, ſince my arrival here, to gain the moſt authentic, and unprejudiced intelligence reſpecting the late celebrated and unhappy favourite count Struenſee, and the late extraordinary revolution which expelled a queen from her throne and kingdom, and brought the miniſters to the ſcaffold. Struenſee had not any noble blood in his veins, or, conſequently, any hereditary and preſcriptive title to the immediate guidance of affairs of ſtate. Fortune, and a train of peculiar circumſtances coinciding with his own talents and addreſs, ſeem to have drawn him from his native mediocrity of condition, and placed him in an elevated rank. He originally practiſed phyſic at Altena, on the Elbe, and afterwards attended the preſent king of Denmark, on his travels into England, in quality of phyſician. On his return, he advanced, by rapid ſtrides, in the royal favour; and ſeems to have eminently poſſeſſed the powers of pleaſing, ſince he became equally the favourite of both king and queen. He was inveſted with the order of St. Matilda, inſtituted in honour of her majeſty, created a count, and poſſeſſed unlimited miniſterial power; his conduct, in this ſudden and uncommon eminence, marks a bold and daring mind, perhaps I might add, an expanded and patriotic heart. Unawed by the precarious tenure of courtly greatneſs, and more peculiarly of his own, he began a general reform. The ſtate felt him through all her members; the finances, chancery, army, navy, nobles, peaſants, all were ſenſible of his influence. He not only dictated, but penned his replies to every important queſtion or diſpatch; and a petition, or a ſcheme of public import and utility, rarely waited two hours for an anſwer. At preſent, I am told, you may be two months without receiving any.

The civil judicature of this capital was then veſted in 30 magiſtrates. Struenſee ſent a meſſage to this tribunal, deſiring to know the annual ſalary or penſion annexed to each member; rather alarmed at this enquiry, they ſent an anſwer, in which they diminiſhed their emoluments near two thirds, and eſtimated them at 1500, inſtead of 4000 rix-dollars. The count then informed them, that his majeſty had no farther occaſion for their ſervices; but, in his royal munificence and liberality, was graciouſly pleaſed to continue to them the third part of their avowed incomes, as a proof of his ſatiſfaction of their conduct. He, at the ſame time, conſtituted another court compoſed only of ſix perſons of integrity, to whom the ſame power was delegated. He proceeded to purge the chancery and other bodies of the law. Then entering on the military department, he, at one ſtroke, broke all the horſe guards, and afterwards the regiment of Norwegian foot-guards, the fineſt corps in the ſervice, and who were not diſbanded without a ſhort, but very dangerous ſedition. Still perſevering in this ſalutary, but moſt critical and perilous atchievement, he ultimately began to attempt a diminution of the nobles, and to ſet the farmers and peaſants at perfect liberty; no wonder that he fell a victim to ſuch meaſures; and that all parties joined in his deſtruction. Theſe were his real crimes, and not that he was too acceptable to the queen, which only formed a pretext. It was the miniſter, and not the man, who had become obnoxious. I do not pretend, in the latter capacity, either to excuſe or condemn him; but, as a politician, I rank him with the Clarendons and Mores, whom tyranny, or public buſineſs and want of virtue have brought, in almoſt every age, to an untimely and ignominious exit, but to whoſe memory impartial poſterity have done ample juſtice. Yet I muſt avow, that though I cannot think Struenſee made a bad uſe, yet he certainly made a violent and imprudent one of his extenſive power. He ſeems, if one may judge by his actions, to have been intoxicated with royal favour, and ſuch accumulated honours, and not to have adverted ſufficiently to the examples which hiſtory furniſhes of Wolſeys in former days, and of Choiſeuls in modern times, who moſt ſtrikingly evince the ſlippery foundation of political grandeur. When he was even preſſed, only a ſhort time before his ſeizure, to withdraw from court and paſs the Belts, with the moſt ample ſecurity for his annual remitment of forty, fifty, or even an hundred thouſand dollars, an unhappy faſcination detained him, in defiance of every warning, and reſerved him for the priſon and the block. The queen-dowager and prince Frederic were only the feeble inſtruments to produce this cataſtrophe, as being, by their rank, immediately about the perſon of the ſovereign, though common report has talked loudly of the former's intrigue, and attributed it to her imaginary abilities. The only mark of capacity or addreſs they exhibited, was in preſerving a ſecrecy which deluded Struenſee and the queen Matilda, till the time of their being arreſted. I have been aſſured, that on the laſt levee-day preceding this event, the count was habited with uncommon magnifience, and never received greater homage, or court ſervility from the crowd, than when on the verge of ruin. On the night fixed for his ſeizure, there was a ball paré in the palace. The queen, after dancing as uſual one country dance with the king, gave her hand to Struenſee during the reſt of the evening. She retired about two in the morning, and was followed by him and count Brandt. The moment was now come; the queen dowager, and her ſon prince Frederic haſtened to the king's private chamber, where he was already in bed. They kneeled down beſide him, and implored him, with tears and expoſtulations, to ſave himſelf and Denmark from impending deſtruction, by arreſting thoſe whom they called the authors of it. It is ſaid the king was not eaſily induced to ſign the order, but did it with reluctance and heſitation. At length their entreaties prevailed, and he affixed his ſign manual to the paper. Colonel Koller Banner inſtantly repaired to Struenſee's apartment, which, as well as Brandt's, was in the palace: they were both ſeized at nearly the ſame inſtant, and as all defence was vain, hurried away immediately to the citadel. When count Struenſee ſtepped out of the coach, he ſaid, with a ſmile, to the commandant, "I believe you are not a little ſurprized at ſeeing me brought here as a priſoner." "No, and pleaſe your excellence, replied the old officer bluntly, I am not at all ſurprized, but, on the contrary, have long expected you." It was five o'clock in the morning when count Rantzaw came to the door of her majeſty's anti-chamber, and knocked for admittance. One of the women about the queen's perſon was ordered to wake her, and give her information that ſhe was arreſted: they then put her into one of the king's coaches, drove her down to Elſineur, and ſhut her up in the caſtle of Cronenburgh. Mean while they dreaded an inſurrection in Copenhagen; every military precaution was taken to prevent it; the moſt infamous and ſilly reports were circulated among the populace, to render the ſtate priſoners odious: that they had put poiſon into the king's coffee to deſtroy him; that they intended to declare him incapable of governing; to ſend the dowager-queen Juliana out of the kingdom, as well as her ſon prince Frederic; and to proclaim Matilda regent. To confirm theſe extraordinary and contradictory reports, the king himſelf, and his brother, appeared in a ſtate coach, and paraded through the ſtreets of the city, to ſhew himſelf unhurt, and as if eſcaped from the moſt horrid conſpiracy. During theſe tranſactions, Struenſee and Brandt were detained in the moſt rigorous impriſonment. They loaded the former with very heavy chains about his arms and legs, and he was at the ſame time fixed to the wall by an iron bar. I have ſeen the room, and can aſſure you it is not above 10 or 12 feet ſquare, with a little bed in it, and a miſerable iron ſtove; yet here, in this abode of miſery, did he, though chained, compleat, with a pencil, an account of his life and conduct as miniſter, which is penned, as I have been aſſured, with uncommon genius.

A tribunal was appointed for the trial of the queen and the two counts, and a council aſſigned for each, to preſerve an appearance of juſtice and equity. The reſult of this was, the latter were ſentenced to loſe their heads, and the queen to baniſhment."

The two counts were executed on the 28th of April in a field without the eaſtern gate of the city. A ſcaffold was erected nine yards in height and eight yards ſquare, whither both the priſoners were carried in hackney coaches; in the firſt of which went the attorney general, and ſome attendants. Brandt appeared firſt on the ſcaffold; he had on a gold laced hat, a green ſuit of cloaths, with gold binding, and boots. He ſpoke for ſome little time to Doctor Hee the clergyman; after which the ſentence was read and executed; and his head was ſeveral times expoſed to the view of an immenſe crowd of ſpectators. Next appeared Struenſee on the ſcaffold, accompanied by Dr. Munter, having his hat in his hand, and dreſſed in a blue ſuperfine ſuit: he converſed for a ſhort time with Dr. Munter; and then his ſentence was executed in the ſame manner as the foregoing; after which their bodies were carried to the uſual place of execution, to be there expoſed to the populace.

The crimes they were charged with were theſe: Struenſee was accuſed of having embezzled from the king's coffers a large ſum, amounting to 125,000l. ſterling; of having iſſued many orders from the cabinet without the king's knowledge; of having been guilty of criminal converſation with the queen; of having ſecreted from the king ſeveral letters ſent to his majeſty, &c.---Count Brandt was accuſed of having been privy to Struenſee's criminal converſation, and all his other crimes, without divulging them, and having laid violent hands on the king's majeſty, &c."

From the fate of theſe two noblemen may be ſeen the precariouſneſs of favouritiſm; and that thoſe who riſe rapidly generally fall with equivalent velocity.

> "He that in court ſecure will keep himſelf
> "Muſt not be great, for then he's envy'd at;
> "The ſhrub is ſafe, when as the cedar ſhakes;
> "For where the king doth love above compare,
> "Of others they as much more envy'd are."
>
> SHAKESPEARE.

The queen, after having her two children taken from her, was permitted, by the interceſſion of her royal brother the king of Great Britain, to retire to Zell, in his majeſty's German electorate dominions, where ſhe languiſhed for ſome time, and then died with grief.

No other material tranſactions than thoſe already mentioned happened abroad during the courſe of this year: we ſhall therefore now return, and proceed to a view of affairs at home.

The parliament met on the 26th of November; and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne; in which he informed the members, that his reaſon for calling them ſo ſoon was, to take into their conſideration ſome things of the utmoſt importance. He told them, that he had been informed, from the moſt undoubted authority, that the Eaſt-India Company was in a moſt diſtreſſed condition; and that, as many of his good ſubjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, therefore its ſecurity was now become a national concern. He deſired them to take it into their immediate conſideration, and, if poſſible, lay down ſome rational plan, by which the intereſt and honour of the company might be reſtored, and every thing ſettled on the moſt permanent footing. He took notice, that he had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the powers on the continent, that the peace of Europe would not be any farther diſturbed than ſo far as the war was carried on between the Turks and Ruſſians. He concluded by recommending to them the moſt prudent methods that could be made uſe of, in order to reduce the price of proviſions, as the diſtreſſes of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing would give him greater pleaſure, than to hear that thoſe diſtreſſes were alleviated.

As ſoon as the commons returned to their own houſe, Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Oſſory, moved that a royal addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, and introduced the motion with the following remarks. He ſaid, that the affairs of the Eaſt-India company were in the moſt alarming and ruinous condition; that the immediate interpoſition of parliament was become highly indiſpenſable to their preſervation: that in 1769, the company had agreed with the government to pay the ſum of 4,000l. at every time when their dividend amounted to twelve per cent. and ſo on in proportion, till it fell to ſix, when that payment was to ceaſe: that this being the caſe, and the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the company ſo notorious, it would be neceſſary to make ſome proviſion adequate to the deficiency: that, ſo far from the company's being able to make a dividend of either twelve or ſix per cent. at the end of the next half year, it would be an act of the higheſt fraud in the directors to divide a ſingle ſhilling. Some of the members oppoſed the addreſs; but the vote being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very great majority, and preſented accordingly.

The firſt thing of importance which came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, was the preſent ſtate of the navy, and this occaſioned very warm debates. The objections made by thoſe in oppoſition were to the following import. They ſaid, that the number of ſeamen was too great to be kept up in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours was declared in the ſpeech from the throne. It was further urged, that that the miniſtry had not given in an account in what manner the ſupplies granted laſt year had been uſed, ſo that the houſe was left quite in the dark.

The miniſtry, on the other hand, had but little to ſay; only that they urged the neceſſity of keeping our navy on the moſt reſpectable footing; and ſet forth, that our fleet in the Eaſt-Indies was now much greater than formerly. Thoſe in oppoſition ſaid, that when the public granted money, they had a right to enquire in what manner it was to be laid out, that the utmoſt ſatisfaction ought to be given thoſe who contributed towards ſupporting the dignity of government: that ſome of thoſe employed in the building of ſhips for the royal navy had added to them ſome very extraordinary decorations, which, although wholly unneceſſary, had been attended with great expence. It was added that the ſlow payment of the navy bills was a great hardſhip to thoſe who advanced money on the credit of them; that ſuch an abuſe ought to be redreſſed before any farther ſupplies were granted: that it was very ſurpriſing, that, after the declaration from the throne, that we were in the moſt profound ſtate of peace, as many men ſhould be aſked for as if we were at war with the moſt formidable power in Europe.

Upon the whole, the arguments were carried on with great heat by thoſe in oppoſition; and certainly nothing could be more reaſonable than to lay before the people a ſtate of the public affairs, that they might be ſatisfied whether their money had been laid out in promoting the purpoſes for which it was given. It was aſked, If a naval force muſt be kept up in the Eaſt-Indies, what end it was to anſwer? Had we any enemy to oppoſe in that part of the world; and if ſo, who was that enemy? What armament had been ſent into thoſe ſeas to diſturb our ſettlement, or haraſs our trade? It was farther aſked, in an ironical manner, Whether the Chineſe had fitted out a fleet, whether we had any pirates to contend with, and whether the ghoſt of the famous Angria had made its appearance on the theatre of this world? If no anſwer could be made to theſe queſtions, if no reaſon could be aſſigned for keeping up ſuch a ſtrong naval force, then the motion ought to be rejected, and no money granted for that purpoſe, ſeeing there was no reaſon for it, unleſs it was to burthen the people with unneceſſary taxes. But, notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, no ſooner was the queſtion put, than it was carried for the miniſtry by a great majority, and the ſupplies were granted.

This buſineſs being finiſhed, a motion was made to enquire into the nature of thoſe cauſes which occaſioned the dearth of all ſorts of proviſions, but nothing was done that could be of any real ſervice to the public. Several regulations, indeed, were made with reſpect to bread, and ſome reſtrictions laid upon the bakers; but, unleſs the rents of landed eſtates and farms can be lowered, by the retrenchment of different ſpecies of luxury, the legiſlature itſelf will never be able to remedy the evils complained of. To redreſs any grievances, nothing can be more proper, nothing more ſalutary, than to begin with the effects, and trace them up to the original cauſes from whence they ſpring. In vain does the legiſlative power lay the inferior order of tradeſmen under ſome ſort of reſtrictions, when, at the ſame time, it is well known, that unleſs the cauſes are removed, the effects muſt remain in the ſame ſtate as before. Moſt of thoſe who compoſe our houſes of parliament are landholders; and if they know that the rents of their farms are double to what they were twenty years ago, conſequently, the prices of all ſorts of proviſions muſt riſe in proportion.

A ſecret committee having been appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt-India company's affairs, it was found, by their report, that the affairs of the company were both perplexed, and very much diſtreſſed. It was therefore propoſed, that ſuperviſors ſhould be ſent out to the Eaſt-Indies, to make a proper enquiry how far the officers and ſervants belonging to the company had abuſed the truſt repoſed in them, and to have power to grant redreſs to all thoſe who thought themſelves in the leaſt injured. Some of the members whoſe fortunes lay in the Eaſt-India ſtock, made ſtrong objections to this bill, while thoſe who ſupported it retorted upon them, by declaring, that nothing but oppreſſion had been carried on in that part of the world; and as the company had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged ſuch practices, it was now high time to call them to an account for their conduct, and prevent them, for the future, from acting in ſuch a manner as could ſerve no other end beſides that of diſgracing themſelves, and bringing a real diſhonour upon the nation. At laſt the motion was carried in the uſual manner; and ſuperviſors were appointed, with plenary powers to make a proper enquiry into all the abuſes complained of, and to rectify them as far as lay in their power.

A motion was next made to enquire into the ſtate of the army; and particularly, whether it was neceſſary that we ſhould, in times of peace, keep up ſuch a ſtrong military force as ſeemed of no other uſe but to impoveriſh the nation, and to be ready at all times to ſupport the arbitrary dictates of a miniſter. It was ſaid by thoſe who promoted the motion, that the national militia was at all times able to preſerve us from our enemies at home; and as for ſuch ſettlements as we had broad, a very ſmall force was ſufficient, eſpecially as we were not engaged in a war with any of the powers on the continent. In anſwer to this, the miniſtry ſaid, that all other European nations kept up ſtanding armies, and therefore it was, in a manner, neceſſary that we ſhould do the ſame, otherwiſe, if a war was to break out, we ſhould be utterly unprepared, and, conſequently, we ſhould be expoſed to many unforeſeen dangers. In this affair the miniſtry carried their point, the motion being objected to by a great majority.

A. D. 1773. The firſt buſineſs the parliament entered on after the holidays was, to take into conſideration the acts relating to penalties inflicted on thoſe who infringed the laws reſpecting the preſervation of the game. As this ſubject is of great importance to the inhabitants of a free country, it was diſcuſſed both upon natural and municipal principles. It is certain that every thing which ſeems to have an exiſtence upon natural principles, will at all times attract the notice of the public; and ſuch as may, probably, have no concern in the diſpute, will, notwithſtanding, intereſt themſelves in it. Thus a wild beaſt in the fields has been, time immemorial, conſidered as the property of the public; and if either its fleſh or ſkin were of any value, then the perſon who took or killed it was to conſider it as his own. In proof of this, it may be added, that ſome of the Anglo-Saxon kings remitted the tax which the Welch uſed to pay, upon condition that they produced a certain number of wolves heads, by which means that deſtructive ſpecies of animals was eradicated out of the country.

It was urged, on the other hand, that whatever might be the privileges belonging to men in a ſtate of nature, they were all cancelled as ſoon as civil ſociety took place: that all municipal laws were made for the good of ſociety, and in the preamble to every act, reaſons were aſſigned for the conduct of the legiſlative power. One reaſon, indeed, was declared to be unanſwerable, and that was, that in a commercial nation, where every perſon is ſuppoſed to get his living by honeſt induſtry, the purſuit of game ought in general to be laid under the ſevereſt reſtrictions: that poaching, or killing of game, led the lower order of people away from their lawful employments; and while they were ſpending their time in taking a hare or a fox, their families were left to ſtarve: that although the laws made for the preſervation of the game might ſeem to interfere with private property, yet they were ſuch as would ſtand warranted by good ſenſe and ſober reaſon. Nothing, however, was done on this ſubject. The miniſtry promoted the bill, in order to acquire ſome ſhare of popularity; and the patriots oppoſed it, merely for the ſake of oppoſition.

Some diſorders having happened in the Weſt-Indies, a committee was appointed to make a proper enquiry into the cauſes, and to report to the houſe, whether the things complained of originated from the arbitrary proceedings of the governors, or the refractory conduct of the people. The miniſtry did all they could to ſupport this enquiry, but, after the committee had examined a great number of witneſſes, no ſatisfactory account could be obtained, and things ſtood on the ſame footing as before.

A motion was now made, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to enquire into the propriety of foreigners being connected in our trade to any parts of the world, excluſive of Europe. This motion took its riſe from the following cauſe, namely, the power granted to the lords of the admiralty to ſtop all ſhips which are not wholly the property of Britiſh ſubjects. It was proved, by the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes, that ſome ſhips had been detained at Graveſend a whole month, for no other reaſon, but becauſe part of the cargoes belonged to foreign merchants. The reſult of all this was, that leave was given to bring in a bill to remedy the evil, which having paſſed both houſes received the royal aſſent.

It is a maxim in the law of nature, that juſtice ſhould be freely adminiſtered at the expence of the whole community, becauſe it is ſuppoſed to be done for the preſervation of the whole; and it will often happen, eſpecially in large communities, that an innocent perſon may be accuſed of crimes, thrown into a priſon, and brought to a public trial. It is true, he may, from a variety of circumſtances, be able to prove his own innocence; yet, when the jury has acquitted him, he cannot be diſcharged, in many parts of England, till ſuch times as he has paid certain fees to the gaoler. Long, indeed, had this practice been a diſgrace to the nation, till, about fifty years ago, the city of London, at the inſtance of baron Thompſon, their recorder, ſet the example of diſcharging every priſoner without fees as ſoon as he was acquitted by the jury. The noble generoſity of the citizens of London was not, however, adopted by thoſe who lived in more diſtant counties. No proviſion was made to defray the expences of diſcharging felons from priſon; ſo that inſtances were produced of ſome poor men lying a whole year in gaol, becauſe they could not pay their fees. To remedy an evil of ſo glaring a nature, a bill was brought in to oblige every county to make good all the deficiencies incurred to the gaolers by keeping the priſoners. To the honour of the preſent age, let it be here remembered, that a bill, formed by the heart of charity, and ſupported by benevolence, paſſed with the almoſt unanimous conſent of the houſe. In conſequence of this humane reſolution, the priſoner who is now acquitted muſt be diſcharged without paying his fees. The verdict of the jury ſhall make him as free as if he had never been in priſon; he may go from the bar to his own family without being called in queſtion, or detained for any fees whatever; his impriſonment being conſidered as a great puniſhment, after his innocence has been proved.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the 1ſt of July his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

A ſhort time before the cloſe of the ſeſſions, his majeſty made an excurſion to Portſmouth, in order to inſpect the ſtate of the dock-yard, forts, &c. at that place; as alſo to review the fleet aſſembled at Spithead for that purpoſe. The particulars of this royal excurſion were as follow:

Early in the morning of the 22d of June his majeſty ſet out from Kew, and arrived at Portſmouth between ten and eleven o'clock the ſame morning, where he was received by a royal ſalute of twenty-one guns. On his majeſty's entering the Land Port Gate, he was ſaluted by a triple diſcharge of 232 pieces of cannon mounted on the ramparts of Portſmouth, at Blockhouſe fort, and at South-ſea Caſtle. His majeſty then proceeded through the town to the Dock-yard, and arrived at the commiſſioner's houſe a little before eleven o'clock. The artificers and workmen belonging to the yard, being all aſſembled at the houſe, gave three cheers as his majeſty entered, and then immediately diſperſed, and returned to their ſeveral employments.

After his majeſty had taken ſome refreſhment, he went to the governor's houſe in the town, attended by a great number of the nobility, and there held a public levee, at which a great number of the officers of the navy and army were preſent, as alſo many gentlemen of the country, who, on this occaſion, came to pay their duty to his majeſty. The mayor, recorder, aldermen and burgeſſes of the town of Portſmouth, alſo waited on his majeſty with a dutiful and loyal addreſs. They were all graciouſly received, and had the honour to kiſs the king's hand; after which his majeſty was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on John Carter, eſq. the mayor.

When the levee was over, his majeſty returned to the dock-yard, and about two o'clock embarked in a barge (in which the royal ſtandard was immediately hoiſted) attended by the earl of Sandwich, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, and ſeveral others of the nobility. He then proceeded to Spithead, attended by the barge of the board of admiralty, with the flag of their office, the three admirals of the ſquadron (which conſiſted of twenty ſhips of the line, two frigates and three ſloops with their flags) and all the captains of the fleet with their pendants in their barges.

As ſoon as his majeſty arrived at Spithead, he went on board the Barfleur of 90 guns, where he was received by the board of admiralty, the captain being at the head of the accommodation ladder, and the ſide manned by the lieutenants of the ſhips. When his majeſty paſſed the guard of marines on the quarter-deck, the flag of the lord high admiral, which was then flying, was ſtruck, and the royal ſtandard hoiſted at the main-top-maſt head, and the union flag at the mizen-top maſt head: on the ſight of which all the ſhips, except the Barfleur, ſaluted with 21 guns each. The ſhip being cleared the ſame as for action, and the officers and men at their reſpective quarters, his majeſty (after the nobility and the flag officers had paid their duty to him on the quarter deck) walked fore and aft on the lower gun deck, and took a circumſpect view of the whole.

At half an hour after three o'clock his majeſty ſat down to a table of thirty covers, at which many of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction, as well as officers of the navy and army of the rank of colonel and upwards, were admitted to the honour of dining. After dinner, the queen's health being drank, the whole fleet ſaluted with twenty-one guns; and, on his majeſty's retiring from table, his health was likewiſe drank with the ſame ſalute.

At ſix o'clock his majeſty left the Barfleur, and went on board the Auguſta yacht, where he was received by the board of admiralty. The royal ſtandard, with the lord high admiral's flag and the union flag were immediately hoiſted, as they had been on board the Barfleur; and his majeſty ſailed into the harbour. The ſhips at Spithead ſaluted in the ſame manner as when his majeſty came out, and the admirals and captains attended him to the harbour's mouth; after which they returned to their reſpective ſhips. His majeſty landed at the dock about eight o'clock, and returned to the commiſſioner's houſe, where he reſided during the whole time of his ſtay at Portſmouth.

The next morning (Wedneſday June 23) about eight o'clock his majeſty began to view the dock-yard, the ſhips building and repairing, and the reſpective magazines. At eleven he went in his barge, and proceeded up the harbour to view the ſhips lying in ordinary; three of which his majeſty went on board of, viz. the Britannia, a firſt rate, of 100 guns; the Royal William, a ſecond rate, of 84 guns; and the Defiance, a third rate of 64 guns. At half an hour after two his majeſty went off to Spithead to dine on board the Barfleur, attended by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, the flag officers and captains in their barges as before. At ſix o'clock his majeſty went from the Barfleur on board the Auguſta Yacht, and ſailed towards St. Helen's till near eight, and then ſtood in for the harbour; but, it falling calm, his majeſty left the yatcht, and was rowed to the dock in his barge, where he arrived at half an hour after nine, the ſhips and fortifications ſaluting, and the flag officers and captains attending him to the mouth of the harbour, as they had done the day before.

Thurſday June 24. At ſix o'clock in the morning his majeſty went to the gun-wharf, where he was received by the maſter-general of the Ordnance, the lieutenant-general and principal officers of that department, and minutely viewed the magazines, artillery and ſtores. At ſeven his majeſty returned to the dock-yard, and viewed ſuch parts of the yard, magazines, and works carrying on, as he had not ſeen before. At ten his majeſty went on board the Venus, a frigate of 36 guns, lying in ordinary, and from thence he went to Weovil, where he viewed the brewery, cooperage and magazines, and then returned to the dock. At two o'clock his majeſty went off to Spithead, in the ſame ſtate as on the preceding days, to dine on board the Barfleur. At half after five he went on board the Auguſta Yacht, attended as before, and, having ſailed through part of the line of ſhips, ſtood into the harbour, and landed at the dock at half after ſeven, the flag officers and captains attending his majeſty in their barges to the mouth of the harbour, and the fortifications ſaluting as on the former days.—His majeſty this day conferred the honour of knighthood on vice-admiral Pye, and likewiſe promoted him to the rank of admiral of the blue. He alſo conferred the honour of knighthood on Richard Spry, rear admiral of the white; captain Knight of the Ocean, Captain Edward Vernon, of the Barfleur, and Captain Richard Bickerton, of the Auguſta yacht.

Friday, June 25. Between five and ſix in the morning his majeſty went from the dock-yard to view the new works and fortifications of Portſmouth, beginning from the fartheſt part of the common round to the ſaluting platform. At ſeven his majeſty returned to the dock, and embarked on board the Auguſta yacht for Spithead, from whence he proceeded as far as Sandown Bay, where the ſtandard was ſaluted by the caſtle. About five o'clock his majeſty returned to Spithead, and after ſailing along the line of ſhips he ſtood towards the harbour, and came to an anchor within half a mile of South-Sea Caſtle, where his majeſty was attended by the admiral, the rear-admiral, and all the captains and lieutenants of the fleet at Spithead, who had ſeverally the honour of kiſſing his majeſty's hand. While the yacht was at anchor, the ramparts of the town being lined with land forces and marines, fired a feu de joy at ten o'clock, by a triple diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry all round the works; immediately after which the yacht weighed, proceeded into the harbour, and landed his majeſty at the dock at half paſt ten o'clock.

In all the proceſſions above-mentioned to Spithead and back again, the ſhores, both on the Portſmouth and Goſport ſides, were lined with an incredible number of people, who expreſſed their loyalty, by ſaluting his majeſty with guns, acclamations, and other demonſtrations of joy: and the houſes were illuminated every evening during his majeſty's ſtay.

The king was pleaſed to expreſs the higheſt approbation of the good order and diſcipline of his fleet, the excellent condition of the dock-yard, arſenals and garriſon, and the regularity with which every thing was conducted; and ſhewed the utmoſt ſatisfaction of the demonſtration of loyalty and affection with which he was received by all ranks of people.

His majeſty ſet out from the commiſſioner's houſe at Portſmouth about 7 o'clock on the Saturday morning, and arrived at Kew in perfect health about two o'clock in the afternoon.

Previous to his majeſty's departure from Portſmouth, he was pleaſed to order the following ſums to be diſtributed, viz.

To the artificers, workmen and labourers of the dock-yard, victualling office, and gun-wharf, 1500l.

To the companies of the Barfleur and Auguſta yacht, and the crew of his majeſty's barge, 350l.

To the poor of Portſmouth, Portſea and Goſport, 250l.

He was alſo pleaſed to make ſome other ſmall gratuities, and to releaſe the priſoners confined in Portſmouth jail.

With reſpect to the ſtate of affairs on the continent, particularly in Poland, and near the Danube, nothing deciſive happened during the whole of this year. Many different engagements happened, indeed, between the Turks and Ruſſians; but both parties continued ſtill in ſuch an uncertain ſtate, that they were obliged to act on the defenſive. Some propoſals indeed were made by each party, towards bringing about a peace, but nothing was done, for the Ruſſians were high in their demands, and the Turks were too proud to comply. The king of Pruſſia, that great politician and general, to whom even reſt is painful, propoſed, that the wretched kingdom of Poland ſhould be divided into three parts, in the following manner. That vaſt, extenſive tract of land, reaching from the Boriſthenes to Muſcovy, was to be ceded to the empreſs of Ruſſia; the emperor of Germany was to have the ſouthern parts of Great Poland from Warſaw to Cracovia, and from thence to the confines of Hungary. All that part of Poland which reaches from Warſaw along the Oder and Viſtula to Dantzick, and afterwards along the coaſt of the Baltic Sea, were to be given to the king of Pruſſia. Thus a nation, one of the moſt fertile in Europe, after being torn in pieces by inteſtine diviſions, was to become the property of three mighty ſovereigns who had no right to it beſides that of lawleſs power. The great object the artful king of Pruſſia had in view, was to ſieze the opulent town of Dantzick, in order to open a trade to Peterſburgh through the Sound, and to all the other mercantile ſtates in Europe. This was one of the boldeſt ſtrokes that could have been ſtruck; but in all things the king of Pruſſia is ſuch a maſter in politics, as well as the art of war, that no enterprize ſeems too difficult for him to engage in; his ambition was at this time, as it ſtill is, unbounded, notwithſtanding his advanced years ſeem to threaten a decay of nature.

In Italy the pope put a final end to the order of Jeſuits. This order has produced a great number of very eminent men, and has contribued more to the revival of learning, and to the advancement of knowledge in the church of Rome, than all the monaſtic orders put together; while at the ſame time their eagerneſs to intermeddle in political affairs was ſuppoſed to render them dangerous to ſtates, and their ſpeculative and metaphyſical opinions to religion and morality.

The pope's bull for the ſuppreſſion of this ſociety contains a great number of charges, which, in general, are looſe and voluminous, and rather comprehend a recapitulation of all the complaints that have been made againſt them from their firſt inſtitution, without regard to the proofs that were brought in their ſupport, or the deciſions that were paſſed upon them, than of direct accuſations. Thus are enumerated, early diſſentions among themſelves, and quarrels with other orders, as well as with the ſecular clergy, with the public ſchools, academies and univerſities, together with diſputes that aroſe upon the authority aſſumed or exerciſed by their general, and with the princes in whoſe countries they were received, with a long roll of ſuch general matters, without any particular obſervations on their nature, cauſes, or iſſue. An early appeal againſt them, not long after their inſtitution, by Philip II. of Spain, was with more propriety taken notice of; as were the appeals brought by ſeveral other ſovereigns ſince that time: and their late expulſion from France, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, is among the number of their accuſations. They are particularly charged with an inſatiable avidity for temporal poſſeſſions, with diſturbing the peace of the church in Europe, Africa and America; of giving ſcandal in their miſſions, as well by quarrelling with other miſſionaries, and by invading their rights, as by the practice of idolatrous ceremonies in certain places, in contempt of thoſe approved by the church. Their doctrines are alſo attacked, and they are charged with giving uſes and applications to certain maxims, which are proſcribed as ſcandalous, and manifeſtly contrary to good morals; and of having adopted dangerous opinions, in matters of the greateſt moment and importance, with reſpect to the preſerving of the purity and integrity of the doctrines contained in the goſpel; and which are ſaid to be productive of the great evils and dangers to the church, as well as to ſome particular chriſtian ſtates.

After ſumming up theſe, and various other cauſes, for their diſſolution, particularly the preſervation of peace in the chriſtian republic, and their incapability in the preſent circumſtances of anſwering the purpoſe of their inſtitution, together with other motives reſerved in the breaſt of the ſovereign pontiff, all eccleſiaſtics, of whatever rank and dignity, and particularly thoſe who have been members of the ſociety, are forbidden, under ſentence of excommunication, to impugn, combat, or even to write or ſpeak about this ſuppreſſion, to enter into its reaſon or motives, or into any diſcuſſions about the inſtitute of the company, its form of government, or other circumſtances relating to it, without an expreſs permiſſion from the pontiff for that purpoſe.

In conſequence of this bull, on the 16th of Auguſt, ten biſhops went at night, attended by a detachment of Corſican ſoldiers, to all the colleges and houſes belonging to the Jeſuits in Rome, of which they took poſſeſſion, and having placed the neceſſary guards, the communities were aſſembled, and after the proper notices and forms were gone through, thoſe fathers delivered up their keys; and the locks of their archives being ſealed, and effects of all ſorts being ſecured, even to proviſions, they were allowed eight days to find new dwellings, and to quit the habit of the order. They at the ſame time gave up their ſchools, and reſigned all the functions of their miniſtry, of whatever ſort or nature. The bull extended to all countries whatever in which they were placed, and ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould harbour or conceal any of their effects.

Their general, father Ricis, was appointed to a biſhopric, and ſuch of the Jeſuits as were already in holy orders were allowed either to become ſecular clergymen, or to enter into other orders, having firſt ſerved the accuſtomed noviciate of that into which they were to enter; penſions were to be allowed out of their former poſſeſſions to thoſe who became ſecular clerks, and the biſhops, under whoſe juriſdiction they were totally to remain, had a diſcretionary power to admit ſuch of them as were remarkable for learning and purity of doctrine, to preach and to confeſs, from which they were totally reſtrained, without a written licence for that purpoſe. Thoſe who had through the laſt vows, or who, through age and infirmities, were unfit to enter into the world, were to be collected and placed in one or more of their antient houſes or colleges, where they were for ever reſtrained from preaching, confeſſion, and all the functions of their miniſtry, and only allowed to exiſt upon a trifling pittance for life; the biſhops being particularly charged to look to the ſtrict obſervance of theſe prohibitions. Such as were diſpoſed to dedicate their time to the inſtruction of youth were totally debarred from all ſhare in the government of thoſe colleges or ſchools in which they ſerved, and the ſtricteſt caution was preſcribed, that none ſhould be admitted to that ſervice, who did now ſhew themſelves averſe to all ſpirit of diſpute, and who were untainted with any doctrines that might occaſion or ſtir up frivolous and dangerous controverſies. The ſcholars and novices were returned to their reſpective homes, and thoſe who had only taken the firſt vows were diſcharged from them; and all the ſtatutes, rules, cuſtoms, decrees, and conſtitutions of the order, even though confirmed by oath, were totally annulled and abrogated.

Such was the final fate of this celebrated ſociety, which, with a very conſiderable ſtock of learning and abilities, had found means to render itſelf odious to all the nations and religions in the chriſtian world. The riches which were found in their houſes and colleges, whether in ſpecie, plate or jewels, were very inconſiderable, and greatly diſappointed the hopes of thoſe who expected to have found inexhauſtible treaſures in the ſearch. Whether the were able to evade the terrors of excommunication, and to elude the greater dangers, ariſing from they prying and rapacious eyes of covetouſneſs, by ſecreting their moſt valuable moveables, is ſtill a matter to be determined; though, with reſpect to any thing conſiderable, the probability is otherwiſe.

A. D. 1774. The parliament met on the 25th of January, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty, who, in his ſpeech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their ſerious conſideration the ſtate of the colonies, who ſeemed to be attempting to throw off all ſubjection to the Britiſh government. He told them, that the moſt ſalutary laws had been treated with contempt, and publict acts of parliament had been deſpiſed, as if they had been the mandates of ſingle perſons: that the colonies were little better than in a ſtate of rebellion; and that, unleſs ſome vigorous meaſures were uſed to force them to obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which took place among the different ranks of beings, would once more return to its original ſtate of confuſion. He concluded by recommending to them the ſtate of the gold coin, which had ſuffered much by the illicit practices of wicked perſons, and hoped they would put it on a ſolid foundation.

When the commons had returned to their own houſe, ſtrong debates enſued upon the words of the addreſs which ſhould be preſented to his majeſty. Thoſe in the intereſt of the court inſiſted, that an implicit acknowledgment ſhould be made, thanking his majeſty for his paternal care of the nation, and to promiſe that every reaſonable meaſure ſhould be complied with. On the other hand, it was urged by thoſe in oppoſition, that the colonies, ſo far from being in a ſtate of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of thoſe rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of ſociety: that the mother country had no right to tax thoſe emigrants, unleſs a conſent to that meaſure was firſt had and obtained from their own repreſentatives: that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any ſenſe whatever repreſented in the Britiſh parliament; and therefore, till ſuch time as that legal repreſentation took place, no taxes could, in juſtice, be impoſed upon them. As to the affair of the gold coin, it was (ſaid they) a great hardſhip to the honeſt, induſtrious trading part of the nation; and that the miniſtry ought, before any thing of that nature had been propoſed, to have laid down ſome rational plan by which the public would have been indemnified. Such were the outlines of the arguments made uſe of by both parties; but the queſtion being put to the vote, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the court.

The grand object which the government had in view, was to reduce the colonies to a ſtate of obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity they were under of being ſubject to the mother-country; and therefore a bill was brought in of a very coercive nature. Three ſhips laden with tea, which had been ſent from England, were plundered by the people of Boſton, and their cargoes, conſiſting of 342 cheſts, thrown into the ſea. As this was an act which infringed on private property, it called aloud for the exertion of the regal power. Accordingly, an act paſſed to remove the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by ſeveral ſhips of war.

Many important affairs were diſcuſſed during this ſeſſion of parliament; and ſeveral uſeful acts were paſſed. Among theſe was one for the better regulation of the gold coin; and another relative to the naturalizing of foreigners. The freedom of this country is ſo great and uncircumſcribed, that many bad uſes had been made of it by deſigning perſons. To remedy an evil attended with ſo many deſtructive conſequences, a new law was eſtabliſhed, by which no foreigner naturalized ſhould enjoy the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject, unleſs he reſides in the country.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the 22d of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills [*] as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion.

The attention of the miniſtry was at this time particularly engaged in providing for the ſafety of our fellow ſubjects in the Eaſt-Indies. It had long been complained of, that the ſervants of the company, at their principal ſettlements, had acted in a very oppreſſive and illegal manner, nor indeed had any code of laws been made for their ſecurity. The great diſtance from England rendered it difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, for any perſon to obtain redreſs. It was therefore reſolved in council, that four gentlemen learned in the laws, and of the moſt approved integrity, ſhould be ſent over to Aſia, where we have ſettlements, and act there as judges. They were to hold pleas of the crown, determine in real, mixed and perſonal actions, to give judgment in all caſes of equity, in every thing relating to the revenue, ſo that their power included all that is lodged in the courts of Weſtminſter-hall; but as the ſettlements are diſtant from each other, ſo the courts were not to be fixed, but to move from one place to another, that juſtice might be equally diſtributed to all ranks of people.

It is, perhaps, impoſſible to prevent abuſes, unleſs nature itſelf could be changed; but certainly the government could have done no more for the good of our ſubjects in India, than that of ſending out judges. It muſt ſerve to give ſome reſpect to the laws, and impreſs mens minds with a reverence for juſtice. The ſalaries of the judges being very large, they are placed above temptation to corrupt actions; and their authority extending over all ranks of perſons, the rich cannot have it in their power to oppreſs the poor.

The affairs on the continent this year bore a very different aſpect to the preceding. On the 21ſt of January the emperor Muſtapha the Third died at Conſtantinople, in the 58th year of his age, and 17th of his reign; and was ſucceeded by his brother Abdul-Hamet. Some commotions were made in favour of the young prince Selim, but they were eaſily ſuppreſſed, and the war upon the Danube was carried on with vigour; nor did the Ottoman miniſtry fail to encourage as much as poſſible the proceeeings of one Pugatſcheff, a Ruſſian, who for ſome time had acted in open rebellion againſt his country. The Turks, however, were defeated in various engagements; diſorder, mutiny, and deſertion prevailed among the troops; the grand vizir being abandoned by the greateſt part of his forces, was obliged to accede to the terms preſcribed by the enemy, who had ſurrounded him at Schumla. Theſe ill ſucceſſes threw the whole Ottoman empire into confuſion; and at length the Port thought proper to agree to, and ratify, articles of peace propoſed by the Ruſſians, the principal of which were theſe:

1. The independency of the Crimea.
2. The abſolute ceſſion to Ruſſia of Kilburn, Kerche,

---

[*] Among the bills ſigned this day was one which produced a univerſal diſcontent among the people. It was entitled, "An Act for the future government of Quebec." The principal clauſes that gave offence were two; by the firſt of which the Romiſh clergy were to have the exerciſe of their religion as eſtabliſhed by the firſt of Queen Elizabeth; and might enjoy and receive the accuſtomed dues and rights from perſons profeſſing the Romiſh religion. By the ſecond clauſe, all controverſies relative to property and civil rights were to be determined by the Canada laws then in being, or ſuch as might be afterwards enacted by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and legiſlative council.

Kerche, Jenichala, and all the diſtrict between the Bog and the Dinpier.

3. A free navigation in all the Turkiſh ſeas, including the paſſage through the Dardanelles, with all the privileges and immunities which are granted to the moſt favoured nations.

In return for theſe conceſſions, Ruſſia was to reſtore all ſhe had conquered, Aſaph and Tangarok excepted.

The grand Vizir died, as was ſuppoſed, of a broken heart, on his return to Conſtantinople; and public rejoicings were made at St. Peterſburgh for the uncommon ſucceſs of the Ruſſian arms.

The rebel, Pugatſcheff, was taken priſoner by the Ruſſian army, and ſoon after put to death.

Thus ended a war between the Turks and Ruſſians, in which many thouſands of lives were loſt, and a great number of places totally deſtroyed.

The diſturbances in America this year ſtill continued to increaſe. In conſequence of the Boſton Port bill, which had paſſed the laſt ſeſſion, the people of New England began to form themſelves into companies, practiſe the military arts, enter into ſolemn leagues and covenants, &c. Several other colonies followed the example, provincial aſſemblies were held, and a general congreſs eſtabliſhed, to which deputies from the ſeveral provinces were invited.

Excluſive of bickerings and animoſities between the Royaliſts and Provincials, and the martial parade of the latter, the only material tranſaction that tock place was, the ſeizure of Fort William and Mary, near Portſmouth in New Hampſhire, by the Provincial militia, in which they found 106 barrels of gunpowder, ſeveral cannons, ſhot, ſmall arms, &c.

On the 10th of May this year Lewis XV. the French king paid the debt of nature. He died at Verſailles of the ſmall-pox, in the 64th year of his age, and the 59th of his reign. He was ſucceeded by the preſent king, his grandſon, a young prince about 20 years of age, married to one of the ſiſters of the emperor of Germany *.

The death of the French king was followed by that of Pope Clement XIV. which happened on the 21ſt of September, not without ſome ſuſpicion of poiſon. He was ſucceeded by cardinal Braſchi, who was elected by the name of Pius VI. and is the preſent Pontiff.

During theſe occurrences abroad, the Engliſh parliament was diſſolved by proclamation, and the writs for calling a new one were made returnable on the 29th of November. Accordingly, on that day, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and being in his royal robes ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the Commons in the houſe of peers; who being come, the king, by his chancellor, ſignified his pleaſure that they ſhould return and chuſe a ſpeaker, to be preſented next day for his majeſty's approbation. They returned accordingly, and unanimouſly choſe Sir Fletcher Norton.

The next day his majeſty went again in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and having approved of the Commons choice of a ſpeaker, opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It gives me much concern, that I am obliged, at the opening of this parliament, to inform you, that a moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience to the law ſtill unhappily prevails in the province of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in freſh violences of a very criminal nature. Theſe proceedings have been countenanced and encouraged in other of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obſtruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations. I have taken ſuch meaſures, and given ſuch orders, as I judged moſt proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament for the protection and ſecurity of the commerce of my ſubjects, and for the reſtoring and preſerving peace, order and good government, in the province of the Maſſachuſet's Bay; and you may depend upon my firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of this legiſlature over all the dominions of my crown; the maintenance of which I conſider as eſſential to the dignity, the ſafety, and the welfare of the Britiſh empire; aſſuring myſelf, that, while I act upon theſe principles, I ſhall never fail to receive your aſſiſtance and ſupport.

"I have the greateſt ſatisfaction in being able to inform you, that a treaty of peace is concluded between Ruſſia and the Porte. By this happy event, the troubles which have ſo long prevailed in one part of Europe are compoſed, and the general tranquillity rendered complete. It ſhall be my conſtant aim and endeavour to prevent the breaking out of freſh diſturbances; and I cannot but flatter myſelf I ſhall ſucceed, as I continue to receive the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from other powers of their being equally diſpoſed to preſerve the peace.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

"I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be laid before you; and I doubt not but that, in this Houſe of Commons, I ſhall meet with the ſame affectionate confidence, and the ſame proofs of zeal and attachment to my perſon and government, which I have always, during the courſe of my reign, received from my faithful Commons.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Let me particularly recommend to you, at this time, to proceed with temper in your deliberations, and

---

* The late French king was born on the 15th of February, 1710, and in 1715 ſucceeded his great grandfather, his own father, grandfather, ſeveral uncles and brothers having all died of the ſmall-pox. As he was only five years of age when he was crowned, his uncle the duke of Orleans was, as firſt prince of the blood, appointed regent during his minority. But the king took the reins of government upon himſelf when he was little more than ſixteen years of age, having previouſly married the only daughter of the good Staniſlaus, once king of Poland, and afterwards duke of Lorrain. His great miniſter for ſome years was the cardinal Fleury, a man who had acquired all the knowledge of courts that could be obtained in a cloſe attendance to buſineſs above ſixty years; but when he died, the king reſolved to govern as much as poſſible without the aſſiſtance of favourites.

We have already ſeen that he carried on two bloody and expenſive wars againſt Britain; in one of which he was very ſucceſsful; but in the other, namely, the laſt, his nation, army and navy were, in a manner, totally ruined. In his perſon Lewis XV. was extremely handſome, and had a moſt engaging countenance. In attending on public buſineſs, he was very regular; but he has been blamed for too ſtrong an attachment to the army. This, however, ought to be conſidered as the reigning taſte of France, and not ſolely the foible of the ſovereign. The French have never yet, in the midſt of all their refinements, been able to diveſt themſelves of that barbarous notion which was ſo much cheriſhed in former times, to look upon no perſon as honourable, who was not a ſoldier. In his pleaſures he has been much cenſured; becauſe it generally happened that his miſtreſſes got the aſcendancy ſo far over him, as to occaſion ſeveral changes in the government, merely by their intrigues.

As great pains had been taken to give him a good education, he was even to the laſt a lover of learning and learned men. He had ſuch elevated notions of the neceſſity of a toleration in religious matters, that the power of the church of Rome fell into great contempt during his reign. Two reaſons, indeed, concurred towards preventing him from following his own inclinations in giving free liberty of conſcience to his proteſtant ſubjects. The firſt was, the inveterate prejudices of the vulgar nouriſhed by the clergy; and the ſecond, the wretched bigotry of his ſon the dauphin.

and with unanimity in your reſolutions. Let my people, in every part of my dominions, be taught, by your example, to have a due reverence for the laws, and a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings of our excellent conſtitution. They may be aſſured that, on my part, I have nothing ſo much at heart as the real proſperity and laſting happineſs of all my ſubjects."

To this ſpeech both houſes preſented very loyal and affectionate addreſſes; to each of which his majeſty was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer.

As this was the firſt ſeſſion of a new parliament, the ſwearing in of the members and other trifling matters incident on ſuch occaſions, engaged their attention for ſome days. This being over, they proceeded to buſineſs, which was begun by the houſe reſolving itſelf into a committee of ſupply to his majeſty; when the following reſolutions were agreed to, viz.

That 16,000 ſeamen, including 4284 marines, ſhould be granted for the enſuing year.

That 17,547 effective men, including 1522 invalids, be employed for the land-ſervice for 1775. And that 1,627,689l. be granted to his majeſty for maintaining the ſaid men.

That 386,186l. be granted for maintaining the forces in the plantations, North-America, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, &c. And 11,473l. for the pay of Generals and General Staff-Officers.

That 122,221l. be granted for the Out-Penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital.

That 28,059l. be granted for the office of ordnance for land-ſervice. And 32,748l. for the ſaid office, for ſervices performed, and not provided for.

The committee of ways and means levied the land-tax at 3s. in the pound. This occaſioned great debates in the houſe, but at length the queſtion being put, the houſe agreed with the committee, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

On the 22d of December his majeſty went, in the uſual ſtate, to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills:

An Act for laying a duty on malt, mum, cyder and perry, for the year 1775.

An Act to allow the importation of Indian corn, under certain reſtrictions.

And a naturalization bill.

After which his majeſty adjourned the parliament to the 19th of January.

A. D. 1775. The parliament met, purſuant to their adjournment, when lord North preſented to the houſe, by his majeſty's command, ſeveral bundles of American papers, the titles of which, being read by the clerk, appeared to be extracts of letters from the ſeveral governors of Boſton, New-York, New-Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland, Virginia, Pennſylvania, South-Carolina: the proceedings of the Continental and Provincial Congreſs, the firſt held at Philadelphia, and the latter at Cambridge near Boſton: inſtructions given at Provincial meetings of the ſeveral delegates appointed to aſſemble at the congreſs; copies of hand-bills; anonymous letters; reſolutions of different aſſemblies; proteſts of ſeveral diſtricts in the province of Georgia; meſſages between general Gage and the houſe of repreſentatives, with extracts of the ſeveral letters that paſſed between general Gage, lord Dartmouth, the ſecretary and board of admiralty, and the commander of the ſhips on the Boſton ſtation.

As ſoon as the clerk had finiſhed reading the titles of theſe papers, a motion was made that they ſhould lie on the table for inſpection, and that a future day ſhould be appointed for the whole houſe to go into a committee to conſider of the ſame; which, after ſome debates, was agreed to.

In the mean time petitions were preſented to the houſe from the merchants of London, Glaſgow, Briſtol, Liverpool, and other places, complaining of the great decay of trade, occaſioned by the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her colonies. Some of theſe petitions were referred to the committee appointed to take into conſideration the American papers; and others were referred to private committees appointed for the purpoſe.

The corporation of London alſo preſented an addreſs, remonſtrance and petition to the king; in which they complained of the meaſures that had been purſued, and were ſtill purſuing, againſt their fellow ſubjects in America; and earneſtly beſeeched his majeſty to diſcharge thoſe miniſters from his councils who had been the means of promoting them, as the firſt ſtep towards a full redreſs of the grievances ſo univerſally complained of by the people.

To this addreſs and petition his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"It is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I find any of my ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which unhappily exiſts in ſome of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wiſdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will ſteadily purſue thoſe meaſures which they have recommended for the ſupport of the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial intereſts of my kingdom."

While petitions were preſenting to the commons from the principal corporations in England, ſome papers, ſimilar to thoſe which the lower houſe had received, were laid before the lords, on which lord Chatham roſe, and after complaining much of the delay of adminiſtration in detaining the papers ſo long after their arrival, and alſo the error of their proceedings reſpecting America, his lordſhip made the following motion: "That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſend orders to general Gage to withdraw his troops from Boſton, as the beſt means of eſtabliſhing a laſting concord with America." Great debates aroſe on this motion; but the queſtion being at length put, it was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

A few days after this, the ſame patriotic nobleman brought in a bill for reconciling the preſent differences between Great Britain and America. This alſo met with great oppoſition; and the queſtion being put, it ſhared the ſame fate with the preceding motion.

The papers relative to America were now taken into conſideration in the Lower Houſe. Among them were two official letters from lord Dartmouth to general Gage, and the general's letter to his lordſhip. The former contained ſtrains of firmneſs and coercion, which it was plain, the general was not by any means able to realize with the force he had under his command. The language of the latter varied according to the different circumſtances and occaſions that preſented themſelves. Two matters were, however, very evident, that the rage and diſcontents were greatly augmented on account of the laſt American acts paſſed by the parliament; and that they were working up into a kind of phrenzy by the gradual augmentation of the troops, and by the works and defences raiſed on Boſton Neck. He drew, in ſome places, the moſt lamentable picture of the ſtate of that province, deſtitute at once of all legiſlative authority; of a council, of courts of juſtice, of magiſtracy; and repreſented the whole as one ſcene of anarchy and confuſion.

On the laſt day that the houſe went into a committee to examine the American papers, lord North began the buſineſs with a very accurate and detailed view of the whole maſs of information laid before the committee, diſcriminated in a very maſterly manner the diſpoſition of the reſpective colonies, marked the leading characters of each, pointed out thoſe whoſe moderation prevailed, whoſe violence and unconſtitutional views were concealed under the appearance of duty and ſubmiſſion, and particularly directed at ſuch as he thought were in a ſtate of actual rebellion. He next adverted to the acts employed to raiſe this ſeditious ſpirit on both ſides the water, entered minutely into a compariſon of the burthens borne by the people of both countries, ſtated the trade and commerce carried on between them, the advantages ariſing from that commerce, the moſt probable way of ſecuring them, and the very great diſparity there was between the ability and real ſupport which America afforded to this country; every perſon in Britain contributing at the rate of 25s. per head, whereas the American did not contribute 6d. He then proceeded to lay down, in the fulleſt and moſt unreſerved manner, the legiſlative ſupremacy of parliament; ſtated, in very forcible and diſtinct terms, the meaſures adopted by America to reſiſt it, and the almoſt univerſal confederacy of the colonies to at leaſt deny it. Here he laid his foot on the great barrier, which ſeparated, and for the preſent diſunited, both countries; and on this ground alone of reſiſtance and denial, he raiſed every argument leading to the motion he intended to make. This queſtion, he ſaid, lay within a narrow compaſs: it was ſimply whether we ſhould abandon this claim, and at once give up every advantage ariſing both from the ſovereignty and the commerce, or to inſure both? or whether we ſhould reſort to the meaſures indiſpenſably neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion? His lordſhip then pointed out the meaſures intended to be purſued. He ſaid he ſhould propoſe a temporary act, to put a ſtop to all the foreign trade of New England, and particularly to their fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty; at the ſame time declaring, that whenever they ſhould acknowledge the ſupreme authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, and pay obedience to the laws, their grievances ſhould be redreſſed. His lordſhip concluded by propoſing a conference with the houſe of lords, that a joint addreſs might be carried up to the throne, "To return thanks to his majeſty for communicating to the houſe the American papers, and that he would be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as might be ſuitable to his wiſdom for enforcing the laws againſt America; and promiſing to ſupport him, in a full and vigorous exertion of the ſame, with their lives and fortunes."—The meaſures intended to be taken were mentioned generally, and ſaid to be theſe: "That a fleet of fourteen frigates be ſent to join the ſhips at Boſton, by which all the ports of New England were to be blocked up; that 10,000 troops, including Preſton's regiment of light horſe, be ſent to Boſton, to keep the New Englanders in order; and that an addition of 2000 ſeamen more be aſked to man the fleet to Boſton, and to ſupply the naval eſtabliſhment at home."

Lord North's motion for the addreſs met with great oppoſition; but the queſtion being at length put, it was carried by a conſiderable majority.

When the reſolution of the committee for preſenting the addreſs was reported to the houſe, the ſpeaker was proceeding to put the queſtion to agree with the report; but was interrupted by lord John Cavendiſh, who moved that the conſideration of the American papers ſhould be re-committed. In his harangue on the ſubject he ſtated very clearly and juſtly our domeſtic ſituation, our ſtate with the colonies and with foreign powers. He called the attention of the houſe to the unequal balance of our loſs and our gain in the event; in which we might find our revenue deſtroyed, our trade annihilated, and our empire itſelf overturned. And if we ſucceeded in ſubduing America, we ſhould not gain any thing.

He was ſeconded by lord Irnham, who, after having in a long ſpeech agitated the queſtion on the ground propoſed by adminiſtration, in a conſtitutional as well as in a political light, concluded with aſſerting that it appeared, in both thoſe views, formidable and deſtructive; and that it became abſolutely neceſſary to retract the unconſtitutional and impolitic ſteps which adminiſtration had hitherto taken.

Several other ſpeakers * expatiated largely on the juſtneſs

---

* Among thoſe who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, was, the Rt. Hon. John Wilkes, Eſq. lord-mayor of London. After ſome others had harangued on the ſubject, he aroſe, and addreſſing himſelf to the Speaker, delivered his ſentiments in the following words:

"Mr. Speaker,

"The buſineſs now before the Houſe reſpecting America is of as great importance as was ever debated in parliament. It comprehends almoſt every queſtion of policy and legiſlation. I do not mean to enter into ſo vaſt, ſo well trodden a field. I will confine myſelf to the buſineſs before us. The addreſs now reported from the Committee of the whole Houſe appears to me unfounded, raſh and ſanguinary, and moſt unjuſtly to draw the ſword againſt America; but before adminiſtration are ſuffered to plunge this nation into the horrors of a civil war; before they are permitted to force Engliſhmen to ſheathe their ſwords in the bowels of their fellow ſubjects, I hope this houſe will ſeriouſly weigh the original ground and cauſe of this unhappy diſpute, and in time reflect whether juſtice is on our ſide. The aſſumed right of taxation, without the conſent of the ſubject, is plainly the primary cauſe of the preſent quarrel. Have we, Sir, any right to tax the Americans? That is the queſtion. The fundamental laws of human nature, and the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, are equally repugnant to the claim. The very idea of property excludes the right of another's taking any thing from me without my conſent, otherwiſe I cannot call it my own. What property have I in what another perſon can ſeize at his pleaſure? If we can tax the Americans without their conſent, they have no property, nothing which they can call their own; we might take all, The words "Liberty and Property" ſo dear to an Engliſhman, ſo pleaſing in our ears, would become mockery and inſult to an American. The laws of ſociety are profeſſedly calculated to ſecure the property of each individual, of every ſubject of the ſtate. The great principles of the conſtitution under which we live likewiſe clearly determine this point. All ſubſidies to the crown are grants from the commons, free gifts from the people. Their full conſent is always expreſſed in the grant. Much has been ſaid of the palatinate of Cheſter and the principality of Wales, and the period of their taxation; but, Sir, there is a more remarkable caſe in point, which alone would determine the queſtion. If gentlemen will ſearch the records in the Tower, they will find that the town of Calais in France, when it belonged to the imperial crown of theſe realms, was not taxed till it ſent repreſentatives to parliament. Two burgeſſes from Calais actually ſat and voted in this houſe. Then, and not till then, was Calais taxed. The writ out of chancery, and the return to it, in the reign of Edward VI. with the names of the burgeſſes, are ſtill extant. I faithfully gave them to the public from atteſted copies.

"But, Sir, it will be ſaid, is America then to enjoy the protection of Great Britain, and to contribute nothing towards the ſupport of that very ſtate which has ſo long given it protection and ſecurity, which has nurſed it up to its preſent greatneſs? The Americans themſelves have given the fulleſt anſwer to this objection, in a manner not to be controverted, by their conduct through a long ſeries of years, and by the moſt explicit declarations. Equally in words and actions, of the moſt unequivocal nature, they have demonſtrated their love, their ardour, their ſtrong filial piety, towards the Mother Country.

"They have always appeared ready, not only to contribute towards the expences of their government, but likewiſe to the wants and neceſſities of this ſtate, although, perhaps, they may not be overfond of all the proud expenſive trappings of royalty. In the two laſt wars they far exceeded the cold line of prudence. With the moſt liberal hearts they gave you almoſt their all, and they fought gallantly by your ſide, with equal valour, againſt our and their enemy, againſt the common enemy of mankind, the ambitious and faithleſs French, whom we now fear and flatter. Our Journals, Sir, will bear witneſs to the grateful ſenſe we had of the important ſervices of the Americans; and the great ſums we voted to be repaid them for what they expended in the ſpirited expeditions, which they carried through with equal courage and conduct, ſometimes without the leaſt knowledge or participation on our parts, will demonſtrate the warm affection of their hearts to this country. But, Sir, the whole was the gift of freemen, of fellow ſubjects, who feel that they are, and know that they have a right to be, as free as ourſelves. What is their language now, when juſtneſs and propriety of the noble lord's motion; when at length the queſtion being put, the numbers were,

For lord Cavendiſh's motion 105
Againſt it - - - 288

An addreſs was then drawn up, and agreed to without a diviſion.

The next day the Commons ſent a meſſage to the Lords, deſiring a conference on the ſubject of the addreſs to his majeſty. In conſequence of this ſeveral of the lords attended, and after ſome debates, it was agreed that the addreſs ſhould be jointly preſented by both houſes to the king; which was accordingly done on the 9th of February. The anſwer his majeſty returned was as follows:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal addreſs, and for the affectionate, ſolemn aſſurances you give me of your ſupport in maintaining the juſt rights of my crown, and of the two Houſes of Parliament; and you may depend on my taking the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the ſupreme legiſlature.

" Whenever any of my colonies ſhall make a proper and dutiful application, I ſhall be ready to concur with you in affording them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence; and it is my ardent wiſh that this diſpoſition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of my ſubjects in America."

The day after the addreſs was preſented, lord North acquainted the Houſe that he had a meſſage from his majeſty, which he read in his place, and then delivered it in at the table. It was as follows:

G. R.

" His majeſty being determined, in conſequence of the Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for ſupporting the juſt rights of the Crown and the two Houſes of Parliament, thinks proper to acquaint this houſe, that ſome addition to his forces by ſea and land will be neceſſary for that purpoſe; and does not doubt but his faithful Commons, on whoſe zeal and affection he entirely

---

when you are planning their deſtruction, when you are declaring them rebels?

" In the late petition of the general congreſs to the king, they declare " they are ready and willing, as they have ever been, when conſtitutionally required, to demonſtrate their loyalty to his majeſty, by exerting their moſt ſtrenuous efforts in granting ſupplies and raiſing forces." This is the unanimous reſolution of a congreſs compoſed of deputies from the ſeveral colonies of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. I have heard, Sir, of a plan of accommodation, which, I believe, would reconcile all differences. But, alas! Sir, it does not come from any ſervant of the crown; it comes from the noble lord to whom this country has the moſt eſſential obligations, and is ſo much indebted for its late ſplendour and glory. It is, to aſſemble another congreſs in the ſpring, the parliament of Great Britain and the deputies of the ſeveral colonies to meet together, and to be jointly empowered to regulate the various quotas to be paid by each province to the general treaſury of the whole empire. I would, in addition to that plan, propoſe that a regulation ſimilar to what actually takes place with reſpect to Scotland, be adopted as to America. The proportion of each colony might be ſettled according to the land-tax in England, at one, two, or more ſhillings in the pound. I am not deep politician enough to know what the proportions ſhould be of each province, and they will vary greatly in half a century; but I ſpeak of their quota being always to be regulated according to the land-tax of this country. The very flouriſhing colonies of the Maſſachuſetts Bay, Virginia, and South Carolina, for inſtance, ſhould contribute more, the ſmaller and poorer colonies of New Hampſhire and New Jerſey leſs; but, Sir, I inſiſt not a ſingle ſhilling can be taken without their conſent; and, after this day's debate, ſhould the addreſs be carried, I greatly fear every idea of a reconciliation will be utterly impracticable.

The Americans, Sir, have of late, both within doors and without, been treated with the greateſt injuſtice, and even a wanton degree of cruelty. An honourable gentleman has juſt told us that they complain of the navigation act, and inſiſt on its repeal. We have authentic evidence to the contrary. In the reſolutions of the congreſs they repeatedly deſire to be put only on the footing they were at the cloſe of the late war, " as to the ſyſtem of ſtatutes and regulations;" nor among the various acts, of which they deſire the repeal, do they once mention either the navigation or declaratory acts. It is ſaid likewiſe, they wiſh to throw off the ſupremacy of this country. Many expreſs reſolutions, both of the general congreſs and the provincial congreſs, are the fulleſt evidence of the ſenſe which the Americans entertain of their obedience and duty to this country. They are too numerous to be quoted. Their full claim, as ſtated by themſelves, is ſo well worded, I beg to read it to the houſe from their petition to the king. " We aſk but for peace, liberty, and ſafety." Surely, Sir, no requeſt was ever more reaſonable, no claim better founded. " We wiſh not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we ſolicit a grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we ſhall always carefully and zealouſly endeavour to ſupport and maintain," while adminiſtration are endeavouring to tear aſunder thoſe ties, which have ſo long and happily bound us together.

" The addreſs, Sir, mentions the particular province of Maſſachuſetts Bay as in a ſtate of actual rebellion, and the other provinces are conſidered as aiding and abetting them. Much has been ſaid by ſome learned gentlemen to involve them in all the conſequences of a declared rebellion, and to encourage our officers and troops to act againſt them as againſt rebels. Whether their preſent ſtate is that of rebellion, or of a fit and proper reſiſtance to unlawful acts of power, to our attempts to rob them of their property and liberties, as they imagine, I do not determine. This I know, a ſucceſsful reſiſtance is a revolution, not a rebellion. Who can tell, Sir, whether, in conſequence of this very day's violent and mad addreſs to his majeſty, the ſcabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us; and ſhould ſucceſs attend them, whether in a few years the Americans may not celebrate the glorious æra of the revolution of 1775, as we do that of 1688? Succeſs crowned the generous efforts of our forefathers for freedom, elſe they had died on the ſcaffold as traitors and rebels, and the period of our hiſtory which does us the moſt honour would have been deemed a rebellion againſt lawful authority, not a reſiſtance authorized by all the laws of God and man, not the expulſion of a tyrant.

" The policy, Sir, of the meaſure I can no more comprehend than I can acknowledge the juſtice of it. Is your force adequate to the attempt? I am ſatisfied it is not. What are your armies, and how are they to be recruited? Do you recollect that the ſingle province of the Maſſachuſetts Bay has at this moment above 30,000 men, well trained and diſciplined, and can bring near 90,000 into the field? They will do it when they are fighting for their liberties. You will not be able to conquer and keep even that ſingle province. A noble lord propoſes only 10,000 of our troops to be there, including the four regiments now going from Ireland, and he acknowledges very truly that the army cannot enforce the late acts of parliament. Why then is it ſent? Boſton, indeed, you may lay in aſhes, or it may be made a ſtrong garriſon, but the province will be loſt to you. Boſton will be like Gibraltar. You will hold in the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay, as you do in Spain, a ſingle town, the whole country in the power and poſſeſſion of the enemy. Your fleets and armies may keep a few towns on the coaſt, for ſome time at leaſt, Boſton, New York, St. Auguſtine. The vaſt continent of America will be loſt to you. A few fortreſſes on the coaſt and ſome ſea ports only you will keep, all the back ſettlements will be independent of you, and will thrive in the rapid progreſſion of your violences and unjuſt exactions on the towns. The antient ſtory of the Carthaginian hide will be verified as to you. Where you tread it will be kept down, but it will riſe the more in all the other parts. Where your fleets and armies are ſtationed the poſſeſſion will be yours, but all the reſt will be loſt. I fear from this day in the great ſcale of empire you will decline, and the Americans will riſe to independence, to power, to all the greatneſs of the moſt renowned ſtates, for they build on the ſolid baſis of public liberty.

" Sir, this addreſs is founded in injuſtice and cruelty. It is equally contrary to the ſound maxims of true policy, and to the unerring rule of natural right. The Americans will defend their property and their liberties with the ſpirit of freemen, with the ſpirit I hope we ſhould. They will ſooner declare themſelves independent, and riſk every conſequence of ſuch a conteſt, than ſubmit to the yoke which adminiſtration is preparing for them. An addreſs of ſo ſanguinary a nature cannot fail of driving them to deſpair. They will ſee that you are preparing not only to draw the ſword, but to burn the ſcabbard. You are declaring them rebels. Every idea of a reconciliation will vaniſh. They will purſue the moſt vigorous meaſures in their own defence. The whole continent will be diſmembered from Great Britain, and the wide arch of the raiſed empire fall. But I hope the juſt vengeance of the people will overtake the authors of theſe pernicious counſels, and the loſs of the firſt province to the empire be ſpeedily followed by the loſs of the heads of thoſe miniſters who adviſed theſe wicked and fatal meaſures."

entirely relies, will enable him to make ſuch an augmentation to his forces, as on the preſent occaſion ſhall be thought proper."

This meſſage was referred to the conſideration of the Committee of Supply; after which the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe on the American papers, when a motion was made by lord North, "that the chairman be directed to move the Houſe, that leave be given to bring in a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Maſſachuſetts Bay, New Hampſhire, Connecticut, Providence, and Rhode-Iſland Colonies in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland and the Weſt Indies; and to prohibit ſuch provinces and colonies from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other parts therein mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited."

This motion was productive of great debates, which continued for ſeveral hours; when the queſtion being put, it was carried by a very conſiderable majority; and a bill was ordered to be brought in purſuant thereto.

On the 22d of February the Right Honourable the Lord-mayor moved in the Houſe of Commons, that the proceedings of that houſe of the 17th of February, 1769, might be read; which being done, ſome other extracts which his lordſhip called for were likewiſe read. He then made a ſpeech upon what he called proceedings unjuſtifiable, illegal and unwarrantable; and moved, that the reſolution of the 17th of February, 1769, which declares, "That John Wilkes, eſq. having been this preſent ſeſſion of parliament expelled this houſe, was, and is incapable of being elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament," be expunged from the journals of this houſe, as ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom. Mr. Serjeant Glyn ſeconded the motion, and then a general debate enſued. The arguments were warm, and to the point. The queſtion was repeatedly attempted to be put, but was as often prevented by new ſpeakers riſing. At length, after about eight hours debate, "the queſtion, the queſtion," was ſo far the prevailing call, that it was put, and the houſe divided, when the numbers were, 171 for the motion, and 239 againſt it.

Two days after this a petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Corporation of London againſt the bill now depending in the houſe for reſtraining the trade of New England, and the fiſheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland. This petition repreſented the bill as being unjuſt, cruel, partial, and oppreſſive; injurious to the trade of Great Britain, and tending to increaſe the wealth and ſtrength of her rivals and enemies.

The ſame corporation preſented another petition of the like nature to the Houſe of Lords; as did alſo the American merchants; and another to the king. But all theſe ſolicitations proved abortive; for the bill paſſed both houſes, and on the 30th of March received the royal aſſent.

On the 13th of April his majeſty again went to the Houſe of Peers, and, among other bills, gave the royal aſſent to "A bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great Britain, Ireland, and the-Weſt-India iſlands."

After the paſſing of theſe acts the generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe, were ſent to take on them the command of the troops deſtined for endeavouring to bring the Americans to obedience; for which expedition they embarked on board the Cerberus man of war on the 21ſt of April.

The national buſineſs being now finiſhed, on the 26th of May his majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

During theſe tranſactions in England the Americans were not idle. Several ſkirmiſhes took place between them and the king's troops. General Gage, the commander of the Engliſh forces, being informed that a great quantity of military ſtores were in the poſſeſſion of the Provincial troops, at the town of Concord, ſent a detachment of troops, under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, ſupported by another body, commanded by lord Percy, in order to ſieze or deſtroy them. This ſervice was effectually performed, after ſome ſkirmiſhes; but on the 19th of April the troops were attacked at Lexington, on their return towards Boſton; ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides; the Provincials firing from behind ſtone walls, hedges, buſhes, &c.

The Provincials now inveſted the town of Boſton; and the people of New York, hearing of the action at Lexington, and the affair of Concord, roſe in a tumultuous manner, entered the town-houſe, ſeized many ſtands of arms, appropriated to their own uſe the cargoes of two ſhips laden with military ſtores for general Gage, and then marched to the aſſiſtance of the Boſtonians.

The Provincials not only continued to block up the town of Boſton, but began to raiſe batteries on the heights of the peninſula of Charles Town, in order to canonade his majeſty's troops. This brought on an action at Bunker's Hill; for on the 17th of June, a conſiderable body of troops, under the command of major general Howe, and brigadier general Pigot, were ſent to diſlodge the Provincials. This body of forces, with a proportional quantity of artillery, made good their landing near Bunker's Hill, under the protection of the ſhips of war, armed veſſels, floating batteries, &c. and being ſoon after reinforced by another detachment, a deſperate action commenced, in which the Britiſh troops were victorious, the provincial lines being forced, and themſelves compelled to retreat, leaving behind ſeveral pieces of cannon and other military ſtores. The loſs of the Provincials in killed and wounded was very great; of the Britiſh troops, according to the return of general Gage, 226 were killed, and 828 were wounded, ſome of the latter dying ſoon after; and more than a proportional number of officers were included in both liſts.

On the night of the 23d of Auguſt the cannon were ſeized upon, by order of the congreſs, though the Aſia man of war, which lay in the harbour, tried to prevent it by cannonading the town.

At the ſame time general Carleton was indefatigable, in putting the province of Canada into a proper ſtate of defence; and the earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having thought proper to take refuge on board a ſhip of war, haraſſed the coaſt, and made frequent deſcents upon the laſt mentioned province; laying waſte the country, carrying off or ſpiking up a great number of cannons, deſtroying vaſt quantities of military ſtores belonging to the Provincials, &c. &c. But on the other ſide, Fort St. John ſurrendered to the Provincial forces on the 3d of November, and the garriſon became priſoners.

On the 18th of the ſame month the Regulars and Provincials had a hot engagement near Savannah, in Georgia, in which the latter were defeated; and on the 31ſt of December, the Provincial general Montgomery, who had for ſome time laid ſiege to the city of Quebec, attempted to take it by ſtorm. In this attempt, however, he was defeated and ſlain, with ſeveral of his officers, and about 60 private men, and 300 were taken priſoners.—But to return to affairs at home.

The parliament met on the 26th of October, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne.

A ſhort time before the opening of the ſeſſion, a petition from the general congreſs in America, ſigned by the heads of the reſpective colonies, was preſented to his majeſty, humbly ſoliciting that ſuch meaſures might be taken as were likely to eradicate the preſent diſturbances, and bring about a laſting and happy reconciliation.

The attention of the parliament, previous to the holidays, was engaged in adjuſting the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year, and concerting the proper meaſures for raiſing them. Several uſeful acts were alſo framed, which having paſſed both houſes received the royal aſſent; after which the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of January.

A. D. 1776. The parliament met purſuant to their adjournment; on which day the following handbill was delivered to the members of both houſes:

“ To the parliament:---A ſuffering and afflicted people moſt humbly and ſolemnly beſeech and implore every member of parliament to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the further effuſion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be reſtored to the royal breaſt, and glory, commerce and felicity, to the whole empire.”

Nothing material paſſed in the lower houſe this ſeſſion; except the framing of ſome uſeful acts, ſeveral of which were of a public, and the reſt of a private nature.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion the attention of the Upper Aſſembly was engaged on the trial of the ducheſs of Kingſton, who was accuſed of bigamy, in having married the duke of Kingſton, while her firſt huſband, the Honourable Mr. Hervey (now earl of Briſtol) was living. The trial laſted five days, at the cloſe of which, the priſoner being called to the bar, was informed by the lord high-ſteward, that the lords had pronounced her to be Guilty. In conſequence of this ſhe claimed her privilege of peerage, which occaſioned the lords to adjourn to the Chamber of Parliament to debate on the matter. On their return the priſoner was again called to the bar, and the lord high-ſteward pronounced it to be the ſenſe of the houſe, “ that the ducheſs ſhould be allowed the privilege ſhe claimed.” By conſequence, as a peereſs, ſhe could endure no kind of corporal puniſhment, and was therefore diſcharged on paying her fees.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the 23d of May his majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion.

During theſe tranſactions in England, hoſtilities were carrying on with great vehemence in America. General Gage having been recalled, the command in chief of the army at Boſton devolved on general Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, by which ſuch of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken; and if they eſcaped, to be proceeded againſt as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to quit the town were reſtrained, by ſevere penalties, from carrying more than a ſmall ſpecified ſum of money with them. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their perſons for the defence of the town, and ſuch of them, as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

General Howe now thought proper to evacuate the town of Boſton, which he effected on the 17th of March; and a ſhort time after he made good his landing, and capture of New York. In June, a battle was fought in Canada, between the regulars, under general Carleton, and the provincials, at a place called Three Rivers, when the latter were defeated, many of them being killed and wounded, and about 200 taken priſoners. In the ſame month an attempt was made on Charles Town, South Carolina, by Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a fleet of ſhips of war, and general Clinton, with a body of land forces, but it failed of ſucceſs; and on the 4th of July following, the congreſs declared the colonies independent.

On the 19th of September the following Declaration was publiſhed by lord Howe and general Howe, addreſſed to the Provincials:

By Richard Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Eſq; General of his majeſty's forces in America, the king's commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his Majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in North-America.

DECLARATION.

“ Although the Congreſs, whom the miſguided Americans ſuffer to direct their oppoſition to a re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional government of their provinces, have diſavowed every purpoſe of reconciliation not conſonant with their extravagant, inadmiſſible claim of independency, the king's commiſſioners think fit to declare, that they are equally deſirous to confer with his majeſty's well-affected ſubjects upon the means of reſtoring the public tranquillity, and eſtabliſhing a permanent union with every colony as a part of the Britiſh empire; the king being moſt graciouſly diſpoſed to direct a reviſion of ſuch of his royal inſtructions as may be conſtrued to lay an improper reſtraint upon the freedom of legiſlation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the reviſal of all acts by which his ſubjects there may think themſelves aggrieved; it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect ſeriouſly on their preſent condition, and to judge for themſelves, whether it be more conſiſtent with their honour and happineſs to offer up their lives as a ſacrifice to the unjuſt and precarious cauſe in which they are engaged, or return to their allegiance, accept the bleſſings of peace, and to be ſecured in a free enjoyment of their liberty and properties, upon the true principle of the conſtitution.

Given at New-York, HOWE.
Sept. 19, 1776. W. HOWE.

This declaration was far from having the wiſhed-for effect; the Provincials were adverſe to every mode offered by government, and inſtances occured daily of their determination, if poſſible, to preſerve themſelves independent.

On the 30th of September General Howe iſſued another proclamation, which was as follows:

“ Whereas there are many deſerters from his majeſty's ſervice, now in Arms in America, againſt their rightful ſovereign, and engaged with the declared enemies of Great Britain, in a moſt cruel and unnatural rebellion, to ſhake off all obedience to the conſtitutional authority of the ſtate; and whereas the heinouſneſs of their crime not admitting any palliative conſiderations, will neceſſarily exclude them from the ſmalleſt claim to mercy, if they ſhould fall into the hands of his majeſty's troops: the commander in chief being anxiouſly deſirous to warn them of their danger to withdraw them from their preſent deſperate and criminal ſituation, whereby they may eſcape the ignominious death of traitors to their king and country, hereby offers a full pardon to all deſerters, who ſhall ſurrender themſelves at the head quarters, or to any diviſion of the king's army, on or before the 31ſt day of October 1776.

Given at the Head Quarters, on
York Iſland, the 30th day of
September, 1776. W. Howe.

After this many ſkirmiſhes happened between the king's troops and the provincials; but nothing deciſive till the latter end of October, when the latter were defeated, in an action, which, from the place where it was fought, was termed the Battle of the White Plains.

In the diſpatches from general Howe, dated November 30, beſides an account of a variety of ſkirmiſhes, information was given of the taking of Fort Waſhington, and Fort Lee, by the Britiſh forces, together with a great variety of military ſtores, and many priſoners. In December Rhode Iſland was taken by general Clinton; about the ſame time lord Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of Eaſt Jerſey, and general Lee was taken priſoner, by a patrole of Britiſh dragoons, commanded by lieutenant colonel, (now lord) Harcourt[*].

The parliament met on the laſt day of October, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Nothing could have afforded me ſo much ſatisfaction as to have been able to inform you, at the opening of this ſeſſion, that the troubles which have ſo long diſtracted my Colonies in North America were at an end; and that my unhappy people, recovered from their delusion, had delivered themſelves from the oppreſſion of their leaders, and returned to their duty: but ſo daring and deſperate is the ſpirit of thoſe leaders, whoſe object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country. They have rejected, with circumſtances of indignity and inſult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of our commiſſion; and have preſumed to ſet up their rebellious confederacies for independent ſtates. If their treaſon be ſuffered to take root, much miſchief muſt grow from it, to the ſafety of my loyal colonies, to the commerce of my kingdom, and indeed to the preſent ſyſtem of all Europe. One great advantage, however, will be derived from the object of the rebels being openly avowed, and clearly underſtood; we ſhall have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the juſtice and neceſſity of our meaſures.

"I am happy to inform you, that by the bleſſing of Divine Providence on the good conduct and valour of my officers and forces by ſea and land, and on the zeal and bravery of the auxiliary troops in my ſervice, Canada is recovered; and although, from unavoidable delays, the operations at New York could not begin before the month of Auguſt, the ſucceſs in that province has been ſo important, as to give the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequence: but notwithſtanding this fair proſpect, we muſt, at all events, prepare for another campaign.

"I continue to receive aſſurances of amity from the ſeveral Courts of Europe; and am uſing my utmoſt endeavours to conciliate unhappy differences between two neighbouring powers; and I ſtill hope that all miſunderſtandings may be removed, and Europe continue to enjoy the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace: I think, nevertheleſs, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, it is expedient that we ſhould be in a reſpectable ſtate of defence at home.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I will order the eſtimates of the enſuing year to be laid before you. It is matter of real concern to me, that the important conſiderations which I have ſtated to you muſt neceſſarily be followed by great expence; I doubt not, however, but that my faithful commons will readily and chearfully grant me ſuch ſupplies, as the maintenance of the honour of my crown, the vindication of the juſt rights of parliament, and the public welfare, ſhall be found to require.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"In this arduous conteſt I can have no other object but to promote the true intereſts of all my ſubjects. No people ever enjoyed more happineſs, or lived under a milder government than thoſe now revolted provinces; the improvements in every art, of which they boaſt, declare it: their numbers, their wealth, their ſtrength by ſea and land, which they think ſufficient to enable them to make head againſt the whole power of the Mother Country, are irrefragable proofs of it. My deſire is to reſtore to them the bleſſings of law and liberty, equally enjoyed by every Britiſh ſubject, which they have fatally and deſperately exchanged for all the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

Great debates aroſe in both houſes on the addreſſes to be preſented to his majeſty in anſwer to his ſpeech. The moſt important were in the houſe of lords; but they were at length adjuſted, as were thoſe in the lower houſe; and the addreſſes were accordingly preſented; to each of which his majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer.

The firſt buſineſs entered on was, the conſideration of the ſupplies, when a motion was made that 45,000 ſeamen, including 10,129 marines, be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year. This motion produced ſome debates, but was at length carried by a great majority. At the ſame time a reſolution paſſed for allowing 4l. per man per month for the maintenance and wages of every ſeaman.

The committee of Ways and Means, after a motion made for the purpoſe, reſolved, that the land-tax for 1777 ſhould be 4s. in the pound.

On the 2d of November a proclamation was iſſued by his majeſty for a general faſt to be kept throughout England on the 13th of December following. It was alſo appointed to be held on the ſame day in Ireland; and on the 12th in Scotland.

Another proclamation was iſſued a few days after for recalling and prohibiting ſeamen from ſerving foreign princes and ſtates, and for granting rewards for diſcovering ſuch ſeamen as ſhould conceal themſelves, in a gratuity of Two Pounds for every able, and Thirty Shillings for every ordinary ſeaman, to be paid to any perſon who ſhould make ſuch diſcoveries, that ſuch men might be taken into his majeſty's ſervice, by any of his majeſty's ſea officers for raiſing men on or before the 31ſt day of December next.

---

[*] The following are the particulars of the manner in which General Lee was taken priſoner. Colonel Harcourt having penetrated the country upon a reconnoitring party with about twelve light dragoons, and chancing to meet a countryman on the road, entered upon examination of him, and found he was charged with a letter to General Waſhington, and that the wafer with which the letter was ſealed was ſtill wet; the ſignature being that of Mr. Lee, the colonel deſired the countryman to conduct him to that gentleman, which he complied with. The countryman was accordingly mounted behind one of the dragoons, and a party galloped to the houſe where Lee was: the guard fired upon the dragoons, by which one private man was killed, and a cornet wounded; a bullet paſſed through colonel Harcourt's helmet, but did not do him the leaſt injury. Lee was now ſummoned to ſurrender, which he complied with, delivered up his ſword, and in the moſt earneſt manner interceded for his life, deſiring to come in under the proclamation. This, of courſe, could not be complied with; and he was carried to the head-quarters, and lodged on board one of his majeſty's ſhips.-----He was afterwards exchanged for ſome of the king's officers, who had been taken priſoners by the provincials.

The money granted by the parliament (previous to the holidays) for defraying the expences of the navy, including the ordinary at 400,005l. and the building and repairing of ſhips, which was voted at 465,500l. amounted to no leſs than 3,205,505l. Excluſive of 4,000l. which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hoſpital, and a million granted towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, to be applied towards the diſcharge of the debt of the navy.

But if the naval expences were thus large, the ſupplies for the land ſervice were not leſs ſo, falling little ſhort of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the land-ſervice for the preceding year, which exceeded the amount of 1,200,000l. with ſome new contracts for additional German forces, and the heavy expences of half-pay and Chelſea, were not yet provided for.

The ſupplies being ſo far granted, and no public buſineſs of any moment in the way, an early and long receſs took place, the houſe adjourning on the 2d of December, to the 21ſt of January following.

This year terminated with an event which for ſome time occaſioned great confuſion, apprehenſion and ſuſpicion. On the 9th of December advice was received at the admiralty office by expreſs, that a fire broke out in the rope-houſe of his majeſty's yard at Portſmouth, about half an hour after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which burnt with great violence, and conſumed the ſame, except the outer walls; but by the timely aſſiſtance and vigorous efforts of the workmen of the yard, the ſeamen of his majeſty's ſhips, the marines quartered at Portſmouth, and the men belonging to the ordnance with their reſpective officers, it was happily prevented from extending to any other of the buildings in the yard, and was at length totally extinguiſhed. The chief loſs ſuſtained by this accident conſiſted chiefly of the rigging of two ſhips, the implements belonging to the rope-makers and rigging-houſe, a ſmall quantity of cordage, and ſome toppings of hemp.

The alarm occaſioned by this accident was greatly increaſed by another of the like nature that happened a ſhort time after at Briſtol, which deſtroyed a large range of warehouſes, beſides many private dwellings, and, had it not been for the quick diſcovery, and alacrity of the people in ſuppreſſing it, would have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences.

How theſe accidents happened was for ſome time a myſtery; but at length it was diſcovered that they took place by the machinations of a wretched enthuſiaſt and incendiary, ſince well known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whoſe real name was James Aitken. When he was taken up and examined, he refuſed anſwering any queſtions, and otherwiſe behaved in a very daring and reſolute manner. However, there appearing ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe him the guilty perſon, he was committed to Wincheſter jail. At the next aſſizes he was brought to trial, and being found guilty, was ſoon after executed at Portſmouth *.

A. D. 1777. On the 21ſt of January the parliament met purſuant to adjournment, and immediately proceeded on the buſineſs of the nation. The firſt thing

---

* As the tranſactions of this man's life are of the moſt ſingular nature, as well as the crimes he committed, we think it neceſſary to preſerve an account of them, which we ſhall do in as brief a manner as the circumſtances will admit, from his firſt ſetting off in life to the time of his execution.

He was born in Edinburgh, and brought up to the buſineſs of a painter. As he poſſeſſed an extraordinary ſpirit for rambling, with a ſtrong propenſity to vice, he had paſſed, in the courſe of a few years, through an uncommon variety of thoſe ſcenes, which attend the moſt profligate and abandoned ſtate of a vagabond life. A kind of life, for which a manual occupation, however followed, affords the moſt perfect opportunity and cover.

Among his other exploits he had paſſed through ſeveral marching regiments of foot, from each of which he deſerted as ſoon as opportunity ſerved, after receiving the bounty money. In his various peregrinations through the different parts of England, he alternately committed highway robberies, burglaries, petty thefts, rapes; and worked at his trade, as occaſion invited, villainy prompted, or fear or neceſſity operated. Whether it proceeded from the apprehenſion of puniſhment, or that the original bent of his genius led him to new ſcenes of action, whatever was the operative motive, he ſhipped himſelf off for America, where he continued for two or three years. His being of a melancholy, ſolitary nature, which neither ſought for aſſociates in crimes, nor admitted of partners in pleaſure, as it contributed much to his preſervation for ſo long a time from the juſtice of thoſe laws which he was conſtantly breaking, ſerved equally to throw into utter darkneſs all thoſe parts of his life, which he did not himſelf think fitting or neceſſary to communicate. His tranſactions in America are accordingly unknown, any further, than that he traverſed, and worked at his trade in ſeveral of the colonies.

As his pilgrimage on that continent was in the beginning and during the progreſs of the troubles between England and her colonies, it may readily be imagined, that the violence of the language and ſentiments held in political matters, by that order of people with whom he lived and converſed, gave birth to that madneſs of enthuſiaſm in him, which afterwards became ſo dangerous. He accordingly returned to England with the moſt deadly antipathy to the government and nation, and ſoon after, if not originally, adopted the deſign of ſubverting, in his own ſingle perſon, that power, which he ſo much abhorred.

The ſcheme was as deteſtable as could be expected from the villainous character of the framer. It was to deſtroy the maratime force of this country, as well as its internal ſtrength and riches, by ſetting fire to the royal dock-yards, and burning the principal trading cities and towns, with their ſhipping of whatever ſort, ſo far as it could poſſibly be done. In the proſecution of this atrocious deſign, he traverſed the kingdom to diſcover the ſtate of the ſeveral docks, and the nature of the watch by which they were guarded, which he in general found to be as lax and inſufficient as he could have wiſhed. He alſo took wonderful pains in the conſtruction of fire-works, machines, and combuſtibles, for the purpoſe, but was ſtrangely unſucceſsful in all his attempts of this nature.

It was owing to this unaccountable failure in his machines, that the nation was ſaved from receiving ſome dreadful if not irretrievable ſhock. One of them, which extinguiſhed of its own accord, without any human interference, was found ſeveral weeks after it had been laid, in the center of a prodigious quantity, all of the moſt cumbuſtible ſubſtances, in the great hemp-houſe at Portſmouth. He, however, ſucceded in ſetting fire to the rope-houſe in that yard, and had an opportunity, for ſeveral miles in his flight towards London, to feaſt the malignity of his nature, in the contemplation of that dreadful conflagration which he had occaſioned, and which, from its prodigious appearance, he imagined had ſpread to all the magazines, buildings and docks. The fire was happily ſubdued, with no other loſs than that of the rope-houſe and its contents.

The incendiary ſtill purſued his deſign, but failed in his attempts upon the royal docks, and narrowly eſcaped being taken at Plymouth. The city of Briſtol was at this time greatly divided between the two numerous parties of Tories and Whigs, as they were called, the former of which eaſily ſupported, and the latter condemned in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſenting it as an act highly indecent, unchriſtian, and impious, to exhibit any marks of triumph and rejoicing in the ſlaughter and deſtruction of their fellow-ſubjects.

In this ſtate of party and political diſunion among the inhabitants, John the Painter, in the month of January, 1777, attempted firſt to burn the ſhipping, and afterwards the city itſelf. A deep and narrow chaſm, which is nearly dry when the tide is out, fronts a great part of the quay in Briſtol, which is generally crowded with a prodigious number of veſſels, all lying ſo cloſe together, and ſo free from water at thoſe times, that the firſt thing which ſtrikes the attention of a ſtranger, is a ſurprize how they could be ſo lodged, and the ſecond, a conviction of the fatal and irremidiable conſequences both to the ſhipping and the city, which a fire muſt inevitably produce. The incendiary failing in his attempt to ſet two or three of thoſe veſſels on fire, found ſo ſtrict a watch kept afterwards, that he was obliged to change his mode of operation, and to ſecure the deſtruction of the ſhips by beginning with the houſes. After ſome failures in his attempts this way, in which, as in all others, the finding of his inaffective apparatus afforded full evidence of the atrocioуſneſs of the deſign, he at length ſucceeded ſo far as to ſet fire to ſome warehouſes in the vicinity of the quay, ſix or ſeven of which were conſumed.

The reign of the incendiary now grew ſhort. He was taken up ſoon after his departure from Briſtol, upon ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances, and behaved with great boldneſs, art, and an uncommon government in point of ſpeech, upon his ſeveral examinations, thing that engaged particular notice was, a bill brought into the lower houſe for granting commiſſions, or letters of marque and repriſal, as they are uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ſhips, authoriſing them to take and make prize of all veſſels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen ſpecified revolted American colonies. This bill paſſed the commons without the leaſt oppoſition; nor did it produce much debate among the Lords, with whom it only underwent the trifling alteration, of inſerting the words "letters of permiſſion," in the place of "letters of marque," the latter being thought only applicable to repriſals on a foreign enemy.

On the ſame day this bill paſſed the Lords, a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with or ſuſpected of the crime of high treaſon committed in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy. The bill being admitted was, after great debates, read the firſt time; and a motion being made for the ſecond reading, it was carried by a great majority.

This bill occaſioned much murmuring among the people, and during the ſhort time it was in agitation, the following petition againſt it was preſented to the commons from the city of London:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain
in parliament aſſembled:
The humble petition of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled,
Sheweth,

"That your petitioners have ſeen a bill depending in this honourable houſe, to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of High Treaſon committed in North America, or on the High Seas, or the crime of piracy.

"That if the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, your petitioners are apprehenſive, it will create the greateſt uneaſineſs in the minds of many of his majeſty's good ſubjects, and tend to excite the moſt alarming diſturbances: All perſons being indiſcriminately liable upon the ground of ſuſpicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can alledge in their own juſtification, to be committed to a remote priſon in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

"That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a law, as from little motives of reſentment, and various other inducements, there may be perſons competent to commit, who may be tempted to exerciſe that power in its utmoſt latitude and extent.

"That meaſures ſo violent and unconſtitutional, ſo ſubverſive of the ſacred and fundamental rights of the people, and ſubjecting them to the moſt cruel oppreſſion and bondage, will, in the judgement of your petitioners, be introductive of every ſpecies of miſchief and confuſion; and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

"Your petitioners therefore earneſtly beſeech this honourable houſe, That the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law, or at leaſt to take ſuch care, as in their wiſdom may ſeem meet, to prevent it from its being extended in its operations to any of his majeſty's ſubjects reſident in theſe kingdoms."

This petition, after being read, was ordered to lie on the table. At the very next meeting of the members, the bill petitioned againſt was read the third time, and, after ſome few debates, paſſed the houſe.

It met with more oppoſition in the upper than the lower houſe, till the queſtion was put for reading it the third time, when (among others who objected to it) lord Abingdon roſe, and declared himſelf totally againſt the bill, as repugnant to the law of nations, and to the dictates of humanity. His lordſhip particularly dwelt upon the word "ſuſpected," as a term of ſuch latitude, that it was liable to be conſtrued to the moſt unconſtitutional meanings, and the conſequences of the bill might prove fatal to the liberties of this country: he therefore could not give his conſent to paſſing the bill.

Notwithſtanding the arguments made uſe of by this nobleman, which were of the moſt nervous and forcible nature, on putting the queſtion again for paſſing it, it was carried without further debate; and on the 3d of March received the royal aſſent. Among others which received the royal ſignet at the ſame time was, the "Bill for enabling the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ſhips of war, or merchant ſhips belonging to the American colonies, that are now in actual rebellion againſt Great Britain."

The next thing that materially engaged the attention of the commons was, the following meſſage from his majeſty, which was read to the houſe by lord North:

"G. REX.

"It gives his majeſty much concern to find himſelf obliged to acquaint the Houſe of Commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reaſon of debts incurred by the expences of his houſhold, and of the civil government, which being computed on the 5th of January laſt, do amount to more than 600,000l. His majeſty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons, of which he has received ſo many ſignal proofs, for enabling him to diſcharge this debt; and that they will at the ſame time make ſome further proviſion for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of his crown.

G. R."

As ſoon as this meſſage was read, a motion was made for referring it to the Committee of Supply on that day ſe'nnight. One member in particular ſtrongly oppoſed this motion as unuſual, if not unprecedented, it having at all times been cuſtomary to take royal meſſages

---

nations, refuſing peremptorily to anſwer any queſtions, which admitted even of a doubt in the remoteſt tendency, that the anſwer could by any conſtruction be wreſted to his own crimination; nor was he at all diſconcerted or embarraſſed by the appearance of, or the queſtions propoſed to him by, ſome of the lords, and other principal officers of the admiralty.

He was, however, with all his art and caution, circumvented by means of another painter, who being either an American, or having lived on that continent, found means thereby, and by pretending to ſympathize in his misfortunes, and to hold principles ſimilar to his own, to obtain his confidence in priſon; until at length, being inſtructed and aſſiſted for the purpoſe, he fulfilled his intent, by drawing from him the whole hiſtory of his crimes. Upon his trial at Wincheſter, notwithſtanding the ſhock which the appearance and evidence of his pretended friend muſt have given him, he behaved with the ſame boldneſs and addreſs which he had hitherto manifeſted; made a good defence, ſhrewd obſervations on the nature of the evidence, and the acknowledged baſeneſs of the witneſs, and received ſentence of death with the moſt perfect indifference. He ſent for one of the principal naval officers of Portſmouth, either going to, or at the place of execution, to whom he acknowledged his crime, and alſo gave ſome cautions with reſpect to the future preſervation of the royal yards from ſimilar dangers. -----This diſtinguiſhed criminal was tried at Wincheſter on the 6th of March, 1777, and from the heinouneſs of his crime (of which he was found guilty) was executed at the Dock-gate, Portſmouth, on the 10th of the ſame month.

meſſages into immediate conſideration. This produced a very warm debate, at the cloſe of which, however, the motion was carried.

On the day appointed for taking this matter into conſideration, the Houſe went into a Committee of Supply; and, after ſome debates, came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of 618,240l. 9s. be granted to his majeſty to diſcharge the arrears and debts due and owing on account of the Civil Liſt on the 5th of January 1777.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the ſum of 100,000l. per annum be granted to his majeſty over and above the yearly ſum of 800,000l. granted by an act made in the firſt year of his reign.

When theſe reſolutions were reported from the Committee of Supply to the Whole Houſe, the firſt was agreed to without any oppoſition; but the ſecond produced debates that continued for ſeveral hours, at the cloſe of which, however, it was agreed to by a great majority.

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions a bill was immediately framed, which ſoon paſſed both houſes; and on the 7th of May received the royal aſſent*.

While this bill was in agitation, a motion was made by Sir James Lowther "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty for an augmentation of the annual incomes of their royal highneſſes the dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland." This motion was productive of many warm and learned debates; but at length, on the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a great majority.

No other material matter occurred during the remainder of this ſeſſion. The national buſineſs being, therefore, finiſhed, on the 6th of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

Having thus mentioned the moſt material domeſtic tranſactions of this year, let us now take a view of affairs in America, where the war was ſtill proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour.

In the beginning of this year ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened in the Jerſeys with various ſucceſs. On the 23d and 24th of March a great quantity of proviſions, ſtores, &c. with barracks and ſtorehouſes belonging to the Provincials, were deſtroyed by the king's troops, at Peck's Hill, upon the North River. The cruizers belonging to lord Howe and commodore Hotham's fleet continued to take many prizes. In Connecticut, on the 27th of April, the king's troops deſtroyed a great quantity of ſtores at Danbury.

General Burgoyne, with the northern army, proceeded to Ticonderago and Fort Independence, which he took poſſeſſion of on the 6th of July, and found in them great quantities of ſtores and proviſions, beſides what he deſtroyed at Skeneſborough. Soon after this he took poſſeſſion of Fort Edward, which the Provincials abandoned, and then proceeded to Saratoga, where they were ſtrongly poſted.

On the 11th of September the troops under the command of general Howe had an engagement with the provincials on the heights of Bradywine, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides, and 400 provincials were taken priſoners. But though the latter were defeated, and the action at firſt ſeemed of an indeciſive nature, yet it occaſioned Philadelphia to fall into the hands of the Britiſh troops.

While general Howe was thus employed, an attack was made by the Provincials on Staten Iſland; but they were repulſed with ſome ſlaughter. And much about the ſame time general Clinton ſtormed and took Fort Clinton and Fort Montmogery.

On the 16th of October the Provincials, under the command of general Gates, having ſurrounded general Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, the latter thought proper to enter into articles of capitulation; by which himſelf and his troops, after laying down their arms, were to have a free paſſage to Great Britain. But the congreſs, under various ſpecious pretences, have not ratified the ſtipulation, but ſtill detain the men; and general Burgoyne is now in England only on his parole of honour.

Towards the cloſe of the year ſeveral forts were taken by the troops and ſhipping; and many ſkirmiſhes happened on the banks of the Delaware, in order to keep up the communication with the army at Philadelphia. The Provincials likewiſe evacuated their entrenchments at Red Bank.

Great diſturbances happened this year in the East-Indies, where lord Pigot, governor of Madraſs, was depoſed, put in confinement, and ſoon after died. His death was occaſioned either by the rigour of his impriſonment, his chagrin on account of ſuch a revolution, or ſome darker cauſe not hitherto developed. This affair hath not yet been inveſtigated, but there is great reaſon to think that it will be ſpeedily ſcrutinized by parliament.

On the 20th of November the parliament aſſembled, when his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I have recourſe to the wiſdom and ſupport of my parliament, in this conjuncture, when the continuance of the rebellion in North America demands our moſt ſerious attention. The powers which you have entruſted me with for the ſuppreſſion of this revolt, have been faithfully exerted; and I have a juſt confidence, that the conduct and courage of my officers, and the ſpirit and intrepidity of my forces, both by ſea and land, will, under the bleſſing of Divine Providence, be attended with important ſucceſs; but as I am perſuaded that you will ſee the neceſſity of preparing for ſuch further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the obſtinacy of the rebels, may render expedient, I am, for that purpoſe, purſuing the proper meaſures for keeping my land forces complete to their preſent eſtabliſhment; and if I ſhould have occaſion to increaſe them, by contracting any new engagements, I rely on your zeal and public ſpirit to enable me to make them good.

"I receive repeated aſſurances from foreign powers of their pacific diſpoſitions: My own cannot be doubted. But at this time, when the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continue, I have thought it adviſeable to make a conſiderable augmentation to my naval force, as well to keep my kingdoms in a reſpectable ſtate of ſecurity, as to provide an adequate protection for the extenſive commerce of my ſubjects; and, as, on the one hand, I am determined that the peace of Europe ſhall not be diſturbed by me, ſo, on the other, I will always be a faithful guardian of the honour of the crown of Great Britain.

---

* Before the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons delivered this bill to his majeſty to receive the royal ſignet, he addreſſed him in a ſpeech, which being a matter of ſingularity, we ſhall preſerve an authentic copy of it. It was as follows:

"Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"The bill, which it is now my duty to preſent to your majeſty is entitled, "An act for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain:" to which your commons humbly beg your royal aſſent.

"By this bill, Sir, and the reſpectful circumſtances which preceded and accompanied it, your commons have given the fulleſt and cleareſt proof of their zeal and affection for your majeſty; for in a time of public diſtreſs, full of difficulty and danger, their conſtituents labouring under burthens almoſt too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons poſtponed all other buſineſs, and, with as much diſpatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue; great beyond example; great beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence.

"But all this, Sir, they have done in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wiſely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good ſubject muſt feel with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that under the direction of your majeſty's wiſdom, the affluence and grandeur of the ſovereign will reflect dignity and honour upon his people."

" Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. The various ſervices which I have mentioned to you will unavoidably require large ſupplies; and nothing could relieve my mind from the concern which I feel for the heavy charge which they muſt bring on my faithful people; but the perfect conviction that they are neceſſary for the welfare and eſſential intereſts of my kingdoms.

" My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I will ſteadily purſue the meaſures in which we are engaged for the re-eſtabliſhment of that conſtitutional ſubordination, which, with the bleſſing of God, I will maintain through the ſeveral parts of my dominions; but I ſhall ever be watchful for an opportunity of putting a ſtop to the effuſion of the blood of my ſubjects, and the calamities which are inſeperable from a ſtate of war.——And I ſtill hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude will return to their allegiance; and that the remembrance of what they once enjoyed, the regret for what they have loſt, and the feelings of what they now ſuffer under the arbitrary tyranny of their leaders, will re-kindle in their hearts a ſpirit of loyalty to their Sovereign, and of attachment to their mother country; and that they will enable me, with the concurrence and ſupport of my parliament, to accompliſh what I ſhall conſider as the greateſt glory of my reign, the reſtoration of peace, order, and confidence to my American Colonies."

As ſoon as his majeſty left the houſe a motion was made for preſenting an addreſs of thanks. This, after ſome debates, was agreed to, and an addreſs was accordingly drawn up; but it was warmly objected to by ſeveral of the members, particularly the earl of Chatham, who moved, that the following amendment might be made to it.

" That this houſe do moſt humbly adviſe and ſupplicate his majeſty to be pleaſed to cauſe the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures to be taken for reſtoring peace in America; and that no time may be loſt in propoſing an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities there, in order to the opening a treaty for the final ſettlement of the tranquillity of thoſe invaluable provinces, by a removal of the unhappy cauſes of this ruinous civil war, and by a juſt and adequate ſecurity againſt the return of the like calamities in times to come. And this houſe deſire to offer the moſt dutiful aſſurance to his majeſty, that they will, in due time, chearfully co-operate with the magnanimity and tender goodneſs of his majeſty, for the preſervation of his people, by ſuch explicit and moſt ſolemn declarations and proviſions of fundamental and irrevocable laws, as may be judged neceſſary for aſcertaining and fixing for ever the reſpective rights of Great Britain and her colonies."

The propoſed amendment produced very long and violent debates; at the cloſe of which, on the queſtion being put, the houſe divided, when the numbers were

Contents,	97
Non-Contents,	28.

The addreſs propoſed by the lower houſe was alſo objected to, and was productive of very long debates; but it was at length carried by a conſiderable majority.

This matter being adjuſted, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, when a ſhort ſtate of the navy, both as to the number of ſhips and men employed, and where ſtationed, being given, a motion was made, That it is the reſolution of this committee, that 60,000 ſeamen be employed for the ſervice of the year 1778. This motion produced very long and intereſting debates, at the cloſe of which it was carried without a diviſion.

The ſupplies being granted, and ſeveral bills ready (among which was that for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus) on the 10th of December his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning the reſpective bills, adjourned the parliament.

A. D. 1778. On the 23d of January the parliament re-aſſembled, when, after the papers on the ſtate of the nation were delivered in, the earl of Abingdon gave notice in the houſe of lords of an intention to make an intereſting motion in the following ſhort ſpeech.

" Having a motion of very great conſequence and importance to make to this houſe, I think it neceſſary to appriſe your lordſhips of it.

I am greatly alarmed at the ſpirit that is gone abroad, and at the countenance given to that ſpirit, of raiſing, out of the medium of parliament, armies in Great Britain, by perſonal intereſt and private ſubſcriptions.

It is therefore my intention, in the courſe of a few days, to move, that a day be appointed for ſummoning the judges to attend this houſe, in order that their opinions may be taken upon this matter.

At preſent, I conceive it, my lords, to be not only repugnant to the principles of the conſtitution, but expreſsly againſt the letter of the law. Perhaps I am miſtaken; if I am, and this mode of arming the nation be right, I too will exert my intereſt for the purpoſe of raiſing a regiment; not, my lords, to go to America, to be hazarded, perhaps *devoted*, but to remain in England, to aſſiſt protecting our liberties.

If I am not miſtaken, I ſhall truſt, that theſe violent meaſures will be immediately ſuppreſſed".

After ſome converſation, relative to what day the judges ſhould be ſummoned for their opinion, Tueſday the 27th was agreed to.

This deſigned motion was corroborated in the lower houſe; for Sir Philip Jennings Clerke moved, that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, requeſting he would be pleaſed to lay before the houſe an account of the troops raiſed, and intended to be raiſed ſince the late adjournment of parliament; together with the names of the officers appointed to command them; and the names of all the officers who are to ſerve in them, ſpecifying the corps to which they formerly belonged, the rank they held, and the length of time they had ſerved.

This produced a debate. The minority gentlemen conteſted the legality of raiſing ſoldiers except by act of parliament; and were but little pleaſed with the compliment paid the houſe by the application of the miniſtry for their ſanction of a meaſure ſo unconſtitutional, and which left them in ſome degree no other power but the negative one of not providing for them.

Lord Barrington ſaid, that very great offers had been made, but that no more than thoſe mentioned in the accounts he had given in would be accepted.

Colonel Barre moved that the words, " and on what terms they are to be raiſed," ſhould be part of Sir Philip Jennings Clerke's motion, which was agreed to without a diviſion.

On Jan. 27, after ſome unintereſting altercations which were carried on with heat, and decided in favour of adminiſtration,

Lord Abingdon roſe, and moved the houſe " to fix upon the day when the members ſhould be ſummoned to attend, and alſo the judges, to enquire whether the preſent mode of raiſing men by ſubſcription was legal or no ?"

The lord chancellor obſerved, that the judges were never convened, in their judicial capacity before the houſe, but for ſome valid cauſe aſſigned : his lordſhip had mentioned none; for, previous to this ſummons, it would be neceſſary to prove the orders that had been iſſued, whether or no government had materially interpoſed, and whether or no there was at this time above 20,000 men raiſed by the authority of parliament ; for it was only become criminal then, according to the act concerning mutiny and riot, for any one to levy troops for his majeſty's ſervice, when the eſtabliſhed number of 20,000 was exceeded.

Lord Camden ſaid, he did not mean to enquire into the legality of the conduct, but only recommended lord Abingdon to withdraw his motion, and deſire the houſe to fix on a day. It was then litigated, whether or no any ſingle lord had a right to ſummon the judges without the conſent of the majority of the houſe ? Some of the old members being referred to, it was determined, that a convention of the judges was always in conſequence of an act of the houſe, and by no means in the power of any individual member ſolely to effect.---Wedneſday, February the 4th, was fixed on for their lordſhips to attend.

On the ſecond of February the duke of Richmond made a motion concerning the forces of Great Britain and Ireland being inadequate to the defence of the reſpective countries; but this was negatived by a majority of 93 againſt 31.

On the 4th of February, after the ordinary buſineſs of the day was over, lord Abingdon roſe to propoſe his motion, which being ſingular in itſelf, and the arguments thence ariſing of a peculiar nature, we ſhall here inſert.

The motion, as ſtated by lord Abingdon, was, " That this houſe, taking into conſideration the legality of the preſent mode of benevolences, or of raiſing forces by ſubſcription, do look upon this practice as contrary to law, and the principles of the Conſtitution." His lordſhip obſerved, that the reaſons which induced him to the propoſition of this queſtion, were firſt, A conſcious inability to determine upon ſuch a ſubject; and ſecondly, The wiſh of acting on ſuch great authority as the majority of the judges certainly conſtituted.---He was ſorry he was precluded from that advantage by a previous determination : But corruption had pervaded every part of the conſtitution.

He then proceeded to enter into enquiry of the illegality of the meaſure reprobated by his motion. He firſt read the advertiſement from an evening paper conveying the terms which the new method of levying was conceived, and then remarked, that this additional power added to the royal prerogative, was big with the worſt conſequences to the liberties of the ſubject. To grant the king money for raiſing troops was ſupplying him with independent authority ; and where ſuch an increaſe of dominion might finally terminate it was not difficult to foretel.---It was repugnant to the expreſs terms of the Bill of Rights ; for it was there ſaid explicitly, that his majeſty could not, for his own particular privilege, raiſe, or keep up an army, without the concurrent approbation of the other powers of the legiſlature.---When the American war was, in previous debates, vehemently defended, the moſt valid argument urged in defence of it was, that the ſubjection of the colonies would keep the legiſlation in equilibrio, by precluding the king from thoſe extraordinary pecuniary acquiſitions which muſt neceſſarily fall to his ſhare, if America ſubſiſted in an alliance different from abſolute dependency.--- Miniſtry plainly demonſtrated that they adhered to no ſyſtem of principles, when they could diſtort the ſame argument at once as an indication and an objection of meaſures.---The preſent ſubject of litigation was to produce the ſame effect of reſtraining the prerogative ; yet, for ſome latent cauſes, that was not at preſent ſo deſirable an object. The preſent mode of ſupplying the neceſſities of the crown, though ſomewhat diſtinguiſhed in name, varied very little in fact from that extortion practiſed previous to the revolution, called benevolences. Here the ſubject was ſolicited for voluntary contributions ; and yet they were, to all intents and purpoſes, as much exacted as if they had been taken by open violence : Perſons were puniſhed for non-compliance ; yet no compulſion was pretended to. This was a grievance which our anceſtors refuſed to acquieſce in ; yet, in reality, we ourſelves felt the burden of it at preſent. There was no difference, in effect, between the old benevolences and the modern levies. The method of procuring them varied ; but the reſult of each was exactly the ſame. Independent of the conſtitutional cauſes that ſtigmatized ſubſcription recruits as illegal and dangerous, there were arguments deduced againſt them from the very places which offered them.--- Scotland, Mancheſter, and Liverpool, were foremoſt in their zeal, who, in time of yore, had diſplayed no ſuch enthuſiaſm of loyalty.

Lord Cardiff oppoſed the motion, from the conviction of arguments deduced from experience. It was a practice which had been obſerved frequently in the laſt war, to ſupply deficiencies by voluntary contributions, and then he did not read that ever its legality had been queſtioned. As for the reflections which had been affixed to particular countries and places, he thought they were diſingenuous and impotent. He himſelf had connections with Scotland, but did not think himſelf, therefore, leſs an Engliſhman : he was not aſhamed to acknowledge the affinity he bore to that country, for it reflected not even the moſt diſtant imputation on his loyalty. They had offended againſt their duty ; but did that imply a perpetual perſeverance in ſedition ? They had given the nobleſt teſtimonies of their attachment ; they had wiped out the ſtigma of traitors with their blood, and proved their allegiance with their ſwords.

Lord Effingham ſaid, it had been ſuggeſted by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, that there was authority drawn from paſt practice to ſanction the preſent method of recruiting ; but this did not appear to be the caſe. In the laſt war, in the year 1750, ten regiments had been raiſed without the interpoſition of Parliament ; but then there was at that time a ſtanding act of the houſes, called An Act of Credit, by which their ſanction was extended, in ſuch a predicament, to all the operations of the crown. He ſaid, that ſo far from the concurrence of parliament being unneceſſary on theſe occaſions, there was an act of parliament, made in the ſecond year of the firſt ſeſſion of Charles the Second, whereby it was expreſly declared, their coincidence was neceſſary to the exiſtence of ſuch a meaſure. The act was then ordered to be read. It appeared, that in the year after the reſtoration, king Charles, from the nature of his preceding circumſtances, having been in want of money, had recourſe to his parliament, who granted him an act for raiſing it, with theſe limitations, that the time of ſubſcribing ſhould be reſtrained to a certain period ; and that no Commoner ſhould in his bounty be permitted to exceed 200l. nor Peer 400l. Lord Effingham proceeded to obſerve, that theſe reſtrictions implied the power of impoſing ; and that the ſubſcriptions, though in ſome meaſure voluntarily conferred, had their origin and authority primarily from parliament.

Lord Suffolk ſaid, it was always found, that the royal prerogative varied with the times; being the executive part of the legiſlature, the authority he exerted was, in many inſtances, not ſubject to the ſlow deliberation of parliament; in great emergencies, greater liberties were taken; in times not quite ſo dangerous, the licence was leſs. Suppoſing, therefore, that the preciſe conſtitutionality of the point was not eaſily determined; yet the acknowledgment that there was peril in the times, gave ſuch a meaſure as the preſent ſufficient ſanction; and that the criſis was dangerous; that we were ſubject to apprehenſions from every quarter, were tenets every day inculcated in the houſe. In the laſt war, the ſame cuſtom prevailed.----In the year 45, it was alſo practiſed; and when the three celebrated rebels, Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino, were tried, Lord Hardwicke took an opportunity, on this occaſion, to obviate a public clamour which had originated from the ſame kind of ſubſcriptions that now prevail; and his opinion, as ſolemnly pronounced, his lordſhip had now tranſcribed, and begged leave to read to the houſe.

The contents of the paper were to ſignify, that though ſeveral perſons had objected to the cuſtom of ſupplying his majeſty's levies by voluntary contributions, yet he would take upon him to affirm, that the practice was perfectly loyal and warrantable, and that ſuch notions were no leſs ſeditious than unwiſe. Being convinced from theſe circumſtances, in the firſt place, that there could not be a better diſplay of the Britiſh ſpirit than this unſolicited mode of aſſiſtance; and in the ſecond place, from the great authority he had quoted, that it was entirely legal, he oppoſed the preſent motion as it then ſtood, and propoſed an amendment to the following purport, that immediately after the words, "Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this houſe," ſhould follow, "That the contributions of his majeſty's ſubjects, for the purpoſe of raiſing troops, is not only perfectly conſtitutional, but alſo a conduct perfectly meritorious."

A prolix altercation took place concerning this amendment. It was contended, on the one hand, that the motion, thus altered, came more properly under the denomination of a diſtinct and ſeparate propoſition. On the other hand, it was argued, that, on ſeveral occaſions, the ſame practice had been obſerved.

Lord Denbigh called the attention of the houſe from this mere diſpute of order, by obſerving, that he had heard it affirmed, that the ſupplies which had been raiſed by ſubſcription in the laſt war had received the ſanction of parliament, and that thoſe attempted to be raiſed by the ſame means at preſent, had not that ſanction. He affirmed, that the very contrary to this was the truth; and he proved the truth of his aſſertion, by having recourſe to old Journals, whereby it appeared, than an act of credit had not been granted during the former period, though it was ſhewn to exiſt in the preſent.

Lord Mansfield ſaid he had been hindered from delivering his ſentiments ſooner, from the tumult which had ariſen. He objected to the original motion on every account---firſt, as to its formality; and ſecondly, as to its materials. A motion was made which reſted for its foundation on a mere news-paper advertiſement. When the motion was once drawn, where did the circumſtances appear from which it reſulted?---They were in an evening paper, at the time that the motion lay upon the table at the houſe of lords. To have made the grounds of this propoſition perfectly authentic, it ſhould have been explicitly ſhewn, what were the operations of this ſociety; what they had done; and what were their motives. If, therefore, there had been no more valid objection than mere form, he ſhould have thought himſelf authoriſed in giving it a negative; for cauſes not appearing legally, were cauſes not exiſting. There was a common privilege which the king enjoyed with many of his ſubjects; that is, the privilege of receiving a donation by perſonal gift, or by legacy. This ſubſcription was only a gift of money, and no one could argue againſt the common right of receiving. The only circumſtance that could beſtow the leaſt criminality on a donation was, the demonſtration that it was conferred for purpoſes not legal; an attempt to relieve the emergencies of the ſtate, could never be deemed a culpable end, and therefore the gift was in all reſpects authentically legal. It was a part of the royal prerogative which had been exerciſed on a thouſand occaſions. The aldermen of London, during the courſe of a long war, once raiſed 7000l. by this means, and received the thanks of the king, and the approbation of parliament, for their conduct. At the ſame period, the county of Middleſex alſo produced, by this means, between 3 and 4000l. for which Mr. Secretary Pitt ſent an epiſtle, couched in the higheſt terms of compliment and approbation.

His lordſhip next defined the riſe and nature of what were called benevolences, by ſaying, though they were ſo called, they were generally exerted by force, and that was, no doubt, contrary to law and the ſpirit of the conſtitution. He concluded a long and elaborate ſpeech, in which he ſhewed his uſual abilities, with an opinion of Lord Hardwicke's, when he paſſed ſentence on the rebel lords, which was, that though the pariſh officers, in the time of the rebellion, went from houſe to houſe to collect money for levying of troops and other exigencies, that the neceſſity of the times demanded and countenanced ſuch proceedings, and all opinions to the contrary were preſumptuous and abſurd.

Lord Camden, though he had ſpoken ſeveral times in the courſe of the debate, roſe with freſh vigour, in oppoſition to the great law authority who had juſt ſat down. He began, by wiſhing the noble lord who ſpoke laſt had come out earlier in the debate; that taking it up juſt then, was rather unexpectedly, when the nature of the amendment, and other matters ſeemed to occupy the diſcuſſions of their lordſhips. His lordſhip however followed the noble lord cloſely in all the doctrines he had laid down. As to the firſt objection, the propoſition not being a matter of fact, he ſaid, though it was impoſſible to give that kind of proof to it at preſent that courts of law might require, the truth of it was well known and eſtabliſhed, and he could not ſuppoſe any noble lord could ſeriouſly have a doubt about it on their minds.

He then defined the doctrine of raiſing levies without the conſent of parliament, on clear, preciſe, and conſtitutional grounds. He flatly denied any ſuch thing could be legally done; that ſuch a ſtep would give the king a power, that, in the end, may enable him to act without parliaments at all; for ſubjects that could thus grant monies towards enabling his majeſty to raiſe troops, under pretence of exigencies, may afterwards, and at times when no exigencies did exiſt, raiſe men, and then theſe troops may find a reſource for their further ſupport by the plunder of the nation.

As to caſes of actual rebellion in the kingdom, quoted by the noble law lord, they made a wide difference. The neceſſity of the times demanded a ſpeedy, nay, an unconſtitutional ſuccour; for my lords (ſays he) there was then no time for parliament's meeting, no time for deliberation, the rebels were in full march through the heart of the kingdom; and let me remind your lordſhips, embraced by thoſe now loyal towns of

Mancheſter and Liverpool; if ſuccours therefore were not inſtantly obtained, the kingdom nor conſtitution could exiſt.

His lordſhip next defined the nature of prerogative, gave it its due extent, marked its bounds with great legal knowledge, and concluded a long, ſpirited ſpeech, with a ſuſpicion which he could not help having, that inſtead of many of the towns ſhewing their loyalty by their ſubſcriptions, the ſame principle of Toryiſm ſtill exiſted, and their laying themſelves at the foot of the throne was only varying the old meaſure.

Soon after this lord Suffolk withdrew his amendment, when after a ſhort debate, which was ſupported by his grace the duke of Richmond, lord Gower, lord Weymouth, duke of Grafton, lords Littelton, Warwick, Faulconbridge, and Radnor, the main queſtion, at about half an hour after eight o'clock, was called for, when there appeared, on a diviſion,

Non-contents	---	90
Contents	---	30

On February 6, the order of the day for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the ſtate of the nation was read, Lord Scarſdale in the chair. As ſoon as the committee was formed, the Duke of Richmond ſtated his reaſons for calling evidence to the bar. He ſaid, it would be impoſſible to decide upon the good or bad policy of the war carrying on in America, without an enquiry into the conſequences it had been productive of in reſpect to our trade, commerce, and finances. For this purpoſe, he had moved for the attendance of ſeveral eminent and intelligent merchants, acquainted with the general principles of trade and commerce, and well informed of the points on which they were to be examined. His grace then moved, that Mr. Wooldridge, an American merchant, be called in.

Mr. Wooldridge being ſworn, gave the following important facts in evidence:---He informed the committee, that 733 merchant and trading veſſels had been taken by the American privateers ſince the paſſing the prohibitory act; of which, after deducting for thoſe retaken and reſtored, there remained 559; the value of which, including the ſhips, their cargoes, &c. amounted, upon a very moderate calculation, to 1,800,633l. 10s. about 4000l. each. Of theſe ſhips 247 were ſhips trading to the Weſt-Indies and the iſland of Jamaica. The alderman then ſtated, that the average value of a ſhip and cargo to the Weſt-Indies, was 8000l. on her outward, and 10,000l. on her homeward voyage; and the average value of a ſhip and cargo to the Weſt-Indies, was 6000l. outward, and 8000l. homeward. He ſaid the number of privateers out of port within the ſame period, was 173; 34 of which had been taken by our ſhips of war and letters of marque; that the number of ſeamen aboard the whole of the privateers, having ſtruck an average, he preſumed to amount to about 13,000; and 2000 and odd carriage guns, excluſive of ſwivels and cohorns.---The number of priſoners taken aboard the 34 privateers, he ſaid, were about 3000. The inſurance to America, Africa, and the Weſt-Indies, was riſen from two to five per cent. and to the Streights, Portugal, and Spain, from one to three. The price of tar and turpentine, from 6 and 8 to 30s. per barrel. Sugar from 30s. to 3l. per cwt. Oil nearly in the ſame proportion; pearl and pot-aſhes, iron, and indigo conſiderable; tobacco from 7d. halfpenny to 2s. per lb.

He was aſked what documents he reſorted to in the account he gave of the number of captures of American privateers, and numbers of men? He replied from Lloyd's book, or the accounts entered in a book at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe, by the direction of the under writers; which he had every reaſon to believe was authentic. He further informed the committee, that the ſeamen's wages were riſen from 30s. a month, and under to 55s. per month; and freight very conſiderably; but not in ſo great a proportion. That the increaſed value of ſugars, &c. paid the merchants ſufficiently for the increaſed price of inſurance, but the weight fell upon the conſumer of the commodities imported and exported. The alderman gave his opinion, that the manufactories of this kingdom, eſpecially that of iron, were not increaſed in point of export ſince the war began; that the American war had been the cauſe of many bankruptcies; that when the prohibition act paſſed, there might be about two millions due to the merchants of Great-Britain from America; that in the ſix months allowed by the act for the continuance of an intercourſe between the two countries, the Americans had tranſmitted about five hundred thouſand pounds worth of goods in part of payment of their debts to their creditors at home; that thoſe 500,000 pounds worth of goods, were they now on hand, would be worth two millions, from the encreaſed price of the various articles; that at preſent there was due from America to the merchants of Great-Britain at leaſt one million five hundred thouſand pounds; that upon an average, the debt was not worth five ſhillings in the pound; that it was more or leſs valuable, according to the province in which the debtors reſided; that in North Carolina, and ſuch parts as had not been the ſeat of war, where the perſons of the inhabitants and their property had been deſtroyed by fire and ſword, the merchants thought their money tolerably ſafe, ſhould an intercourſe be again brought about between Great-Britain and America; but that in the province of New York and Pennſylvania, the debts due to Engliſh merchants were of little worth; that there were 72,000l. due in particular to the houſe in which he had lately been a partner; that to ſpeak for one, he would gladly ſell the debt for ten ſhillings in the pound.

Mr. Hake was the next witneſs examined; he confirmed the authenticity of Lloyd's book; ſaid, he believed it contained nothing but truth. The mode of making it up, he informed their lordſhips, was this: Perſons were employed, and a correſpondence kept open with every port in Great-Britain and Ireland, giving an account of every ſhip and veſſel that ſailed in and out. He was employed by the under-writers in this buſineſs, becauſe that they might know the ſtate and condition of every veſſel on which they under-wrote a policy.

Mr. Beeſton Long was next examined. He ſaid the debts due by the people of America amounted, he believed, according to the moſt exact calculation that could be made, to 1,800,000l.

William Creighton, Eſq. ſtated the loſſes ſuffered by the merchants, in conſequence of the captures made by the American privateers, to have amounted at leaſt to two millions in October laſt, and that by this time they could not be leſs than two millions two hundred thouſand pounds.

Gregory Olive, Eſq. was next examined. This gentleman's teſtimony went chiefly to prove the damage done the Newfoundland traders; fifty of whoſe ſhips he declared had been taken, of about the average value of 2000l. each, beſides a great many ſmall veſſels, of about two or three hundred pounds value, upon the Banks.

Upon his croſs examination, this gentleman declared, that the fiſhing trade on the coaſt of Africa was much improved of late, and that in conſequence of the Americans being deprived of the means of purſuing it, we ſent more fiſh to Bilboa and the foreign markets than ever, and that, if men and ſhips could be procured, it would turn out a very beneficial branch of commerce; but that the fiſhermen's price was increaſed from 8 to 14l. a voyage; and the ſeamen's wages from 35 to 70s. a month.

The next witneſs examined was John Shoolbred, Eſq. of Mark-lane, who declared himſelf an African merchant and an under-writer.---He ſtated, that the African trade had been materially injured in conſequence of the American war. That upwards of 200 ſail were generally engaged in that trade previous to the war, but that not above forty ſhips were now ſent out. That 15 of the ſhips and cargoes had been taken by the Americans. That the average value of the cargo of a ſhip to Africa, outwards, was about 7000l. and her homeward freight of ſlaves worth about 9200l. each ſlave being worth at leaſt 35l. That the value of the ſhips loſt was 140,000l. upon a very moderate calculation. That the firſt ſhip taken was in March, 1777; the Americans not having, before that time, any market to carry the cargo of African ſhips to; and that all the ſhips were taken near, and moſt of them in ſight of, Barbadoes, after having got over every natural riſque of the voyage.---Upon his croſs examination, Mr. Shoolbred allowed, that thoſe who carried on the African ſlave trade formerly had lately ſent ſhips to fiſh on the coaſt of Africa; that the whole trade there promiſed to turn out exceedingly advantageous, and that this trade was formerly enjoyed by the Americans.

Edward Payne, eſq. was the laſt witneſs examined, and corroborated what the others had ſaid.

Lord Sandwich was the principal croſs examinant, and took conſiderable pains to probe the authenticity of the liſts of ſhipping produced by alderman Wooldridge, and his reports of the number of merchant ſhips loſt, and the number of American privateers on the ſeas. His lordſhip urged the alderman to tell the houſe whether the ſhips loaded with proviſions, and cleared out from ports in Ireland, which had been ſo unfortunate as to fall into the hands of American privateers, and were by them carried into the ports of France and Spain, were included in the 559 ſtated to be taken, and valued at near two millions of money. As there was much time ſpent in obtaining an anſwer to this queſtion, from the noble lord and the alderman not properly conceiving each other's meaning, his lordſhip at length ſaid, he would ſpeak out; that what he meant to come at was, to know if the value of thoſe ſhips and cargoes which were fitted out in Ireland, and intentionally ſuffered to be made captures, or run into the ports of France, was included in the one million and a fraction? The alderman replied, that the merchants knew of no fraudulent or colluſive ſurrender; if they had, and could meet with the captains ſo acting, the underwriters certainly would have refuſed to pay the inſurance money, and the merchants would have had the captains hanged.

On Feb. 9, Mr. Hake, ſecretary to the merchants, attended, and preſented an account of ſhips and cargoes belonging to the Weſt-India, the Jamaica, and the African trade, taken by the Americans, and the number retaken, with the value of each, under ſeparate heads.

After ſome farther altercation, it was carried on a diviſion, that the witneſſes propoſed to be examined by Lord Sandwich ſhould be called in. They accordingly were called in and examined, when, upon a diviſion, the queſtion was loſt by a majority of 48.

During theſe debates among the lords, the minority members made ſeveral motions in the lower houſe, in order to have the papers relative to the army and navy, letters from the different commanders, and various other documents of information laid before them, but all the motions were either over-ruled or carried by a majority in favour of the miniſters.

The 2d of February was appointed for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation in the Houſe of Commons, and this great day, which was to give the people an inſight into the ſituation of their affairs being arrived, a vaſt multitude aſſembled in the lobby and environs of the Houſe, but not being able to gain admiſſion by either intreaty or intereſt, they forced their way into the gallery in ſpite of the door-keepers. The Houſe conſidered the intruſion in a heinous light, and a motion was directly made for clearing the gallery. A partial clearing only took place; the gentlemen were deſired to withdraw, the ladies, through complaiſance, were ſuffered to remain: but governor Johnſtone obſerving, that if the motive for clearing the houſe was a ſuppoſed propriety, to keep the ſtate of the nation concealed from our enemies, he ſaw no reaſon to indulge the ladies ſo far, as to make them acquainted with the arcana of the ſtate, as he did not think them more capable of keeping ſecrets than the men; they were likewiſe ordered to leave the houſe.

After the excluſion of the auditors in the gallery, a motion was made, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, requeſting that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order the proper officers to lay before the houſe the accounts received from the admiral on the Jamaica ſtation, relative to the ſhipping under his command. The queſtion was carried without a diviſion.

Mr. Pulteney then took the chair: having gone into a committee of the whole houſe to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Charles Fox, on whoſe motion the committee was formed, opened the debate. He took a retroſpective view of the American war: he followed it in all its ſtages; pointing out the events as well fortunate as unfortunate of each year; demonſtrated from them the incapacity of adminiſtration to conduct the war; their ignorance of men, meaſures, and the country of America; and all the errors and blunders into which this unpardonable ignorance had hurried them.

His ſpeech was maſterly, forcible, and expreſſive, and gave, in the courſe of near three hours which it laſted, the moſt ſtriking proofs of judgment, ſound reaſoning, and aſtoniſhing memory. He pointed out the defenceleſs ſtate of the Britiſh empire in Europe, from the abſence of the troops and navy; and to conclude his ſpeech, he moved, that as it would be impoſſible to compleat the propoſed levies time enough to replace the regiments that in the interim might be ſent away, the houſe, conſidering the ſtate to which ſuch a meaſure would reduce the nation, would not ſuffer any troops from Great Britain, Ireland, Minorca, or Gibraltar, to be ſent to America.

This important reſolution was not oppoſed by arguments, but by votes. The queſtion was called for, and upon a diviſion it was rejected. The numbers for the reſolution were 165; againſt it, 259.

On February 4th, the buſineſs of the new levies came on, which was oppoſed by ſome of the minority members, but the houſe having entered fully into the debate, continued ſitting till near twelve o'clock, when the queſtion was put for voting a ſum of money to be granted to his majeſty for the pay and maintenance of the new corps, and upon a diviſion the numbers were, Ayes, 223. Noes, 130.

On the 5th of February, Mr. Bamber Gaſcoyne was called upon by the Speaker to make his report from the committee of ſupply; this was oppoſed by ſome of the members, but after a ſhort debate the queſtion was put and carried without a diviſion.

On Feb. 6, the houſe was full to hear Mr. Burke's motion; and the hon. member began with an awful ſolemnity to prepare their minds, and incline them to adopt his ſentiments, and join him in his endeavours to make the houſe as ſenſible as he was, of the many barbarities which he ſaid had been committed during the war in America. He deſcribed the ſavage ungovernable rage of the Indians let looſe upon the unarmed, the aged, the infant, and the helpleſs female; he painted them rioting in murder, luſt and rapine; he drew, in the moſt moving terms, the ſufferings of the unhappy victims whom they devoted to death; a death which his pathetic eloquence made wear an aſpect horrid almoſt beyond conception. Raiſed by his own pictures to a high degree of indignation, he inveighed moſt bitterly on thoſe who, by ordering a treaty with the barbarians, may be juſtly deemed the authors of all the calamities which attended the inhuman meaſure. Adminiſtration, Lord Dunmore, and Gen. Burgoyne, were placed upon the carpet; and the ſhare they had in the barbarities complained of, held up to view. The whole ſpeech, though it laſted three hours, was no more than a preface to his motion. When he thought he had ſaid ſufficient for his purpoſe, he moved, that copies of the treaties entered into with the Indians, ſhould be laid before the houſe.

The motion was warmly oppoſed by adminiſtration, and as vigorouſly defended by the minority. The arguments of the latter differed but little from thoſe of Mr. Burke; they all ſhaped their's after his model; the difference lay only in the colouring and fancy.

The oppoſite ſide vindicated the Indians from the reflections thrown on them; inſtances of their humanity, and the ſtrict diſcipline they were forced to ſubmit to, were adduced, and which being contrary to their way of carrying on the war by ſurprize and in flying parties, was alledged as the identical cauſe which made them quit our camps and abandon us. The facts urged as proofs of the untameable and ungovernable rage of the Indians, it was ſaid, were by much exaggerated; owed a great deal of their horror to the fancy of the orator: and, ſuch as they were, ought to be deemed the acts of a few lawleſs banditti of their body, who equally diſclaimed obedience to our commanders and their own; and not to be attributed to the nation, who, to the knowledge of many members of the houſe, had often acted with a degree of humanity which might make even Chriſtians bluſh.

The freeing the negroes, by Lord Dunmore, was juſtified on the ground of neceſſity: it was impoſſible to raiſe men otherwiſe to recover our juſt rights; every private conſideration ſhould give way to promote the public good.

The debate was warm, intereſting, and laſted near ſeven hours. The queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of 86; the numbers for it 137, againſt it 223.

On Feb. 9, the houſe, in a committee of ſupply, voted 105,227l. to make good the extra expences of the gold coin.

During this month, February, ſeveral motions were made by the lords in oppoſition concerning American affairs, and the ſtate of the nation; but on repeated diviſions, the queſtions were carried in favour of adminiſtration.

The 17th of February was the day appointed for Lord North to prepare his celebrated conciliatory motion. The houſe never was more full of its own members. Almoſt all the peers of the minority, as well as a few of the majority, with ſome biſhops, were in the gallery. All were intent, and eager to ſee in what manner lord North would make a propoſition, ſo oppoſite to the tenor of every thing which he had adviſed or oppoſed, during the courſe of four years.

Lord North began by apologizing for the intended length of his ſpeech, but he ſaid it was neceſſary, from the quantity of matter he was obliged to go into, and from the perſpicuity and clearneſs which he intended to make uſe of, in giving ſatisfaction upon every part of the detail. He declared, that from the beginning he had been uniformly diſpoſed to peace. That the coercive acts which he had made were ſuch as appeared to be neceſſary at the time, though in the event they had produced effects which he never intended. That as ſoon as he found that they had not the effect which he intended, he propoſed a conciliatory propoſition before the ſword was drawn. That at that time he thought, and that he ſtill thinks, the terms of that propoſition would form the happieſt, moſt equitable, and moſt laſting bond of union between Great Britain and the Colonies. That by a variety of diſcuſſions, a propoſition, that was originally clear and ſimple in itſelf, was made to appear ſo obſcure, as to go damned to America; ſo that the congreſs conceived, or took occaſion to repreſent it as a ſcheme for ſowing diviſions, and introducing taxation among them in a worſe mode than the former; and accordingly rejected it.

His idea never had been to draw any conſiderable revenue either in that way, or any other, from America; that his idea was, that they ſhould contribute in a very low proportion to the expences of this country. That he had always known, that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue; that there were many ſorts of taxes that could not at all be laid on that country, and that few of them would prove worth the charge of collection; that the ſtamp act was the moſt judicious that could be choſen for that purpoſe, as it intereſted every man who had any dealing, or any property to defend or recover, in the collection of the tax and the execution of the law; but notwithſtanding the high rate at which that duty had been formerly eſtimated, he did not believe its produce would have been a very conſiderable object; and if the people had confederated, as they ſeemed in general diſpoſed to do, and in ſome places had actually done, to go on without the ſtamps, it would produce nothing at all, but would encreaſe the confuſions of the country, if any attempts were made to diſturb the tranſactions which were carried on without ſtamps. That accordingly he never had propoſed any tax on America; he found them already taxed, when he unfortunately (as he ſtill muſt ſay, whatever uſe has been, or might be made of the word) came into adminiſtration. That his principle of policy was to have had as little diſcuſſion on theſe ſubjects as poſſible, but to keep the affairs of America out of parliament; that accordingly, as he had not laid, ſo he did not think it adviſeable for him to repeal the tea-tax, nor did he ever think of any particular means for enforcing it.

That the act enabling the Eaſt India Company to ſend teas to America, on their own account, and with the drawback of the whole duty here, was a regulation which he thought not poſſible the Americans could complain of, ſince it was a relief inſtead of an oppreſſion, but that the ill-affected there, and perſons concerned in a contraband trade, endeavoured to repreſent it as a monopoly; that in ſome hand-bills that were ſcattered about at Boſton, it was even ſuppoſed that he had taken off the American 3d. per pound duty, and that even on that ſuppoſition, the diſaffected excited the people to a tumult, upon a principle totally diſtinct from all idea of taxation. That, therefore, as he never had meant taxation as his object in the laſt tea-act, ſo neither did he in his conciliatory propoſition; but in the latter conſidered it only as a means of union and good agreement between the two countries; that, therefore, in what he was going to propoſe, he was uniform and conſiſtent.

One of the bills he intended to move for was, to quiet America upon the ſubject of taxation, and to remove all fears, real or pretended, of parliament's ever attempting to tax them again; and to take away all exerciſe of the right itſelf in future, ſo far as regarded revenue; that as to the other particulars in controverſy, he obſerved that the Americans had deſired a repeal of all the acts paſſed ſince the year 1763; that this could not, however, be ſuppoſed to mean any more than thoſe acts which had, in ſome way or other, preſſed on them; for that ſome which had paſſed in 1769 were beneficial, and ſuch as they themſelves muſt conſider in that light, being the granting of bounties and premiums, or the relaxation of former ſtatutes that had been grievous to them. That as to the late acts, ſuch as the Maſſachuſett's Charter, the Fiſhery, and the Prohibitory Bills, as they were the effect of the quarrel, ſhould ceaſe; and that as to complaints of matters of a various nature, authority ſhould be given to ſettle them to the ſatisfaction of America.

That all theſe matters, conſiſting of a great variety, would be better left to the diſcuſſion of commiſſioners, than to be eſtabliſhed here by act of parliament, or by explicit powers given for each ſpecific purpoſe; for that the Americans, in the negotiation, would conſider every conceſſion made actually here, to be a part of the baſis of the treaty, and never to be receded from, and would accumulate new demands upon that; therefore, as every thing of that kind might be variouſly modified by agreement, he was for leaving the whole to commiſſioners.

That the commiſſioners formerly appointed had very large powers; but that as others ſeemed to conſider them as more limited than in reality they were, he ſhould take care now to be very explicit, and that he would give them full powers to treat, diſcuſs, and conclude upon every point whatever. That as ſome difficulties had ariſen about the powers given to the commiſſioners, of treating with the Congreſs by name, he would now remove that difficulty, by empowering and enabling the commiſſioners to treat with the Congreſs, as if it were a legal body, and would ſo far give it authenticity, as to ſuppoſe its acts and conceſſions would bind all America. That they ſhould have powers to treat with any of the Provincial Aſſemblies upon their preſent conſtitution, and with any individuals in their preſent civil capacities or military commands; with General Waſhington, or any other Officer. That they ſhould have a power, whenever they thought requiſite, to order a ſuſpenſion of arms. That they ſhould have a power to ſuſpend the operation of all laws. That they ſhould have a power of granting all ſorts of pardons, immunities, and rewards. That they ſhould have a power of reſtoring all the Colonies, or any of them, to the form of its antient Conſtitution, as it ſtood before the troubles; any of thoſe where the king nominated the governors, council judges, and other magiſtrates, the commiſſioners to nominate ſuch at their diſcretion, till the king's further pleaſure be known.

That as the powers of the former Commiſſioners had been objected to, ſo the Congreſs had raiſed a difficulty on pretence of their non-admiſſion of their title to be Independent States. That meaning peace ſincerely, he was reſolved that this difficulty ſhould not ſtand in the way of a negotiation, for that the Commiſſioners were to admit it upon entering into a treaty, but as a point to be given up on its amicable termination. As the Americans might claim their independence on the outſet, he would not inſiſt on their renouncing it till the treaty ſhould receive its final ratification by the king and parliament of Great Britain.

That the Commiſſioners ſhould be inſtructed to negotiate for ſome reaſonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the Empire, when re-united: but to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference, the contribution was not to be inſiſted on as a ſine qua non of the treaty: but that if the Americans ſhould refuſe ſo reaſonable and equitable a propoſition, they were not to complain, if hereaſter they were not to look for ſupport from that part of the Empire to whoſe expence they had refuſed to contribute; that it might be aſked if his ſentiments had always been ſuch with regard to taxation and peace, and why he had not made this propoſition at a more early period? To this he anſwered, His opinion had ever been, that the moment of victory was the proper time for offering terms of conceſſion. That the Houſe might remember, that at the beginning of the Seſſion he had declared, that ſuch were his ſentiments; he at that time thought, that the victories obtained by Sir William Howe had been more deciſive; and that he knew nothing of General Burgoyne's misfortune. That when the news of that misfortune had arrived, and that the victories obtained by Sir William Howe could not be ſo improved, as to hinder General Waſhington from appearing with ſome ſuperiority in the field; and that the king's troops were obliged to retire, and fortify themſelves in winter quarters; the firſt thing that occurred to him, as the nation was ſtill ſtrong and vigorous, as they could raiſe a number of men, and as the reſources were far from exhauſted, that their ſtrength ſhould be exerted to repair the loſſes, and to purſue the war with vigour to a happy termination; but when he reflected upon the uncertainty of events, which had hitherto ſo much diſappointed his expectation, and that in caſe of the utmoſt ſucceſs, the terms which he now propoſed muſt be ſubſtantially the ſame as he ſhould propoſe in the height of victory; he ſaw no reaſon to prevent the protracting the war, the effuſion of blood, and the immoderate expence, he would offer the ſame propoſitions now.

That he muſt confeſs himſelf extremely diſappointed in his expectations of the effect of our military force. He did not mean at that time to condemn, or even to call into queſtion, the conduct of any of our commanders, but he had been diſappointed. That Sir William Howe had not only been, in the late actions, and in the whole courſe of the campaign, in goodneſs of troops and in all manner of ſupplies, but in numbers too, much ſuperior to the American army which oppoſed them in the field. That General Burgoyne, who was at length overpowered by numbers, had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, near twice as ſtrong as the army under General Gates. That all theſe things had happened in a manner very contrary to his expectation. That, for his part, he never made a promiſe which he did not perform, or receive an information which he did not communicate; and that if the Houſe was deceived, they had deceived themſelves.

On the whole, his conceſſions were from reaſon and propriety, not from neceſſity; that we were in condition to carry on the war much longer. We might raiſe many more men ready to ſend, for the navy was never in greater ſtrength, the revenue very little ſunk, and that he could raiſe the ſupplies for the current year, as a little time would ſhew; that he ſubmitted the whole, with regard to the propriety of his paſt and preſent conduct, to the judgment of the Houſe.

Mr. Fox roſe next; he ſaid that he could not refuſe his aſſent to the propoſitions made by Lord North; that he was very glad to find that they were, in the main, ſo ample and ſatisfactory, and that he believed they would be ſupported by all thoſe with whom he had the honour to act. That they did not materially differ from thoſe which had been made by a friend of his [Mr. Burke] about three years ago; that the very ſame arguments which had been uſed by the minority, and very nearly in the ſame words, were uſed by the noble lord upon this occaſion. He was glad to find, that he had wholly relinquiſhed the right of taxation, as this was a fundamental; he was alſo glad to find, that he had declared his intention of giving the Commiſſioners power to reſtore the Charter of Maſſachuſett's Bay; for giving the ſame ſatisfaction which he (Lord North) propoſed, it would be neceſſary for parliament to give the ſame ſecurity, with regard to Charters, which it had given with regard to taxation; that the Americans were full as jealous of the rights of their Aſſemblies, as of taxation; and their chief objection to the latter was, its tendency to affect the former.

He then put it to the noble lord, why this propoſition had not come before adjournment? and aſked, whether it had not been forced on now by the news from Paris? He ſaid he had not much acceſs to good information, but what he was going to ſtate was more than common report, "That ten days ago a treaty of commerce had been concluded with America by the Court of Verſailles, the conditions of which were, that France was to ſupport America in her independence."

Mr. Adam argued, that they would not be accepted, and that the holding forth ſuch terms at this time would diſpirit the people, and would diſgrace our Government; that our allies would become lukewarm, and our enemies elated. He farther ſaid, that the ſyſtem now propoſed (if accepted on the part of America) would in the end be ruinous to this country, as the contributions from thence would certainly prove inadequate to the expence we ſhould be at in ſupporting and protecting them: beſides, we were giving to America ſuch important privileges, that theſe, together with the natural advantages of that country with reſpect to the high price of labour, and the quantity of land eaſily obtained and cultivated, muſt in a courſe of years draw multitudes of inhabitants from Great Britain and Ireland; and that the acts now propoſed were in fact eſtabliſhing high bounties for promoting emigration, to the diſgrace of the Legiſlature, and the deſtruction of this country. He therefore diſapproved totally of the noble Lord's propoſitions.

Mr. G. Grenville ſpoke for the propoſitions, becauſe he wiſhed for peace, but doubted of their efficacy. He charged miniſtry with having deceived him in point of information. He concluded by informing the houſe, that he had ſeen an extract of a letter from Dr. Franklyn, mentioning the treaty between America and the Court of Verſailles.

Mr. Burke then ſpoke, to draw an anſwer from the miniſter relative to that treaty, as did Sir George Saville.

This made Lord North declare, that he knew nothing of it but by common report, and that the miniſters of France had denied it ſome time ago: but his lordſhip's declarations did not amount to a poſitive denial of its exiſtence.

Mr. Baker concluded the debate by obſerving, that it was ſhameful, when we had an eſtabliſhment at Paris, and a repreſentative of his majeſty, our information from that quarter ſhould be ſo bad.—The queſtion was then put and agreed to.

On the 19th of February Lord North preſented to the houſe "A bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America." And, "A bill for declaring the intention of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America," which, after ſeveral days debates, and ſome amendments, were carried.

Another bill of a conciliatory nature was likewiſe paſſed, viz. "A bill to repeal the act for regulating the government of Maſſachuſett's Bay." But the apparent intent of theſe bills ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, defeated by the recent treaty of amity and commerce, entered into between the Americans and the court of France.

March the 6th being appointed for opening the budget, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a Committee of Ways and Means; and having taken into their conſideration ſeveral accounts which had been referred to them, Lord North roſe, and proceeded to an inveſtigation and detailed report of the public finances, the ſupplies neceſſary for the ſervice of the current year, the amount of the Ways and Means, and the balance to be raiſed, in order to make up the deficiency of the Ways and Means, in compariſon to the amount of the ſupplies.

The whole of the ſupplies his Lordſhip ſtated at -	13,230,348,	2	10
The Ways and Means amounted to -	7,294,786	0	6½
Deficiency	5,935,562	2	3½

In order to make up this balance, his lordſhip propoſed to raiſe a loan of ſix millions, in the following manner:

100l. 3 per cents. which he valued at	66	10	0
2½ per cents. annuity for 30 years, valued at 14 years purchaſe, -	35	0	0
A Lottery, conſiſting of 48,000 tickets each ſubſcriber of 1000l. to have 8 tickets, which he valued at a profit of - -	2	8	0
	103	18	0

This calculation his lordſhip deemed a very moderate one; declaring, that from the occaſional riſe of ſtocks, and other accidental circumſtances, he thought it highly probable to turn out worth 105l. and aſſigning as a reaſon for his taking it in the loweſt point of view poſſible, that in his opinion the ſubſcribers ought to have the turn of the ſcale in their favour. He further ſaid, that he would give them the option of converting the annuity for 30 years into an annuity for life, on or before the 22d of December next. The extraordinaries of the army, and the ſurplus of the ſinking fund, which are not made up, his lordſhip took at a probable average, which he made to appear was not likely to be exceeded. The Ways and Means adopted by his lordſhip, though oppoſed with warmth and ability, met with the uſual approbation of the committee; and the gallery, contrary to the general cuſtom on Budget days, was kept ſhut.

On March 9, the houſe reſumed itſelf into the Committee of Ways and Means, when Lord North got up, and propoſed his new taxes, viz.

1ſt. A tax of 6d. in the pound on all houſes through Great Britain, from the rent of 5l. to 50l. per annum, incluſive; and 1s. in the pound on houſes from the rent of 50l. a year and upwards; all to be paid by the tenants.

2d. A tax of 8l. 8s. per tun upon all claret imported into Great Britain; and 4l. 4s. a tun upon all port wines; being 2d. a bottle extra duty on the former, and 1d. a bottle on the latter.

Several Members deſired to know how the houſes were to be aſſeſſed; and, whether this tax would not ultimately fall on the landed property? His lordſhip informed them, in anſwer to the firſt, that the aſſeſſors of the window tax were to be the collectors; and as to the other queſtion, the tax was not intended as a land-tax, though it might indiſcriminately affect landlord as well as tenant.

Mr. Gilbert got up early in the debate, and ſaid he ſhould move that day, in the committee of the whole houſe, for leave to bring in a bill to raiſe a tax of one full fourth part of all places and offices under government, except thoſe of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, the lord chancellor, the bench of judges, and all military ones held by the officers of the army and navy.

Sir George Yonge ſeconded the motion.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke propoſed an amendment, which was, that one quarter's ſalary ſhould be given up for a year, or during the American war.

This motion was warmly oppoſed by lord North, Mr. Rigby, and ſome other placemen; but warmly ſupported by the minority and a majority of placemen:

The numbers for the motion were	106
Againſt it	82
Majority	18

Several neceſſary and uſeful clauſes were added to the lottery bill, the principal being, " To oblige every lottery office keeper to take out a licence, at the expence of 50l. and give ſecurity not to infringe any part of the act.

" That no perſon ſhall diſpoſe of any part of a ticket in any ſmaller ſhare or proportion than a ſixteenth, on 50l. penalty.

" And that any perſon ſelling any goods, wares, or other merchandize, or who ſhall offer any ſum or ſums of money, upon any chance or event whatſoever, relating to the drawing of any ticket, ſhall be liable a to penalty of 20l.

" To enable commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury to eſtabliſh an office---all ſhares to be ſtamped at that office---The original ticket from which ſuch ſhares are to be taken to be kept at that office, till a certain time after drawing---Books of entry to be regularly kept---Perſons carrying ſhares to be ſtamped to pay a ſmall ſum ſpecified in the act---Penalties for perſons not ſtamped, and a clauſe for puniſhing perſons who ſhall forge the ſtamp of any ticket.

On the 22d of March the French having laid an embargo on all ſhipping in their ports, and having previouſly fitted out a large fleet, it was thought neceſſary to call out the militia of England, and encamp them, in order oppoſe any deſigned invaſion; and on March 27 an order was iſſued for detaining in the ports of England all French ſhips.

On the 13th of April commiſſioners were appointed to go with conciliatory terms to America; and on the 16th of the ſame month a proper proviſion was made for the younger branches of the royal family.

His majeſty having taken a reſolution to review ſome of the principal dock yards, he accordingly repaired to Chatham and Sheerneſs, and having ſurveyed every thing worthy of obſervation at thoſe places, he, together with the queen, &c. viſited Portſmouth on the 2d of May, and after reviewing the fleet, returned to London on the 9th.

To the great regret of the nation in general, on the 12th of May that great ſtateſman, the Earl of Chatham departed this life, of whom might be ſaid, with veracity, (by altering a few of Mr. Pope's words,)

Stateſman, yet friend to truth, of ſoul ſincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear;
Who broke no promiſe, ſerv'd no private end,
Who gain'd a title, but who loſt no friend;
Whoſe glorious plans Britannia's ſelf approv'd,
By her foes dreaded, by her friends belov'd.

On the 28th of May the royal aſſent was given to a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics, and about the ſame time an embargo was laid on all veſſels, in the ports of England.

On the 2d of June his majeſty went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, when having given his royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, particularly one for ſettling an annuity on the deſcendants of the late earl of Chatham, he prorogued the parliament.

On the 9th of June the great earl of Chatham was buried in Weſtminſter-abbey, at the public expence, the following words being inſcribed on a ſilver plate, placed upon the lid of his coffin:

" The moſt noble and puiſſant William Pitt, earl
" of Chatham, viſcount Pitt of Burton Pynſent in the county of Somerſet, born 15th of
" November 1708, died at Hayes in Kent, the
" 11th of May, 1778.

Admiral Keppel having ſailed with a fleet, not ſufficient in point of force, for the purpoſe of attacking the French, returned to England for a reinforcement, which having obtained, he again put to ſea. On July the 27th the two grand fleets met, and came to an engagement off Uſhant; the particulars of which are contained in the following letter from admiral Keppel to Mr. Stephens.

Victory, at Sea, July 30, 1778.

SIR,

My letters of the 23d and 24th inſtant, by the Peggy and Union cutters, acquainted you, for their lordſhips information, that I was in purſuit, with the king's fleet under my command, of a numerous fleet of French ſhips of war.

From that time till the 27th, the winds conſtantly in the ſouth-weſt and north-weſt quarters, ſometimes blowing ſtrong, and the French fleet always to windward going off, I made uſe of every method to cloſe in with them that was poſſible, keeping the king's ſhips at the ſame time collected, as much as the nature of a purſuit would admit of, and which became neceſſary from the cautious manner the French proceeded in, and the diſinclination that appeared in them to allow of my bringing the king's ſhips cloſe up to a regular engagement: This left but little other chance of getting in with them, than by ſeizing the opportunity that offered the morning of the 27th, by the wind's admitting of the van of the king's fleet under my command, leading up with, and cloſing with their center and rear.

The French began firing upon the headmoſt of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland's diviſion, and the ſhips with him, as they led up; which cannonaded the leading ſhips and the vice-admiral ſoon returned, as did every ſhip as they could cloſe up: the chaſe had occaſioned their being extended, nevertheleſs they were all ſoon in battle.

The fleets, being upon different tacks, paſſed each other very cloſe: the object of the French ſeemed to be the diſabling the king's ſhips in their maſts and ſails, in which they ſo far ſucceeded as to prevent many of the ſhips of my fleet being able to follow me when I wore to ſtand after the French fleet; this obliged me to wear again, to join thoſe ſhips, and thereby allowed of the French forming their fleet again, and ranging it in a line to leeward of the king's fleet towards the cloſe of the day, which I did not diſcourage, but allowed of their doing it without firing upon them, thinking they meant handſomely to try their force with us the next morning; but they had been ſo beaten in the day, that they took the advantage of the night to go off.

The wind and weather being ſuch that they could reach their own ſhores before there was any chance of the king's fleet getting up with them in the ſtate the ſhips were in, in their maſts, yards, and ſails, left me no choice of what was proper and adviſeable to do.

The ſpirited conduct of vice-admiral Sir Robert Harland, vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, and the captains of the fleet, ſupported by their officers and men, deſerves much commendation.

A liſt of the killed and wounded is herewith incloſed.

I ſent captain Faulkner, captain of the Victory, with this account to their lordſhips, and am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient and very humble Servant,

A. KEPPEL.

Philip Stephens, Eſq. Secretary of the Admiralty.

Liſt of men killed and wounded in the action with the French fleet, the 27th of July, 1778.

Ships names.	Killed.	Wounded.
Monarch - -	2	9
Exeter - -	4	6
Queen - -	1	2
Shrewſbury - -	3	6
Berwick - -	10	11
Sterling Caſtle - -	2	11
Courageux - -	6	13
Thunderer - -	2	5
Vigilant - -	2	3
Sandwich - -	2	20
Valiant - -	6	26
Victory - -	11	24
Foudroyant - -	5	18
Prince George - -	5	15
Vengeance - -	4	18
Worceſter - -	3	5
Elizabeth - -	0	7
Defiance - -	8	17
Robuſt - - -	5	17
Formidable - -	16	49
Ocean - -	2	18
America - -	1	17
Terrible - - -	9	21
Egmont - -	12	19
Ramilies - -	12	16
Total	133	373

Officers wounded.

Lieut. Nicholas Clifford, 2d of the Formidable.
Lieut. William Samwell, 3d of the Shrewſbury.
Lieut. John M'Donald, of the marines, Pr. George.
Surgeon of the Elizabeth.

A. KEPPEL.

This engagement, however, was repreſented in ſuch a light by vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, that the nation was thrown into a great ferment. Admiral Keppel vindicated his character in parliament on the 2d of December; nevertheleſs Sir Hugh Palliſer exhibited his charges againſt him on the 17th of the ſame month at the admiralty. The bill for his trial on land received the royal aſſent on the 24th enſuing; his trial accordingly began on the 7th of January, 1779, and ended on the 1ſt of February, when he was unanimouſly acquitted with the greateſt honour, and the proſecution pronounced to be malicious.

On the acquittal of admiral Keppel the moſt general demonſtrations of joy took place, and the greateſt illuminations perhaps ever known enſued in moſt of the cities, towns, &c. throughout the kingdom. He likewiſe received the united thanks of the houſe of lords, houſe of commons, the lord-mayor and common-council of the city of London (who preſented him with the freedom of the city in a box made of heart of oak, and richly ornamented with gold) and of many other cities, towns, corporations, &c.

But now to recur to American affairs.---By a letter from general Howe, dated Philadelphia, May 11, 1778, we are informed of that commander's intention to return to England, and to delegate the command of the Britiſh troops to general Clinton; we are likewiſe told of the ravages made by the Britiſh troops in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and of their having ſeized or deſtroyed great quantities of military ſtores, proviſions, veſſels, &c.

On the 18th of June, general Clinton (Sir William Howe having previouſly departed for England, purſuant to the inſtructions received from government) evacuated Philadelphia. He was attacked on his march by the provincials, whoſe principal object appeared to be the gaining poſſeſſion of the Britiſh baggage: but in this they were diſappointed, and every where repulſed, by means of the judicious manner in which general Clinton had diſpoſed his troops. This failure occaſioned a diſpute between the provincial generals, Waſhington and Lee, which hath ſince been amicably adjuſted.

The earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden and governor Johnſtone, were ſent as commiſſioners from Great Britain, to treat of a pacification with America, but did not met with that ſucceſs that every true lover of both countries could wiſh. Perhaps the happy iſſue of this unhappy war was principally impeded by the arrival of a French fleet in America, under the command of the Count d'Eſtaing. This fleet, in concert with an army of provincials, attempted the reduction of Rhode-Iſland; but the Britiſh troops behaved ſo well on the land ſide, that the provincials were repulſed, and compelled to retreat; at the ſame time the French fleet meeting with a warmer reception than they expected, and finding that lord Howe, with his fleet, was approaching them, quitted their deſign upon Rhode-Iſland, and attempted to eſcape. Lord Howe, however, compelled them to engage; but the two fleets being ſeparated by a ſtorm, the French ſquadron, with great difficulty, got into Boſton in a very ſhattered condition.

About the ſame time the Britiſh forces ravaged ſome parts of the American coaſt, in order to deſtroy military ſtores, privateers, and other ſhipping, &c. the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French, by admiral Montague's fleet. But The iſland of Dominica was captured by an armament of French and Americans from Martinico. Lord Howe being returned to England, the command of the grand Britiſh fleet devolved on admiral Byron, who, as ſoon as poſſible, proceeded in ſearch of the French fleet under the count d'Eſtaing.

Admiral Barrington, and a body of forces under general Grant, ſeized on the iſland of St. Lucie, one of the Antilles belonging to the French, on December 11. It was afterwards attempted to be retaken by count d'Eſtaing, but he was repulſed both by ſea and land with conſiderable loſs, and compelled to retire to Martinico, whither admiral Byron having joined admiral Barrington, the Britiſh fleet purſued and blocked him up in the harbour of that iſland.

Georgia ſurrendered to a detachment of Britiſh troops on January 4, 1779, and many inhabitants of that colony and of the Carolinas came in, and joined the royaliſts.

Among the domeſtic occurrences of 1778, and the commencment of 1779, we may enumerate the following:

The proviſion made for the younger branches of the royal family by parliament, April 16, 1778.--His majeſty went to the dock yards of Chatham and Sheerneſs on the 28th of the ſame month.---The royal viſit to Portſmouth May 2.--To Wincheſter September 29.---To Warley Common October 20.--And to Coxheath November 8.---The fire in king's college Oxford, which deſtroyed one wing of that building on December 18. The fire at Greenwich hoſpital which deſtroyed the whole of the ſouth-eaſt quarter, conſiſting of the chapel, &c. on January 2, 1779.---And the death of David Garrick, Eſq. the celebrated Engliſh Roſcius. This gentleman died on the 20th of January, 1779, and was buried with great ſtate in Weſtminſter Abbey on the firſt of February enſuing.

Mirror of manners; painter of the age;
Life of the drama, parent of the ſtage:
For till thy maſter-hand reform'd the clay,
Theatric genius rude in embrio lay.
Immortal GARRICK, fortune's favour'd ſon,
May future actors ſhine as thou haſt ſhone;
Shew human paſſions in their genuine light,
And nature bring conſpicuous to the ſight;
Bound the dramatic codes by moral laws,
And force the ſtage to echo virtue's cauſe;
Till youth improv'd, unbluſhing leave the play,
Pleas'd, tho' unſpoil'd, tho' uncorrupted, gay.

We ſhall conclude by taking a retroſpective view of the progreſs of letters during the preſent century, which has been juſtly termed *The third Golden Age of Engliſh Literature*; and in which the uſeful ſciences and polite arts have been brought to ſuch a degree of perfection, that perhaps human ingenuity muſt be exerted very greatly to make any additional refinements.

The third golden age of Engliſh literature, alluded to, began during the reign of queen Anne; many of the literati who had adorned the three former reigns ſtill ſurvived and flouriſhed; and theſe were reinforced by the addition of ſeveral others, who ſprung up, and preſently became the admiration of all Europe; ſuch as Pope, Addiſon, Prior, Swift, Congreve, Steele, Rowe, Bolingbroke, Shaftſbury, Arbuthnot, Savage, &c.

Moſt of the abovementioned noblemen and gentlemen adorned the reign of George I. and the miniſtry were not only the patrons of learning, but many of them were themſelves conſpicuous in the republic of letters.

The reign of George the ſecond was not inferior to the preceding: the courts of law were never ſo well ſupplied with able judges, the bench of biſhops was replete with divines poſſeſſing the greateſt abilities, and the learned and ingenious in every art and ſcience, and in all the branches of polite literature, were ſo numerous, that to particularize them would exceed the compaſs of our plan, and to mention only a few would be an affront to the many.

The reign of his preſent majeſty promiſes to be the fourth golden age of Engliſh literature; many who adorned the two preceding reigns ſtill ſhine in the republic of letters: beſides the various inſtitutions for the encouragement of learning which have been formerly founded, and are at preſent exceedingly improved, ſeveral others have received birth under the auſpices of his preſent majeſty.

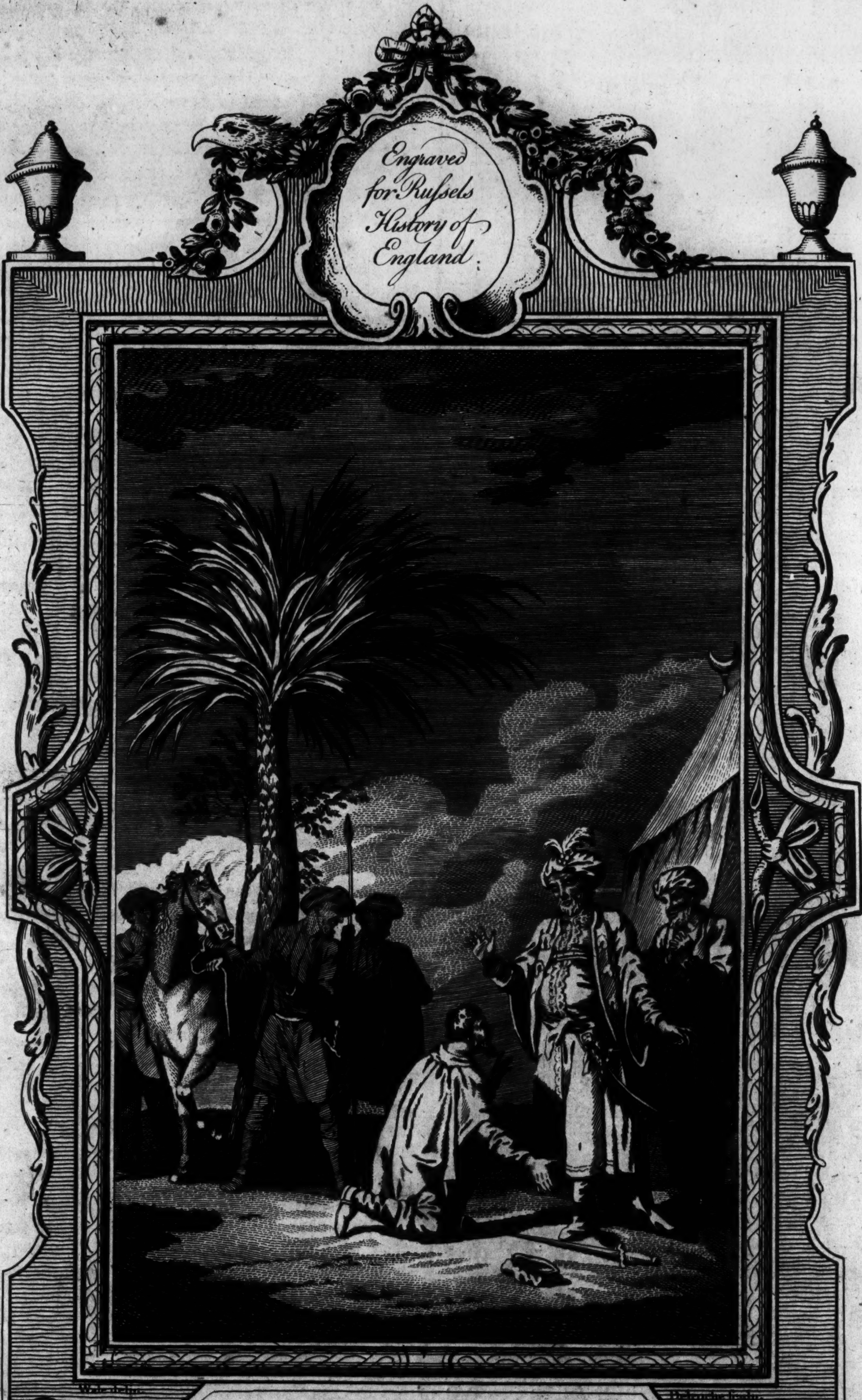
As the Engliſh language hath happily blended the beauties, and rejected the defects of thoſe various languages of which it is compoſed, it is now generally deemed to be more manly, copious and energetic, and to the full as elegant and expreſſive as any language in Europe. This, added to the reputation of our writers in every branch of literature, hath rendered the ſtudy of the Engliſh language, and the peruſal of Engliſh authors, almoſt univerſal on the continent; even the French now ape us, as we formerly did them, and not only condeſcend to borrow many of our faſhions, but confeſs the ſuperiority of the Engliſh literati in moſt branches of erudition.

Indeed they now give up their three favourite topics, viz. *Hiſtory*, *Voyage Writing*, *and Geography*, and reſign the palm to us in the very points in which they had hitherto maintained an acknowledged ſuperiority. Robinſon's Hiſtory of the Emperor Charles V. hath lowered their hiſtorical reputation in our favour; the Accounts of the late Voyages to the South and North Seas, have wreſted the wreath from them in that ſpecies of writing, and placed it in the hands of Engliſhmen; and the admirable *New and Complete Syſtem of Geography, by Charles Theodore Middleton, Eſq.* hath ſunk their credit in the line of mixed mathematics, and evinced that the ſons of Britain, who can boldly penetrate into every part of the univerſe, and bravely face any dangers to explore unknown regions, are the beſt capable of deſcribing that WORLD they can ſo ably traverſe.

It is ſaid that his preſent majeſty, ſome time ſince, intended to inſtitute a new Order, to be called the Order of Merit, into which none but men of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities ſhould be admitted. But this deſign was laid aſide on account of the preſent unhappy troubles in America.

With a wiſh that theſe troubles may ſubſide, and that the above laudable intention may be reſumed, we ſhall conclude our work.

O ſtretch thy reign, fair Peace, from ſhore to ſhore,
Till diſcord ceaſe, and carnage be no more;
Till the clear'd mind, from prejudices free,
Shall bid the Mother and her Sons agree:
Britain once more the olive branch diſplay,
And fair *America* her laws obey.


Engraved for Rußels History of England.

Wale delin. Delatouche sculp.

WILLIAM DESPREAUX *before the* **SULTAN**
Saladine to whom he was carried Prisoner
instead of the King of England.

See Page 143.

BRITISH 12 JY 73 MUSEUM

I N D E X.

A.

ACT of Grace ſigned by George I. 631

Adrian, the emperor, arrives in Britain, 14.—erects a wall acroſs the iſland, ib.—returns to Rome, ib.

Aghrim, battle of, 551

Agincourt, battle of, 239

Agricola, Julius, appointed governor of Britain by the Romans, 13.—makes a conqueſt of the Iſle of Angleſey, ib.—endeavours to obtain the affections of the Britons, ib.—erects public academies for the ſtudy of the Roman language, ib.—builds fortreſſes to ſecure his conqueſts, 14.—defeats the Caledonians, ib.—is recalled from Britain, and afterwards poiſoned by the emperor Domitian, ib.

Alcantara taken by the Engliſh, 593

Alfred aſcends the throne of England, 31.—remarkable anecdote of him, ib. *note*.—defeated by the Danes, and makes a truce with them, 32.—fits out a fleet to guard the coaſts, ib.—takes a great number of the Daniſh ſhips, ib.—ſecretes himſelf in the hut of a cow-herd, ib.—viſits, in diſguiſe, the Daniſh camp, 33.—attacks the Danes in their camp, and obliges them to capitulate, ib.—orders the aſſembly of the ſtates to be held in London, by which that city firſt became the metropolis of the kingdom, ib.—forms a code of laws for the better government of his dominions, ib.—projects a ſcheme for deſtroying the Daniſh fleet, 35.—encreaſes the Engliſh navy, ib.—his death and character, ib.

Alicant, ſiege of, 607

Almanza, battle of, 602

Ambaſſadors, Venetian, make their public entry into London, 796, *note*

Anne, princeſs of Denmark, proclaimed queen of England, 578. —declares war againſt France and Spain, 580.—loſes her conſort, 605.—changes her miniſtry, 610.—her death and character, 621

Anſon, Commodore (afterwards lord) ſails to the South-Seas, 681.—his proceedings, 699.—his return home, 700

Ardevelt, Jacob de, leader of the Flemings, forms an alliance with Edward II. 205.—is aſſaſſinated, 209

Argyle, duke of, dies, 694

Armada, Spaniſh, account of, 362.—is totally defeated, 363

Aſkew, Mrs. Anne, burnt for her religious opinions, 308

Aſſaſſination plot againſt king William III. in Flanders, 556.—another in England, 567

Athelſtan aſcends the throne of England, and is crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, 39.—defeats the Welch and Scots, ib. his death, 40.—laws made by him, ib.—his character, 41

Auguſta, princeſs, born, 672.—married to the prince of Brunſwick Lunenburg, 799

Auguſtine, a Roman monk, ſent into England by pope Gregory, 25.—is ordained archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation, 26.—converts the Eaſt-Saxons, ib.—endeavours to bring the Britiſh clergy to acknowledge the papal ſupremacy, ib.—his death, ib.

Auguſtus II. king of Poland, dies, 661.—conſequences of his death, 662

B.

BAbington, his conſpiracy againſt the life of Elizabeth, 356

Badajox, ſiege of, 594

Bacon, Francis, lord-chancellor, fined and impriſoned, 384.—is releaſed, and his fine remitted, ib.

Baliol, king of Scotland, his ſubmiſſion to Edward I. 185

Baliol, Edward, aſſerts his right to the crown of Scotland, 202. defeats the Scots, and is crowned king, ib.—is defeated, and flies to England, ib.—is again inveſted with ſovereign authority, 203

Ballymore taken, 550

Bannockburn, battle of, 194

Barcelona beſieged by the French, and relieved by the Engliſh, 562—reduction of, 594

Barebones's Parliament, account of, 485

Barnard-heath, battle of, 256

Barnet, battle of, between Edward IV. and the earl of Warwick, 263

Barrier Treaty concluded, 629

Barton, Elizabeth, the Holy Maid of Kent, a remarkable impoſtor, 296—is hanged at Tyburn, ib.

Bath, military ſtores ſeized there, 626

Battle of the Spurs, 286

Beachy-Head, naval engagement near, 547

Becket, Thomas, made archbiſhop of Canterbury, 127—his ſplendid manner of living, ib.—endeavours to retrieve the character of ſanctity, ib.—refuſes to comply with the king's mandate, 128—attempts to make his eſcape out of the kingdom, 129—four impeachments exhibited againſt him, ib.—his inſolent behaviour to the king, 130—appeals to the pope, ib.—eſcapes to the continent, ib.—is reſtored to the ſee of Canterbury, 131—is aſſaſſinated, 132—particulars of the manner of his death, ib.—his character, ib.

Belfaſt taken by the Engliſh, 544

Belleiſle, expedition againſt, 776

Bembow's expedition againſt St. Malo's, 559—his death, 583

Bergen-op-zoom, ſiege of, 712

Berwick, duke of, killed, 664

Biſhops petition James II. againſt the declaration of indulgence, 529—are brought to trial for their preſumption, 530—acquitted, ib.

Blake, admiral, attacks the Dutch fleet, 478, 479—is wounded, and narrowly eſcapes, 480—attacks them again, and obtains a victory, ib.—bombards Tunis, 487—deſtroys the Spaniſh galleons in Santa Cruz, 488—dies on his paſſage to England, 489

Blenheim, battle of, 590

———— Houſe, built in commemoration by order of parliament, 592

Blood ſteals the crown from the Tower, 509

Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, ſcourged by the Romans, 12—rouzes the Britons to take up arms, ib.—deſtroys the Roman colony at Camulodunum, ib.—her animated ſpeech to her army, ib.—is defeated and poiſons herſelf, 13

Bohun, Henry de, killed with a battle-ax by Bruce king of Scotland, 194

Boleyn, Anne, married to Henry VIII. 295—is committed priſoner to the Tower on a charge of infidelity, 298—is tried, condemned and executed, 299

Bonner, biſhop, his horrid cruelties, 324—is committed to the Marchalſea Priſon, and dies there, 335

Boſworth, battle of, 272

Bothwell, earl, becomes the favourite of Mary queen of Scots, 341—is ſuppoſed to be the murderer of her huſband, 342—is tried for it and acquitted, ib.—marries the queen, ib.—aſſiſts her in oppoſing her ſubjects, 343—flies to Dunbar, and from thence to Denmark, where he dies in a priſon, ib.

Bouchain, ſiege of, 611

Boyne, battle of, 546

Brabant reduced, 598

Braddock, general, defeated and ſlain, 724

Breſlaw, ſiege of, 735

Breſt, attempt upon, 562

Britons, antient, account of, 2—manner of living, ib.—trade and government, ib.—civil government of, ib.—religion, 4—their arms and manner of fighting, 5—oppoſe Julius Cæſar on his landing in England, 7—are repulſed with conſiderable loſs, 8—are haraſſed by the Romans after Cæſar's departure, 10—make ſubmiſſion to the emperor Claudius, ib.—ravaged by the Scots and Picts, 16—invite over the Saxons, 19—are conquered by them, 21

Bruce, Robert, becomes a competitor for the crown of Scotland, 184. his claim ſet aſide, ib.

Bruce, Robert the younger, attempts the deliverance of his country, 190.—eſcapes from the court of Edward I. ib.—aſſaſſinates Cummins, ib.—is crowned king of Scotland, ib.—eſcapes to the Weſtern iſles, ib.—defeats the earl of Pembroke, 191.—kills Henry de Bohun with a battle-axe, 194.—obtains a compleat victory over the Engliſh, ib.—his death, 202.

Bruſſels, bombardment of, 565.

Buckingham, duke of, beheaded on Tower-hill, 290.

———— (favourite of Charles I.) makes a deſcent on the iſland of Rhe in France, 394.—reduces it, ib.—lays ſiege to the caſtle of St. Martin's, 395.—is obliged to retreat, ib.—returns to England with diſgrace, ib.—is aſſaſſinated by Felton, 400.

Byng, admiral, his miſcarriage, 727.—his trial, 730.—execution, 731

Byron, lord, tried for the murder of Mr. Chaworth, 803, *note*

C

CADE, Jack, his rebellion, 252

Cadiz plundered, 582

Cæſar, Julius, his firſt invaſion of England, 6—is oppoſed by the Britons on his landing, but defeats them, 7—returns to

Gaul, 8—Lands a ſecond time in England, ib.—Defeats the Britons, ib.—Returns to Gaul, 9
Cagliari taken, 605
Calais taken by Edward III. 213.—Retaken by the French, 382
—— attack on by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, 563
Calcutta, ſiege of, 735
Canning, Elizabeth, her ſingular caſe, 721
Canute, ſon of Swein king of Denmark, proclaimed king of England, 53—declared an outlaw, ib.—ſuddenly leaves the kingdom, ib.—returns and oppoſes Ethelred, 54—lays ſiege to London, but is repulſed, 55—has a deſperate engagement with Edward II. ib.—ſucceeds him on the throne, 56—divides England into four diſtinct governments, ib.—baniſhes the ſons of Edmund, 57—marries Emma, ſiſter to the duke of Normandy, ib.—lays a conſiderable tax on the nation, ib.—convenes an aſſembly of the ſtates at Oxford, and paſſes ſeveral laws for the good order and government of the kingdom, ib.—goes to Denmark to oppoſe the Swedes, who had invaded that country, but is defeated, and returns to England, 58—goes again to Denmark, and ſeizes the crown of Norway, ib. —returns to England, and diſcovers a plot formed againſt his life, ib.—makes a pilgrimage to Rome, 59——his death and character, 60
Cape Breton, expedition of the New Englanders againſt, 704
Caractacus, a Britiſh prince, defeated by the Romans, 11—his wife and daughter taken priſoners, ib.—flies for protection to Cartiſmandua, who betrays him into the hands of the conquerors, ib.—is ſent with his family, and a great number of captives to Rome, in order to be made public ſpectacles to the people, ib.—on this occaſion he addreſſes himſelf in a ſpeech to the emperor Claudius, who is ſo affected at it, as to ſet him and his family at liberty, ib.
Carauſius, a Roman admiral, ſeizes Britain, 16—is made governor of it by treaty, ib —is treacherouſly ſlain by Alectus his prime miniſter, ib.
Caroline, queen, her death, 673
Carthagena, expedition againſt, 683
Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, betrays Caractacus, the Britiſh general, into the hands of the Romans, 11—rejects her huſband, and occaſions his brother and kinſman to be put to death, ib.—her dominions ſeized by Venutius her huſband, 12
Caſoire, ſkirmiſh at, 552
Caſſivellaunus, general of the Britons, attacks the Roman camp, 8—is defeated, ib.—Sues for peace, 9
Cavallo, port, attempt upon, 693
Cavendiſh, Thomas, makes a voyage round the world, 361—fits out a fleet againſt the Spaniards, takes a number of rich veſſels, and returns to England in triumph, ib.
Champion, firſt mention of, 223, *note*
Chandenagore taken, 736
Charitable Corporation, embezzlement of the monies belonging to, 658
Charles I. aſcends the throne, 390—marries the princeſs Henrietta of France, ib.—diſappointed at the ſmall ſupplies granted by his parliament, 391—adjourns the parliament to Oxford, ib.—uſes illegal methods to obtain money, 392—fits out a fleet againſt Spain, ib.—is crowned with great magnificence, ib.—diſſolves the parliament, 393—levies a tax called ſhip-money, ib.—engages in a war with France, 394—quarrels with his parliament, 398—is greatly affected at the death of the duke of Buckingham, 400—diſſolves the parliament, 401 —commits ſome of the leading members to the Tower, ib.—concludes a peace with France, 402—ſeizes the duties of tonnage and poundage, ib.—viſits Scotland, where he is crowned, 403—endeavours to make the worſhip in Scotland conformable to the Engliſh church, ib.—returns to London, ib —iſſues writs for raiſing ſhip-money, 404—ſends a new liturgy to Scotland, ib.—raiſes troops to march againſt the Scots, 486—comes to terms of accommodation, 407—diſſolves the parliament, 410—his illegal meaſures to raiſe money, ib.—ſummons a council at York, 411—enters into a treaty with the Scots at Rippon, ib.—ſigns the warrant for the execution of Strafford, 418—goes to Scotland to ſettle the diſturbances in that kingdom, 419—returns, and is looked on with diſreſpect by his parliament, 421—iſſues two proclamations, 422—preſents to the houſe of peers articles of impeachment againſt the lord Kimbolton and five commoners, 423—abruptly demands the perſons of the latter, ib.—removes from Whitehall to Hampton-court, 424—goes from thence to Windſor, 425—viſits the northern parts of England, and takes up his reſidence at York, 426—erects the royal ſtandard at Nottingham, 428 his ſpeech to his army, 429—eſtabliſhes a mint at Shrewſbury, 430—defeats the parliament army at Edge-hill, 431—marches to Reading, ib.—publiſhes a manifeſto declaring his deſire of concluding a peace, 436—lays ſiege to Glouceſter, 437—is obliged to raiſe the ſiege, 438—marches with his army to Newbury, ib.—eſtabliſhes a garriſon at Reading, 438—holds a parliament at Oxford, 442—is deſirous of coming to an accommodation, 443—prorogues the parliament at Oxford, 445 retreats to Worceſter, ib.—defeats the parliament army at Cropedy-Bridge, 446—makes himſelf maſter of Leiceſter, 448 —is defeated at Naſeby, 449—marches to the relief of Cheſter, 451—is repulſed, and eſcapes to Oxford, ib.—ſurrenders himſelf to the Scots, 452—delivered up to the Engliſh, 453—is confined at Holmby-houſe, 454—is ſeized by Joyce, 455—receives conditions for peace at Hampton Court, which are rendered abortive by the artifice of Cromwell, 457—eſcapes from Hampton Court, 458—takes up his quarters in Cariſbrook Caſtle, ib.—is treated with great ſeverity, 459—commiſſioners ſent by parliament to treat with him, 461—is brought under a ſtrong guard to Windſor, 463—a charge of high treaſon preferred againſt him, 464—is brought to trial, 465—is ſentenced to death, 466—takes leave of his family, ib.—is beheaded, ib.—his character, 467
Charles II. lands in Scotland, 472—crowned at Scone, 475—enters England at the head of a powerful army, 476—is totally defeated by Cromwell, ib.—conceals himſelf in an oak, 477—eſcapes to Normandy, ib.—is reſtored to the crown, 499 —marries Catharine, of Portugal, 501 — ſells Dunkirk to France, 502—declares war againſt the Dutch, 503—enters into a league with France, 508—ſigns a treaty with the Dutch, 513—Paſſes the habeas corpus act, 517—his death and character, 522
Charles XII. of Sweden deſigns to invade England, 630—the deſign rendered abortive, 631—his death, 634
Cherburg, expedition to, 740
Clarendon, laws of, 128
Clive, colonel, his ſucceſs in India, 736
Gloſtern-Seven, convention of, 734
Colcheſter, ſiege of, 461, 462
Coldingham, abbeſs of, cuts off her noſe and upper lip, and perſuades the nuns to do the like, to prevent being raviſhed by the Danes, 31
Commerce, treaty of, 640, 665
Como, Signior, ordered to quit England, 649
Conſtantine the Great divides the Roman empire into four governments, 16—his death, ib.
Coventry act paſſed, 509
Courage, ſingular inſtance of, 599
Court of exchequer eſtabliſhed by William I. 86
Cranmer, Dr. Thomas, appointed to the ſee of Canterbury, 295 —annuls the king's marriage with Catharine of Arragon, ib.—publiſhes a new liturgy, 314—is committed to the Tower, 324—is burnt at Oxford, 330
Creſſy, battle of, 211
Crevelt, battle of, 737
Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, beheaded on Tower-hill, 303—account of his life, ib. *note*
Cromwell, Oliver, heads a regiment againſt king Charles, 439—defeats the royaliſts, 448—his artful conduct, 453, 454, 455—defeats the Scots, 462—takes upon him the government of the kingdom, 469—reduces Ireland, 471—returns to England, 472—defeats the Scots at Dunbar, 474—at Worceſter, 476—diſſolves the parliament, 483—calls a new one of his own chuſing, ib.—is declared protector, 485—ſettles the mode of government, ib.—concludes a peace with the Dutch, 486—is inaugurated with great pomp at Weſtminſter-Hall, 490—diſſolves the parliament, ib.—narrowly eſcapes being aſſaſſinated, 491—his death and character, 492
Cromwell, Richard, ſucceeds his father in the Engliſh government, 493—his remarkable weakneſs, 494—is compelled to diſſolve the parliament, ib.—is depoſed, ib.
Crown Point evacuated, 751
Cruſades, account of, 140
Culloden, battle of, 706
Cumberland, William duke of, his death and character, 806, *note*
Curacoa, unſucceſsful attack upon, 693
Cutwa taken, 736——
Czaſlaw, battle of, 687

D

DANEGELT, the firſt land-tax inſtituted in England, 49
Danes invade England, 30—commit dreadful ravages in various parts of the country, ib.—are defeated by Egbert, ib.—make another invaſion but are repulſed with great ſlaughter, 31 land again, and commit horrid depredations, ib. 32—lay ſiege to Rocheſter, but are repulſed by Alfred, 33—are defeated by Edward the elder, 38——conclude a peace with Edmund I. 41——burn the town of Watchet in Somerſetſhire, as alſo that of Ipſwich in Suffolk, 48——general maſſacre of, by order of king Ethelred, 49——burn the cities of Oxford and Canterbury, 51——finally expelled the kingdom, 63
David, king of Scotland, makes incurſions in different parts of England to oppoſe king Stephen, 118
David, brother to Llewellyn, prince of Wales, put to death by Edward I. 182
David, king of Scotland, taken priſoner by Philippa, queen of Edward III. 212——is ſet at liberty, and reſtored to his kingdom, 216
Denmark, king of, marries the ſiſter of George III. 812——comes to England, 814——viſits the two univerſities, ib.
Denmark, great diſturbances in, 835
Derwentwater, earl of, beheaded, 629
Deſcent of the Engliſh on the coaſt of France, 739——burn a great quantity of French ſhipping, ib.

Deſeada taken by the Engliſh, 750
Deſign to invade England fruſtrated, 695
Detachment of French defeated by Count Tilly, 556
Dettingen, battle of 692
Dieppe burnt by the Engliſh, 563
Dominica taken from the French, 775
Donawert, the lines of the French forced at, 589
Don Carlos of Spain conveyed by the Engliſh and Spaniſh fleets to Italy, 657
Drake, Sir Francis, account of his voyage round the world, 351——ſeizes a large treaſure from the Spaniards, ib.——ſent again to oppoſe the Spaniards, 361——returns to England with a great booty, ib——his death, 366
Druids, account of them, 3——their religious tenets, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, 4——relative duties, ib.——political and miſcellaneous, ib.——great numbers of them put to death by order of Paulinus Suetonius, the Roman general, 12——their altars and religious groves deſtroyed, ib.
Dumblain, battle of, 628
Dunkirk, fortifications of demoliſhed, 616
Dunſtan, the abbot, baniſhed the kingdom by Edwy, 43——is recalled by Edgar, and promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, ib.——his death, 48
Dutch fleet and army defeated in the Eaſt Indies, 756

E

EARTHQUAKES at London, &c. 717——at Portſmouth, Iſle of Wight, &c. ib.
Eaſt Angles, kingdom of, 22
Eaſt-India Company, ſtate of conſidered by parliament, 812, 831
Eaſt-Indies, operations in, 655——ſucceſs of the Engliſh in, 756, 761
Eaſt Saxons, kingdom of, 22
Edgar raiſes a rebellion againſt his brother Edwy, whom he depoſes, and aſcends the throne in his ſtead, 43——recalls Dunſtan, and promotes him to the ſee of Canterbury, ib.——is rowed in a barge up the river Dee by eight tributary kings, 44——projects a ſcheme for deſtroying the wolves in England and Wales, ib.——marries Elfrida, 45——is crowned at Bath by Archbiſhop Dunſtan, ib.——his death and character, ib.
Edge-Hill, battle of, 431
Edmund I. aſcends the throne, 41——is aſſaſſinated by Leof, a notorious criminal, 42
Edmund II. crowned king, 54—is oppoſed by Canute, with whom he has a deſperate engagement, 55—is obliged to take ſhelter in Glouceſter, 56—divides his kingdom with Canute, ib.—is aſſaſſinated, ib.
Edred crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, 42—defeats the Northumbrians, ib.—his death and character, ib.
Edric, the traitor, account of, 51—is put to death by Canute, 57
Edward the Elder aſcends the throne, 37—drives his couſin Ethelwald out of the kingdom, ib.—orders all the Danes in Northumberland found under arms to be put to death, ib.——rebuilds and fortifies the city of Hereford, 38—erects Cambridge into an univerſity, ib.—raiſes fortifications in various parts of the kingdom, ib.——his death, ib.
Edward the Younger crowned at Kingſton, 47—is aſſaſſinated by a ruffian at the inſtigation of his ſtep-mother, ib.—his character, ib.
Edward the Confeſſor aſcends the throne, 63——marries Editha, the daughter of earl Godwin, 64——his partiality to the Normans, 65—baniſhes earl Godwin, 66—aboliſhes the tax of Danegelt, ib.—repairs the monaſtery and cathedral of Weſtminſter, 72—his death and character, ib.
Edward I. crowned, 180—diſtinguiſhes himſelf at a tournament in France, ib.—curtails the power of the barons, ib.—reforms the judges and magiſtrates, ib.—perſecutes the Jews, ib.——marches againſt the Welch and defeats them, 181—holds a parliament at Glouceſter, ib.—marches a ſecond time againſt the Welch, and totally defeats them, 182—puniſhes the judges, 183—becomes umpire between Bruce and Baliol, competitors for the crown of Scotland, 184—his wars in France, 185—marches againſt the Scots, defeats them, takes Baliol their king priſoner, and ſubdues the whole kingdom, ib.—quarrels with his clergy, and forces them to obedience, 186—his expedition to France, 187—again marches againſt the Scots and defeats them, 188—obtains a complete victory, 189—is greatly perplexed at the conduct of the prince of Wales, 190—his death and character, 191
Edward II. aſcends the throne, 192—heaps honours on his favourite Gaveſton, ib.—marries Iſabella, daughter of the French king, 193—appoints Gaveſton lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ib.—recalls him, ib.—marches againſt the Scots, 194—is defeated, and nearly eſcapes being taken, ib.—oppoſes the barons, and puts ſeveral of them to death, 195—his queen enters into a conſpiracy againſt him, 196—embarks for Ireland, but is driven back, and conceals himſelf in the mountains of Wales, 197—is taken priſoner, and ſent to Kenelworth Caſtle, ib.—reſigns his crown, 198—is cruelly murdered, ib.—his character, 199
Edward III. aſcends the throne, 199——marches againſt the Scots, 200——marries Philippa of Hainault, ib.—puts Mortimer, the favourite of his mother, to death, 201—confines the queen-dowager for life, ib.—encourages Baliol to aſſert his right to the crown of Scotland, 202—marches againſt the Scots, 203——concludes a treaty of peace with them, ib.—claims the crown of France, 204—forms allies, particularly with the Flemings, ib.——embarks for France, 205—returns and is liberally aſſiſted by his parliament, ib.—again embarks for the continent, ib.—defeats the French fleet, 206——beſieges Tournay, ib.—returns to England, ib.—makes conceſſions to his parliament, ib.—renews the war with France, 208——arrives at la Hogue, where he knights his ſon, 209——beſieges, and takes the city of Caen, 210——defeats the French at Creſſy, 211—lays ſiege to Calais, 212—makes himſelf maſter of the place, 213—propoſes a treaty of peace with France, 217—the terms of the treaty rejected, ib.—again invades France, ib.—ravages great part of the country, ib.—loſes a great number of his troops by a ſtorm, ib.—concludes a treaty of peace with France, 218——retires to Eltham in Kent, 220—his death and character, 221
Edward IV. aſcends the throne, 258—marches againſt queen Margaret, ib.—defeats her, 259—endears himſelf to his ſubjects, 260—marries the lady Elizabeth Gray, ib.—gets the ill-will of the earl of Warwick, ib.—quells a dangerous inſurrection, 261—is defeated by the earl of Warwick, and flies to the continent, 262—returns to England under pretence of recovering his eſtates, 263—enters the city in triumph, ib.—marches againſt the earl of Warwick, ib.—obtains a compleat victory at the battle of Barnet, in which Warwick was ſlain, ib.—expoſes the body of Warwick to public view at St. Paul's cathedral, 264—cauſes the ſon of Henry VI. to be murdered, 265—determines to invade France, ib.—lands at Calais, ib.—has an interview with the French king, and concludes a treaty of peace, ib.—returns to England, 266—procures the murder of his brother the duke of Clarence, ib.—his death and character, 267
Edward V. aſcends the throne, 267—is placed under the care of his uncle the earl Rivers, 268—is ſeized by his uncle the duke of Glouceſter and ſent to the Tower, 269—is put to death by him, 270
Edward VI. aſcends the throne, 311—appoints viſitors to enquire into the ſtate of religion, 312—enters into a war with Scotland, ib.—defeats the Scots, 313—makes peace with them, 318—dies of a conſumption, 321
Edward, prince of Wales, ſurnamed the Black, knighted by his father, 209—his gallant behaviour at the battle of Creſſey, 211—penetrates into the heart of France, 214—takes the king of France priſoner, 216—his noble and generous behaviour to him, ib.—returns to England with his royal captive, and is received in triumph, ib.—marries Joan of Kent, 218—created prince of Aquitaine, and retires to Bourdeaux, where he keeps his court, ib.—marches into Caſtile, 219—defeats a great army, and places Peter on the throne of Caſtile, ib.—contracts ſickneſs, ib.—his death, 220
Edward Auguſtus, duke of York, dies at Monaco, 813. *note.*
Edwy aſcends the throne, 43—is inſulted by Dunſtan the abbot, whom he baniſhes the kingdom, ib.—expels the monks, ib.—is dethroned by his brother Edgar, and flies to Glouceſter, ib.—his death, ib.
Egbert unites the 7 kingdoms of the heptarchy, 29—is crowned king of England, ib.—defeats the Danes, 30—his death, ib.
Elfleda, wife of the earl of Mercia, heads a body of troops againſt the Danes, 37—engages with and defeats the Welch, 38—his death, ib.
Elizabeth, queen, aſcends the throne, 333—takes neceſſary ſteps to promote a reformation, 334—is crowned 335—extirpates the Roman religion, 336—is exaſperated againſt the queen of Scots, 337—increaſes her navy, 338—intereſts herſelf in favour of the French proteſtants, ib.—is ſeized with the ſmall pox, 339—concludes a peace with France, ib.—viſits the univerſity of Cambridge, ib.—oppoſes the marriage of Mary queen of Scots, ib.—viſits Oxford, 341—interferes in the diſputes between the queen of Scotland and her nobles, 343—intereſts herſelf in her favour, 344—commits the duke of Norfolk to the Tower, 345—aſſiſts the Hugonots in France, 348—ſends the earl of Eſſex to Ireland, ib.—enters on a treaty of marriage with the duke of Anjou, 352—is oppoſed by the miniſtry, ib.—the marriage rendered abortive, 353——is in danger of being aſſaſſinated by the papiſts, 354——ſupports an army in the low countries, 355——concludes a treaty of alliance with James king of Scotland, 356——defeats Babington's plot, 357——ſends commiſſioners to try Mary queen of Scots, ib.——ſigns the warrant for her execution, 359——affects great grief at her death, 361——makes preparations for oppoſing the Spaniards, 362——reviews her army in perſon on horſeback, ib.——orders a public thankſgiving for the defeat of the Spaniſh armada, 363——aſſiſts Henry IV. of France, 364——concludes a treaty of peace with the Dutch, 367——ſends the earl of Eſſex to ſuppreſs a rebellion in Ireland, ib.——writes him a very ſevere letter, 368——ſigns the warrant for the execution of Eſſex, 370——her great grief for the loſs of him, 371——her death and character, 372

Empſon and Dudley aſſiſt Henry VII. in oppreſſing his ſubjects, 281——are accuſed of high treaſon, 283——beheaded on Tower-hill, 284

Engliſh ſubjects ordered to depart France, 664

Eſſex (Robert Devereaux) earl of, ſails for the coaſt of Spain, 365——his gallant behaviour, ib.——reduces Cadiz, ib. greatly offends the queen, 367——is eſtabliſhed in her favour, ib.——is created lord lieutenant of Ireland, ib.——marches againſt the earl of Tyrone, 368——enters into a conference with him, and agrees to a ceſſation of arms, ib.——receives a ſevere letter from the queen, and returns to England, ib.——is put under an arreſt, ib.——reſtored to liberty, ib.——forms a conſpiracy againſt the queen, 369——is committed to the Tower, ib.——is beheaded, 370

Eſſex, earl of, appointed general of the parliament forces in the reign of Charles I. 427——is defeated at Worceſter, 430——engages the king's army at the battle of Edge-hill, 431——is recalled, and receives great honours from the parliament, ib.——lays ſiege to Reading, 434——makes himſelf maſter of it, ib.——fixes his head quarters at Thame, 435——retreats to London, 436——marches againſt the king at Glouceſter, 438——obliges him to raiſe the ſiege of that city, ib.——engages the king's forces at Newbury, ib.——is defeated, and eſcapes to Plymouth, 446——his death, 453

Ethelbald aſcends the throne of England, 31——marries his ſtep-mother, ib.——repents of his crime, repudiates her, and ſpends the remainder of his life in contrition, ib.——his death, ib.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, builds the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, 26——laws made by him for the government of the kingdom, ib.

Ethelbert ſucceeds his brother Ethelbald on the Engliſh throne, 31——dies, after reigning only ſix years, ib.

Ethelred I. ſucceeds his brother Ethelbert, 31——is killed in an engagement with the Danes, ib.

Ethelred II. aſcends the throne, 47——pays money to the Danes to quit the kingdom, 48, 49——marries Emma, the daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, 49——orders a general maſſacre of the Danes, ib.——builds a formidable fleet, 51——abdicates the throne, 52——is reſtored to the crown, 53——his death, 54

Ethelwald, couſin to Edward the Elder, endeavours to deprive him of the throne, 37——is ſlain in battle, ib.

Ethelwolf aſcends the throne of England, 30——is impoſed upon by biſhop Swithen, ib.——goes to Rome, ib.——marries Judith, daughter of the emperor Gharles the Bald, ib.——returns to England, and is deprived of the principal part of his dominions, 31——his death, ib.

Eugene, prince, his death, 668, *note*

Exeter, biſhop of, beheaded in Cheapſide, 197

Exciſe, general, ſcheme of, 659

Exdorff, battle of, 762

F

FAirfax, Sir Thomas, appointed general of the parliament forces, 447—new models the army, 448—defeats Charles I. at the battle of Naſeby, 449——makes himſelf maſter of Bridgwater, 450——takes Dartmouth by ſtorm, 451——is concerned for the ſafety of the king, 465——aſſiſts Cromwell in reducing the Iriſh, 470

Falkirk, battles of, 188, 706

Famine, great, 47, 50, 92

Felton ſtabs the duke of Buckingham, 400

Fenwick, Sir John, his execution, 569

Ferdinand, prince, commands the allied army, 773——defeats the French, 788

Ferrers, earl of, murders Mr. Johnſon his ſteward, 767——his trial, 768——execution, 769

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, beheaded on Tower-hill, 297

Fitz-Oſbert, William, raiſes an inſurrection in England, 146

Five mile act, account of, 504

Flanders and Germany, operations in, 698, 699, 703, 708, 711, 763

Fontenoy, battle of, 702

Foreſts, charter of ſigned by king John, 160

Forſter, the rebel, eſcapes from Newgate, 629

Fort du Queſne, expedition againſt, 743

France threatens to invade England in favour of James II. 553——ſucceſs of at ſea, 559

Frederick, ſon of George II. created prince of Wales, 649——married to the princeſs of Saxe-Gotha, 668——his death, 719

French fleet defeated by the Engliſh and Dutch, 591

—————— off Cape Finiſtere, 713

—————— by admiral Boſcawen, 747

Frontenac, fort of, taken, 745

G

GALGACUS, general of the Britons, his animated ſpeech to them to oppoſe the Romans, 14——is defeated by Agricola, ib.

Galway taken by the Engliſh, 552

Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, committed to the Tower, 314——is depoſed from his ſee, 318——is releaſed, and reſtored to his dignity, 323——his influence in the government, 327——his cruelties to the proteſtants, 328——his death, 331

Gaveſton, Piers, baniſhed the kingdom by Edward I. 190——is recalled by Edward II. 192——is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 193——is recalled, ib.——is attacked by the barons in Scarborough caſtle, ib——is taken priſoner and put to death, 194

Genoa, ſiege of, 713

George I. proclaimed king of Great Britain, 621——lands at Greenwich, 622——makes his public entry into London, 623——gives the command of the army to the duke of Marlborough, 623——crowned, ib.——a conſpiracy againſt him detected, 625——a rebellion againſt him, 626——his circular letter to the two univerſities, 638——his death and character, 645

George II. proclaimed, 646——his revenue encreaſed, ib.——concludes a treaty with the duke of Wolſenbuttle, 647——his ſon Frederic created prince of Wales, 649——goes to Hanover, 658——returns again, ib.——quarrels with the prince of Wales, 672——loſes his queen, 673——is reconciled to the prince, 686——his death and character, 764

George III. aſcends the throne, 770——his ſpeech to the parliament, 771——advances the ſalaries of the judges, 772——marries the princeſs of Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, 779——is crowned, ib.——dines in the city, ib——his ſpeech on opening the new parliament, ib.——declares war againſt Spain, 780——ſends an army and fleet to take the Havannah, 781——ſucceſs of his arms, 783, 784——concludes a peace with France, 789——marries his eldeſt ſiſter the princeſs Auguſta to the prince of Brunſwick Lunenburg, 799——divides America into two diſtricts, 803——ſucceſs of his arms in the Eaſt-Indies, 804——marries Carolina Matilda, his youngeſt ſiſter, to the king of Denmark, 812——diſſolves the parliament, 813——receives ſatisfaction from the Spaniards, 826——makes an excurſion to Portſmouth to view the dock-yard, and the fleet at Spithead, 838——diſſolves the parliament, 840——ſolicits his parliament for an addition of land and ſea forces, 845——paſſes a bill for reſtraining the trade of the American colonies, 846——iſſues a proclamation for a general faſt, 848——applies to his parliament for a farther aid to ſupport his family, 850

Gibraltar, beſieged by the Spaniards, 644——they abandon their enterprize, ib.

Gibraltar reduced by the Engliſh, 591

Gin, act for laying a duty on, 668

Gironne, ſiege of, 561

Godina, lady, remarkable ſtory of, 67

Godwin, earl of Kent, murders Alfred, ſon of Ethelred II. 61---is accuſed of the crime, but evades conviction by a *bribe*, 62---prevails on Edward the Confeſſor to accept the *crown*, 64——is baniſhed the kingdom. 66——fits out a fleet, and invades England, 67——becomes maſter of the ſea, ib.——makes ſubmiſſion to Edward, 68——is tried for the murder of Alfred, ib.——reſtored to his former honours, ib.——his death and character, ib.

Goree taken, 742

Grand alliance againſt France, 548

Gray, lady Jane, married to lord Guildford Dudly, 320——is proclaimed queen, 322——relinquiſhes the ſovereignty, ib.---is committed to the Tower with her huſband, 323——are both beheaded on Tower-hill, 326

Great Britain, ſituation of, climate, &c. 2—its original inhabitants, ib.——its diviſion into ſtates previous to the Roman invaſion, 3——antient government of, ib.——ſtate of under the Romans, 17——military government of, ib.

Guadaloupe, expedition againſt, 749

Guiſcard, a French refugee, ſtabbs Mr. Harley, 610

Gunpowder plot, account of, 376

H.

HABEAS Corpus Act ſuſpended, 540--625

Halle, battle of, 762

Hanover, Houſe of, the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown ſettled on, 574——treaty of, 641

Hardicanute aſcends the throne, 62——his inhuman treatment of the dead body of his brother, ib.——lays a heavy tax on the Engliſh, ib.——his death, 63

Harold I. aſcends the throne, 61——his death, 62

Harold II. his acceſſion, 73——defeats the king of Norway, 74——is excommunicated by pope Alexander II. 75——engages the Norman army, and is ſlain, 77

Haſtings, battle of, 77

Haſtings, lord, beheaded in the Tower, 269

Havannah, ſiege of, 653——beſieged by the Engliſh, 782——reduced, 783

Havre de Grace bombarded, 747

Hawke, ſir Edward, defeats the French fleet, 714. 748.

Hengiſt and Horſa, two Saxon commanders, arrive with a body of troops in Britain, 19——are cordially received by Vortigern, king of Devonſhire, ib.——Hengiſt prevails on Vortigern to divorce his wife, ib.——defeats the Britons, and aſſumes the title of king of Kent, 21——takes Vortigern priſoner,

ſoner, and obtains as a ranſom the kingdoms of Eſſex, Middleſex and Suſſex, ib.

Henry I. ſiezes his brother's treaſures, 101——is crowned king, ib.——marries Matilda, daughter of Malcolm king of Scotland, 103——is oppoſed by his brother Robert, ib.——agrees to a treaty of accommodation, ib.——goes over to Normandy with a powerful army againſt his brother, 106——defeats and takes him priſoner, ib.——returns to England, ib.——defeats the French army, 112——marries Adelais, daughter to the duke of Louvaine, ib.——declares war againſt France, 113---quells a dangerous inſurrection in Normandy, ib.——his death and character, 115

Henry II. aſcends the throne, 125——enters into a war with France, 126——is greatly troubled at the ambition of Becket archbiſhop of Canterbury, 128——holds a parliament at Clarendon, ib.---cauſes four impeachments to be preferred againſt Becket, 129——fines him for diſobedience, ib.——ſends ambaſſadors to the pope, 130——has an interview with the French king, ib.——narrowly eſcapes being loſt on his return from the continent, 131——calls a parliament at Windſor, ib.---cauſes his ſon to be crowned, and ſerves the firſt diſh at his table, ib. ——is greatly affected at the death of Becket, 133——projects a ſcheme for ſubduing Ireland, ib.——conquers ſome parts of it, 134——is greatly perplexed with his children, ib.—ſuffers himſelf to be ſcourged by the monks of Canterbury, 135——ſuppreſſes a rebellion in England, ib.——revives the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, 136——receives an embaſſy from the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, ib.——his death and character, 138

Henry III. crowned king, 164——holds a parliament at Oxford, 167——invades France, 168——his ſtrong attachment to foreigners, 169——is treated with contempt by the barons, ib.——marries the daughter of the earl of March, 170——oppreſſes his ſubjects, 171——lands in France, but is defeated, and returns with diſgrace, ib.——extorts money from the clergy, ib. ——ſells his family plate and jewels, 172——preaches a ſermon to the monks of Wincheſter, ib.——is refuſed aſſiſtance from his parliament, 173——oppoſed by the barons, who form themſelves into an aſſociation, ib.——agrees to articles drawn up by them for the better government of the kingdom, 174——oppoſes the barons by force of arms, 175——is defeated, and retires to the priory of Lewes, ib.——his death, 178

Henry IV. crowned king of England, 231——quells a dangerous conſpiracy, 232——defeats the earl of Northumberland, 234 ——ſuppreſſes a conſpiracy in the North, ib.——is greatly afflicted at the conduct of the prince of Wales, 235---his death, 236

Henry V. aſcends the throne, 237——diſcovers a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his perſon and crown, 238——invades France, 239——takes Harfleur, ib.——obtains a ſignal victory, 240——inveſts Normandy, and makes himſelf maſter of the principal places in that country, 241——concludes a peace with the French, ib.——again invades France, ib.——inveſts Meaux, takes the garriſon priſoners, and hangs the governor, 242——dies of a fiſtula, ib.

Henry VI. aſcends the throne, 243——is proclaimed king of France, ib.——is crowned at Paris, 248——marries Margaret of Anjou, 250——ſuppreſſes a dangerous inſurrection, 252——is oppoſed by the duke of York, 253——is taken priſoner by him, 254——concludes a peace with the duke of York, 255---recedes from his engagements, ib.——his army defeated, ib. ——is again taken priſoner by the Yorkiſts, ib.—reinſtated in the government, 256—is dethroned, 257—-is committed priſoner to the Tower, 259—is releaſed by the earl of Warwick, and replaced on the throne, 262—is again ſent priſoner to the Tower, 263—dies there, 265

Henry VII. aſcends the throne, 274—marries the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to Edward IV. 275—-quells an inſurrection in the North, ib.—two others, 276—invades France, 277—concludes a treaty of peace with the French king, ib.——a dangerous conſpiracy formed againſt him, ib.—oppreſſes his ſubjects, 280, 282——his death and character, ib.

Henry VIII. aſcends the throne of England, 283—marries Catharine of Arragon, 284—declares war againſt France, 285——lands at Calais, 286——inveſts Tournay, and makes himſelf maſter of the place, ib.——returns to England, ib.—concludes a peace with France, 287——has an interview with Charles V. of Spain, 289—writes againſt Luther, 290——forms the deſign of diſſolving his marriage with Catherine, 292——applies to Rome for a divorce, ib.——eclipſes the ſupremacy, 294——marries Anne Boleyn, 295——his marriage with queen Catherine annulled, ib.—puts ſeveral to death for denying his ſupremacy, 296—diſſolves the monaſteries, 298—puts Anne Boleyn to death, 299—marries Jane Seymour, ib.—plunders the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, 300——publiſhes a new tranſlation of the Bible, ib.——holds a conference with one Lambert concerning the Proteſtant doctrine, 301—marries Anne of Cleves, 302——obtains a divorce, ib.—puts ſeveral perſons to death for their religious opinions, 303——marries Catharine Howard, ib.—diſcovers her to be guilty of infidelity, 304—puts her to death, ib.——defeats the Scots, 305——marries Catharine Parr, 306—enters France at the head of a powerful army, ib. —inveſts Montreal and Boulogne, the latter of which ſubmits, but the former holding out, he raiſes the ſiege, and returns to England, 307—concludes a peace with France, ib.—his death and character, 309

Henry IV. of France aſſaſſinated, 379

Heptarchy, Saxon, 20——united into one monarchy, 29

High Commiſſion Court aboliſhed, 418

Hockhirchen, battle of, 738

Hockſtet, battle of, 590

Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, burnt for hereſy, 328

Hoſier, admiral, his unfortunate expedition, 643

Hoya taken, 737

Hugonots, perſecution of them in France, 338—horrid maſſacre of, 347

Hungary, queen of, her diſtreſs, 684

Hurricane, remarkable one, 720

Huy, ſiege of, 562——taken by the French, and retaken by the duke of Marlborough, 593

I.

JAMES I. aſcends the throne, 374—a conſpiracy formed againſt him, 375—holds a conference with ſome puritans at Hampton-court, ib.—makes a ſpeech to his parliament, ib.—concludes a peace with Spain, 376——is in danger of being deſtroyed by the papiſts, ib.——ſettles the government of Ireland, 379——heaps favours on Robert Carre, 380—quarrels with his parliament, 385——diſſolves them, and commits ſeveral of the principal members to the Tower, ib.——his death and character, 389

James II. his acceſſion, 523——his ſpeech to the privy-council, ib.—goes publicly to hear maſs, 524——puts his nephew the duke of Monmouth to death, 526——diſſolves the parliament, 527—endeavours to eſtabliſh the the Roman Catholic religion, 528—his ill treatment of the biſhops, 539—receives advice of the deſigns formed againſt him by the prince of Orange, 531—takes ſome ſteps towards redreſſing the public grievances, 532--is deſerted by the army and nobility, ib.—reſolves to fly to France, 534—is diſcovered at Feverſham, and conducted to London, ib.—retires to Rocheſter, from whence he embarks for France, 535——his abdication declared, 538——lands in Ireland with an army, 541——enters Dublin in triumph, ib.——takes Colraine and Kilmore, 542——beſieges Londonderry, ib. —raiſes the ſiege, 543——defeated at the battle of the Boyne, 546——returns to France, 547——dies at St. Germain's, 576

James, king of Scotland, engages the Engliſh army, but is defeated and ſlain, 287

Jefferies, Judge, ſent into the Weſt to try the rebels concerned in Monmouth's rebellion, 526——his horrid cruelties ib.—is created a peer and made chancellor, ib.—is ſeized by the mob in Wapping, and ſent to the Tower, 534——his death, ib.

Jeſuits, order of ſuppreſſed, 840

Jews, maſſacre of them at the coronation of Richard I. 139——perſecuted by Edward I. 180——baniſhed the kingdom, 183

Indians in America, diſputes with, 655—treachery of, 760

Inniſkilling beſieged, 543——the beſiegers repulſed, ib.

Inſurrections, 167. 178. 224. 253. 261. 275. 315. 325. 345. 378. 460. 623. 626. 634. 640. 669. 677

Inverneſs taken by lord Lovat, 628

Joan d'Arc, maid of Orleans, undertakes to raiſe the ſiege of that city, 246—drives the Engliſh from their principal works, 247 ——conducts the French king to Rheims to be crowned, ib. —throws herſelf into the town of Compeigne, beſieged by the Engliſh, ib.——is taken priſoner, 248—is tried for ſorcery, ib. —is burned in the market-place at Rouen, ib.

John, king. aſcends the throne of England, 148——goes over to Normandy to oppoſe Philip king of France, 149——concludes a truce with him, ib.——divorces his wife and marries another, ib —paſſes again over to Normandy to oppoſe the French king, ib —takes prince Arthur, his nephew, priſoner, and afterwards aſſaſſinates him, 150——is declared a traitor by the French king, ib.——is oppoſed by the monks of Canterbury, 151—an interdict laid on his kingdom by the pope, 152—his remarkable obſtinacy, ib.—compels his barons to give hoſtages for their good behaviour, ib.—excommunicated by the pope, 153—has an interview with Pandolf, the legate, ib.—— does homage to him, 154—receives abſolution, ib.—attempts to invade France ib.—oppoſed by the barons, 155——the charter of Foreſts, 160——farther diſſentions between him and the barons, 161——is oppoſed by Lewis dauphin of France, 162—his death and character, 163

John, king of France, taken priſoner by Edward the Black Prince, 216—is ſet at liberty, and again takes on him the ſovereignty of his kingdom, 218—returns to England, and dies in the palace of the Savoy, ib.

John, duke of Lancaſter, ſecond ſon to Edward III. aſſiſts his brother in commanding the Engliſh army in Aquitain, 219——is declared regent of the kingdom, 220—his death, 229—

John the Painter executed for ſetting fire to Portſmouth dock-yard, 849—ſome account of his life, ib. *note*

Iſabella, daughter of the French king, married to Edward II. 193—enters into a conſpiracy againſt the king, 196—takes him priſoner, 197—aſſumes the government of the kingdom, ib.—cauſes Edward II. her huſband, to be murdered, 198—is confined for life, and her revenue reduced, 201—her death, 217

Italy, military operations in, 703—710

Itch Dien, the motto, firſt uſed in the arms of the princes of Wales, 211, *note*

K.

KEITH, marſhal, killed, 738
Kenmure, earl of, beheaded, 629
Kent, kingdom of, 21—account of its kings, ib.
Keppel, admiral, tried by a court-martial, 861—is honourably acquitted, ib.—great rejoicings on the occaſion, ib.
Ket, a tanner, his rebellion, 315
Keyſerwaert, ſiege of, 581
Khevenulher, his bravery and conduct, 685
Kingſton, ducheſs of, tried for bigamy, 847.
Kirke, colonel, ſent into the Weſt with judge Jeffries, to aſſiſt him in puniſhing the rebels, 526—his horrid barbarities, ib.
Knox, John, the Scottiſh reformer, account of, 336

L.

LAFFELDT, battle of, 712
La Hogue, ſea-fight off, 555
Lambert, a ſchool-maſter, diſputes with Henry VIII. on points of religion, 301—is burnt, ib.
Lancaſter, Thomas, earl of, his ignominious death, 195
——— Henry, duke of, takes Richard II. priſoner, and confines him in the Tower, 230—is placed on the Engliſh throne, ib.
Latimer, biſhop, burnt at Oxford, 329
Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, committed to the Tower, 414—is beheaded, 442
Layer, Chriſtopher, Eſq. executed at Tyburn, 607
Learning, ſtate of in England at different periods, 124. 231. 257. 373. 467. 499. 536
Lenox, earl of, choſen regent of Scotland, 346
Liege taken by the allies, 581
Limerick taken by the Engliſh, 552
Lines of the French entered by ſtratagem, 611
Liſle, ſiege of, 604
Llewellyn, prince of Wales, demands in marriage the daughter of the earl of Lieceſter, 181—rejects the conditions propoſed to him by Edward I. for her ranſom, ſhe having been taken priſoner by him in her way from France, ib.—oppoſes Edward, but is defeated, and ſues for peace, ib.—again heads an army againſt Edward, ib.—is defeated and ſlain in battle, 182—his head ſent to London, and publickly expoſed in Cheapſide, ib.
London, city of, deſtroyed by fire, 505
Londonderry, ſiege of, 542—is raiſed by means of ſuccours from England, 543
L'Orient, port, expedition againſt, 711
Los Santos taken by the Engliſh, 750
Louiſa, princeſs, married to the prince of Denmark, 693
Louiſburg, ſiege of, 742
Luther, Martin, his tenets, 288
Luxembourg, duke of, defeats the prince of Waldeck, 548

M.

MACBETH murders Duncan king of Scotland, and uſurps the throne, 69—retires to the Highlands, where he is ſlain, ib.
Mackintoſh, the rebel, eſcapes from Newgate, 629
Magazines, French, deſtroyed, 685
Magna Charta ſigned by king John, 155—tranſlation of, ib.
Malcolm, king of Scotland, marches into England with a powerful army againſt William Rufus, 96—concludes a treaty of peace with him, ib.—the treaty not being complied with, he comes again, commits dreadful ravages in Northumberland, and is ſlain in battle, 97
Malo's, St. bombardment of, 566
Malplaquet, battle of, 607
Manilla, iſland of, taken by the Engliſh, 784
Marcellus, the Roman general, appointed to command in Britain, 15—his prudent adminiſtration, ib.—is deprived of his government, ib.
Margaret of Anjou married to Henry VI. 250—marches againſt the duke of York, 256—defeats him, and being killed in battle, orders his head to be cut off, and placed on the walls of York, ib.—obtains a compleat victory over the Yorkiſts at Barnard-heath, ib.—is defeated by Edward IV. 259—ſolicits aſſiſtance from France, ib.—is defeated at Hedgley Moor, ib.—ſecretes herſelf with her ſon in a foreſt, and is ſtripped of her rings and jewels by robbers, ib.—is taken under the protection of one of their gang, 260.—eſcapes to the continent, ib.—lands again in England, and marches againſt Edward, 264—is defeated, taken priſoner, and ſent to the Tower, ib.—is releaſed by the French king, and retires to France during the remainder of her life, ib.
Marigalante taken by the Engliſh, 750
Marlborough, earl of, lands in Ireland, 548—his ſucceſs, ib.
———, duke of, his ſucceſſes in Flanders, 586—diſgraced, 610—makes a public entry into London, 622—his death, 637
——— ducheſs of, her death, 701
Martinico taken by the Engliſh, 781
Mary I. aſcends the throne, 322—ſets ſeveral noble priſoners at liberty, 323—re-eſtabliſhes the popiſh religion, ib.—is crowned, 324—orders maſs to be performed before both houſes of parliament, ib.—quells a dangerous inſurrection, 325—confines her ſiſter Elizabeth in the Tower, ib.—perſecutes the proteſtants, 326—marries Philip of Spain, 327—puts ſeveral of the principal clergy, as alſo a great number of proteſtants, to death, 328—extorts money from her ſubjects, 331—her death and character, 333
Mary II. proclaimed queen, 540—crowned, 541—conſtituted regent of England, 545—her death and character, 563
Mary, queen of Scots, refuſes to ſign a treaty of peace with her ſiſter Elizabeth, 337—marries lord Darnley, 340—ſuppoſed to be concerned in murdering him, 342—marries earl Bothwell, ib.—is deſpiſed by her ſubjects, ib.—attacked by the aſſociated lords in Holyrood Houſe, ib.—eſcapes in man's cloaths to the caſtle of Dunbar, 343—takes the field in conjunction with Bothwell againſt her ſubjects, ib.—is taken priſoner and confined in the caſtle of Lochleven, ib.—reſigns her crown, ib.—eſcapes from confinement, and heads a conſiderable army againſt the earl of Murray, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom, ib.—is defeated and flies to England, ib.—is confined in Tutbury Caſtle, 345—removed to Coventry, ib.—writes a letter to Elizabeth to releaſe her, 354—is tried at Fotheringay Caſtle, 358—is beheaded in that priſon, 360—her character, ib.
Maſſacre of Glencoe, 557—enquiry concerning, 566
Matthews, admiral, diſgraced, 696
Maud, empreſs, lands in England, and claims her right to the crown, 119—defeats the army of Stephen, 120—a dangerous conſpiracy formed againſt her, 122—flies to the caſtle of the Devizes, and from thence to Glouceſter, ib.—goes over to the continent, and leaves Stephen in poſſeſſion of the throne, 123
Meal-tub Plot, account of, 518
Mercians, kingdom of, 23
Minden, battle of, 757
Minorca, ſiege of, 727
Molwitz, battle of, 684
Monk, general, his brave conduct in oppoſing the Dutch, 484—promotes the reſtoration, 496
Monmouth, duke of, his rebellion, 525—his execution, 526
Montfort, Simon, earl of Leiceſter, attempts an innovation in the government, 174—governs the kingdom in an arbitrary manner, ib.—defeats the royal army, 175—is defeated, and ſlain, 177
Montford, John de, his quarrel with Charles de Blois for the dukedom of Britany, 207—makes a ſecret treaty with Edward ib.—is taken priſoner by the duke of Normandy, ib.—makes his eſcape, 209—his death, ib.
Montford, counteſs of, exerts herſelf in favour of her huſband, 207—her ſpeech to the inhabitants of Rennes, ib.—*takes* Charles de Blois priſoner, 212
Montreal taken by the Engliſh, 761
Mortality, great, 101. 115
Mortimer, Robert, his intrigues with queen Iſabella, 197—*uſurps* the government, 200—puts the earl of Kent to death, 201—is ſeized and committed to the Tower, ib.—tried, condemned, and hanged, ib.
More, Sir Thomas, beheaded on Tower-hill, 297—his factious turn of diſpoſition, ib.—*note*
Morton, regent of Scotland, beheaded, 351
Mughouſe Riot, 630
Munich taken by the Auſtrians, 687
Murderers, act relative to, 720
Murray, earl of, choſen regent of Scotland, 343—defeats Mary Queen of Scots at Langſide, ib.—accuſes Mary of having murdered her huſband, 344—is aſſaſſinated, 345
Mulberry trees firſt planted in England, 390
Muſkets firſt introduced into the Engliſh army, 310

N.

NAMUR taken by the French, 555—retaken by king William, 566
Naſeby, battle of, 449
National debt, origin of, 557
Naturalization Bill, 606
Navarette, famous battle of, 219
Navy, Engliſh, commencement of, 310
Navy, Britiſh, ſucceſs of in the year 1758, in various parts of the world, 738
Needles firſt made in London, 333
Nero, the Roman emperor, his cruelty to Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, 12—puts an end to his life, 13
Nerwind, battle of, 558
Newbury, battles of, 438. 447
News-papers firſt printed in England, 523
Niagara taken, 751
Nithiſdale, earl of, eſcapes from the Tower, 629
Norfolk, duke of, beheaded, 347
Norris (Sir John) ſails to Liſbon with a large fleet, 667
North-America, diſputes in, between the Engliſh and French, 723—great diſturbances in, 811. 815. 821
Northumberland, kingdom of, 23
———, duke of, his ambition, 320—reſolves to make his ſon king by marrying him to the lady Jane Grey, ib.—his political conduct, ib.—places lady Jane on the throne, 322—
marches

marches againſt queen Mary, ib.—is taken priſoner and committed to the Tower, 323—is beheaded, ib.
Nova Scotia, ſcheme for the ſettlement of, 716

O.

OATES, Titus, his conſpiracy, 515—impeaches the papiſts, ib.—is tried for perjury, 524—is confined and ſeverely puniſhed, ib.—releaſed, and obtains a penſion, ib.
Occurrences, remarkable, 100, 115, 124. 163. 179. 192. 222. 230. 237. 243. 257. 267. 274. 282. 310. 321. 333. 372. 390. 467. 523. 564. 578. 621. 645. 769
Odun, earl of Devon, takes the Daniſh ſtandard, 33
Offa ſucceeds to the throne of Mercia, 24—ravages the kingdom of Kent, ib.—builds the celebrated wall called Offa's Dyke, ib.—repulſes the Danes with great ſlaughter, ib.—makes a pilgrimage to Rome, ib.—founds the abbey of St. Alban's, ib. his death, ib.
Oldcaſtle, Sir John, condemned as an heretic, 238—makes his eſcape from the Tower, but is afterwards taken, and burnt on a gibbet, ib.
Onſlow, Arthur, choſen ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, 647—receives diſtinguiſhed honours on relinquiſhing his office, 772
Operations of the allies in France and Spain, 609
——————————— in Germany, 734
Orange, prince of, declared ſtadtholder, 511—marries the princeſs Mary, 514—is invited over to England, 531—lands at Torbay, 532—addreſſed by the peers, prelates, and commons, 537—takes upon himſelf the conduct of public affairs, ib.—is addreſſed by the Scots, ib.—the crown of England tendered to him and his conſort, 540
Orator Henly ſets up a new ſect under the title of an oratory, 645
Ordeal Fire, account of the trial by, 64
Orleans, ſiege of, 245
——— Maid of, 246—her political conduct, ib.—marches at the head of an army, and relieves the garriſon of that city, 247—cauſes Charles of France to be crowned at Rheims, ib. —is taken priſoner, 248—is tried for witchcraft, ib.—burnt alive, ib.
——— duke of, his death, 638
Ormond, duke of, ſucceeds Marlborough in the command of the army, 614—is impeached, 624—leaves the kingdom, ib.
Orphan Houſe at Zell in Germany, burnt by the French, 735
Oſtorius, the Roman general, defeats the Britons, 10—is oppoſed by the Brigantes, ib—engages in battle with Caractacus, 11 —defeats the Britons, ib.—his death, ib.
Oudenard, battle of, 604
Overbury, Sir Thomas, committed to the Tower, 381—is cruelly murdered, ib.
Oxford burnt by the Danes, 51
——— ſtatutes and conſtitutions, 174
——— earl of, impeached, 624—ſent to the Tower, 625—releaſed, 631

P.

PALAMAS taken from the Spaniards by the French, 561
Palatines, great numbers of them arrive in England, 799—are relieved, and ſent to their own country, ib.
Papiſts, their conſpiracy againſt Charles II. 515
Pandolf, the pope's legate, his advice to king John, 153—receives homage from him, 154
Paris, peace of, 654
Parliament of England, a miſunderſtanding between the two houſes of, 588—of Great Britain, firſt meeting of, 603
Parr, Catharine, married to Henry VIII. 306—diſputes with the king on the ſubject of religion, 308—a plot laid to enſnare her, ib.
Patay, battle of, 247
Paulinus Suetonius, the Roman general, is ſent to command in Britain, 12—puts to death a great number of Druids, and deſtroys their altars and religious groves, ib.—defeats queen Boadicea, 13—is recalled from his government, ib.
Paul's (St.) Cathedral burnt, 372
Peace ſigned between England, France, Spain, Holland and Germany, 569—of Aix-la-Chapelle, 715
Peſtilence, great, 218. 222. 231. 339
Peter the Great, Czar of Muſcovy, viſits England, 571—his death, 642
Petition of Right, 307
Philippa, queen to Edward III. defeats the Scots, and takes David their king priſoner, 212—her death, 220
Philip of Spain marries Queen Mary, 327—is diſguſted with his wife, and returns to the continent, 330—returns to England and reſides at Greenwich, 331—procures a body of forces from the Engliſh, and paſſes over to the Low-Countries, ib.
Pierce, Alice, becomes the favourite of Edward III. 220—robs him of his rings and jewels, 221
Pens firſt made in England, 310
Pipes, leaden, caſting of without uſing ſolder, firſt invented, 310
Pius, Antoninus, defeats the Brigantes, 15—builds a wall from the Frith of Dunbritton to that of Edinburgh in Scotland, ib.
Plague, great, 214, 223, 235, 280, 375, 391, 503, 310, 373
Plantagenet, Richard, duke of York, oppoſes Henry VI. 253.—takes him priſoner, 254.—defeated by queen Margaret, who orders his head to be cut off and placed on the walls of York, 256
Playhouſes, number of reſtrained by act of parliament, 672
Plot to ſeize the regent of France, 633
Pondicherry, ſiege of by admiral Boſcawen, 715
Porteus, captain, remarkable occurrences relative to, 669
Porto-Bello taken, 680
Port-Royal taken, 781
Portugal, treaty with, 587.—attempt to aſſaſſinate the king, 744
Potatoes firſt brought to England, 373
Powis, lady, committed to the Tower, 518
Prague, ſiege of by the Auſtrians, 688.—by the French, 698.—by the king of Pruſſia, 733
Preſbyterians in Scotland treated with rigour, 517.—commit great ravages on their oppreſſors, ib.—are reduced by the duke of Monmouth, and great numbers of them hanged, ib.
Preſſing to death, remarkable inſtance of, 390
Preſton, Scotch rebels taken priſoners at, 682.
———Pans, battle of, 705
Pretender (the) proclaimed king of England, Scotland and Ireland, in France, 576.—plan for obtaining the Engliſh crown for him, 587.—his ſon lands in Scotland, 704
Pritchard, captain, deſtroys a fleet of French merchantmen, 562
Proteſtants, maſſacre of in France, 347
——————— in Ireland, 419
Proviſions, price of in the reign of Edward I. 192
——— ſcarcity of, 222
Pruſſia, king of, defeats the Auſtrians, 729

Q

QUarrel between George I. and the prince of Wales (afterwards George II.) 631
——— another between George II. and Frederick prince of Wales, 672—their reconciliation, 686
Quebec, ſiege of by the Engliſh, 752—by the French, 760.—act for the future government of, 841
Quo Warranto iſſued by Charles II. 520

R

RAins, remarkable, 124, 222
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his expedition to South America, 365. —is ſent againſt the Spaniards, 382.—fails in the attempt, ib, returns to England, and is ſent to the Tower, ib.—is beheaded, ib.
Ramillies, battle of, 598
Rebel lords, ſome of them beheaded for the rebellion in 1715. 629.—others reprieved, ib.—the fate of thoſe concerned in the rebellion in 1745, 707
Rebels, take Carliſle, 705.—enter Mancheſter, ib.—Derby, 706. —retreat, ib.—defeated at Culloden, 706
Rebellion in Ireland, account of, 367, 419
——— in Scotland, in 1715, 626—totally cruſhed, 629
——— another in 1745, ſuppreſſed, 708
Regent, one propoſed by the tories, 538
Regicides, execution of, 500
Richard I. aſcends the throne, 139.—makes preparations for an expedition to the Holy Land, 140.—oppreſſes the people, ib.—paſſes over to the continent, ib.—joins the king of France againſt the infidels, ib.—is married at Cyprus, 142.—deſerted by the French king, ib.—defeats the Saracens, 143.—narrowly eſcapes being taken, ib.—comes to an accommodation with the infidels, and procures honourable conditions for the Chriſtians, 144.—is ſhipwrecked and taken priſoner, ib.—is ſet at liberty, 145.—arrives in England, ib.—calls a parliament at Northampton, 146.—goes over to the continent to oppoſe Philip the French king, ib—is killed by an arrow, 147.—his character, ib.
Richard II. aſcends the throne, 223.—marries the ſiſter of the king of Bohemia, 226.—quells a dangerous inſurrection, ib. —marches againſt the Scots, ib.—is deprived of his regal authority, 227.—again aſſumes it, 228.—concludes a long truce with France, ib.—marches againſt the Iriſh, and reduces them to obedience, 229.—is taken priſoner by the duke of Lancaſter, and committed to the Tower, 230.—reſigns his crown, ib.—is removed from the Tower to Pontefract Caſtle, 232.—is aſſaſſinated, ib.
Richard III. crowned, 271.—makes a tour through ſome parts of England, and is crowned at York, ib.—ſuppreſſes a conſpiracy againſt him, 272.—marches againſt the earl of Richmond, ib.—is defeated and ſlain at Boſworth, 273
Ridley, biſhop of London, burnt at Oxford, 328
Riot in St. George's Fields, account of, 814. *note.*
Robert, ſon of William the Conqueror, orders the governor of Rouen to be thrown from the battlements of the caſtle, 95—attempts to dethrone his brother Henry I. 103—agrees to a treaty of accommodation, ib.—is defeated in Normandy by his brother and brought priſoner to England, where he dies, 106

Robert

Robert Bruce, crowned king of Scotland, 190—defeats the Engliſh, 191—kills Henry de Bohun with a battle axe, 194—his death, 202
Rochelle, ſiege of, 400
Rochford, counteſs of, beheaded on Tower-hill, 304
Rocheſter, biſhop of, baniſhed, 637
Roſback, battle of, 735
Roſe, Richard, boiled to death in Smithfield, 310
Ruremond, ſiege of, 581
Ruſſel, lord, executed for the Rye-houſe plot, 521
Ruſſian ambaſſador, arreſted, 605
Rye-houſe plot, 520

S

SACHEVEREL, Dr. account of, 608—cenſured by the houſe of commons, ib.—his trial, ib.—madneſs of the people on that occaſion, ib.—is ſuſpended for three years, and his ſermons ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, ib.
Sackville, lord George (now lord George Germaine) his caſe, 765—his trial, 766—ſentence againſt him, 767
Sacred, firſt added to the title of majeſty in the ſtyle of the kings of England, 390
St. Cas, bay of, unfortunate affair at, 740
St. John, in the gulph of St. Lawrence, taken, 743
Saladine, commander of the Saracens againſt Richard I. 142.—is defeated, and loſes 50,000 of his men, 143—is a ſecond time defeated, ib.—concludes a truce with Richard I. 144—his death, ib.
Saliſbury, counteſs of, put to death by Henry VIII. 304—her behaviour on the day of execution, ib.
Sardinia, king of, reſigns his crown, 651
————, his ill ſucceſs, 697
Savoy, invaded by the French, 586
———, duke of, defeated by Catinat, 548
Saxons arrive in Britain, 19—ſubjugate that part of it now called England, which they divide into ſeven kingdoms, ib.—eccleſiaſtical and civil hiſtory of, during the heptarchy, 24
Schomberg, duke of, lands in Ireland with an Engliſh army, 544
Schweidnitz, ſiege of, 758
Scotchmen, number of, aſcertained in London in the reign of queen Elizabeth, 372
Scotch peers, diſputes concerning the election of, 666
Scotch regiment of Dumbarton mutiny, 540
Severus, the Roman emperor, divides the government of Britain into two parts, 15—obliges the North Britons to ſubmiſſion, ib.—takes upon him the title of Britannicus Maximus, ib.—orders a general maſſacre to be made among the Britons, ib.—his death, ib.
Senegal, expedition to, 741
Seville, treaty of, 651
Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's cruelly murdered, 517
Shepherd, James, executed for imagining the death of the king, 632
Ship-money, a tax ſo called, levied by Charles I. 393
Shoes, long peaks to prohibited, 267
Shore, Jane, miſtreſs of Edward IV. tried for ſorcery, 269—does penance at St. Paul's cathedral, ib.—an original letter written by her to Edward, ib. *note*
Shovel, Sir Cloudeſley, ſhipwreck of, 602
Sidney, Algernon, account of, 521—proſecuted in the moſt illegal manner, ib.—his execution, ib.
Simnel, Lambert, perſonates the duke of York, 275—crowned in Dublin, 276—heads the Iriſh againſt Henry VII. ib.—is taken priſoner, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, ib.
Sloane (Sir Hans) his curioſities purchaſed by government, 721
Small-pox, inoculating for firſt introduced into England, 645
Solway Moſs, battle of between the Engliſh and Scots, 305
Somerſet, duke of, (uncle to Edward VI.) committed to the Tower, 317—beheaded on Tower-hill, 319
Sophia, princeſs, her death and character, 619
South Saxons, kingdom of, 21
South-Sea ſcheme, 635
Southwark, great fire in, 164
Spain, peace concluded with, 652—convention with, 677
Spaniards defeated at ſea by Sir George Byng, 632
Spaniſh Armada, account of, 362—preparations in England to oppoſe it, ib.—Queen Elizabeth's behaviour on the occaſion, ib.—is interrupted by a dreadful ſtorm, ib.—is totally defeated, 363
Spaniſh Fleet blocked up at Cadiz, 680
Spaniſh men of war, ſeveral taken, 632
Spencers, two brothers, become the favourites of Edward II. 195—are condemned to baniſhment, ib.—Both put to death, 197
Stafford, lord, beheaded, 518
Stamp Act, diſturbances occaſioned by in America, 804—the act repealed, 811
Stamp Duties firſt impoſed in England, 564
Star, blazing, account of, 237
Star-Chamber, court of aboliſhed, 418
Starching of linen firſt practiſed in England, 333
Statutes, or Proviſions of Oxford, account of, 174
Steele, Sir Richard, ſome of his writings declared libellous, 617
Steinkirk, battle of, 555
Stephen, ſon to the earl of Blois, crowned king of England, 117—quarrels with the clergy, 119—is oppoſed by the empreſs Maud, ib.—taken priſoner, 120—is ſet at liberty, 122—reduces the caſtle of Oxford, ib.—quarrels with the pope, 123—reforms ſeveral abuſes in the kingdom, ib.—dies, ib.—his character, 124
Stirling, ſiege of, 706
Stocking Frame firſt invented, 373
Storms, violent, 100, 101. 124. 179. 230
Strafford, earl of, impeached, 412—committed to the cuſtody of the Black Rod, ib.—is tried at Weſtminſter-hall, 416—his remarkable ſpeech on the occaſion, ib.—is beheaded on Tower-hill, 418
Straw, Jack, his rebellion, 224
Stumpel, colonel, brings a great number of diſtreſſed Palatines to England, 799
Suffolk, duke of, baniſhed the kingdom, 251—is ſeized near Dover, beheaded in a long boat, and his body thrown into the ſea, ib.
Suffolk, earl of, beheaded, 286
Sun, eclipſes of, 124. 179. 222. 645
Sun and Moon, remarkable eclipſe of, 116
Surat taken by the Engliſh, 756
Sweating Sickneſs, account of, 310
Sweden, ſingular revolution in, 832
Swein, king of Denmark, invades England, 50—defeats the Engliſh, ib.—returns to Denmark, ib.—lands again in England, 52—aſſumes the title of king of England, ib.—his death, 53

T.

TAPESTRY, art of making firſt invented in England, 390
Taylors and Goldſmiths, battle between, 179
Teleſcope, firſt diſcovery of, 373
Templars, knights, account of the founding of that order, 115
Teſt Act, account of, 512
Tewkeſbury, battle of, 264
Theodore crowned king of Corſica, 670——his death, ib.
Theodoſius ſent to command in Britain, 16——his prudent conduct, ib.——orders the city of London to be called Auguſta, ib.——returns to Rome with great honours, ib.
Thomas à Becket, made archbiſhop of Canterbury, 127——his ſplendid manner of living, ib.——endeavours to retrieve the character of ſanctity, ib.——refuſes to comply with the king's mandate, 128——attempts to make his eſcape out of the kingdom, 129——four impeachments exhibited againſt him, ib.——his inſolent behaviour to the king, 130——appeals to the pope, ib.——eſcapes to the continent, ib.——is reſtored to the ſee of Canterbury, 131——is aſſaſſinated, 132——particulars of the manner of his death, ib.——his character, ib.
Thurot defeated and killed, 759
Ticonderoga, lord Howe killed at the attack of, 743
Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, his death, 563
Tobacco, firſt brought to England, 372
Tories and Whigs, origin of, 384——high diſputes between—544
Torrington, lord viſcount, ſent to the Tower, 548
Toulon, naval action off, 696
———, ſiege of, 602
Tournay, ſiege of, 607
Triple Alliance, 630
Tullagee Angria, the pirate, expedition againſt, 725
Turin, ſiege of, 598
Tyler, Wat, account of him, 221——beats out the brains of a tax-gatherer, ib.——heads a large body of rebels, ib.——marches to Blackheath, ib.——plunders the houſes of the citizens of London, ib.——ſets fire to the monaſtery of St. John's Clerkenwell, ib.——drags the archbiſhop of Canterbury from the Tower, and puts him to death, 225——meets the king in Smithfield, ib.——his inſolent demands, ib.——is killed by ſir William Walworth, ib.
Tyrone, earl of, raiſes a rebellion in Ireland, 367——oppoſed by the earl of Eſſex, ib.——ſurrenders, and obtains the queen's pardon, 371
Tyrrell, captain, his gallant behaviour, 744
Tythe-tax firſt granted by Ethelwolf, 30

V

VAlencia, reduction of, 602
Vaudemont, prince of, his gallant behaviour, 565
Venlo, ſiege of, 581
Vere, Robert de, becomes the favourite of Richard II. 227
—— John de, earl of Oxford beheaded on Tower-hill, 259
Vernon, admiral, takes Porto-Bello, 680—his expedition againſt Carthagena, 683
Victory man of war loſt, 700
Vigo plundered, 583—Taken by lord Cobham, 634
Villars, marſhal, his ſucceſs, 615
Villiers, George duke of Buckingham, makes a deſcent on the iſland

iſland of Rhe in France, 394—reduces it, ib.—lays ſiege to e caſtle of St. Martin's, 395——is obliged to retreat, ib. turns to England with diſgrace, ib.——is aſſaſſinated by elton, 400

tigern, king of Devonſhire, propoſes to the Britons to invite over the Saxons, 19——meets Hengiſt and Horſa, the Saxon commanders, with their troops, at the iſle of Thanet, ib.—marches againſt the Scots and Picts, and entirely routs them from South Britain, ib.—divorces his queen, and marries Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, ib.——is deprived of his authority by the Saxons, ib.——is taken priſoner by Hengiſt, 21

nion of England and Scotland, articles of, 595

rine, proclamation for the preſerving of, 467

trecht, peace of, 615

W

WAGER, ſir Charles, ſails to the Baltic, 642

Wales firſt annexed to the crown of England, 182

Wallace, William, heads the Scots againſt the Engliſh, 187——is taken priſoner, and executed as a traitor, 189

Walpole, ſir Robert, reſigns all his employments, and is made earl of Orford, 686——his death, 701

Walker, a citizen and grocer of London, beheaded in Smithfield, 258

Walworth, ſir William, kills Wat Tyler in Smithfield, 225

War declared by William III. againſt France, 541

—————— by George II. againſt ditto, 727

Warbeck, Perkin, perſonates the duke of York, 277——is taken priſoner, and committed to the Tower, 280——is tried at Weſtminſter-hall and ſentenced to be hanged, ib.

Warwick, earl of, joins the duke of York againſt queen Margaret, 256—is defeated at the battle of St. Alban's, ib.—his behaviour at the battle of Ferry-bridge, 258—is ſent to negotiate a treaty of marriage between the daughter of the duke of Savoy and Edward IV. 260—is enraged at the king's marrying another in his abſence, ib.—retires from court, ib—raiſes an army againſt the king, and defeats him, 262—releaſes Henry VI. and replaces him on the throne, ib.—is conjunctive regent with the duke of Clarence, ib.—engages Edward's army in the neighbourhood of Barnet, 263—is defeated and ſlain, ib.

Watches firſt brought into England, 373

Weſt-Indies, operations of the Britiſh fleet in, 714——ſucceſs of the Engliſh in, 735. 744

Weſt Saxons, kingdom of, 22

Wheeler, ſir Francis, his ſhipwreck, 561

Whigs and Tories, origin of, 384——great diſputes between, 544

Whitehall, dreadful fire at, 578

Wickliffe, John, his tenets, 221——diſturbances occaſioned thereby, ib.

Widowers, a tax laid on, 578

Wilkes, John, Eſq. committed to the Tower for publiſhing a paper called the North Briton, 797——his ſpeeches to the court of Common Pleas, ib. *note*——is cleared from the Tower, 798——ſets up a printing-preſs, and republiſhes the North Briton, ib.——obtains a verdict againſt the ſecretary at ſtate for ſeizing his papers, ib.——fights a duel with Samuel Martin, Eſq. and is wounded, ib.——goes to France, ib.——is expelled the houſe of commons, 799——offers himſelf a candidate for the city of London, 814——is choſen for Middleſex, ib.——is committed to the king's-bench priſon, ib.——is again expelled the houſe of commons, 818——is rechoſen for Middleſex, ib.——is rejected by the Houſe, and another admitted in his ſtead, ib.——his ſpeech to the houſe of commons on the American affairs, 844, *note*——makes a motion in the houſe for expunging the reſolution made for expelling him, 846

William, duke of Normandy, makes preparations for invading England, 74—is countenanced by Pope Alexander II. 75—lands on the coaſt of Suſſex, ib.—ſends ambaſſadors to demand the crown of Harold, ib.—makes offer to decide the kingdom with him, which is rejected, 76—attacks the army of Harold, and obtains a compleat victory, 77—makes himſelf maſter of Dover, and then marches towards London, 79—receives ſubmiſſion from the nobility and citizens, 80

William I. (duke of Normandy) crowned king, 81—ſeizes on the treaſures of Harold, 82—makes a progreſs through ſeveral parts of England, ib.—erects a monaſtery called Battle-Abbey, ib.—paſſes over to Normandy, 83—returns to England, 84—revives the tax of Danegelt, ib.—reduces the city of Exeter, 85—divides the kingdom into baronies, 86.—his remarkable avarice, ib.—cruſhes a dangerous conſpiracy, 89—invades the iſle of France, and accepts propoſals of peace from Philip, 92—ravages the French dominions, ib.—dies at Rouen in Normandy, ib.—his character, 93

William II. crowned king of England, 94—cruſhes a conſpiracy formed againſt him, 95—paſſes over into Normandy to attack the dominions of his brother Robert, ib.—his attempts prove unſucceſsful, and he returns to England, ib.—concludes a treaty with his brother, ib.—goes again to Normandy and inveſts his brother's dominions, 97—is defeated, and ſhuts himſelf up in the city Eu, ib.—returns to England, 98—ſuppreſſes a conſpiracy, ib.—is killed in the New Foreſt, 100—his character, ib.

William III. proclaimed king, 540—crowned, 541—lands in Ireland, 545—defeats James II. at the battle of the Boyne, 546—beſieges but ſoon after raiſes the ſiege of Limerick, 548 returns to England, ib.—goes to Holland, 549—returns to England, 550—ſuppreſſes a conſpiracy, ib.—changes his miniſtry, 560—makes the partition treaty, 571—his death and character, 578

William, duke of Cumberland, appointed commander of the Britiſh forces, 701—arrives at the Hague, 702—ſets out for Bruſſels, ib.—is defeated at Fontenoy, ib.—marches againſt the rebels, and drives them out of England, 706—is ſent down to Scotland, ib.—purſues the rebels, ib.—defeats them at Culloden, ib.—returns to London, 707—engages the French and is defeated, 712—his death and character, 806, *note*

Williamſon, Sir Joſeph, committed to the Tower, 516—is releaſed, ib.

Wind, remarkable hurricane of, 770

Wintoun, earl of, eſcapes from the Tower, 629

Wolfe, general, commands the army in Canada, 751—publiſhes a declaration, 752—writes a letter to the French general, ib.—determines to lay ſiege to Quebec, ib.—makes himſelf acquainted with the river St. Laurence, 753—attacks the French, and is mortally wounded, 754—his death, ib.—his character, 755——his interment, ib. *note*—epitaph on his monument, ib.

Wolſey, the favourite of Henry VIII. promoted to the ſee of York, 287—obtains a cardinal's hat, ib.—is made chancellor, 288—his love of learning, ib.—his ſplendid manner of living, ib.—meditates the deſtruction of the duke of Buckingham, 289—erects two colleges, 291—gives his palace at Hampton-Court to the king, ib.—is diſgraced, 293—is arreſted for high treaſon, 294——his death, ib.——character, ib. *note*

Whigs and tories, origin of, 384

Wolves totally extirpated from England and Wales by means of king Edgar, 44

Woodſtock, Thomas, duke of Glouceſter, aſſaſſinated, 229——Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, proſecuted by Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI. 250——ſuppoſed to have been aſſaſſinated, ib.

Wyat, Sir Thomas, his rebellion, 325

Wyndham, Sir William, committed to the Tower, 626

Y

YORK, Richard Plantagnet, duke of, ſuſpected of being concerned in Cade's rebellion, 252——lands in England, ib.——Sends a letter to the king, ib.——raiſes an army in Wales with which he invades England, 253——propoſes conditions to the king, ib.——diſmiſſes his army, and repairs to court, ib. makes ſubmiſſion to the king, ib.——is appointed protector of the kingdom, 254——retires to Wales, ib.——heads an army, and again marches againſt the king, ib.——defeats the king at St. Albans, and takes him priſoner, ib——takes upon him the government of the kingdom, ib.——appears reconciled to the king and queen, 255——again takes up arms, and defeats the king's army at Blackheath, ib.——flies to Ireland, ib.——an act of attainder paſſed againſt him by the parliament, ib.——returns to England, goes to the houſe of lords, and enumerates the injuſtice done to himſelf and family, ib.——is inveſted with the adminiſtration of government, and declared the lawful heir to the crown, 256——marches to oppoſe queen Margaret, ib.——is defeated and ſlain, ib.——his head fixed on the walls of York, ib.——his character, ib.

A REGAL TABLE of Sovereigns of England, and Great Britain, from Egbert the Great to the preſent Period.

Saxon and Daniſh Sovereigns before the Conqueſt.

King's Names.	Began to reign A. D.	Reign'd Years.	Where buried.
Egbert, as firſt ſole monarch of England	823	14	Wincheſter
Ethelwolf	837	20	Wincheſter
Ethelbald	857	3	Sherborne
Ethelbert	860	6	Unknown
Etheldred I.	866	6	Winborne
Alfred	872	27	Wincheſter
Edward the Elder	899	25	Wincheſter
Athelſtan	924	16	Glouceſter
Edmund I.	940	7	Glaſtonbury
Edred	947	8	Wincheſter
Edwy	955	4	Wincheſter
Edgar	959	16	Glaſtonbury
Edward the Martyr	975	4	Shaftſbury
Ethelred II.	979	—	—
N. B. Ethelred was driven from his kingdom in 1013 by the Danes.			

D A N E S.

Swein	1013	1	Thetford
Canute	1014	—	—
N. B. Canute not being able to gain the affections of the Engliſh, retired to Denmark			

S A X O N S.

Ethelred reſtored	1015	1	London
Edmund Ironſide	1016	1	

D A N E S.

Canute the Great eſtabliſhed	1017	19	Wincheſter
Harold I.	1036	3	
Hardicanute	1039	2	

S A X O N S.

Edward the Confeſſor	1042	24	Weſtminſter
Harold II.	1066		Waltham Abbey

KINGS and QUEENS from the CONQUEST.

KINGS NAMES.	Began their Reigns	Reigned Y.	M.	D.	Buried at
W. the Conqueror	1066 Oct. 14	20	10	26	Caen, in Normandy
W. Rufus	1087 Sept. 9	12	10	24	Wincheſter
Henry I.	1100 Aug. 2	35	3	30	Reading
Stephen	1135 Dec. 1	18	10	25	Feverſham

The SAXON LINE reſtored.

Henry II.	1154 Oct. 25	34	8	11	Fontevrault
Richard I.	1189 July 6	9	9	0	Ditto
King John	1199 April 6	17	6	13	Worceſter
Henry III.	1216 Oct. 19	56	0	28	Weſtminſter
Edward I.	1272 Nov. 16	34	7	21	Ditto
Edward II.	1307 July 7	19	6	18	Glouceſter
Edward III.	1327 Jan. 25	50	4	27	Weſtminſter
Richard II.	1377 June 21	22	3	8	Ditto

The LINE of LANCASTER.

Henry IV.	1399 Sept. 29	13	5	20	Canterbury
Henry V.	1413 Mar. 20	9	5	11	Weſtminſter
Henry VI.	1422 Aug. 31	38	6	4	Windſor

The LINE of YORK.

Edward IV.	1461 Mar. 4	22	1	5	Windſor
Edward V.	1483 April 9	0	2	13	Weſtminſter
Richard III.	1483 June 22	2	2	0	Leiceſter

The FAMILIES United.

Henry VII.	1485 Aug. 22	23	8	0	Weſtminſter
Henry VIII.	1509 Apr. 22	37	9	6	Windſor
Edward VI.	1547 Jan. 28	6	5	8	Weſtminſter
Queen Mary	1553 July 6	5	4	11	Ditto
Queen Elizabeth	1558 Nov. 17	44	4	7	Ditto

The UNION of the TWO CROWNS.

James I.	1603 Mar. 24	22	0	3	Weſtminſter
Charles I.	1625 Mar. 27	23	10	3	Windſor
Charles II.	1649 Jan. 30	36	0	7	Weſtminſter
James II.	1685 Feb. 6	4	0	7	St. Germains
William & Mary	1689 Feb. 13	13	0	23	Weſtminſter

The UNION of the TWO KINGDOMS.

Queen Anne	1702 Mar. 8	12	4	23	Weſtminſter
George I.	1714 Aug. 1	12	10	10	Hanover
George II.	1727 June 11	33	4	3	Weſtminſter
George III.	1760 Oct. 25				

The preſent ROYAL FAMILY of Great Britain.

King George III. born	4 June,	1738
Queen Charlotte born	19 May,	1744
George, Prince of Wales, born	12 Aug.	1762
Prince Frederick, Biſhop of Oſnabrug, born	16 Aug.	1763
Prince William Henry born	21 Aug.	1765
Princeſs Charlotte, Princeſs Royal of England, born	29 Sept.	1766
Prince Edward born	2 Nov.	1767
Princeſs Auguſta Sophia born	8 Nov.	1768
Princeſs Elizabeth born	22 May,	1770
Prince Erneſt Auguſtus born	5 June,	1771
Prince Auguſtus Frederick born	27 Jan.	1773
Prince Adolphus Frederick born	24 Feb.	1774
Princeſs Mary born	25 April,	1776
Princeſs Sophia born	3 Nov.	1777
Prince Octavius born	23 Feb.	1779

BROTHERS and SISTER to his MAJESTY.

Prince William Henry, Duke of Glouceſter, born 25 November, 1743

Prince Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, born 7 November, 1745

Princeſs Auguſta born 11 Aug. 1737; married to the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, 16 Jan. 1764.

The only remaining iſſue of George II. by Queen Caroline, is Princeſs Amelia Sophia, born June 10, 1711.

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JY 73

A GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE DESCENT OF

GEORGE III. from EGBERT, the Firſt King of England.

EGBERT, of the Saxon race, firſt king of England, crowned A. D. 819; died 838; was ſucceeded by his ſon, Ethelwolf, crowned 838; died 857; whoſe eldeſt ſon, Ethelbald, was crowned 857; died, 859; who was ſucceeded by his three brothers, the youngeſt of whom was Alfred, crowned 872; died, 900; whoſe daughter, Elfrida, married Baldwin II. Count of Flanders, from whom deſcended, in a direct line, Matilda, of Brunſwick, who married William, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England. After Alfred died, the crown deſcended to Edward the Elder, ſon of Ethelbald, before mentioned, who was crowned 900; died 925, and was ſucceeded by Athelſtan, his eldeſt ſon, who died without iſſue, and the crown deſcended to his brother, Edmund, in 941; whoſe ſiſter, Thyra, married Gormo III. king of Denmark, from whom deſcended Canute I. who was King of England 1017; Harold, King of England, 1035; and Canute II. or Hardicanute, who died 1039. From Canute I. deſcended William, Duke of Normandy, Conqueror of England. Edmund, ſon of Edward the Elder, died 943, whoſe ſon, Edgar, was crowned 959, and, dying 975, was ſucceeded, in 979, by his ſon, Ethelred II. whoſe daughter was mother of William the Conqueror; Ethelred II. died 1016, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Edmund II. ſurnamed Ironſide, who dying in 1017, his ſon, Edward, was driven into exile, where he had two children, Edward Atheling, who died without iſſue, and Margaret, ſole heireſs to the crown of England, ſet aſide by the conqueſt, married Malcolm III. King of Scotland, whoſe daughter Maud, in 1101, was married to Henry I. ſon of William, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England; which Henry ſucceeded his brother in England, 1100, and died in 1135; whoſe daughter Maud, was married to Henry V. Emperor of Germany, and, in 1154, her ſon, Henry II. was crowned King of England, and, dying in 1189, left two ſons, and a daughter named Matilda, or Maud, married to Henry the Lion, Duke of Brunſwick, from whom Erneſtus Auguſtus, Elector of Hanover, was lineally deſcended, who married the daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. King of England, and the VIth of that name of Scotland, who was deſcended from Matilda, or Maud, daughter of Henry I. as before ſhewn. John, ſixth ſon of Henry II. was crowned 1193, died 1216; and was ſucceeded by his ſon, Henry III. 1216, who dying in 1272, was ſucceeded by his ſon, Edward I. 1272, who died 1307; was ſucceeded by Edward II. 1307, who died 1327, and his ſon, Edward III. ſucceeded him, in 1327, who dying in 1377, was ſucceeded by his grandſon, Richard II. Henry IV. ſucceeded, in 1399, whoſe ſon, Henry V. died in 1422, and his ſon, Henry VI. was depoſed in 1461. Edward IV. deſcended from the fifth ſon of Edward III. mounted the throne, and died 1482, whoſe daughter, Elizabeth, married Henry VII. deſcended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III. by which marriage the families were again united; Henry VII. was crowned 1485, and, dying in 1509, left three children, a ſon and two daughters; the youngeſt daughter, Margaret, married James IV. King of Scotland, who was, in 1513, ſucceeded in that kingdom by his ſon James V. whoſe daughter, Mary, was mother of James VI. of Scotland, and the firſt of that name in England, whoſe daughter, Elizabeth, married Frederick, King of Bohemia; by whom ſhe had a daughter, named Sophia, that married Erneſtus, Elector of Hanover, and Biſhop of Oſnabrug; whoſe only daughter married Frederick, firſt King of Pruſſia; and Erneſtus, their eldeſt ſon, became King of England, on the death of Q. Anne, by the name of George I. born 1660, crowned 1714, and, dying 1727, left two children, the youngeſt a daughter, mother of the preſent King of Pruſſia, who died 1757; and a ſon, who ſucceeded as Elector of Hanover and King of England, by the name of George II. who died in October, 1760; whoſe eldeſt daughter, Anne, married the late Prince of Orange, and died 1759; his ſecond daughter, Amelia-Sophia-Eleanor, is ſtill living; his third daughter, Elizabeth-Caroline, died unmarried, 1758; his fourth daughter, Mary, married the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, in 1740, and died 1771; and his youngeſt daughter, Louiſa, married the King of Denmark, and was mother of the preſent King: ſhe died Dec. 8, 1751; his ſecond ſon, George-William, died 1718; his youngeſt ſon, William, Duke of Cumberland, died Nov. 2, 1765; and his eldeſt ſon, Frederick, Prince of Wales, who died March 20, 1751, married Auguſta, daughter of Frederick II. Prince of Saxe-Gotha, by whom he left nine children; the eldeſt daughter and firſt child, Auguſta, 1764, married the hereditary Prince of Brunſwick; the ſecond daughter, Elizabeth-Caroline, died 1759; the third daughter Louiſa-Anne, died 1768, both unmarried; and the forth daughter, and poſthumous child, married Chriſtian VII. the preſent King of Denmark, but was divorced, 1772, and died at Zell, May 11, 1775; the ſecond ſon, Edward-Auguſtus, Duke of York, died 1769; but the third ſon, William-Henry, Duke of Glouceſter, and the fourth ſon Henry-Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, are now living. Frederick-William, the youngeſt ſon, died Dec. 29, 1765, aged 16.

DIRECTIONS

DIRECTIONS to the BINDER for placing the CUTS.

1	FRONTISPIECE to face the title Henry V.	237
2	Mortimer, earl of March, ſeized in Nottingham-caſtle	201
3	Athelſtan ordering the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon language	41
4	Duke of Buckingham aſſaſſinated by Felton	400
	John	148
5	Lady Elizabeth Grey at the feet of Edward IV. imploring a maintenance for herſelf and children	260
6	Queen Margaret crowning the head of the duke of York with a paper crown	256
7	Edward II. reſigning the enſigns of royalty	198
8	Caractacus betrayed into the hands of the Romans by Cartiſmandua	11
9	Judge Jefferies, in the diſguiſe of a ſailor, ſeized at Wapping	534
10	Edward the Martyr aſſaſſinated	47
11	King Edgar rowed down the river Dee	44
12	Engagement in the Mediterranean between the Monmouth and Foudroyant	738
13	Queen Philippa interceding for the burghers of Calais	212
14	Odun, earl of Devon, taking the Daniſh ſtandard	33
15	Caſſivellaunus ſuing for peace to Julius Cæſar	9
16	William II. killed in New Foreſt, Hampſhire	100
17	Henry VI.	243
18	The crown of Richard III. placed on the head of the earl of Richmond	273
19	Thomas, lord Cromwell, preſenting the picture of Anne of Cleves to Henry VIII.	302
20	Diſpoſition of the Britiſh fleet under the command of admiral Keppel	776
21	Prince Henry taking the crown from the pillow of his father	236
22	Sir William Walworth ſtriking Wat Tyler	225
23	St. Auſtin preaching under an oak, in the Iſle of Thanet, to the Saxon king	26
24	Henry VI. crowned king of France in the church of Notre Dame at Paris	243
	Charles II.	499
25	Henry VIII.	283
26	Ket, the Tanner, ſitting beneath the oak of Reformation	315
27	The dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk receiving the great ſeal of England from cardinal Wolſey	293
28	The great ſea-fight off Belliſle	748
	Edward VI.	311
29	The landing of William the Conqueror	75
30	Dutch ambaſſadors imploring the protection of queen Elizabeth	355
31	The wife of Perkin Warbeck at the feet of Henry VII. ſoliciting him to pardon her huſband	280
32	Charles II. demanding the five members	423
	James II.	523
33	The ſiege of Quebec	752
34	Richard I. wounded by an arrow from a croſs bow	147
35	King Charles II.'s public entry into London	496
36	James I.	375
	Mary I.	321
37	Edmund I. murdered by Leolf the robber	42
38	The action near Cape Francois between the Engliſh and French	735
39	Charles II. concealed in the oak	477
40	William III.	540
40	Edward III.	199
41	Copy of the warrant for the execution of Charles I.	466
42	Queen Elizabeth going in proceſſion to St. Paul's cathedral	363
43	The French ſquadron under the command of Monſ. de la Clue defeated by admiral Boſcawen	747
44	Henry II.	125
	William the Conqueror	81
45	Henry III. preaching to the monks of Wincheſter	172
46	General Kirke's execrable cruelty to a youg lady who begged her brother's life	526
47	The prince of Wales and the duke of York murdered in the Tower	270
48	King Stephen	116
	Richard I.	139
49	The head of Llewllyn the laſt prince of Wales expoſed on a pole in Cheapſide	182
50	The famous battle of Creſſey	211
51	Elizabeth	333
52	George I.	621
	Edward prince of Wales ſeized by the duke of Clarence	265
53	Cromwell	485
54	Baliol's ſubmiſſion to Edward I.	185
55	Edward II.	192
56	Edward I.	180
	Aſſaſſination of Richard I.	232
57	Mary queen of Scots	360
58	King John murdering prince Arthur	150
59	The orphan-houſe at Zell ſet on fire	735
60	The haughty entrance of archbiſhop Becket into the preſence of Henry II.	130
	Henry I.	101
61	Henry III.	164
62	Inauguration of Oliver Cromwell	469
63	William Rufus	93
64	Henry V. naming the battle of Agincourt	239
	Map of Ireland	546
65	Henry de Bohun killed with a battle axe	194
66	Richard II.	223
67	A Roman—an antient Briton—a Pict, and a Druid	4
68	King John ſigning Magna Charta	155
	Henry IV.	231
69	The Governor of Rouen, in Normandy, thrown from the battlements of the caſtle	95
70	Mary II.	540
71	Anne	579
72	James II. throwing the ſeal of England into the Thames near Whitehall	534
	Map of Scotland	595
73	Defeat and death of general Braddock	724
74	Alfred the great forming a code of laws	33
75	George III.	770
76	The act of union preſented to queen Anne	595
	Map of England	29
77	George II.	646
	Queen Charlotte	779
78	Edward V.	267
79	Lambert Simnel in the character of a turnſpit to Henry VII.	27
80	Earl of Surry viſited by Henry VII. in the Tower	27
	Charles I.	49

*** *The Binder is* **PARTICULARLY** *deſired to beat the work before he places the cuts, in order to prevent the letter from ſetting off on the engravings.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
12 JY 73